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Performing “Lūchū”: Identity Performance and Foreign Relations in Early Modern Japan

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the

requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy

in History

by

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June 2019

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June 2019

Performing "Lūchū": Identity Performance and Foreign Relations in Early Modern Japan

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by

Travis Seifman

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Mom, this is for you as well. I miss you so much.

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ABSTRACT

Performing "Lūchū": Identity Performance and Foreign Relations in Early Modern Japan

by

Travis Seifman

This dissertation explores as sites of meaning-making the ritual activities of embassies dispatched by the Okinawan kingdom of Lūchū to the court of the Tokugawa shoguns in Edo (Tokyo) on seventeen occasions between 1644 to 1850. Through a combination of ritual elements from Ming/Qing, samurai, and Lūchūan court ceremonial traditions, these embassies served to ritually enact the kingdom's situational political/cultural position within the region as a distinct Confucian kingdom both recognized as a sovereign kingdom and loyal tributary by the Ming and Qing imperial courts and claimed as belonging to or being under the banners of the Shimazu samurai house, lords of Kagoshima domain in southern Japan. This was accomplished chiefly in processions performed by the embassies in the streets and waterways of Japan, formal audiences with the Tokugawa shoguns, and receptions prepared for the embassies by local authorities, as well as through a number of other aspects of the embassies' journeys and activities while in Japan.

Remarkable consistency is seen in the ritual forms practiced by both the Lūchūan embassies and by those receiving them. By parading in the same fashion as in previous embassies, wearing the same costumes, employing the same banners and ritual accoutrements, exchanging the same categories and volumes of gifts, and otherwise adhering to precedent and concepts of ritual propriety, Lūchūan embassies and their samurai counterparts ritually maintained relationships of a consistent character.

Most of these ritual elements were not Tokugawa period innovations but were already standard elements of Lūchūan court ritual or Lūchūan-Japanese ceremonial interactions prior to the 1609 Shimazu invasion of kingdom. The continuity across this 1609 turning point shows that the form and style of these Lūchūan embassies was not designed and imposed by either the Shimazu or the Tokugawa for politically strategic reasons as part of a new 17th century form of foreign relations, but rather was in meaningful ways a continuation of established modes of ritual diplomatic interactions.

Examination of these ritual forms also reveals that while the Tokugawa regime appropriated or adapted the logic and rhetoric of the so-called "Sinocentric world order" or "tribute system", using embassies from Lūchū and Joseon Korea to form discourses or conceptions of a shogun-centric tributary world order, the ritual forms employed were based heavily on samurai customs, thus incorporating Lūchū and Joseon into a shogun-centered order which was also grounded in samurai networks and hierarchies of warrior houses linked to one another by individual or familial fealty.

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INTRODUCTION

The Okinawan kingdom of Lūchū[1] dispatched seventeen formal diplomatic embassies to the court of the Tokugawa *kubō* (shoguns)[2] over a period of roughly 200 years, from 1644 to 1850. These embassies served to ritually reaffirm the kingdom's relationship with the Tokugawa house time and again through ritual performance, including processions, kowtows and the exchange of gifts in formal audience ceremonies, and through aspects of the embassies'

[1] "Okinawa" refers both to Okinawa prefecture (one of 47 political subdivision within the modern state of Japan) and to the largest island within that prefecture. As is common among scholars of Okinawan Studies, I use the term "Okinawa" when referring to matters pertaining to Okinawa prefecture, i.e. to the period since the incorporation of the islands into the modern state of Japan in the 1870s. "Ryūkyū Islands" is a geographical term referring to the string of islands between Kyushu and Taiwan, the southern portion of which was once ruled by the Lūchū Kingdom and now comprises Okinawa prefecture. When referring to the kingdom and to matters pertaining to it prior to the 1870s, I use the Okinawan-language (*Uchinaaguchi* 沖縄口) term "Lūchū."

The Okinawan language is one of a number of distinct languages in the Japonic language family. Though Okinawan and classical Japanese are closely related, they have distinctive grammatical features and there are a number of notable vowel and consonant shifts between the two; the syllables (moras) of the Japanese word O-ki-na-wa, for example, are in Okinawan U-chi-na-a.

I use readings (i.e. pronunciations) from the central Naha-Shuri dialect of *Uchinaaguchi* wherever possible in this work, in order to destabilize the notion that Japanese-language readings of terms should be the standard referents for Lūchūan people, places, and things. If we are to de-center the Japanese nation in our Japanese Studies (and to de-center both China and Japan in our East Asian Studies), and to instead give much-overdue attention to the peoples of Lūchū, Korea, Taiwan, Vietnam, Ainu Moshir, and elsewhere in East Asia, then decolonizing the language we use to discuss their histories seems an obvious step to take. If we are to treat Lūchū as a people, a culture, and an independent polity no less distinct in its time than Joseon Korea or Tokugawa Japan, no less worthy of study, and no less worthy of having its story known, then it is only natural to describe and discuss that history using Lūchūan terminology itself (albeit in romanized transcriptions of *Uchinaaguchi* readings / pronunciations), and not Japanized equivalents made standard through the nationalizing and assimilationist processes of the modern period.

[2] Heads of the samurai government which ruled the Japanese archipelago from 1600 to 1868. Though most commonly known in popular discourse today as the "shogun," the successive heads of the Tokugawa household and regime were also frequently known at the time as *kubō* 公方. The title of *shōgun* 将軍, which has at times been translated as "generalissimo," placed the head of the Tokugawa household at the top of a hierarchy of warriors tied to him and to one another through feudal ties of inherited battlefield loyalties. *Kubō*, by contrast, might be loosely translated as "the person of the public," i.e. the embodiment of the public interest or of the state, and is term with connotations of a virtuous Confucian ruler, the center and source of benevolent authority. I use these two terms interchangeably in this work, in order to highlight the multiple roles embodied by the *kubō* / shogun, and the multiple ways in which his legitimacy and authority were constructed and regularly reaffirmed through ritual.

journey itself. Though Okinawa has begun in recent years to attract more attention from scholars writing in English, these embassies have continued to go largely unexamined.

A few scholars have done much to explicate the impacts of these embassies, and of early modern commercial publications depicting or describing them, upon popular conceptions of Lūchū and upon local festivals and other aspects of popular culture.[3] Much of the scholarship on Tokugawa relations with Lūchū, the Korean kingdom of Joseon, and the Dutch East India Company, however, has focused heavily on matters of competing political and economic interests and has often either taken the significance of ritual in these interactions for granted or has viewed these rituals as mere tools for political machinations.

Ritual was at the center of these diplomatic interactions. For participants and observers of the time, it was primarily through ritual – including the exchange of physical obeisances (bowing) and gifts, among other acts of ritual performance – more so than through political language, negotiations, or agreements on paper that these relationships were constituted and were reaffirmed time and again by each new generation of participants. For them, to engage in such ceremonial acts and events was to embody or enact the status of someone who (as a representative of a given court or house) enjoyed a particular status or privilege. While some scholars have characterized these events as vital opportunities for each party – the Lūchūan court and the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses – to demonstrate their wealth, power, prestige,

[3] Ronald Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens: Korean Embassies in Edo-Period Art and Popular Culture," *Monumenta Nipponica* 41, no. 4 (1986): 415-456.; Toby, *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984).; Toby, Ronald/Tobi, Ronarudo トビ・ロナルド, *"Sakoku" to iu gaikō* 「鎖国」という外交 (Tokyo: Shōgakukan, 2008).; Yokoyama Manabu 横山学, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū* 琉球国使節渡来の研究 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987).

and/or civility,[4] these events were more than venues for display: they served to constitute and confirm prestige and status. Though to modern sensibilities it may be difficult to understand why Lūchū would accede to being asked (or obliged) to repeatedly engage in such acts of ritual subordination, this perspective allows us to see these embassies as sites of the enactment of Lūchūan prestige and status. To be one of only two kingdoms to enjoy the privilege of having its representatives received in audience by the Tokugawa *kubō* was a mark of prestige and status, and one treasured by the Lūchūan court as contributing to discourses of the royal house's power and legitimacy both within the kingdom and amongst the courts or states of the broader region.

Each embassy was constituted not solely in brief events conducted in and around the Tokugawa shogun's castle in Edo for the central participants of rule, but also in performances over sea and land along a route stretching hundreds of miles between the two capitals of Sui and Edo, with the Shimazu castle town of Kagoshima as a pivotal stop along the way. Prepared for by many thousands of workers and local officials, the embassies' journeys, processions, and receptions in numerous cities and towns along that route were viewed by myriad other residents of the Japanese archipelago as festive, exciting and awe-inspiring events that enacted Lūchū's political status and cultural character within, or relative to, the Tokugawa order. An examination of ritual events as actually performed and experienced – and not only as discussed in political documents of the time – reveals how each visual, material, sonic, spatial, and

[4] Marco Tinello, "The Ryukyuan Embassies to Edo seen from the Shuri Royal Government's Perspective," in *Imagined Okinawa: Challenge from Time and Space*, ed. Rosa Caroli (Venice: Ca' Foscari University, 2015), 185-186.; Jeong-Mi Lee, "Cultural Expressions of Tokugawa Japan and Chosŏn Korea: An Analysis of the Korean Embassies in the Eighteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Toronto, 2008), 80, 191, 217, 232.

otherwise performative aspect of diplomatic ritual contributed to the realization and reification of such political and cultural realities. It is therefore important to consider these rituals themselves, how they functioned to create meaning, and the role of precedent and tradition in shaping them.

I also consider this tradition of diplomatic ritual in a multicentered manner, considering the significance of these rituals not only for the Tokugawa regime, but also for "worlds," so to speak, centered on Kagoshima, Sui, and various port-towns and post-stations across Japan. The phenomenon of the Lūchūan embassies to Edo was in its totality constituted in the combination of elements performed by Tokugawa, Shimazu, and Lūchūan actors and by local authorities, spectators, and numerous others; considering the roles of each of these different constituencies in shaping and enacting these events helps us to see the significance of the embassies for the construction of each group's cultural and political position within their world.

This examination reveals many things about those rituals. The embassies' use of the same processional and court music, costumes, banners, and other accoutrements that were used in court ceremonies in Lūchū signals the considerable agency left to the Lūchūan royal court in performing these rituals as their own traditions and sense of propriety demanded, rather than being subject to forms and styles imposed by the Shimazu or Tokugawa. Doing so allowed the Lūchūans to enact the highly refined and civilized character of their court culture, constituting within Tokugawa spaces their identity as representatives of a civilized and sovereign court even as this contributed at the same time to discourses of Shimazu and Tokugawa authority over the foreign kingdom. Many of these visual, material, and sonic

elements of the Lūchūans' performances also served to display the formal recognition and investiture their kingdom had received from the Ming and Qing courts.

Processions put the embassies on display to the townspeople of the realm – and the towns and townspeople on display to the embassies – in a way which audience ceremonies performed within the shogun's castle could not. In concert with a burgeoning popular publishing industry and widespread literacy in early modern Japan, the costumes, music, banners, and other visual, material, and sonic aspects of these colorful, exciting, attention-grabbing processions appealed to people through a combination of symbolic and affective means, constructing or contributing to understandings about the cultural character and political status of the Lūchū Kingdom, as foreign but under Shimazu authority; culturally refined, prestigious, and sovereign, but traveling to pay respects to the Tokugawa *kubō*.

Toby and Arano Yasunori, among others, have suggested that these embassies were devised as central elements in a scheme by Tokugawa ritual architects to construct a *kubō*-centered regional order based heavily on the model of the emperor-centered rhetoric and practices of the Ming and Qing courts.[5] Examination of the ritual forms employed in these embassies & in their formal reception by the Tokugawa regime reveals that "Tokugawa foreign relations" was neither an original schema devised anew in the Tokugawa period for political strategic ends, nor an attempt at a wholesale appropriation or adaptation of Ming/Qing ritual modes, but rather was in significant ways a performance of traditional samurai ritual,

[5] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*; Toby, "Reopening the Question of Sakoku: Diplomacy in the Legitimation of the Tokugawa Bakufu," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 3, no. 2 (1977): 323-363; Arano Yasunori 荒野泰典, "The Formation of a Japanocentric World Order," *International Journal of Asian Studies* 2:2 (2005): 185-216.

incorporating the Lūchūan and Joseon royal courts into a Tokugawa order grounded in hierarchies of interpersonal ties of loyalty between warrior houses. These samurai rituals constructed messages of power and relation that could be easily understood in the Tokugawa world, even while they simultaneously emphasized the foreignness of Lūchū and evoked ideas of a Tokugawa-centered "tributary" order with Lūchū and Joseon as the chief "tributary" kingdoms.

Gift exchange and physical obeisances played key roles in repeatedly reaffirming the relationship between Lūchū and the Tokugawa regime, much as they do in forging and maintaining socio-political and diplomatic relationships in most societies around the world. The formal presentation to the shogun of a sword, a horse (or an amount of silver in place of the horse), and Lūchūan textiles and liquor, among many other aspects of the envoys' ritual acts in Edo castle audiences, ritually reaffirmed their kings' status as a loyal vassal within samurai modes of relations, even as the Tokugawa framed these gifts also as "tribute," evocative of a notion of the *kubō* as a source and center of virtue and authority.[6] Envoys kowtowed to the *kubō* much as they did before the Son of Heaven in Beijing, displaying their foreignness and contributing to a ritual incorporation of Lūchū – one of the most prized Ming/Qing tributaries within the Confucian[7] world – into an imagined *kubō*-centric order modeled on that same

[6] Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 423.

[7] Though the term "Confucianism" is used throughout this work as a convenient shorthand, the political and cosmological ideas underlying traditional East Asian foreign relations often derived more directly from varying traditions of Neo-Confucianism than from writings more directly associated with Confucius himself. Further, as Evelyn Rawski has noted, "calling China's state rituals 'Confucian' ignores the diversity of religious practice and the persistence of indigenous "religious orientations" such as ancestor worship … By the Ming and Qing period, the state supported Daoist, Buddhist, and shamanic rites; it sacrificed at altars to nature deities originating in pre-Confucian times, and to others that marked the Manchu identity of the Qing regime." Evelyn Rawski, *Early Modern China and Northeast Asia: Cross-border Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 105ff. Much of the political philosophy and ritual practices of the Lūchū court similarly derived not explicitly from

Confucian order. But they did so as figures "belonging to" or in some fashion included within the Shimazu household, formally presented by the Shimazu lord to the *kubō* as part of his own audience with the latter.

In order to understand how these rituals functioned to create and reinforce the cultural and political realities of the Lūchū Kingdom's relationships with the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses, we must first understand a little about Lūchūan history, the so-called "tribute system" of traditional East Asian foreign relations, traditional neo-Confucian views on ritual propriety, and how scholars have discussed these matters.

Overview of Lūchūan History

Though today part of the modern state of Japan, the Ryūkyū Islands that stretch across the East China Sea between Kyushu and Taiwan were only incorporated as "Okinawa" into the Japanese state in the 1870s, less than 150 years ago. In the 17th to 19th centuries, the span known as the "early modern" period in both Okinawan and Japanese history, much of the islands were ruled by the kings of the sovereign and independent Lūchū Kingdom 琉球王国 (C: *Liúqiú wángguó*, J: *Ryūkyū ōkoku*).[8] Based at Sui 首里 (J: Shuri) on the island of Uchinaa 沖縄 (J:

"Confucianism" itself, but from this broader complex of ideas and customs which had come to be intermingled or incorporated into Ming and Qing era notions of the attitudes and practices of proper, correct, "Confucian" civilization. For the sake of simplicity, I use the term "Confucianism" to refer to this broader complex of ideas and traditions.

[8] Lūchū (or Loochoo, るーちゅー) is the Okinawan language reading for the term typically rendered in English – in following the Japanese – as "Ryūkyū." The various Ryukyuan languages, including the Okinawan language (O: *Uchinaa-guchi* 沖縄口) of central Okinawa Island, are generally regarded by linguists as distinct languages from Japanese (i.e. not merely dialects). In keeping with standard practices in the fields of Indigenous and Pacific Island

Okinawa), the kingdom was governed according to Confucian principles, "a set of ideas based on ancient Chinese classic philosophical texts about the proper ways by which government and society were to be organized."[9] For a society to be organized and governed in such a way was seen by Confucianists as the very foundation of "civilization" or "civilized practice."

The kingdom's identity as an independent, sovereign, and civilized kingdom was constituted precisely in it being recognized as such by the rulers of neighboring powers – and in being granted the privilege of engaging in diplomatic ritual that enacted that identity through ritual performance, performing relationships between a sovereign kingdom and its hegemonic neighbors. Even in the 1870s, when Imperial Japan began efforts to abolish the kingdom and annex its territories, the royal court's attempts to retain the independence and integrity of the kingdom were grounded in rhetoric which "defined Ryukyu not as a sovereign state in a modern sense but as a state constituted in terms of its relations with China and Japan."[10] The argument was, essentially, that the very fact that Beijing and Edo received Lūchūan embassies in audience constituted their recognition of Lūchūan sovereignty, and thus contributed to the constitution of the kingdom's sovereignty itself. These formal relations between the Okinawan kingdom of Lūchū and the Tokugawa government (1600-1868) of Japan, enacted not primarily through words on paper but through ritual performance, are the focus of this study.

Studies, where possible I render Okinawan terms in Okinawan rather than in Japanese. Chinese, Japanese, or Korean readings where relevant are given in parentheses and marked C, J, or K. Similarly, the Okinawan readings for Chinese or Japanese terms are occasionally given and marked by an O.

[9] David Kang, "Hierarchy and Legitimacy in International Systems: The Tribute System in Early Modern East Asia," *Security Studies* 19, no. 4 (2010): 605.

[10] Gregory Smits, "Rethinking Ryukyu," *International Journal of Okinawan Studies* 6 (2015), 12.

Local power-holders on Okinawa Island were first recognized by the Ming court as civilized Confucian "kings" (国王, C: *guówáng*) in the 1370s. Standard narratives of Okinawan history have long described these "kings" as ruling over organized polities (or kingdoms) known as Nanzan 南山, Chūzan 中山, and Hokuzan 北山, which Chūzan then conquered in the 1420s to unite the island under a new "kingdom of Ryūkyū."[11] Gregory Smits suggests, however, that official histories of the kingdom written in the 17th-18th centuries, such as the *Mirror of Chūzan* 中山世鑑 (J: *Chūzan seikan*, 1650) and *Record of the Origins of the Land of Lūchū* 琉球国由来記 (J: *Ryūkyū-koku yuraiki*, c. 1713), exaggerate the antiquity of organized polities in the Ryūkyūs as well as their cultural distinctiveness.[12] In the new vision of Ryūkyūan history that he and a number of other scholars have proposed, the Ryūkyūs were home in the 14th-16th centuries to numerous local warlords and parties of *wakō* 倭寇 brigands,[13] some of whom gained recognition from the Ming court[14] as "kings," allowing them to trade legally in China; this does not mean, however, that any of these "kings" necessarily claimed effective political authority over any sizable territory or population. It was only in the early 16th century, according to Smits, that a Lūchūan royal court, based at Sui, began to exercise rule over the

[11] Shinzato Keiji 新里恵二, Taminato Tomoaki 田港朝昭, Kinjō Seitoku 金城正篤, *Okinawa-ken no rekishi* 沖縄県の歴史, 2nd ed. (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppan, 1996), 41-49.; George Kerr, *Okinawa: The History of an Island People*, rev. ed. (North Clarendon, VT: Tuttle Publishing, 2000), 60-86.; Akamine Mamoru, *The Ryukyu Kingdom: Cornerstone of East Asia*, trans. and ed. Robert Huey and Lina Terrell (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2018), 5, 41.
[12] Smits, *Maritime Ryukyu, 1050-1650* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2018), 1-4.
[13] Armed smugglers, raiders, or brigands from a variety of ethnic/regional backgrounds active in East Asian seas in the 14th-16th centuries.
[14] The Ming 明 dynasty ruled China from 1368 to 1644.

entirety of Okinawa Island, and to begin expanding its authority over the other islands in the archipelago.[15] By the mid- or late 16th century, this kingdom of Lūchū, also known in both Okinawan and Japanese as Chūzan 中山 (C: *Zhōngshān*), came to be recognized throughout the region – i.e. by Chinese, Korean, and various Southeast Asian courts, as well as by the government of the Ashikaga shoguns[16] and by certain other Japanese authorities or elites – as a distinct (i.e. independent) and sovereign kingdom.

The kingdom continued throughout the early modern period to dispatch tributary embassies to the Ming (and after 1644, Qing[17]) imperial city of Beijing on a regular basis, every other year, as the "king" of Chūzan had done since 1372 with only limited exceptions.[18] In Beijing, Lūchūan envoys kowtowed and presented tribute goods and formal communications to the emperor (皇帝, C: *huángdì*, O: *kōtii*, J: *kōtei*) on behalf of their king, and in doing so ritually reaffirmed the kingdom's recognition of and loyalty to the emperor as the Son of Heaven (天子, C: *tiānzǐ*), the center and source of all civilization (華, C: *huá*), whose virtue and authority extended even across the seas to distant lands such as Lūchū.[19] In return, the emperor bestowed upon the king extensive gifts of Chinese luxury goods and (limited) access to trade in Chinese ports, as well as formal recognition of the latter's sovereignty and legitimacy. As the

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[15] Smits, *Maritime Ryukyu*, 62-66, 74-81, 136-137, 161-171, 178-192.

[16] The Ashikaga or Muromachi shogunal government was the dominant warrior (samurai) government in the Japanese islands from 1333 to 1573.

[17] China was ruled as part of the Qing 清 Empire from 1644 to 1911.

[18] This practice came to an end only in 1875, amidst Imperial Japan's dismantling and annexation of the kingdom.

[19] Asato Susumu 安里進 et al., eds., *Okinawa ken no rekishi* 沖縄県の歴史 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppan, 2004), 145.

emperor's own sovereignty and legitimacy was believed to derive from a Mandate of Heaven (天命, C: *tiānmìng*), this recognition was particularly meaningful. Each time a new king came to power in Sui, the Ming or Qing court dispatched imperial envoys to Lūchū to formally invest the king, presenting him with robes, a patent of office, and a royal seal which established or confirmed his legitimacy and authority as "king." Much as the imperial court in Japan adopted numerous aspects of Tang dynasty[20] governance and court culture in the 7th-8th centuries as a means of creating a "civilized" court and state (in emulation of the Tang as the preeminent model of civilization in the region), Lūchū similarly adapted numerous elements of Ming dynasty architecture, costume, ritual, music, and governmental structures and procedures into its own. These material markers of investiture, along with luxury goods and other tangible and intangible benefits of formal recognition from the Ming emperors, served the Lūchūan court as powerful tools for enforcing impressions of the king's legitimacy and authority among both his own people and foreign courts such as that of the Tokugawa.[21] This so-called tribute-investiture relationship between the Lūchūan royal court or household and that in Beijing continued for roughly five hundred years, through the 17th century fall of the Ming dynasty and its replacement by the Qing dynasty, up until Tokyo's unilateral abolition of the Lūchū Kingdom in

[20] The Tang Empire 唐 ruled China from 618 to 907.

[21] Ying-kit Chan, "A Bridge Between Myriad Lands: The Ryukyu Kingdom and Ming China (1372-1526)" (master's thesis, National University of Singapore, 2010).

the 1870s. The final king of Lūchū, Shō Tai 尚泰 (C: Shàng Tái),[22] received investiture in 1866, and oversaw the dispatch of the kingdom's last tribute mission to Beijing in 1875.[23]

Early modern Lūchū was unique among China's many diplomatic partners, however, in that its kings were claimed as vassals by the Shimazu of Kagoshima (or Satsuma) domain,[24] one of the many samurai houses who were themselves vassals of the Tokugawa *kubō* and who ruled regions of the Japanese archipelago as their "domains." While the kings of Joseon Korea[25] claimed one of these samurai houses and its territory as *their* vassals,[26] and engaged in relations with the Tokugawa regime on an ostensibly equal basis,[27] Lūchū, conversely, occupied

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[22] By virtue of Okinawa being today part of Japan, Okinawan names are typically referred to by the Japanese reading (pronunciation) for the characters used to write those names. The names of the Lūchūan kings are clearly names in a Chinese rather than Japanese style, and the Japanese readings given are without exception *on'yomi* 音読み readings, in emulation of a Chinese pronunciation. There is little evidence as to whether kings' names were historically regarded in Lūchū by a Chinese or Japanese-style pronunciation, and so to de-center the notion of Japanese readings as the default and to highlight the role of Ming models in Lūchūan political culture, I provide the *pinyin* readings for royal names as well. Other members of the Lūchūan royalty and scholar-aristocracy also typically had multiple names. I give their Japanese-style names (名乗, J: *nanori*) according to the modern Japanese reading or Okinawan where possible, and their Chinese-style names (唐名, J: *karana*, *tōmei*) in *pinyin* according to their modern Mandarin pronunciation.

[23] Kerr, 352.; Angela Schottenhammer, "Empire and Periphery? The Qing Empire's Relations with Japan and the Ryūkyūs (1644–c. 1800), a Comparison," *The Medieval History Journal* 16, no. 1 (2013): 175.

[24] Kagoshima 鹿児島 was the chief castle town in Satsuma province 薩摩国 (*Satsuma no kuni*) and the seat of the Shimazu family. Many documents from the time, as well as much scholarship today, use "Kagoshima" and "Satsuma" in a largely interchangeable fashion, and I do as well.

[25] The Joseon 朝鮮 (or Chosŏn) dynasty ruled Korea from 1392 to 1897.

[26] The Joseon court maintained that the island of Daemado 対馬島, known in Japanese as Tsushima-tō, had been Korean territory since ancient times, and that it was (wrongfully) occupied by the Japanese. The Sō 宗 house was the dominant samurai household on the island since the 12th century and acted as vassals of the Korean king. The Sō regularly sent envoys to Pusan who made obeisances, presented gifts (or "tribute"), and conveyed formal letters from their lord expressing allegiance to the king. Jeong-mi Lee, "Chosŏn Korea as Sojunghwa, the Small Central Civilization," *International Christian University Publications 3-A, Asian Cultural Studies* 国際基督教大学学報 3-A, アジア文化研究 36 (2010) 308.; James Lewis, *Frontier Contact between Chosŏn Korea and Tokugawa Japan* (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003).

[27] The term 交隣 (J: *kōrin*, K: *gyorin*), meaning roughly "neighborly interaction," is often used in characterizing the relationship between the Joseon court and the Tokugawa regime as one in which each recognized the other as an equal. However, as Toby and others have explained, both sides rhetorically framed these interactions as ones in

an inferior hierarchical position beneath the authority of both the Shimazu and the Tokugawa shoguns in turn.

The Shimazu had long considered relations with Lūchū to be in their purview,[28] though Lūchū considered itself wholly independent until 1609 when Shimazu Tadatsune 島津忠恒 (1576-1638), with authorization from Tokugawa Ieyasu,[29] acted to secure his claims of authority.[30] He dispatched a force of some 3,000 samurai warriors who traveled aboard roughly one hundred vessels, quickly and easily seizing many of the kingdom's islands and then the royal palace and the king. King Shō Nei 尚寧 (C: Shàng Níng, r. 1587-1620) and about one hundred members of his family and court were taken back to Kagoshima, and then to Sunpu

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which they were the superior partner, at least in a sense of cultural superiority. Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 41; Doyoung Park, "A New Perspective on the Korean Embassy (Chōsen Tsūshinshi): The View from the Intellectuals in Tokugawa Japan," *Studies on Asia*, Series IV, 3:1 (March 2013): 6-24. The Joseon court regarded Tsushima as part of its territory and the Sō as foreign occupiers of that land who were loyal vassals to Joseon; however, the court does not seem to have seen Sō tribute as indicative of tribute from the Tokugawa or from "Japan" as a whole. Lewis, *Frontier Contact*, 10, 26-27.

[28] Since 1471, if not earlier, the Shimazu had served as the primary intermediary for the Ashikaga shogunate's interaction with Lūchū, and the Shimazu acted on numerous occasions to attempt to create or defend an exclusive relationship with the island kingdom; the Shimazu frequently expressed annoyance when Sui circumvented them to engage in communications or trade with other samurai houses, and in 1516 and 1534 intervened directly to quash the plans of another warlord, Miyake Kunihide, to invade Lūchū. Asato et al., eds., 118-119. In the 1560s-1570s, tensions developed between Shimazu heads who sought to more strongly assert Shimazu claims or dominance over the islands and to establish a new practice of regular Lūchūan embassies to Kagoshima, and the royal court which aimed to engage in polite and proper relations as etiquette demanded and to try to satisfy the Shimazu while maintaining Lūchūan independence and sovereignty. Several incidents in the early years of the 1600s in which Lūchūan castaways were returned to the islands and the Shimazu (on behalf of the Tokugawa) pushed that the kingdom's formal expressions of gratitude (in the form of letters, gifts, and/or embassies) were insufficient, added to these tensions and were later claimed among reasons for the ultimate Shimazu invasion of the kingdom. These events are described in some further detail in Smits, *Maritime Ryukyu*, 205-234.; and Kuroshima Satoru 黒島敏, *Ryūkyū ōkoku to Sengoku daimyō* 琉球王国と戦国大名 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2016).

[29] 徳川家康 (1543-1616). The first Tokugawa shogun. Established Tokugawa rule over the Japanese archipelago in 1600.

[30] Smits, *Maritime Ryukyu*, 205-223.; Kuroshima, 159-171. Tadatsune was later granted the name Iehisa 家久.

(Shizuoka) and Edo, where they were forced to swear oaths of fealty to the Shimazu house,[31] and to perform ritual acts of submission before the retired former *kubō* Tokugawa Ieyasu and his successor, Tokugawa Hidetada 徳川秀忠 (r. 1605-1623).

The king and most members of his court were returned to Sui in 1611. The Shimazu and Tokugawa permitted him to retain his throne and his kingdom, with the monarchy and its administrative structures intact, and to continue tributary & investiture relations with the Ming court. The kingdom continued to be governed and administered by a Confucian scholar-official bureaucracy based very much on that of the Ming court, in contrast to the systems of warrior rule which then dominated in Japan. Though the kingdom was subject to Shimazu authority in certain respects,[32] it continued throughout the period to be regarded in Japan as a foreign

[31] The oaths signed by the king at this time included what are known as the *okite jūgo-ka-jō* 掟十五ヶ条 ("Fifteen Injunctions," or lit. "Injunction of Fifteen Articles"), a series of fifteen injunctions, several of which concern assurances that Lūchū will trade only with Kagoshima (and not with other Japanese provinces or domains), will not allow other traders to trade at Naafa, and will not engage in any trade in or with China other than that approved by Kagoshima. Shinzato et al., 134-135. For a translation of all fifteen articles, see Mitsugu Matsuda, *The Government of the Kingdom of Ryukyu, 1609-1872* (Gushikawa, Okinawa: Yui Publishing, 2001), 24-25.

[32] One way in which this manifested was that the kingdom's *kokudaka* 石高 – an official ranking based on assessments of agricultural productive capacity – was included in that of the Shimazu house. A land survey conducted by the Shimazu in Lūchū in 1610 yielded a production figure of 89,086 *koku*; the Shimazu reported a figure of 123,700 *koku* to the Tokugawa, however, and this figure was formally recognized and incorporated by the Tokugawa regime into the domain's *omotedaka* 表高 (the official *kokudaka* ranking recognized by the Tokugawa, in contrast to the internal production figures recorded by the domain, known as *uchidaka* 内高) in 1634. Futaki Ken'ichi 二木謙一, ed., *Han to jōkamachi no jiten* 藩と城下町の事典 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 2004), 634. Kamiya Nobuyuki notes, however, that in formal Tokugawa documents granting or reaffirming the Shimazu fief, Lūchū is listed as an addendum, with the phrase "*sono hoka*" その他 (roughly, "and other than that" or "and in addition"), rather than more immediately alongside the provinces which constituted the core of Shimazu territory. Kamiya Nobuyuki 紙屋敦之, *Rekishi no hazama o yomu: Satsuma to Ryūkyū* 歴史のはざまを読む－薩摩と琉球 (Ginowan, Okinawa: Yōju Shorin, 2009), 51. Conversely, while the Amami Islands and other islands north of Okinawa Island were placed under direct Kagoshima administration after 1609 (and were no longer administered by the royal government in Sui), Kagoshima continued to officially consider these to be part of the kingdom's territory. Akamine, *The Ryukyu Kingdom*, 69-70.

country (異国, J: *ikoku*), alongside Korea, China, and the Netherlands, and not as "another province" (他国, J: *takoku*) of "Japan."[33]

Lūchū continued to send regular tributary embassies to Beijing and to receive investiture embassies from the Ming and then the Qing courts throughout the early modern period, while also sending regular missions to the Shimazu castle town of Kagoshima on a wide range of occasions and to the Tokugawa court at Edo in conjunction with occasions of royal succession in Lūchū and of shogunal succession in Japan.

Several additional and oft-overlooked embassies met with emperors, retired emperors, or Tokugawa *kubō* in Kyoto in the 1620s-1630s. Though a formal audience in Kyoto with *kubō* Tokugawa Iemitsu in 1634 is often included as the first of eighteen missions dispatched to meet with a Tokugawa shogun, Kido Hironari argues convincingly that it was not seen at the time as the first in a series of embassies to be regularly performed from then on. The Lūchūan court dispatched Prince Sashichi,[34] Prince Chin,[35] and Tamagushiku *aji*[36] to Kagoshima in 1634 to

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[33] Luke Roberts, *Mercantilism in a Japanese Domain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 6.; Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 46-47. Even after being absorbed by Imperial Japan in 1872, Ryūkyū was initially placed under the purview of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (外務省, *Gaimushō*) before being transferred in 1874 to the jurisdiction of the Internal Affairs Ministry (内務省, *Naimushō*). Uemura Hideaki, "The Colonial Annexation of Okinawa and the Logic of International Law: The Formation of an 'Indigenous People' in East Asia," *Japanese Studies* 23, no. 2 (2003): 107-124.

[34] Prince Sashichi 佐敷王子 (1604-1673, J: *Sashiki ōji*). Second son of King Shō Hō. Japanese-style name: Chōeki 朝益. Chinese-style name: Shàng Wén 尚文 (J: Shō Bun). Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 473.

[35] Prince Chin 金武王子 (1600-1663, J: *Kin ōji*). Younger brother to King Shō Hō, uncle to Sashichi and Tamagushiku. Japanese-style name: Chōtei 朝貞. Chinese-style name: Shàng Shèng 尚盛 (J: *Shō Sei*). Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 473.

[36] Tamagushiku *aji* 玉城按司 (1619-1653). Younger brother to Sashichi. Japanese-style name: Chōshu 朝秀. Chinese-style name: Shàng Shì 尚氏. *Aji* or *anji* 按司 was a noble title ranked just below "prince." Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 473.

express gratitude to Shimazu Iehisa for his “great grace” (御高恩) in recognizing the Ming investiture of King Shō Hō 尚豊 (C: *Shàng Fēng*) the previous year. Shimazu Iehisa, finding the princes’ presence in Kagoshima convenient, brought them along with him when he was summoned to Kyoto to formally express his congratulations to Iemitsu on the latter’s succession to the position of *kubō*. These princes’ journey to Kyoto and the gifts and greetings they offered were from the point of view of the Lūchūan court *ad hoc*, and arrangements to provide lodgings and any sort of formal reception for the princes in Kyoto were made relatively last minute. By contrast, in 1644 the *rōjū* 老中 (Tokugawa government Elders) made efforts for the first time to plan explicitly not for a single embassy but for the first of what would become a series of later embassies, a new standard practice in which embassies would be dispatched and received regularly, on particular occasions, and would follow a standard form. In consultation with both written records and Shimazu officials, they worked to determine a standard pattern of reception and diplomatic ritual for these embassies, based on earlier precedent. This marked the beginning of the Lūchūan embassies to Edo as a regular practice and no longer a series of *ad hoc*, one-time instances.[37]

Each of the embassies to Edo from 1644 onward consisted of roughly 70-100 Confucian scholar-officials of the Lūchū court, accompanied by an entourage of samurai officials in service to the Shimazu lord.[38] Each was led by a royal prince who, serving as proxy for his king,

[37] Kido Hironari 木土博成, “Ryūkyū shisetsu no seiritsu” 琉球使節の成立, *Shirin* 史林 99, no. 4 (2016/7), 44-45, 49.

[38] The number of Lūchūan participants swelled to 168 and 170 in 1710 and 1714, respectively, when “congratulatory missions” sent on the occasion of shogunal succession, and “gratitude missions” sent on the

performed a series of ritual acts reaffirming the kingdom's loyalty to the Tokugawa house. These included presenting the shogun's chief advisors (the *rōjū*) with a letter from the king, presenting the shogun with gifts from the king and from the envoy himself, kowtowing before the shogun multiple times, and receiving "gracious bestowals" of gifts from the shogun in return, along with a formal reply to the king's letter from the *rōjū*. The members of the Lūchūan missions also performed spectacular street processions in many of the cities and towns through which they passed on their approximately three-month journey from Kagoshima to Edo, as well as aboard ship as they passed through the Inland Sea and up and down the Yodo River. These processions, enactments of Lūchūan royal court customs, featured processional music and eye-catchingly lavish and colorful banners, costume, and other accoutrements which stirred popular excitement and interest.

Hundreds of prints, paintings, illustrated books, and *kawaraban* 瓦版[39] were produced by Japanese authors, artists, and publishers in the Edo period describing or depicting these processions and other aspects of the history and culture of the kingdom; these expanded the

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occasion of Lūchūan royal succession, were combined and dispatched together. These two instances – 1710 and 1714 – were the only occasions in the 18th or 19th centuries when such double missions took place. In each of these years, the congratulatory and gratitude missions each had their own separate set of leading officials (lead envoy, deputy envoy, secretary, envoys' assistants, etc.), but shared a single set of musicians and entertainers. Yokoyama Manabu 横山学, "Ryūkyū koku shisetsu tōjō gyōretsu emaki wo yomu" 琉球国使節登城行列絵巻を読む, in *Egakareta gyōretsu: bushi, ikoku, sairei* 描かれた行列：武士・異国・祭礼, ed. Kurushima Hiroshi 久留島浩 (Tokyo: Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2015), 191n20.; also, as seen in depictions such as the 1710 University of Hawai'i scroll. Though these "congratulatory missions" are often referred to in Japanese as 慶賀使 (*keigashi*) or 賀慶使 (*gakeishi*), and the "gratitude missions" as 謝恩使 *(shaonshi*) or 恩謝使 (*onshashi*), these terms are late Edo period neologisms and were not used earlier in the period. Kido, 35. Over the course of the seventeen missions, some 1,600 Lūchūan scholar-aristocrats in total made the journey to Edo and back. Ikemiya Masaharu 池宮正治, "Shiryō shōkai: Gieisei nikki" 儀衛生日記：史料紹介, *Nihon tōyō bunka ronshū* 日本東洋文化論集 1 (1995), 109.

[39] Inexpensive, monochrome single-sheet woodblock prints relating the latest news or gossip.

visibility or knowledge of the processions far beyond the events themselves, and played a central role in shaping early modern Japanese popular conceptions of Lūchū.[40] As Toby argues for the case of the Korean embassies, these processions and the associated publications contributed, too, to the development of an early modern form of "Japanese" identity.[41] Though in the 17th through mid-18th centuries the Korean kingdom of Joseon sent embassies paralleling those from Lūchū, the final such Korean mission to travel beyond Tsushima to "mainland" Japan took place in 1764; for the remaining century of Tokugawa rule, Lūchū was the only kingdom to continue to send regular embassies to Edo. Lūchūan embassies to Edo, though infrequent, were of vital importance to Tokugawa prestige politics and foreign relations otherwise, and all the more so after 1764.

Examination of the Lūchūan embassies is therefore crucial for refining our understandings of Tokugawa foreign relations and of the ideologies and practices of early modern East Asian ritual politics more broadly. But these embassies also had a profound impact on how commoners and elites in Japan viewed and understood Lūchū, both in the early modern period, and in forming a foundation for how Okinawa was envisioned in later eras. Consideration of these embassies is therefore an essential part of expanding the still minimal coverage of Lūchūan history in Anglophone scholarship as well, and of deepening understandings of the historical context underlying much of Okinawan history and Okinawa-related political issues in more modern and contemporary periods.

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[40] Yokoyama, "Ryūkyū koku shisetsu tōjō gyōretsu emaki wo yomu," 167. Yokoyama explores these publications and their impact at length in Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*.
[41] Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens."

The Lūchū Kingdom was one of the most valued tributaries to the Ming and Qing courts and the only foreign kingdom claimed as a vassal by a samurai domain. Examination of its ritual relationships with the Ming & Qing courts and the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses, distinctive from parallel examples such as Korean relations with China and Japan, and indeed entirely unique in many respects, is vital for a fuller understanding of the complex networks of diplomatic relations across the region, an understanding that includes not just some of the states involved, but all of them. Many scholarly discussions of East Asian foreign relations continue to omit, however, even the briefest mention of the island kingdom, excluding it from the vision they present of regional diplomatic and trade networks. Prasenjit Duara, for example, wrote in 2017 that "a very small set of states – basically Korea and Vietnam – … shared and participated in the [East Asian] system [of foreign relations] as tributary Confucian states."[42] Liam Kelley wrote similarly, that "in premodern East Asia, Choson [Korea] and the Secure South [Annam, i.e. Vietnam] were widely recognized as the premier domains of manifest civility after the Middle Kingdom [i.e. China]."[43] This repeated omission of Lūchū in discussions of East Asian history has done meaningful damage to both popular and academic consciousness regarding the shape and form of diplomatic and trade interactions in early modern East Asia. Reinserting Lūchū into the conversation contributes to a fuller vision of the range of courts or states active in historical East Asian cultural and political networks, and provides insights into how a quasi-

[42] Prasenjit Duara, "Afterword: The Chinese World Order as a Language Game," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 77, no. 1 (2017), 124.
[43] Liam Kelley, *Beyond the Bronze Pillars: Envoy Poetry and the Sino-Vietnamese Relationship* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2005), 182.

independent entity within such early modern East Asian networks enacted its multivalent identity through engagement in ritual interactions.

Scholarship on Early Modern Lūchū

Lūchū was an independent kingdom with its own distinctive history and culture, no less so than Joseon Korea or the Kingdom of Hawaiʻi, each of which are the subject of large and burgeoning fields of study. Yet, even amidst our current postcolonial historiographical moment, in which greater attention than ever before is being paid to borderlands, peripheries, and indigenous and other marginalized or minority peoples, Okinawan history remains a subject sorely under-examined in English-language scholarship.

Korean embassies dispatched to Edo in similar fashion were larger and more lavish affairs than their Lūchūan counterparts, and have received far more academic attention, in both English and Japanese-language (not to mention Korean) scholarship. There are a number of reasons for this. Divisions and categorizations according to the existing national entities and boundaries of our world today continue to have a powerful influence on how the world, and world history, is viewed and understood. In contrast to a view of Okinawan history as that of a provincial and peripheral sub-category within the broader field of Japanese history, the legacies of the imperial/colonial history of Japan-Korea relations in the 19th-20th centuries and the ongoing geopolitical prominence of relations between Japan, the Republic of Korea, and North Korea today, as well as the simple fact that Korea's long-standing historical political independence and cultural distinctiveness are more widely known and recognized, make the topic one of obvious appeal. Furthermore, a far greater

volume of documentation on these Korean missions survives than on those from Lūchū.[44] As a result of these and other factors, works in English on early modern Lūchū are largely limited to those by Robert Sakai, George Kerr, Gregory Smits, and scholars based in Japan, alongside a number of unpublished theses and dissertations.[45]

Much mid-to-late 20th century scholarship on Lūchū's relationship with the Shimazu house focused on political structures and economic concerns. While Robert Sakai and Mitsugu Matsuda examined the structures of the Kagoshima and Lūchūan governments respectively,[46] others attempted to determine the degree to which the relationship was economically profitable for the Shimazu and oppressive for Lūchū. Countering Sydney Crawcour's earlier assertions that the Lūchū trade was of minimal actual economic benefit to the Shimazu,[47] both Sakai and Mitsugu Sakihara found that while exact figures regarding Kagoshima's profits or revenues are difficult to assess given variation across the period, "it seems reasonable to believe" that the Lūchū trade was "sufficiently profitable," given "Satsuma's persistent efforts"

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[44] The dearth of surviving records on the Lūchūan missions can be attributed in part to the loss of great numbers of documents and artifacts in the 1945 Battle of Okinawa. However, differing levels of governmental and institutional support and of popular and academic interest in the history of Japan-Korea relations vs. in the history of Okinawa, which many see as being "merely" regional or provincial history, has surely had a significant impact on the collecting practices of archives and libraries as well.

[45] Works in English include: Kerr, *Okinawa: The History of an Island People*.; Robert Sakai, "The Ryūkyū (Liu-Ch'iu) Islands as a Fief of Satsuma," in *The Chinese World Order*, ed. John K. Fairbank (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968), 112-134.; Sakai, "The Satsuma-Ryūkyū Trade and the Tokugawa Seclusion Policy," *Journal of Asian Studies* 23, no. 3 (May 1964): 391-403.; Sakai, "The Consolidation of Power in Satsuma-han," in *Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan*, eds. John W. Hall and Marius Jansen (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1968), 131-140.; Sakai, Mitsugu Sakihara, et al., *The Status System and Social Organization of Satsuma* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1975).; Smits, *Visions of Ryūkyū* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1999).; Smits, *Maritime Ryukyu*.; Smits, "Rethinking Ryukyu."; Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies to Edo: an investigation of the *bakumatsu* period through the lens of a tripartite power relationship and its world" (PhD diss., Universita Ca Foscari Venezia, 2014).

[46] Sakai, Sakihara, et al., *The Status System and Social Organization of Satsuma*.; Matsuda, *Government of the Kingdom of Ryūkyū*.

[47] Sydney Crawcour, "Notes on Shipping and Trade in Japan and the Ryukyus," *Journal of Asian Studies* 23, no. 3 (1964): 377-381.

to continue or even expand the Lūchū trade despite Tokugawa efforts to impose restrictions.[48] Robert Hellyer builds upon this work, exploring the political and economic factors behind those variations and describing significant shifts in the economic arena in Tokugawa policy towards Kagoshima and Kagoshima policy towards Lūchū over the course of the early modern period. He highlights the relative autonomy enjoyed by domains such as Kagoshima and Tsushima and notes numerous instances when those domains were able to leverage their positions to obtain new concessions from the Tokugawa regime or simply to maintain their exclusive privileges in foreign relations and trade. Agreeing with these earlier scholars, Hellyer highlights the vital importance of exclusive access to foreign trade and intelligence via Lūchū and Joseon for the power and prestige of the Shimazu and Sō houses.

Due to Lūchū's quasi-independent and multivalent status, loyal or subordinate to both Beijing and Kagoshima (and by extension Edo) in different ways, the issue of Lūchū's political status in the early modern period has been perhaps the most dominant theme in scholarship on the kingdom. Until recent decades, most scholars described Shimazu rule over Lūchū as controlling and oppressive, often suggesting that the existence of the kingdom itself was only a fiction. George Kerr, for example, wrote in 1958 that following the 1609 Shimazu invasion of Lūchū, "the kingdom survived, in name [only]," and that "it was fictitious independence."[49] Jurgis Elisonas, in his chapter on foreign relations in the Early Modern Japan volume of *The Cambridge History of Japan*, similarly wrote as recently as in 1991 that Lūchū "could scarcely be

[48] Mitsugu Sakihara, "The Significance of Ryūkyū in Satsuma Finances during the Tokugawa Period" (PhD diss., University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 1971), 236.; Sakai, Sakihara, et al.; Sakai, "The Ryūkyū Islands as a Fief of Satsuma," 129-134.
[49] Kerr, 166.

called a foreign country insofar as Japan was concerned. Ryūkyū was not an independent or even an autonomous state… This colony, which was intensively exploited by the Shimazu, was permitted to call itself a 'kingdom,' … merely as a device."[50] This understanding was hardly limited to Western scholars, but rather was based on interpretations long-standard among Japanese and Okinawan scholars; Araki Moriaki was only one of many Japanese and Okinawan historians who described Lūchū in this period as a "quasi-state," its identity as a "state" being a lie, sham, or deception.[51] Meanwhile, however, as early as 1966, Mitsugu Matsuda demonstrated through his detailed description of the structures of the Lūchūan government that the kingdom's government remained very much intact and actively engaged in both domestic governance and the administration of foreign affairs, and many scholars today emphasize the extent of Lūchūan agency within this relationship.[52] Sakihara and Smits, for example, are among those who have since argued that Lūchū was at least as semi-independent as any *daimyō* (provincial lordly) domain was under the Tokugawa – with near-total autonomy in domestic matters – and have shown numerous instances in which the Lūchū court was able to exercise agency and to leverage its unique position in the China trade in order to negotiate with Satsuma leaders for alterations in policy and practice.[53]

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[50] Jurgis Elisonas, "The inseparable trinity: Japan's relations with China and Korea," in *The Cambridge History of Japan*, vol. 4, ed. John Whitney Hall (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), 300.

[51] Tomiyama quotes Araki as using the terms 半国家 (*han kokka*, lit. "half state") and 擬似国家 (*giji kokka*, lit. "false" or "mock state"). Tomiyama, *Ryukyu ōkoku no gaikō to ōken* 琉球王国の外交と王権 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2004), 18n38, citing Araki Moriaki 安良城盛昭, *Shin Okinawa shiron* 新・沖縄史論 (Naha: Okinawa Taimusu, 1980), 178-179, 201n13.

[52] Matsuda.

[53] Sakihara Mitsugu, "Afterword," in Kerr, 564.; Smits, "Recent Trends in Scholarship on the History of Ryukyu's Relations with China and Japan," in *Theories and Methods in Japanese Studies: Current State and Future Developments*, ed. Hans Dieter Olschleger (Göttingen: Bonn University Press, 2007): 215-228.; Personal communications with Smits.; Tomiyama, *Ryūkyū ōkoku no gaikō to ōken*; For more on the autonomy of domains

Efforts to characterize Lūchū's political status in this period extend, of course, into the realm of terminology as well. Kerr and Smits, writing in English, have identified Lūchū as a "vassal state"[54] and "a quasi-independent country,"[55] among other terms. Japanese scholars, meanwhile, have frequently used terms such as 附属 (*fuzoku*) and 属す (*zokusu*), which roughly mean "belonging to"; 服従 (*fukujū*), which might be translated as "subordinate to"; and 附庸国 (*fuyōkoku*) and 従属国 (*jūzokkoku*), which general Japanese-English dictionaries translate interchangeably as "dependency," "vassal," "client state," or "subordinate country" though each of these terms surely has particular nuances of meaning.[56] Perhaps the best way to encapsulate Lūchū's ambiguous historical position is to describe it, as Kamiya Nobuyuki and others have, as a foreign (independent, sovereign) kingdom included within the *bakuhansei kokka* 幕藩制国家 – that is, within the "state" comprised by the combination of the Tokugawa and domanial (*daimyō*) governments.[57]

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within Tokugawa Japan, see Roberts, *Mercantilism*.; and Mark Ravina, *Land and Lordship in Early Modern Japan* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).

[54] Kerr, 565.; Smits, *Visions of Ryūkyū*, 13, 69, 71, 161 *passim*.

[55] Smits, *Visions of Ryūkyū*, 48.

[56] Maruyama Yasunari 丸山雍成, *Sankin kōtai* 参勤交代 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2007), 97.; Miyagi Eishō 宮城栄昌, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori* 琉球使者の江戸上り (Tokyo: Daiichi Shobō, 1982), 1.; Kamiya, *Ryūkyū to Nihon, Chūgoku* 琉球と日本・中国 (Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2003), 2.; Asō Shin'ichi 麻生伸一, "Kinsei Ryūkyū no kokuō kishōmon" 近世琉球の国王起請文, in *Ryūkyū shiryōgaku no funade* 琉球史料学の船出, eds. Kuroshima Satoru 黒島敏 and Yara Ken'ichirō 屋良健一郎 (Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan, 2017), 164-165.

[57] Smits, *Visions of Ryūkyū*, 48. A number of scholars have repeated this characterization of the kingdom as 「幕藩制国家のなかの異国」. Asato, Dana, et al (eds.), *Okinawa ken no rekishi*, 146.; Kamiya, *Rekishi no hazama*, 51. The term *bakuhansei kokka* presents a number of problems, beginning with the fact that there was no singular unified "Japanese state" in the modern sense at that time. Further, as Watanabe Hiroshi, Luke Roberts, and others have shown, *bakufu* and *han* both came to be the standard terms for the Tokugawa government and the domains (respectively) only after the end of the Edo period; they are, in a sense, anachronistic terms, and *bakuhansei kokka* all the more so, as it is merely a term of convenience for historians. Watanabe Hiroshi, Luke Roberts (trans.),

Tempting though it may be to try to resolve this ambiguity once and for all, however, we must accept that modern terms and categories can never be fully accurate or applicable in characterizing such particular historical cases. English-language terms such as "vassal," "sovereign," or even "country" all have their origins in the particulars of European historical contexts and political conceptions and thus present problems, though they are often the best we have. None of these terms seem to truly suffice to explain Lūchū's particular situation, and perhaps no single term can. The complexity cannot be collapsed; it must be recognized and accepted as the status quo of the time. Try as we might, any effort to simplify down the complexities of Lūchū's multivalent position can only result in labels which fail to characterize it accurately. Given the complexity of the somewhat disunified or decentralized structures of both Japanese and Lūchūan political geography in the early modern period,[58] and the multivalent character of the kingdom's political status, it is important to remember that modern assumptions about statehood, sovereignty, and national territorial borders can be anachronistic, misguided, and misleading when applied inappropriately to pre-modern circumstances. As Smits writes, "the complex early-modern reality of political authority and

"About Some Japanese Historical Terms," *Sino-Japanese Studies* 10, no. 2 (1998), 32-35.; Roberts, *Mercantilism*, 7.; Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2012), 1ff. However, despite all these problems, it is perhaps still the best way of concisely characterizing the kingdom's peculiar positioning, by pointing to an imagined political space (the *bakuhansei kokka*) within which Lūchū was incorporated – into that particular political imagined entity, and not necessarily into "Japan" in other senses or meanings.

[58] Early modern Japan was less a single centralized state than a complex of quasi-independent *daimyō* domains and other territories linked together through their loyalty to the Tokugawa regime. Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*.; Ravina, *Land and Lordship*.; Mary Elizabeth Berry, "Was Early Modern Japan Culturally Integrated?," *Modern Asian Studies* 31, no. 3 (1997): 547-581. The southernmost islands of the Ryūkyū chain were meanwhile linked to the royal government in Sui more by a history of conquest and by tributary or tax obligations than by a shared "Lūchūan" identity or strong kingdom-wide administrative control. Smits, "Rethinking Ryukyu."

foreign relations in East Asia cannot be translated or transposed accurately onto the modern logic of sovereign states, international law, and ethno-nationalism."[59]

I therefore eschew the effort of naming or categorizing Lūchū as "vassal state" or any other particular term, or of arguing definitively that Lūchū's independence was real or that it was merely nominal. Rather than niggling over terminology, I believe that Lūchū's position in the region can be best understood through a thorough description of the kingdom's engagement in foreign relations as actual performed and lived events, and not only as political or conceptual constructs. Though I frequently use the term "vassal" as a convenient shorthand, I also regularly describe the kingdom as "belonging to the Shimazu household in some fashion," or by similar phrases, in order to remind the reader of the complexity and ambiguity which characterized the Lūchū-Shimazu relationships. Regardless of what terms we use to identify Lūchū's position in the region, how we categorize it, what we *can* do is look at how it was actually performed, how it functioned in actuality. It is through such narrative description, rather than through the imposition of analytical categories or terminology, that we can best approach some semblance of an understanding of the historical political reality.

The only published monograph in English to address the Lūchūan missions at any length remains Ronald Toby's 1984 *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*. Gregory Smits' *Visions of Ryūkyū*, George Kerr's *Okinawa: The History of an Island Kingdom*, and Mitsugu Matsuda's *The Government of the Kingdom of Ryūkyū, 1609-1872* are among the only book-length works in English on any aspect of early modern Lūchūan history, and discussion of the missions is

[59] Smits, "Rethinking Ryukyu," 16.

rather minimal in all three.[60] Similarly, while Japanese and Okinawan historians such as Tomiyama Kazuyuki, Takara Kurayoshi, Watanabe Miki, Kamiya Nobuyuki, and others have produced numerous books and articles on various aspects of early modern Lūchūan history,[61] only two full-length academic monographs have been published even in Japanese which are chiefly or exclusively dedicated to the subject of the Lūchūan missions to Edo: Miyagi Eisho's *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori* (1982) and Yokoyama Manabu's *Ryūkyū koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū* (1987).[62]

Both of these volumes describe the Edo embassies in extensive detail, from their purpose, timing, and composition, to preparations, travel routes, and ceremonial activities, discussing financial and cultural aspects as well. Miyagi focuses primarily on an overall description of the logistical and performative aspects of the embassies, from preparations in Sui and Kagoshima to the ceremonies held at Edo castle to accidents and incidents along the journey. While covering much of the same material, Yokoyama focuses his attention on Japanese popular reaction to the missions and on Japanese attitudes, perceptions and (mis)conceptions regarding Lūchū, its people, and their history and culture. Unlike Miyagi, who speaks about the missions in general, without devoting entire chapters to individual missions,

[60] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*.; Smits.; Kerr.; Matsuda.

[61] Including Tomiyama, *Ryūkyū ōkoku no gaikō to ōken*.; Tomiyama and Takara Kurayoshi 高良倉吉, *Ryūkyū Okinawa to kaijō no michi* 琉球沖縄と海上の道 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2005).; Watanabe Miki 渡辺美季. *Kinsei Ryūkyū to Chūnichi kankei* 近世琉球と中日関係 (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2012).; Kamiya, *Bakuhansei kokka no Ryūkyū shihai* 幕藩制国家の琉球支配 (Tokyo: Azekura Shobō, 1990).

[62] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori*.; Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*.

Yokoyama focuses upon three of particular historical significance: those which took place in 1710 and 1714, and in 1832.

The 1710 and 1714 missions were the largest and mark the establishment by Confucian scholar Arai Hakuseki 新井白石 of a number of new standard forms and protocols which were followed throughout the remainder of the period (though many of Hakuseki's other changes were subsequently reversed, as early as 1718). Named chief shogunal advisor by Tokugawa Ienobu 徳川家宣 (r. 1709-1712) in 1709, Hakuseki implemented a wide-ranging scheme of revisions of Tokugawa court ceremony in an effort to reshape the Tokugawa government to better match his vision of a proper Confucian regime, with the *kubō* at its head as a Confucian "king." This coincided with Shimazu efforts to convince the Tokugawa regime of the importance of the embassies for discourses of Tokugawa prestige and legitimacy after Shimazu requests to send a new embassy to Edo were atypically rejected in 1704 and 1709, threatening the Shimazu program of power and prestige, a central element of which was the continued regular dispatch of such embassies from Lūchū.[63] Once the Tokugawa court reversed its position and authorized a new embassy to be dispatched in 1710, the Shimazu became allies in Hakuseki's efforts to

[63] A Shimazu request in 1704 to send an embassy in congratulation of Ienobu being named heir was rejected with the explanation that it was not an appropriate occasion (不及其儀, *sono gi oyobazu*). Though the Shimazu had cited the precedent of the 1644 embassy, dispatched in part to congratulate the birth of a new shogunal heir, no embassy since then had been dispatched on such an occasion. When Ienobu became shogun in 1709, however, a new request to send an embassy congratulating him was also rejected, with the Tokugawa court telling the Shimazu it was "unnecessary" (無用, *yō naku*). Shimazu Yoshitaka 島津義隆 (lord of Kagoshima, r. 1704-1721) then replied to *rōjū* Manabe Akifusa 間部詮房 (1666-1720) arguing that discontinuing the Lūchūan embassies would mean a diminishing of Shimazu prestige and a loss of face, whereas continuing them would contribute to discourses of Tokugawa authority or majesty (威光, *ikō*). An embassy was then ultimately allowed to be sent in 1710. Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 21.

emphasize the foreignness and prestige of the Lūchūan and Korean embassies as vital ceremonial events contributing to Tokugawa (and Shimazu) prestige and discourses of legitimacy. This coincided, too, with internal developments within the Lūchūan court towards stronger Sinicization of certain aspects of court ritual.

As I describe in Chapter Two, Lūchūan embassies from 1710 onward employed costumes, banners, and other accoutrements that were brighter, bolder, more colorful and more luxurious in their appearance than those used previously; this was done to emphasize the wealth and prestige of Lūchū (and therefore of the Shimazu and Tokugawa) and in accord with an elevation or refinement by Hakuseki of costume and other visual & material elements of Tokugawa court ceremony.[64] In 1712, after nearly a century of referring to the Lūchūan ruler as *kokushi* 国司, a term which might be translated as "governor," Kagoshima also returned to the use of the terms *kokuō* 国王 ("king") and *Chūzanō* 中山王 ("King of Chūzan"), realigning their practice in this respect with the Ming, Qing, and Tokugawa courts, which used the latter terms consistently throughout the period.[65] While the title of *kokushi* implied that the ruler was appointed by the Shimazu to govern Lūchū and that his authority derived from that appointment, the title of "king" implied a recognition of a more independent sovereignty and

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[64] Tinello, "The Ryukyuan Embassies to Edo," 181.

[65] Kagoshima began referring to the Lūchūan ruler as "*Ryūkyū kokushi*" in 1636. Only Kagoshima had ever used the term *kokushi* to refer to the ruler of Lūchū; the term was never used in the Lūchūan context by the Tokugawa regime. Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori*, 150.; Elisonas, 300. *Kokushi* had historically been a title held by provincial administrative officials appointed by the Imperial court. By the 16th century, the term had come to refer more exclusively to a provincial governor, but by the Tokugawa period, the title was obsolete and purely honorary in mainland Japan. John Whitney Hall, "Terms and Concepts in Japanese Medieval History: An Inquiry into the Problems of Translation," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 9, no. 1 (1983), 27.

legitimacy separate from Japanese sources of authority.[66] The various positions within the embassies came to be called by Chinese-style or Chinese-language terms from 1714 onward as well, with titles such as *zhǎnghànshǐ* ("secretary"), *yíwèishēng* (for the head of the street musicians), and *yuètóngzǐ* (for the young musicians and dancers) serving to both emphasize Lūchū's foreignness and its prestige (through the use of more formal-sounding bureaucratic titles). By contrast, earlier records used more generic Japanese terms, such as *yūhitsu* 祐筆 ("secretary" or "scribe") for the position later known as *zhǎnghànshǐ* 掌翰使 (J: *shokanshi*), and *tsukeyaku* 附役 ("attached official") or *tsukeshū* 付衆 ("attached people") for others.[67]

Hakuseki also changed a number of procedural aspects of the embassies' formal audiences with the *kubō* as we will see in Chapter Three, including the precise locations within the audience hall of particular individuals and actions during these ceremonies. The most notable of these changes was to each embassy's final audience at Edo castle, in which the envoys were "bestowed" various gifts from the *kubō* and were granted leave to return to Lūchū. Hakuseki had the *kubō* preside over this ceremony himself, in the Grand Audience Hall, enacting his role as a Confucian ruler benevolently bestowing such things upon envoys of a loyal tributary kingdom; previously, the shogun was absent for this final audience, which the *rōjū* presided over in his stead.

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[66] Smits, *Visions of Ryūkyū*, 29.; Kamiya, *Rekishi no hazama*, 43-44.; Matsuda, 42.
[67] Yokoyama, "Ryūkyū koku shisetsu tōjō gyōretsu emaki wo yomu," 177.

Following Hakuseki's fall from power in 1716, these changes to the audience ceremonies were largely reverted. From 1718 onward, the *rōjū* once again presided over departure audiences in the *ni-no-ma* (second antechamber) adjacent to the main sections of the Grand Audience Hall, granting leave and gifts to Lūchūan envoys on behalf of absent shoguns. This leaves the 1710 and 1714 embassies in certain respects as mere aberrations (albeit events of some note) amidst a tradition in which the types and amounts of gifts presented and of those received in return; the use of Ming-style costume; and numerous other aspects of Lūchū-Tokugawa ritual diplomacy remained largely consistent across the entirety of the early modern period, from 1644 to 1850. While a number of other aspects of the embassies' ritual practice, including the use of Chinese-style titles and more luxurious costumes and accoutrements, date back only to 1710 or 1714 and not to the initial embassies of the 1640s, these elements nevertheless became quickly standard and remained consistent for the remainder of the period, through 1850.

Yokoyama also dedicates considerable attention to the 1832 embassy; that year saw the publication of roughly one-quarter of all the books on "Ryūkyū" printed in the Edo period, making it a particularly useful historical moment for research on awareness, attitudes, and (mis)conceptions.[68] As he shows, much of the published material available in early modern Japan on "Ryūkyū" was based on information from a small number of sources (including imported & republished Chinese books), copied and repeated time and again in a somewhat closed discourse. Though these works represented a somewhat fixed body of knowledge, and

[68] Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 147.

present Ryūkyū as having deeper historical and cultural ties to Japan than most would argue today,[69] they include a fairly extensive range of largely accurate details regarding Lūchūan history, culture, and geography. Combined with the in-person experience of the Lūchūan embassies' processions (for those few who had the privilege of witnessing those rare events), these publications contributed vitally to a widespread sense of Lūchū as a culturally distinct, foreign, and prestigious kingdom that was at the same time loyal to or in some sense subordinate to the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses. This awareness of the foreign, in turn, contributed importantly to the development in the Edo period of a shared sense of "Japanese" identity across the archipelago, as consideration of Lūchūan difference naturally came hand-in-hand with consideration, by contrast, of shared culture and identity across Japan.

Toby touches upon these same ideas in a number of his works, including his *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan*, the only book in English to address the Lūchūan embassies at

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[69] Some of the key ideas standard in Edo period works on Ryūkyū were that the kings of Ryūkyū were descended from the 12th century samurai warrior Minamoto no Tametomo 源為朝 (1139-1170); that Ryūkyū "belonged to" Satsuma or to "our country" (我国, *wagakuni*), i.e. Japan, in some fashion "since ancient times" (往古, *ōko*, or 昔から, *mukashi kara*) or at least since 1441; and that the people, culture, and language of Ryūkyū were quite close to "our own," i.e. to that of Japan. The former two ideas are largely dismissed by scholars today. The latter, however, remains a complex issue, the evolution of which calls for further research. One of the so-called "fathers of Okinawan Studies," Ifa Fuyū 伊波普猷 (1876-1947), advanced theories of ethnic (racial) and cultural similarity between Okinawans and Japanese as part of efforts to argue against discriminatory Imperial Japanese policies. During the US-led occupation of Ryūkyū following World War II, occupation authorities actively promoted ideas of Ryūkyūan distinctiveness in the hopes of combatting calls for Okinawa to be returned to Japanese governance. As indigenous and other minority peoples around the world began to forge "cultural renaissances," to call for indigenous rights, and to otherwise (re)assert and celebrate their distinctive cultures and histories beginning in/around the 1970s, Okinawans came to do the same. Though the dominant discourse today is one of Okinawan cultural and historical distinctiveness, Smits traces the complex history of Ryūkyūan and Japanese demographic, cultural, and political intermingling and overlapping prior to the 16th century, and argues that the particular circumstances of the 17th to 19th centuries (Lūchū being treated as a foreign country by Japan; the court reacting to Japanese authority by intentionally embracing further Sinification; and Shimazu/Tokugawa policy severely limiting overseas interactions outside of official embassies to China and Japan) made "Ryūkyū" more culturally and politically distinct than it ever had been historically. Smits, *Maritime Ryukyu*.

any length. One of the first books in English to counter the idea that Japan was “closed” during the Edo period, it pioneered a vital new historiographical trend. Contrary to this notion of a Japan “closed” to interactions with the outside world, Toby argues that relations with Joseon and Lūchū played a vital role in asserting and maintaining discourses of Tokugawa power and legitimacy. Many Western scholars of Tokugawa Japan have since explored Tokugawa Japan’s rather active engagement with the outside world. Toby’s centering of Korea and Lūchū within the field of Japanese foreign relations was also novel and important, as the previously standard view focused on Japan’s “closure” to all Western powers (with the notable exception of the Dutch East India Company), largely ignoring interactions within East Asia. It was in this volume that Toby introduced to English-language readers the idea that the Tokugawa court received embassies from the Lūchūan and Joseon Korean royal courts in a manner which framed them as “tribute” missions, appropriating the long-standing ritual patterns and well-established Confucian rhetoric of Chinese foreign relations, in order to bolster discourses of Tokugawa power and legitimacy.[70] As he wrote in a separate article,

> the appearance of Korean, Ryukyuan, and Dutch envoys at the shogunal court, presented the illusion of a Japan-centred, even a shogun-centred, international tribute system, a small-scale Japanese version of the ‘central-kingdom-world-order’, mimicking the ‘Chinese world order’ of the Qing tribute system.[71]

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[70] Arano Yasunori, Nagazumi Yoko, and others have argued similarly, that there was an effort to create a Japan-centric or shogun-centered regional order. Arano, “The Formation of a Japanocentric World Order.”; Arano Yasunori 荒野泰典, *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia* 近世日本と東アジア, (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1988), 3-65. Nagazumi, Toby, and Shiba Yoshinobu discuss the applicability of such terms or concepts in Ronald Toby, Hayami Akira 速水融, et al., “Edo no kurashi ha kokusai kankei no naka ni” 江戸の暮らしは国際関係の中に, *Kokusai kōryū* 国際交流 59 (1992), 10-11.

[71] Toby, "Contesting the Centre: International Sources of Japanese National Identity," *The International History Review* 7, no. 3 (1985): 360.

Toby's analysis of processions, audience ceremonies, and other aspects of the Korean and Lūchūan embassies to Edo provides an indispensable foundation for future research. The volume introduces many of the key elements of the historical background to Tokugawa relations with Joseon and Lūchū, including discussion of ultimately unsuccessful Tokugawa efforts at securing the restoration of relations with the Ming court; negotiations surrounding the restoration of relations with Joseon after Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea in the 1590s; the value of relations with Joseon and Lūchū for intelligence, i.e. information, about goings-on in the outside world; the importance of adopting some elements of the ritual and rhetoric of the so-called "Chinese world order" in order to make Tokugawa diplomatic ritual and relations "acceptable to … foreign states";[72] and the role of Confucian scholars & shogunal advisors such as Hayashi Razan 林羅山 (1583-1657) and Arai Hakuseki in articulating such rhetorics and shaping the rituals (especially in terms of the language used in formal communications). Through comparisons of various aspects of the Korean and Lūchūan embassies to Edo, including costume, language, and seating in audience ceremonies, he also explicates the hierarchical difference between the two kingdoms within the Tokugawa order, and the importance of looking at ceremony as indicative of such differences. While discussing at some length the political or ideological aspects of a Tokugawa rejection of the Sinocentric order and appropriation of it for a shogun-centered order, however, Toby never explicitly engages with the question of whether this ostensibly new Tokugawa order was constructed and maintained through samurai ritual customs or through adoption of Ming/Qing practices.

[72] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 173.

Toby's work focuses primarily on Japan-Korea relations, however, leaving readers (and the field as a whole) disproportionately less knowledgeable about the Lūchūan case than the Korean one. Furthermore, where Japanese and Okinawan scholars such as Miyagi and Yokoyama provide extensive information about the embassies' travel routes, embassy expenses, personnel numbers, gifts given and received, and so forth, both in prose description and in charts, lists, and diagrams, like most Anglophone scholars Toby provides the reader with only enough information to support an interpretive argument, leaving readers (and the non-Japanese-reading field as a whole) in the dark as to the fuller logistical, ceremonial, and performative details of the Lūchūan embassies and thus as to a fuller understanding of this historical series of events more generally.

A 2014 PhD dissertation by Marco Tinello represents a key first step towards rectifying this, as the only book-length work in English prior to the current study to take the Lūchūan embassies as its primary subject of discussion. Tinello's focus, however, is not on the embassies to Edo dispatched from 1644 to 1850, but rather on the complex political circumstances of the 1850s-1860s, when embassies were repeatedly delayed and ultimately never dispatched.[73] Tinello presents a political intellectual history, focusing on how the Lūchūan court and the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses viewed, understood, shaped, and *used* the missions each to their own ends, and how and why this changed over time, all as background to an argument about the relevance of these missions for understanding Tokugawa interactions with Western

[73] Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies."

powers in the Bakumatsu period.[74] In his introductory overview of the earlier missions, Tinello incorporates numerous ideas advanced by Kamiya, Tomiyama, and others, updating for the first time since Toby's 1984 volume the general understanding (in Anglophone scholarship) of the framing, significance, and political/discursive functions of the Lūchūan embassies to Edo. Building upon the work of Luke Roberts and others who argue for the necessity of considering intersecting and competing Tokugawa and domainal interests,[75] Tinello notes that Sui, Kagoshima, and Edo each used the embassies to their own sometimes overlapping and sometimes competing ends. He also touches upon the importance of ritual and performance in constructing political meaning and in effecting the enactment of the kingdom's relationships with the Shimazu and Tokugawa. However, like many scholars of political history, Tinello bases his discussion almost exclusively on communications, negotiations, debates, and plans surrounding the embassies, and devotes very little attention to the events as actually performed.

Both Toby and Tinello also devote considerable attention to the particular words and phrases used in diplomatic communications and other documentary discussions from the time. As they note, throughout much of the period, formal communications from Korea and Lūchū were obliged to refer to the *kubō* as *taikun* 大君; this term, often translated as "Great Prince," was suggested and supported by the successive heads of the Hayashi 林 family, ritual advisors

[74] That is, the "end of the shogunate" period, from roughly 1853 to 1868, as foreign encroachment and various internal (domestic) issues combined to create crises which ultimately led to the fall of the Tokugawa regime in the Meiji Restoration of 1868.
[75] Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*.

to the *kubō*, as part of an explicit effort to extricate Japan from the implications of the title *Nihon kokuō* 日本国王 ("King of Japan"), which suggested acceptance of the notion of the civilizational superiority and centrality of the Ming/Qing emperors.[76] Ritual advisor Arai Hakuseki implemented a short-lived return to the use of the term *Nihon kokuō* in the 1710s, however, alongside numerous sweeping changes to Tokugawa court ceremony otherwise. He argued that *taikun* (C: *dà jūn*, K: *daegun*) had different connotations in China and Korea, and therefore did not serve the desired discursive purpose; referring to the *kubō* as "King of Japan," by contrast, was one of a great many changes which Hakuseki saw as necessary to bring the Tokugawa court more into line with correct Confucian practice, identifying the *kubō* directly as the (Confucian) ruler of the realm, and thereby strengthening conceptions of his prestige, legitimacy, and authority. Though Hayashi Nobuatsu 林信篤 (aka Hōkō 鳳岡, 1644-1732) had communications with Joseon return to using the term "Taikun" following Hakuseki's fall from

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[76] Imperial Prince Kaneyoshi 懐良親王 (d. 1383) had previously submitted to Chinese suzerainty and taken the title "King of Japan" in the 1370s-1380s in order to benefit from the ability to engage in formal trade relations with China, as had Shogun Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358-1408) in the early years of the 1400s. Various Japanese elites engaged in the tribute trade with China until the 1550s, at which time the Ming court severed formal relations with Japan; this decision was due in large part to the Japanese refusal, or inability, to curb pirate activity in the East China Sea, and incidents of violence in Chinese ports between samurai factions each claiming to be the sole official representative of Japan. Toyotomi Hideyoshi received investiture as "king of Japan," but swiftly swore it off, rejecting the notion of his submission to the superiority or centrality of China. Tokugawa Ieyasu, founder of the Tokugawa regime in 1603, similarly refused to express submission to the emperor of China, and so formal relations between China and Japan were not re-established until 1871. See: Mizuno Norihito, "China in Tokugawa Foreign Relations: The Tokugawa Bakufu's Perception of and Attitudes toward Ming-Qing China," *Sino-Japanese Studies* 15 (2003), 108.; Tanaka Takeo, "Japan's Relations with Overseas Countries," in *Japan in the Muromachi Age*, ed. John Whitney Hall and Toyoda Takeshi (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University East Asia Program, 2001), 159-178.; Smits, *Maritime Ryukyu*, 62-63.

power in 1716, communications with Lūchū continued to employ the title "King of Japan" for the Tokugawa *kubō* consistently from 1710 onward.[77]

Toby, along with other scholars of Tokugawa foreign relations such as Robert Hellyer and Mitani Hiroshi, have also noted that the term *sakoku* 鎖国 ("closed country") first appeared only in 1801, in a Japanese translation of a Dutch text, and that conceptions of this so-called "closed country" policy as an "ancestral law" (祖法, *sohō*), as well as the formal categories of countries with which Japan maintained formal "diplomatic" relations (通信国, *tsūshin no kuni*) versus those with which it had only "commercial" relations (通商国, *tsūshō no kuni*), only first appear in the documentary record in the 1790s-1800s, thus signalling that it was only quite late into the Edo period that Tokugawa authorities truly thought of their foreign relations policy in such a manner.[78] Hellyer and others further identify 1764 and the 1790s-1800s as key watershed moments marking notable shifts in either Tokugawa import/export policies or in how foreign relations was discussed (and therefore, arguably, in how it was viewed).[79]

Whatever changes may have taken place in terminology and in economic policy at certain times, however, embassies continued to travel to Edo in much the same fashion across the entire period, engaging consistently in a predetermined series of rituals which served to

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[77] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 83-88.; Kamiya, *Rekishi no hazama o yomu*, 43.; Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies," 79.; Kamiya, *Taikun gaikō to higashi Ajia* 大君外交と東アジア (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1997), 141-143.

[78] Mitani Hiroshi, *Escape from Impasse*, trans. David Noble (Tokyo: International House of Japan, 2006) , 1, 19-20, 52-53.; Robert Hellyer, *Defining Engagement: Japan and Global Contexts, 1640-1868* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2009), 110-111.;

[79] Hellyer, 73-114, 115-140.; Mitani, 1, 6-18.

ritually enact time and again a relationship of stable and consistent character. Lūchūan envoys and their Japanese interlocutors did not significantly alter the manner in which they ritually reaffirming the king's position as vassal and tributary relative to the heads of the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses as lords and centers in conjunction with the shifts in trade and economic policy in 1764 cited by Hellyer,[80] nor in conjunction with the documentary events introducing the terms *sohō*, *sakoku*, *tsūshin no kuni*, and *tsūshō no kuni* in the 1790s-1800s and 1840s.[81] Neither did they stop performing acts which ritually reaffirmed that relationship, or begin performing different acts which would suggest a different sort of relationship. Notable as these various shifts in terminology and in trade & economic policy were, acknowledging the great continuities in Tokugawa-Lūchū diplomatic ritual forms and practices across this period shines a light on, and suggests a particular understanding of, the nature, character, and stability of Tokugawa foreign relations. It also suggests the need for a reassessment of our approaches to diplomatic history, with renewed attention paid to the importance of ritual customs in defining the character and stability of a regime and its relations with its neighbors.

Debates on the "Tribute System"

Ritual relations between the Lūchūan royal court and the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses took place not only within a context of traditions of samurai relationships, but also

[80] The fact that no Korean embassies traveled to Edo after 1764, leaving Lūchūan ones as the only formal foreign diplomatic embassies to do so is certainly of significance, however. Hellyer, 73.

[81] An 1845 letter from the Tokugawa government to Willem II, king of the Netherlands, is oft-cited as one of the key documents articulating the distinction drawn by the Tokugawa regime between *tsūshin no kuni* and *tsūshō no kuni* and attributing these policies to "ancestral law." Matsukata Fuyuko and Adam Clulow, "King Willem II's 1844 Letter to the Shogun "Recommendation to Open the Country"," *Monumenta Nipponica* 66, no. 1 (2011): 99-122.

against a backdrop of a complex of long-established rhetoric and standard practices for interactions between polities across the region and the Ming and Qing courts. As Arano, Toby, and others have argued, the Tokugawa court framed or shaped the Lūchūan and Korean embassies to Edo to serve rhetorically as "tributary" missions in numerous ways, evoking and adapting this Chinese/Confucian rhetoric to bolster the centrality and legitimacy of the Tokugawa.[82] Though examination of the diplomatic ritual practiced by the Tokugawa court reveals far greater similarities with samurai custom than with an emulation of the ritual practices of this so-called "tribute/investiture system" or "Chinese world order," that does not mean that such "Sinocentric" rhetoric and "tributary" ritual practices are irrelevant or insignificant for our understandings of Tokugawa foreign relations.

A 1968 volume edited by John King Fairbank and entitled *The Chinese World Order* was particularly seminal in describing this complex of diplomatic ritual relations, and the underlying political philosophy.[83] Essays in that volume and many others since describe a "Chinese world order," "tribute / investiture system," or "Sinocentric worldview" in which polities were linked through ceremonial exchanges of tribute and investiture, a ritual performance of acquiescence to the rhetoric of Chinese civilizational centrality, and a regional hierarchy in which rulers (or their representatives) kowtowed to the Emperor of China in return for recognition of their sovereignty, and for being permitted to engage in official, legal, trade with China.

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[82] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*.; Toby, "Reopening the Question of Sakoku."; Arano, "The Formation of a Japanocentric World Order."

[83] John King Fairbank, ed., *The Chinese World Order* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968).

This notion has come under attack in recent decades, with many scholars pointing out nuances, complexities, and exceptions which reveal the reality to have been far more complex than what had long been the standard scholarly understanding. Scholars such as Adam Bohnet, Yingkit Chan, and Marco Tinello have articulated the ways in which the Joseon and Lūchūan courts used these rhetorical constructions and ritual embassies to their own ends, in order to bolster impressions of their legitimacy and sovereignty at home.[84] The Tokugawa regime did similarly, appropriating the (neo-)Confucian rhetoric of the Sinocentric order in order to construct discourses of a Tokugawa-centered one. This certainly lends weight to the arguments of Hamashita Takeshi and others that we see the "institutions and norms" of this so-called "system" as shared across the region, and that we divorce ourselves from "mak[ing] the system about China."[85] Other critics of the so-called "tribute system" or "Chinese world order" highlight Ming/Qing interactions with peoples and polities to the northwest and southwest of China, which involved rather different practices and politics. These practices and politics were so varied, they argue, that they represent a serious challenge to the notion that the so-called "Chinese world order" as described by Fairbank et al. was as central to the notion of "Chinese foreign relations" as has long been believed.[86]

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[84] Adam Bohnet,"Ruling Ideology and Marginal Subjects: Ming Loyalism and Foreign Lineages in Late Chosŏn Korea," *Journal of Early Modern History* 15, no. 6 (2011): 477-505.; Chan, "A Bridge Between Myriad Lands."; Tinello, "The termination of the Ryūkyūan embassies."

[85] David Kang, "Response: Theory and Empirics in the Study of Historical East Asian International Relations," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 77, no. 1 (2017), 113, 117. See also Hamashita Takeshi, "The Tribute Trade System and Modern Asia," in *Japanese Industrialization and the Asian Economy*, ed. Kawakatsu Heita and John Latham (London: Routledge, 1994), 92. Chan, "A Bridge Between Myriad Lands," 60-62.

[86] John Wills Jr., "Tribute, Defensiveness, and Dependency," *American Neptune* 48 (1988): 225-229.; Zhang Feng, "Rethinking the 'Tribute System': Broadening the Conceptual Horizon of Historical East Asian Politics," *The Chinese Journal of International Politics* 2, no. 4 (2009): 545-574.; James P. Millward, *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759–1864* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998).; Evelyn S. Rawski, *The Last Emperors: A Social History of Qing Imperial Institutions* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998).

Yet, despite this extensive and still very much ongoing critical conversation, the idea of the "tribute system" or "Sinocentric worldview," in some form, is still of obvious relevance for Tokugawa diplomatic discourses and for the practices and rhetoric of Lūchūan and Korean relations with the Ming & Qing courts. Whether we choose to call this a "system" of beliefs and practices or not, it seems obvious that there did exist a set of standard performed practices to which the Ming/Qing courts and most of their diplomatic interlocutors adhered, based on a constellation of precedents, determined by or otherwise closely intertwined with a set of beliefs as to hierarchical status and identity, correct or proper civilized behavior, and harmonious cosmic order. Both the rhetoric of China or its emperor as the source and center of civilization, and discussion of actual engagement in the practices of dispatching tributary missions and receiving investiture, appear throughout the relevant primary sources, not only in official records of the Ming, Qing, Joseon, Lūchūan, Tokugawa, and Vietnamese courts, but in unofficial documents such as the diaries and political treatises of scholars and officials as well.

And that it was this set of practices and beliefs which the Tokugawa court and many others in the region drew upon, in part, in crafting their own diplomatic rhetoric and ritual. The intermixing of Chinese/Confucian diplomatic ritual customs with those of samurai and Lūchūan court tradition in the case of the Lūchūan embassies to Edo stands as just one example of the complexity and diversity of diplomatic practices of the time. If we consider the totality of early modern East Asian foreign relations, including not only the Ming and Qing courts' tributary/investiture relations with Lūchū, Joseon, and others but also Lūchūan and Joseon relations with the Sō, Shimazu, and Tokugawa samurai houses, along with various other interactions across the region, then that history becomes rather diverse and complex. Yet,

while the complex of practices and beliefs connected to tribute and investiture cannot alone describe the fullness of this category of vibrant, varied, interactions, still we cannot deny that this shared set of practices and rhetoric based in Chinese origins was prominent and central in how most polities traditionally interacted, or that the Tokugawa in particular appropriated – or at the very least engaged with, and negotiated with or against – those ritual practices and their associated rhetoric about civilization, centrality, and sovereign legitimacy.

The Importance of Ritual Propriety

A number of scholars have pointed to the Lūchūan embassies and other aspects of early modern Japanese diplomacy as sites of political tension, focusing on each party's political interests, and on the resulting tensions, negotiations, compromises, and conflicts.[87] Hellyer, for example, writes that the Lūchūan, Shimazu, and Tokugawa courts "implemented agendas in trade and diplomacy largely through accommodation of each others' positions and needs," and that "the Shō … used a mix of refusal, compromise, flattery, and compliance to protect their agendas and goals."[88] Through their work, we have come to a firm understanding of the character of Lūchū's quasi-independent, multivalent, and situational political position within the Shimazu house and yet also outside of "Japan."

However, politics was only one aspect of the Lūchūan embassies to Edo. These embassies were not merely means to political ends; they were ritual and cultural phenomena

[87] Hellyer.; Kuroshima.; Smits, *Visions of Ryūkyū*.; Smits, *Maritime Ryukyu*.; Tinello, "The Termination of the Ryukyuan Embassies."; Kamiya, *Ryūkyū to Nihon, Chūgoku*.; Kamiya, *Rekishi no hazama o yomu*.
[88] Hellyer, 38.

unto themselves, which can be understood as vital elements within a broader vision of early modern Japanese and Lūchūan cultural history, and of histories of ritual. Not only in East Asia but throughout the world, ritual has long been not simply a means or expedient for political ends, but rather an integral part of how socio-political, diplomatic, and cosmic orders were maintained – not just through abstract structures and concepts, but through action within ritualized visual, sonic, and spatial environments. For court officials in much of the early modern world, "every action … was ritualized. … Ritual was by and large how the state routinely went about its business."[89] To attend to ritual is to expand knowledge and understanding of a key part of the political culture, and cultural landscape otherwise, of a given time and place.

To understand that political culture, we must first look to how political ritual was understood at the time. The predominant vision in considerations of diplomacy in the modern world is of leaders or their staffs designing or organizing diplomatic events – ceremonies, formal negotiations – to "serve the ends of policy."[90] As Raymond Cohen writes, "when a political choreographer sets about designing a piece of political theatre … having decided upon his purpose and underlying message the details of the performance have to be painstakingly stitched together."[91] In his exploration of diplomatic signaling in the mid-20th century, Cohen highlights, for example, instances of governments choosing the style and arrangement of tables in order to create a sense of equality or hierarchy in diplomatic negotiations, or considering the

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[89] James Laidlaw, "On Theatre and Theory: Reflections on Ritual in Imperial Chinese Politics," in *State and Court Ritual in China*, ed. Joseph McDermott (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 405.
[90] Raymond Cohen, *Theatre of Power: The Art of Diplomatic Signalling* (New York: Addison-Wesley Longman, 1987), 214.
[91] Cohen, 214.

direct political ramifications of their leaders being seen on television or in the news dressed in one fashion or another.[92]

In premodern and early modern Confucian societies such as Tokugawa Japan and the Kingdom of Lūchū, what was and was not "proper" was determined by precedent, and by a Confucian concept known in Chinese as *lǐ* 礼 (J: *rei*), which I translate as "ritual propriety." This is certainly not to say that precedent plays no role in diplomatic or political "theatre" today. But in early modern East Asian courts, *lǐ* governed everything from political systems, court ceremonies, annual events, and the rituals of individuals' life cycles (births, coming-of-age, marriage, funeral/mourning, etc.), to the ways in which individuals sat, stood, ate, and offered greetings to one another on an everyday basis. Confucianists believed that for every possible situation, there was a correct form of behavior, and that in aggregate, these correct behaviors formed an ideal that one should strive to live up to. They placed a premium on correct action, drawing a direct equivalence between performing actions and embodying a role. This extended to diplomats, who were less concerned with diplomatic signaling – deploying particular visual or material elements or actions for explicit political aims – than with performing properly the ritual actions expected of them, as dictated by propriety and precedent. To perform one's role properly and correctly to the utmost was the key factor in fulfilling one's moral obligations to the societal and cosmic order, and so all members of society were expected to do just that. As indicated in the 1734 Qing volume *Jiālǐ huìtōng* 家禮會通 ("Compendium of Family Rituals"), "through ritual, [the positions of] honorable and lowly are fixed, intimate and distant are

[92] Cohen.

separated, Heaven is served above, Earth is served below, ancestors are respected, and sovereigns and teachers are glorified … In the end, ritual is what distinguishes men from beasts."[93]

This does not mean that there were not disagreements between Confucian scholars as to what constituted correct behavior or that politicking did not take place, with individuals employing precedent or classical texts to support their individual political agendas. However, it does mean that there is call for a reassessment of approaches to diplomatic history, call to move beyond a limited and limiting focus on politicking and political ends, to consider events such as the Lūchūan embassies as cultural phenomena shaped by and existing within a broader cultural landscape of ritual attitudes and traditions. And it means examining these embassies within a historical, cultural, context in which ritual was seen not solely as a means to an end, but as an end unto itself.

It was a ruler's duty to be a paragon of virtuous and civilized behavior, serving as a model that influenced or guided the people in their behavior. Correct behavior on the part of rulers, their representatives, other officials, and commoners, even in matters which many today might dismiss as "purely ceremonial" such as costume and music, was therefore taken as directly indicative of a good ruler who ruled correctly and properly, and who would bring peace and prosperity to his realm and to lands beyond.[94] Demonstrating the propriety of the Lūchūan

[93] Quoted in Richard Smith, "Ritual in Ch'ing Culture," in *Orthodoxy in Late Imperial China*, ed. Kwang-Ching Liu (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990), 281.

[94] Smith, "Ritual in Ch'ing Culture," 284.; Watanabe Hiroshi 渡辺浩, "Rei, gobui, miyabi: Tokugawa Seiken no girei to jugaku"「礼」「御武威」「雅び」—徳川政権の儀礼と儒学, in *Kuge to buke: sono hikaku bunmeishi-teki*

court was thus a crucial element of the embassies to Edo, as it was in formal Korean and Japanese ritual (diplomatic) interactions with one another; documents from the time speak extensively of the importance of observing ritual propriety, and of maintaining the good reputation of the court.[95] Lūchūan envoys attempted to do so through close, careful, correct adherence to Japanese customs and ceremonial protocols, and demonstration of their own culturally refined Confucian court culture.

Though all too often dismissed in our contemporary discourse as "mere formalities" or "mere ceremony,"[96] the intellectual and emotional aspects of ritual have real impacts upon people's understandings and feelings of structure, order, hierarchy, and belonging. Modeling a political order does not simply display or represent that order, it enacts or constitutes it, making it real. As Barbara Myerhoff writes, in ritual "one performs a statement of belief

kenkyū 公家と武家：その比較文明史的研究, ed. Kasaya Kazuhiko 笠谷和比古 (Kyoto: Kokusai Nihon Bunka Kenkyū Sentaa, 2004), 174.

[95] "Edo dachi no toki oosewatashi narabi ni ōtō no jōjō no utsushi" 江戸立之時仰渡并応答之条々之写, communication dated 1849/4/19, transcribed in Kamakura Yoshitarō 鎌倉芳太郎, *Kamakura Yoshitarō shiryōshū (nōto hen)* 鎌倉芳太郎資料集（ノート篇）, vol. 3, ed. Okinawa Kenritsu Geijutsu Daigaku Fuzoku Kenkyūjo (Naha: Okinawa Kenritsu Geijutsu Daigaku Fuzoku Kenkyūjo, 2015), 72-73.; Tinello, "The Ryukyuan Embassies to Edo," 186-187.; Toyokawa *ueekata* Seiei 豊川親方正英, *Chūzan yōan* 中山要案, 1761, Yaeyama Hakubutsukan, cited in Asō Shin'ichi 麻生伸一, "Jūhasseiki chūki ni okeru Ryūkyū no kanji kanbun oyobi shosatsurei no gakushū ni tsuite" 一八世紀中期における琉球の漢字・漢文および書札礼の学習について, *Okinawa geijutsu no kagaku* 沖縄芸 術の科学 27 (2015): 1-21.; *Kafu* of Chuán Chóngdào 傳崇道, in Naha-shi kikakubu shishi henshūshitsu 那覇市企画部市史編集室, *Naha shishi shiryō hen kafu shiryō (3) Shuri kei* 那覇市史資料篇 家譜資料（三）首里系, vol. 1, no. 7 (Naha: Naha-shi kikakubu shishi henshūshitsu, 1982), 552-553.

[96] William Roosen, "Early modern diplomatic ceremonial: a systems approach," *The Journal of Modern History* 52, no. 3 (1980), 452-453.; Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger, "Much Ado About Nothing? Rituals of Politics in Early Modern Europe and Today," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 48 (2011), 18.; David Luebke, "Too Little Ado About Plenty," *Bulletin of the German Historical Institute* 48 (2011), 27-28.

through a gesture. That is all that is socially required and all that is of interest to the society. Personal feelings are irrelevant; genuflection is all."[97] David Kertzer explains similarly:

> Beliefs are privately held and in some sense unknowable, while rituals provide public statements of acceptance of a group's position. … it is the 'visible, explicit, public act of acceptance, and not the invisible, ambiguous, private sentiment that is socially and morally binding.' Socially and politically speaking, we are what we do, not what we think.[98]

This notion of political and social realities being realized, made real, more through ritual action than simply through belief, is central to my understanding of the Lūchūan embassies and of much else in early modern East Asian governance. Through the very acts of traveling to Edo, processing through the streets, bowing and presenting letters and gifts to the *kubō*, receiving audience and bestowals in return, and so forth – and being seen doing so – the envoys can be seen as having enacted and embodied identities as representatives of a ruler, court, or household reaffirming its subordinate position and loyalty to another.

A 1761 volume known in Japanese as *Chūzan yōan* 中山要案 by Lūchūan scholar-official Tuigaa *ueekata* Seiei 豊川親方正英 details the style in which formal communications with Kagoshima and Edo should be written, including not only terminology but also the calligraphic style, layout, and which portions of the document should be in lighter or darker ink, in accordance with standard practices of those samurai houses. The volume places a strong emphasis on the importance of propriety, indicating that because the Sage Kings [i.e. the

[97] Barbara Myerhoff, "The transformation of consciousness in ritual performances: some thoughts and questions," in *By Means of Performance: Intercultural studies of theatre and ritual*, ed. Richard Schechner and Willa Appel (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 247.
[98] David Kertzer, *Ritual, Politics, and Power* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1988), 68, citing Roy Rappaport, *Ecology, Meaning, and Religion* (1979), 194-195.

Ming/Qing emperors] taught the Way of Ethics in accordance with the Mandate of Heaven, culture and education [in Lūchū] flourished, the etiquette or propriety of the people became proper or correct, and both Japan and China praised [Lūchū] as a "Land of Propriety."[99] Raising adherence to propriety among both high and low, Tuigaa suggests, and ensuring that the kingly virtue of the King of Lūchū shone such that it was visible to both the Japanese and Qing courts, was an important responsibility of the kingdom's officials.[100] Officials in the various courts of early modern East Asia placed great importance on these cultural and ritual interactions, and I choose to do the same. By looking at how this relationship was actually enacted in ritual, we can see in concrete terms – in the actual details of what was actually performed – the multifarious character of the relationships and how ritual functioned to realize those relationships, constituting Lūchū's position as both tributary and vassal, foreign and yet included within the Tokugawa political order, independent & sovereign and yet subordinate.

Chapter Structure

I organize my discussion of the Lūchūan missions to Edo into three chapters, focusing on (1) travel logistics and receptions, (2) street processions and riverboat processions, and (3)

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[99] 守禮之邦. O: *shurii nu kuni*, J: *shurei no kuni*, C: *shǒulǐ zhī bang*. This phrase is inscribed on a plaque hanging over one of the main gates to Sui castle. This gate, known as Shureimon 守礼門 ("Gate of Propriety") in Japanese and as Wii-nu-aijō 上之綾門 ("Upper Grand Gate") in Okinawan, is one of the most widely-known symbols of Okinawa today. The current plaque is a 1957 reproduction of the original, which was created in the 16th century and hung continuously on the gate from the mid-17th century until its destruction in 1945. Naha-shi Rekishi Hakubutsukan 那覇市歴史博物館, *Okinawa no shinboru Shureimon* 沖縄のシンボル守礼門 (Naha: Naha-shi Rekishi Hakubutsukan, 2010), 3-6.

[100] Asō, "Jūhasseiki chūki ni okeru Ryūkyū no kanji kanbun," 11.

audiences with the *kubō*. This structure follows, roughly, the process of the journey of each mission, as they traveled over sea and land, through port towns and post-stations, performing street processions in many of these cities and towns (including Edo), and then after arriving in Edo, engaging in formal audiences with the *kubō*.

Each chapter addresses a different type of ritual performance – reception, procession, and audience – and explores how each functioned to contribute to the discursive reaffirmation of Lūchū's relationships with the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses, hierarchical position in the region, and cultural character in Japanese eyes. Throughout all three chapters, I consider the Lūchūan missions to Edo in comparison with Korean and *daimyō* journeys to Edo and with Lūchūan missions to Kagoshima and Beijing. These comparisons illuminate the ways in which Lūchūan identity and status relative to others was ritually enacted through a combination of *samurai,* Lūchūan, and Ming/Qing ritual forms.

Ritual is by its nature repetitive. It enacts and communicates meaning not in the way of a narrative or of a political or legal case, constantly adding new elements; rather, it repeats the same set of elements – or different elements with overlapping meaning – time and again in order to reinforce the meaning being constructed. For this reason, as we move through the various aspects of the Lūchūan embassies to Edo, from lodgings, travel routes, and ceremonial receptions, to processional rituals, to audience ceremonies, we will find many of the same elements and meanings repeating. Much as these various aspects of the embassies built upon one another to constitute and convey the character of Lūchū's cultural and political status,

elements of my discussion, too, build upon one another to ultimately give a sense of how that took place.

Chapter One: Journey, discusses the lodgings, reception, and travel logistics of the Lūchūan missions to Edo over sea and land. The Lūchūans' political status and cultural identity vis-à-vis the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses were ritually or discursively constituted not only through ceremonial receptions prepared for the embassies in the numerous Inland Sea port towns, highway post-stations, and castle towns they passed through, but also through the types of lodgings provided to them, the ships aboard which they sailed, and other logistical aspects of the embassies' journeys.

All along their route to and from Edo, Lūchūan envoys stayed as Shimazu retainers would in Shimazu mansions or in *honjin* and other types of elite inns often used by *daimyō*, some of which were run by families in service to the Shimazu. They sailed through the Inland Sea on Shimazu vessels, further displaying their status as "belonging to" the Shimazu household. However, the Lūchūan embassies were also provided riverboats, porters, pack-horses, and some degree of logistical and financial support otherwise by the Tokugawa regime (or by local authorities on Tokugawa orders), setting them apart from any other Shimazu vassals, as a prestigious foreign embassy that was to at least some extent "guests of the realm."

Ritual receptions and logistical support provided by local authorities and townspeople on their own initiative, providing for the Lūchūan embassies in accordance with precedent and tradition, absent orders or support from local *daimyō* or from the Shimazu or Tokugawa

houses, serves as evidence for the great importance placed even by commoners in early modern Japan upon ritual propriety and correct performance of customary behavior.

In **Chapter Two: Processions**, I turn to processions performed by the embassies both on the streets of many of the cities and towns they passed through, and aboard vessels during the oversea and riverboat portions of their journeys. These were the most widely visible aspects of the Lūchūan missions, and are recorded in numerous paintings, diaries and other private writings, popularly published prints and illustrated books, and other materials. These were rather rare and precious occasions for onlookers who, even if they lived along the central travel arteries of the realm or in one of the most major cities, might have had the opportunity to witness the coming of only a very few Lūchūan embassies in their lifetime. Combined with these pictorial and textual descriptions, these processions had a greater impact on Japanese popular understandings and conceptions of "Ryūkyū" than anything else in the discourse.[101]

Costume, banners, horses and lavishly decorated sedan chairs, ornamental weapons and other accoutrements, and processional music all contributed to a spectacular display of Lūchūan court culture and royal prestige; subsumed within the procession of a far larger number of Shimazu boats or individuals, these processions simultaneously conveyed a notion of Shimazu power, prestige, and authority over the island kingdom. Though it may be easy to see them as a sideshow to the core purpose of the embassies, the formal ceremonial audiences with the *kubō* in which the kingdom's relationship with the Tokugawa house was ritually reaffirmed, these processions served a vital ritual purpose as well, constructing and conveying

[101] Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens."; Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*.

notions of Lūchūan cultural and political identity to a far wider audience, who came to understand Lūchū as a place that was decidedly foreign, and at the same time subordinate to Shimazu authority and acknowledging of the centrality, virtue, and power of the Tokugawa regime.

Enforced displays of foreignness were a key aspect of these processions, and of the audience ceremonies performed at Edo castle. Discourses of Lūchū's foreignness were not only central to conceptions of Lūchūan sovereignty as a highly culturally refined Confucian kingdom recognized by the Ming and Qing courts as a member of the Confucian civilized world; such discourses simultaneously served to bolster notions of Shimazu power and prestige as the only *daimyō* house to claim foreign kings among its vassals, and of the power and prestige of the Tokugawa regime, to whom even foreign kingdoms dispatched envoys in supposed recognition of Tokugawa virtue and strength.

Having explored the embassies' journeys to Edo, and the processions they performed both along their way to Edo and on their way up to Edo castle, **Chapter Three: Audiences** then examines the embassies' formal ritual activities within the castle. The two or three formal audience ceremonies in which the heads of each embassy participated within the *kubō's* Honmaru Palace were the occasions in which each embassy exchanged formal communications and gifts with the Tokugawa court, *kowtowed* to the *kubō* on behalf of their king, and performed a program of Lūchūan court music as a "gift" to the *kubō*, and as a demonstration of the kingdom's refined and civilized court culture.

Examination of the layout and décor of the ceremonial space, the arrangement and movement of figures within it, the costumes worn, gifts exchanged, ritual phrases spoken, ritual acts performed, and music presented reveals the ways in which the Lūchūan envoys not only displayed or reflected their cultural and political status relative to the Shimazu and Tokugawa, and their relationships with them, but actually enacted those realities. Despite Tokugawa appropriation of Ming/Qing rhetoric aimed at framing these embassies as "tribute missions" within a *kubō*-centric Confucian regional order, the ritual relationship between the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses and the kingdom of Lūchū is seen to have been largely articulated not in a way which emulated or reenacted the linking of tributary envoys to the Son of Heaven, but rather chiefly through standard samurai ritual forms inscribing the Lūchūan royal household into a feudal hierarchy of samurai houses, albeit while still recognizing Lūchū as a "foreign" "kingdom."

CHAPTER ONE: THE JOURNEY & RITUAL RECEPTIONS

The inscription of the Lūchūan embassies and their kingdom into particular positions relative to others in the Tokugawa order, both in terms of political status and cultural categories, began with the journey to Edo itself. Lūchū's place within the Tokugawa world was made manifest in the class and quality of the embassies' accommodations, their modes of transport, and the performances of propriety in hierarchical interactions between the Lūchūan missions and the various local figures – village headmen, innkeepers, *daimyō*, boatmen – who hosted them or provided for them otherwise along their journey. Some key logistical elements of the embassies' journeys, including ships, riverboats, packhorses, porters, and lodgings, were arranged or provided by the Shimazu or Tokugawa houses (or at their direction). However, a great many other aspects of the reception and treatment of the embassies were determined by local authorities who, acting independently, drew upon their own knowledge and experiences, consulted records of the reception of previous embassies, and communicated with one another, determined the correct reception for Lūchūan embassies in accordance with precedent, tradition, and propriety. In other words, these receptions – which served to reaffirm the Lūchūans' higher, lower, or otherwise similar or different status relative to other elites whose reception was lesser, greater, similar, or different – were shaped not entirely by Shimazu or Tokugawa political strategies or aims, but in large part by widely-shared notions among townspeople across the archipelago of the embassies' status and accordingly of the appropriate behavior towards them.

Though concerns such as these may appear at first to be merely practical matters, the differing ways in which elite travelers were received, housed, and otherwise supported in cities and towns along their journeys can be seen as ritual acts, performed in accordance with precedent and protocol. Tokugawa officials, *daimyō*, imperial court nobles (*kuge* 公家), their relatives and retainers, Buddhist abbots, heads of the Dutch East India Company compound at Nagasaki, and various others, as well as envoys of the kings of Lūchū and Joseon were each received in ways seen as appropriate to their status. This was not merely reflective of that status – it was constitutive of it. As we shall see in ritual processions and formal audiences in later chapters, the very process of embodying and enacting the roles of people of a certain status – i.e. people who deserved to be received and housed in certain ways – travelers became (or, were reaffirmed as) precisely that category or grade of people. For the Lūchūan embassies to travel in a particular fashion, to be provided lodgings at particular types of establishments, and to be received by local authorities in a particular way contributed to the enactment of their complex identities as representatives of a court that was at once foreign and yet at the same time was contained within or belonged to the Shimazu household, guests of the "realm" (i.e. the Tokugawa regime)[102] who were at the same time members of a Shimazu entourage. The embassies traveled amidst a large Shimazu samurai retinue, sometimes aboard Shimazu vessels but sometimes aboard riverboats provided at Tokugawa orders by other *daimyō*. They stayed at *honjin*, *chaya*, and other types of elite inns in most towns they passed through, as *daimyō* or

[102] Conversation with Kurushima, 21 July 2017.; also, 「言わば国賓待遇をとった朝鮮通信使や琉球国王の使節」, Kurushima, "Gyōretsu wo shiru 4: gyōretsu wo mukae, miru sahō" 行列を識る④：行列を迎え、見る作法, in *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei* 行列に見る近世, ed. Kurushima (Sakura, Chiba: Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, 2012), 190.

Tokugawa officials – figures with status positions within samurai political hierarchies – would, and only rarely stayed in Buddhist temples as their Korean counterparts – foreign ambassadors outside of the samurai hierarchies – did. In cities such as Osaka, Fushimi, and Edo, however, the embassies took up lodgings at Shimazu mansions as retainers or people otherwise belonging under the "banners" of the Shimazu household would. Port-towns in the Inland Sea extended certain forms of logistical support – such as towboats and guard boats, and bonfires lit to serve as lighthouses – to the Lūchūan embassies which they generally provided only to Tokugawa officials and foreign embassies, i.e. those associated with the "realm," and not to *daimyō* or their retainers.

Comparison with the parallel phenomenon of embassies dispatched by the Korean kingdom of Joseon to Edo helps cast into relief how the character and extent of Lūchūan envoys' formal reception during their journeys to & from Edo constituted and reaffirmed their positioning in relationships with the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses. Joseon was the only kingdom other than Lūchū with which the Tokugawa regime maintained formal diplomatic relations; though Dutch and Chinese merchants were permitted to trade at Nagasaki, the Tokugawa court, as a matter of policy and standard practice, exchanged no formal embassies or communications with their governments. The king of Joseon was considered roughly equal in status to the shogun, who was sometimes referred to as a fellow "king," the "King of Japan" 日本国王 (J: *Nihon kokuō*).[103] Unlike their Lūchūan counterparts who were under the banners of

[103] Tashiro Kazui and Susan Downing Videen, "Foreign Relations during the Edo Period: Sakoku Reexamined," *Journal of Japanese Studies* 8, no. 2 (1982), 283-306. Though this notion of "neighborly relations" (交隣, J: *kōrin*, K: *gyorin*) in which both the king of Korea and the Tokugawa shogun were peers was central to the official rhetoric of

the Shimazu house, Korean kings owed fealty to no samurai house, and in fact conversely claimed a *daimyō* house – the Sō 宗, lords of Tsushima 対馬 – as their vassals. Though the Sō lord and an entourage of his retainers escorted Korean embassies to Edo, they did so as a service to both the king of Joseon and to the Tokugawa house.

The kings of Lūchū were never considered equals to the Tokugawa shoguns as their Korean counterparts were. Rather than exchanging formal court-to-court communications with the shoguns as the kings of Korea did, Lūchūan kings communicated with the shoguns' chief advisors/administrators, the *rōjū* 老中. Even so, Lūchūan kings were treated by the Tokugawa regime as foreign sovereigns and diplomatic partners to a certain extent. By way of extending a warm welcome to foreign embassies in order to show benevolence, magnanimity, civility, and propriety in its interactions with foreign courts, the Tokugawa court provided a portion of the guards, porters, packhorses, ships, travel funds, and other logistical support (whether directly or by obliging *daimyō* or other local/regional authorities to provide it) needed for both the Korean and Lūchūan embassies' journeys to & from Edo.[104] In the case of the Korean embassies, these provisions from the Tokugawa court were quite extensive, and though the Sō house (who

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the time, and is very frequently seen in scholarship today, the two did not in fact treat one another as equals outside of formal rhetoric and (to a certain extent) ritual. Joseon still generally looked down upon Japan as uncivilized, seeing the embassies to Edo as an opportunity to demonstrate their superior refinement and civility and to perhaps even influence Japan towards civilization in the process. And the Tokugawa used the fact that Korean embassies journeyed to Edo, but Japanese ones never traveled to Seoul, as fuel for discourses framing the Korean embassies as "tributary" missions dispatched in recognition of Tokugawa superiority. David Kang, *East Asia before the West: Five Centuries of Trade and Tribute* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 74-76.; Mizuno Norihito, "Japan and its East Asian Neighbors: Japan's Perception of China and Korea and the Making of Foreign Policy from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., Ohio State University, 2004), 35-107.

[104] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori*, 187.; Fukai Jinzō 深井甚三, *Edo no tabibito tachi* 江戸の旅人たち (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1997), 134.; Miyake Hidetoshi 三宅英利, "Ryūkyū shisetsu to Kokura han" 琉球使節と小倉藩, *Kitakyūshū daigaku bungakubu kiyō* 北九州大学文学部紀要 B series, vol. 21 (1989), 5-8.

were entrusted by the Tokugawa with a monopoly on relations with the Joseon court), other *daimyō* houses, Buddhist temples, and other institutions provided reception (馳走, *chisō*) or support for the Korean envoys as well, it was often at the direction of and as a service to the Tokugawa court. By contrast, Lūchūan embassies were only partially seen as "guests of the realm" or as matters pertaining to the *kōgi* 公儀, a term meaning roughly "public affairs" or "the affairs of the realm"; unlike the case of the Korean embassies, Lūchūan embassies were to an extent also seen as internal matters pertaining specifically to the affairs of the Shimazu house. The Tokugawa court accordingly provided less funding and support for the Lūchūan embassies, leaving a greater proportion of the responsibility to the Shimazu and to the Lūchūan court to handle their own arrangements and expenses.

Preparations in Sui and Kagoshima

The trip from Lūchū to Edo was a journey of 2000 km, over both sea and land, and typically took about six months (including a stay of three months or so in Kagoshima, along the way). The missions traveled from Lūchū to Kagoshima aboard Lūchūan vessels, then from Kagoshima to Osaka aboard Shimazu ships via the Inland Sea. From Osaka, they rode luxurious riverboats provided by various *daimyō* of western Japan up the Yodo River to Fushimi, traveling the remainder of the way to Edo overland, largely via the Tōkaidō highway. The 70-170 Lūchūans sometimes traveled alongside the much larger *sankin kōtai* entourage of the Shimazu lord (ranging from as few as 500 men to as many as 3,100, including porters and other hired

laborers);[105] more often, however, they traveled several days ahead or behind the lord, or along a different route entirely,[106] in part so as to not overwhelm the available accommodations and amenities at post-towns along the journey.[107] Even when not accompanying the lord's main entourage, however, the Lūchūans were still escorted by a sizable group of Kagoshima samurai, led by a *karō* 家老 ("House Elder"), one of the Shimazu family's highest-ranking retainers.

Each embassy was headed by a lead envoy (正使, O: *shiishii*, C: *zhèng shǐ,* J: *seishi*), a royal prince typically 20-30 years of age who served a largely ceremonial role as the primary figure who engaged in formal interactions with the shogun, various *daimyō*, and others. He was accompanied by a deputy or vice envoy (副使, O: *fukushii*, C: *fù shǐ*, J: *fukushi*), an older, more experienced, official who served as the administrative head of the mission, overseeing the

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[105] Watanabe Kazutoshi 渡辺和敏, "Sankin kōtai to honjin" 参勤交代と本陣, in *Honjin ni tomatta daimyō tachi* 本陣に泊まった大名たち, edited by Futagawa-juku Honjin Shiryōkan (Toyohashi, Aichi: Futagawa-juku Honjin Shiryōkan, 1996), 53.; Yamamoto Hirofumi 山本博文, *Sankin kōtai* 参勤交代 (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1998), 86.; Constantine Vaporis, *Tour of Duty: samurai, military service in Edo, and the culture of early modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2008), 74.

[106] In most years when accompanying a Lūchūan mission, the Shimazu lord departed for Edo around the same time as the Lūchūans, usually in the 8th or 9th month, rather than in the 3rd or 4th month as he normally would. This postponement was with the permission of the Tokugawa court. In 1764, Shimazu Shigehide 島津重豪 (1745-1833, lord of Kagoshima 1755-1787) did not postpone, but instead departed Kagoshima early in the year as he normally would have, and arrived in Edo in the 5th month, well before the Lūchūans' arrival there. One additional mission, that in 1682, was also not accompanied by a *sankin kōtai* retinue, as this was not a year in which the Shimazu lord was obliged to travel to Edo. Even when the lord *did* travel to Edo roughly alongside the mission, however, his *sankin kōtai* obligations kept him in Edo for one year, and the Lūchūans' return journey was thus never escorted by the lord, but rather by a *karō*. A chart of all the Shimazu *sankin kōtai* journeys can be found in Ueno Takafumi 上野尭史, *Satsuma han no sankin kōtai* 薩摩藩の参覲交替 (Kajiki, Kagoshima: self-published, 2007), 6-42.

[107] Shibuya Shiori 渋谷詩織, "Ryūkyū shisetsu to shukuba: Tōkaidō Futagawa wo chūshin ni" 琉球使節と宿場—東海道二川を中心に, in *Kinsei Nihon ni okeru gaikoku shisetsu to shakai hen'yō 3: taikun gaikō kaitai wo ou* 近世日本における外国使節と社会変容（３）－大君外交解体を追う－, ed. Kamiya (Tokyo: Waseda University, 2009), 79-80.

management of the embassy, logistically and otherwise. The two ambassadors were aided by an official in the post of *zànyíguān* 讃儀官 (J: *sangikan*),[108] who served as aide and counselor, and helped oversee various aspects of the practical logistics of the mission, while another group of five to seven aides and advisors, known as *shǐzàn* 使賛 (J: *shisan*), were charged with ensuring that ritual and ceremonial aspects of the mission's activities were performed properly, in accordance with precedent.[109] A secretary, or *zhǎnghànshǐ* 掌翰使 (J: *shokanshi*), handled all of the mission's official documents and communications, while an official in the post of *yǔshī* 圉師 (J: *gyoshi*, horse groom) oversaw horses brought along by the mission to be presented as gifts. The party also included a number of processional musicians headed by an official known as the *yíwèishēng* 儀衛正 (J: *gieisei*), and a separate group of *uzagaku*[110] musicians, led by an official known as the *yuèzhèng* 楽正 (J: *gakusei*). These *uzagaku* musicians included several

[108] In identifying numerous posts, titles, and other terms associated with the embassies, Kamakura Yoshitarō frequently provides glosses which suggest a Chinese reading, and then explicitly writes that "this was pronounced the same way in Ryūkyū" (「琉球二而も此通唱候」). The *Okinawa bunkashi jiten* 沖縄文化史辞典 ("Encyclopedia of Okinawan Cultural History") similarly provides *katakana* glosses suggestive of Chinese rather than Japanese-style readings. In following with this, I render this and other terms in modern Mandarin *pinyin*, for those terms where the Chinese reading appears to have been more standard than an Okinawan or Japanese reading. Kamakura, 87.; Maeda Giken 真栄田義見, Misumi Haruo 三隅治雄, and Minamoto Takeo 源武雄, eds., *Okinawa bunkashi jiten* 沖縄文化史辞典 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō Shuppan, 1982), 62.

[109] Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan 沖縄県立博物館・美術館, *Ryūkyū shisetsu, Edo e Iku!* 琉球使節、江戸へ行く！(Naha: Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan, 2009), 46.; Bisai-shi Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan 尾西市歴史民俗資料館, *Minoji wo yuku Ryūkyū shisetsu* 美濃路をゆく琉球使節 (Bisai, Aichi: Bisai-shi Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan, 2004), 6. These two terms do not lend themselves to simple translations.

[110] *Uzagaku* 御座楽 (lit. "seated music") was a style of Lūchūan ceremonial court music closely based on Ming and Qing traditions. In contrast to the royal processional music known as *rujigaku* 路次楽, *uzagaku* was performed seated, either indoors or in outdoor plazas. *Rujigaku* is discussed further in the following chapter, while *uzagaku* is discussed further in Chapter 3.

master musicians (楽師, C: *yuèshī*, J: *gakushi*) and a group of beautiful teenage boys known as *yuètóngzǐ* 楽童子 (J: *gakudōji*), whose chief role was as dancers and musicians.

Preparations for a mission to Edo typically began several years prior to departure for Kagoshima. Scholar-officials were appointed to the mission sometimes years in advance, beginning with the musicians and dancers, who then engaged in intensive training and practice for several months to a year prior to departure.[111] The royal court provided the embassy with formal court robes, various ceremonial accoutrements, and some amount of funds for purchasing other equipment; the individual officials were responsible, however, for their own travel clothes, personal effects, food, and travel gear.[112] Textiles, ceramics, *aamui* 泡盛 (J: *awamori*) liquor, lacquerwares, and other gifts to be given to the shogun and other top-level figures in the Tokugawa court, as well as to village headmen, *daimyō*, and various other elite individuals responsible for aiding or hosting the Lūchūans along their journey, were gathered from local producers on Uchinaa (J: Okinawa) and its surrounding islands, from among goods brought back from China, and from tribute paid (or orders filled) from the Myaaku and Yaima Islands.[113] Finally, a week to a month before departure for Kagoshima, the lead and deputy

[111] Liao Zhenpei 廖真珮, "Ryūkyū kyūtei ni okeru Chūgoku kei ongaku no ensō to denshō" 琉球宮廷における中国系音楽の演奏と伝承, in *Uzagaku no fukugen ni mukete* 御座楽の復元に向けて, ed. Uzagaku Fukugen Ensō Kenkyūkai 御座楽復元演奏研究会 (Naha: Uzagaku Fukugen Ensō Kenkyūkai, 2007), 114.
[112] Tinello, "The termination of the Ryūkyūan embassies," 106, citing Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 56, 67.
[113] These island groups are known, respectively, as Miyako 宮古 and Yaeyama 八重山 in Japanese, as Naaku and Eema in Okinawan, and as Myaaku and Yaima in their respective native languages. Gifts were brought from Lūchū and Kagoshima to be given not only to the *kubō*, but also to his wife (御台様, *midai-sama*) and heir (内府, *naifu*), the heir's wife (御簾中, *renjū-sama*) the head priest of Ueno Tōshogū, the heads of the *gosanke* and *gosankyō* Tokugawa branch houses, the *rōjū*, *Kyoto shoshidai* and *Ōsaka jōdai* (chief Tokugawa government officials

envoys, along with the musicians, went up to the royal palace to perform a run-through of the audience ceremonies they would be performing in Edo (including musical performances), as a demonstration of their preparedness. This took place before the king and top court officials in the palace's Fee-nu-udun 南風之御殿 ("Southern Hall"),[114] and was followed by a banquet and by the king bestowing a number of gifts upon the envoys.[115] The highest-ranking members of the mission[116] enjoyed several additional banquets at the palace prior to their departure, at which they received additional gifts from the king, queen, and queen mother. Preparations also included visits to several sacred sites, including the Sui Kwannun-dō 首里観音堂 (J: Shuri Kannon-dō), where members of the mission prayed for safe travels.[117]

After waiting for the tribute missions to return from China, and for favorable winds for the journey, the Edo embassies typically departed Naafa 那覇[118] in the 6th or 7th month,[119] and

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overseeing Kyoto and Osaka), and other Tokugawa government officials including the *o-soba-yōnin, wakadoshiyori, sōjaban,* and *ōmetsuke*. Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 106.

[114] This hall is also often referred to by the Japanese term *Nanden* 南殿, also meaning literally "southern hall."

[115] Itaya Tōru 板谷徹, "Kafu ni mirareru geinō shiryō 2: Edo nobori" 家譜にみられる芸能資料２：江戸上り, *Musa* ムーサ 9 (2008), 161, 163, 174-177, 181.; Sudō Ryōko 須藤良子, "Ryūkyūjin zagaku no zu ni miru Ryūkyū no fukushoku" 『琉球人坐楽之図』にみる琉球の服飾, *Ethno-arts minzoku geijutsu* 民族芸術 26 (2010), 246.

[116] That is, those officials listed out above, from the lead envoy down to the teenage performers. This would be the same group who rode on horseback or in palanquins in procession, and who would enter Edo castle. The remaining members of the mission included lower-ranking aides, assistants, porters, and the like.

[117] Okinawa-ken Bunka Shinkōkai Kōbunshokan Kanribu Shiryōhenshūshitsu 沖縄県文化振興会公文書管理部史料編集室, eds. *Edo nobori – Ryūkyū shisetsu no Edo sanpu* 江戸上り : 琉球使節の江戸参府 (Naha: Okinawa-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 2001), 8, 57.; Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan, *Ryukyu shisetsu, Edo he iku!*, 5. The Sui Kwannun-dō, also known as Jigen-in 慈眼院, is a Buddhist temple dedicated to the bodhisattva known in Japanese as Kannon (O: *Kwannun*, C: G*uanyin*, Skt. *Avalokiteshvara*).

[118] J: *Naha*. The kingdom's chief port, and today the capital of Okinawa prefecture. The royal capital of Sui, which lay just a short distance inland from the port, is today incorporated into Naha City.

[119] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 69.

traveled first by sea to Kagoshima, a journey of three days,[120] on Lūchūan ships called *keeshin* 楷船 (J: *kaisen*); these were the same ships as those used for tribute missions to China, but stripped of their weaponry.[121]

Upon arrival in Kagoshima, the Edo missions were received by a group of high-ranking domain officials, including *karō* ("House Elders"), *rusuiyaku* 留守居役 (officials overseeing matters in the lord's absence), and some number of *metsuke* 目付 and *soba metsuke* 側目付 ("inspectors").[122] The mission then remained in Kagoshima for several months, where they were provided lodgings at an establishment known in Japanese as the Ryūkyū-kan or Ryūkyū-yakata 琉球館; this was a combined office and residence occupied at any given time by ten or

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[120] It typically took about three days to travel by ship from Naafa to Yamakawa 山川, a port near the southern tip of the Satsuma peninsula. From there, the mission traveled either by ship or overland several days to reach the castle-town of Kagoshima. However, inclement weather or other factors could delay this leg of the journey considerably; in 1681, it took 27 days for the mission to reach Kagoshima. Okinawa-ken Bunka Shinkōkai Kōbunshokan Kanribu Shiryōhenshūshitsu, eds., 57.; Shibamura Keijirō 柴村敬次郎, ed., *Ryūkyū shisetsu no Edo nobori to Kamagari* 琉球使節の江戸上りと蒲刈 (Shimo-Kamagari, Hiroshima: Shimo-Kamagari-chō, 1997), 16.
[121] Pirates were a consistent concern on the sea journey between Lūchū and China, and so the tribute vessels were armed with a number of cannon and other firearms, the distribution of which was overseen by Kagoshima. Tomiyama Kazuyuki 豊見山和行, "Fune to Ryūkyū shi: kinsei no Ryūkyūsen wo meguru shosō" 船と琉球史： 近世の琉球船をめぐる諸相, in *Fune no bunka kara mita higashi Ajia shokoku no isō – kinsei ki no* Ryūkyū *wo chūshin toshita chiiki ma hikaku wo tōjite* 船の文化からみた東アジア諸国の位相―近世期の琉球を中心とした地域間比較を通じて, ed. Okamoto Hiromichi 岡本弘道 (Osaka: Kansai Daigaku Bunka Kōshōgaku Kyōiku Kenkyū Kyoten(ICIS), 2012), 26.; Ono Masako 小野まさこ, Tomita Chinatsu 富田千夏, Kanna Keiko 漢那敬子, and Taguchi Megumi 田口恵, "Shiryō shōkai Kishi Akimasa bunko Satsuyū kikō" 史料紹介 岸秋正文庫「薩遊紀行」, *Shiryōhenshūshitsu kiyō* 史料編集室紀要 31 (2006), 217, 246. After a ship's third or so journey to Fuzhou, it was often stripped of its weaponry and turned to use for journeys to Kagoshima. Akamine, *The Ryukyu Kingdom*, 110.
[122] Sakai, "The Ryūkyū Islands as Fief of Satsuma," 126.

so other Lūchūan scholars and officials temporarily resident in Kagoshima either on official business or for study.[123]

As in the Edo embassies, Lūchūan activities in Kagoshima enacted a status and identity for the kingdom as simultaneously foreign and loyal to the Shimazu house. Lūchūan court officials traveled to Kagoshima quite regularly, on annual missions known as *nentōshi* 年頭使 as well as on special occasions such as the birth, wedding, or death of a Shimazu lord or heir. Missions were also dispatched to Kagoshima to convey important information, such as the death of a Lūchūan king or significant changes in the China trade, or as gratitude missions in thanks for particular favors or gifts from the Shimazu.[124] Samurai vassals of the Shimazu also paid formal visits and respects to the Shimazu lords on many of these same occasions; engagement in such ceremonies in Kagoshima therefore placed Lūchūan envoys into a position similar to or evocative of samurai retainers. Of course, at the same time, their distinctive costume, music, and language, among other aspects of their appearance or presentation set the Lūchūans apart from samurai retainers, clearly marking them as foreign scholar-officials and envoys of a sovereign royal court. Yamada Tetsushi has counted 1,390 missions to Kagoshima over the span from 1613 to 1876, an average of 5.3 missions per year.[125] The Lūchūan presence in the city was thus by no means limited to the comparably extremely rare embassies to Edo.

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[123] Ono Masako et al., 238.
[124] Matsuda, 43.; Liao, 102.
[125] Itaya, "Kinsei Ryūkyū no tai-Satsuma kankei ni okeru geinō no yakuwari" 近世琉球の対薩摩関係における芸能の役割, *Minzoku geijutsu ethno-arts* 民族芸術 25 (2009), 111, citing Yamada Tetsushi 山田哲史, "Jōkoku shisha ichiran: Chūzan seikan fukan ni your bunrui, seiri" 上国使者一覧－中山世鑑附巻による分類・整理－, *Shiryōhenshūshitsu kiyō* 史料編集室紀要 23 (2006): 1-114.

Lūchū's prominent position among entities with whom the Shimazu maintained a relationship, and the multivalent character of Lūchū's position as a foreign country and yet also a vassal state under Shimazu authority were also enacted in the location of the Ryūkyū-kan, just below the castle, between the mansions of two prominent Shimazu retainer families, the Tanegashima 種子島 and Hongō 北郷家 families. Unlike residents of the Tanegashima and Hongō mansions, however, who were free to come and go as they wished (within the limits set by the respective heads of those two households), Lūchūans' movements in the castle-town beyond the gates of the Ryūkyū-kan were quite restricted. Notices were frequently posted reminding Japanese that they were forbidden from interacting with the Lūchūan representatives without authorization, and authorized visitors to the Ryūkyū-kan were checked in and out of the building by samurai guards.[126]

The embassy typically stayed in Kagoshima for three to six months while arrangements continued to be put into place, and while funding and provisions for the journey continued to be gathered and organized.[127] A portion of the provisions to be used on the journey, and of the gifts to be presented by the mission, were shipped from Naafa in advance, and the Ryūkyū-kan complex contained considerable storage space for these and other Lūchūan goods to be added to the mission's baggage before they left Kagoshima for Edo.[128] The lead envoys and other top-ranking members of the embassies were kept quite busy with various ritual obligations, including functions and events (e.g. banquets with the lord of Kagoshima) at the lord's Iso

[126] Sakai, "The Satsuma-Ryūkyū Trade and the Tokugawa Seclusion Policy," 401.
[127] Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan, 7.
[128] Okinawa-ken Bunka Shinkōkai Kōbunshokan Kanribu Shiryōhenshūshitsu, 12, 57.

Mansion 磯御屋敷,[129] other meetings and formal greetings with the lord, activities such as fireworks viewing and attending Noh performances, and visits to Suwa Shrine 諏訪宮, the Shimazu family temple of Fukushōji 福昌寺, and other shrines and temples.[130] When traveling to and from Kagoshima castle, and to and from various shrines and temples, they performed formal processions through the streets, complete with music, much as they would in Edo and in other cities and towns all along their journey.[131]

The kingdom's relationship with the Shimazu house and prestigious position within Shimazu hierarchies was further enacted through a custom of banquets "offered up" by the envoys to the lord, which were accompanied by performances of Lūchūan and Chinese music, dance, and theatrical scenes, and banquets "received" by the mission, which were accompanied by performances of Noh or other Japanese arts.[132] These, like many of the mission's other ritual activities, were considered by both the Lūchūan and Shimazu courts to be of great importance. On occasions when these banquets could not be held, such as in 1764 when the lord of Kagoshima was already in Edo (and therefore was not present in Kagoshima to

[129] A secondary villa of the Shimazu, now on the grounds of the Shōkoshūseikan. The mansion grounds include a pavilion known as Bōgakurō 望嶽楼 said to have been a gift from the King of Lūchū.
[130] Okinawa-ken Bunka Shinkōkai Kōbunshokan Kanribu Shiryōhenshūshitsu, 57.; Mentions of these many individual performances and banquets can be seen in the official genealogical records (*kafu* 家譜) of many of the Lūchūan individuals who participated, as excerpted in: Itaya, "Kafu ni mirareru geinō shiryō 2: Edo nobori," 155-184.
[131] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori*, 119.
[132] Iwahana Yuki 岩花由貴, "Kagoshima ni okeru Ryūkyū shisetsu no girei ni tsuite" 鹿児島における琉球使節の儀礼について, in Kamiya, ed., *Kinsei Nihon ni okeru gaikoku shisetsu to shakai henyō 3*, 69.; The *kafu* 家譜 (official genealogical records of the Lūchūan scholar-aristocracy, maintained by the royal court) typically record these banquets as "offered up" using the term 「献膳」(J: *kenzen*), and "received" using the term 「賜宴」(J: *shien*). Itaya, "Kafu ni mirareru geinō shiryō 2: Edo nobori," 155-184.

hold or attend such banquets), efforts were made to ensure that the banquets would be held in Edo instead.[133] And when on several occasions Kagoshima suggested to Lūchū that the banquets be eliminated as an austerity measure, Lūchū invariably objected, citing the importance of precedent and of maintaining traditions, and the importance of the banquets as rituals connected to the status or prestige of the kingdom.[134] If we consider these banquets – and the many other ceremonial interactions the Lūchūan and Kagoshima courts engaged in – as sites of the ritual enactment of their relationship, it is easy to see why Lūchū would insist on continuing such practices. To enjoy the privilege of engaging in such banquets with the Shimazu lord was to perform (or, be permitted to perform) a prestigious status – the status of a person or entity elite enough, within Shimazu hierarchies as to merit such privileges. To not be granted the opportunity to engage in such activities was to be not granted the privilege – to be made to be less important or to be of lesser status, in a meaningful way.

[133] Itaya, "Kinsei Ryūkyū no tai-Satsuma kankei ni okeru geinō no yakuwari," 112.
[134] Itaya, "Kinsei Ryūkyū no tai-Satsuma kankei ni okeru geinō no yakuwari," 112.

Travel Routes and Logistics

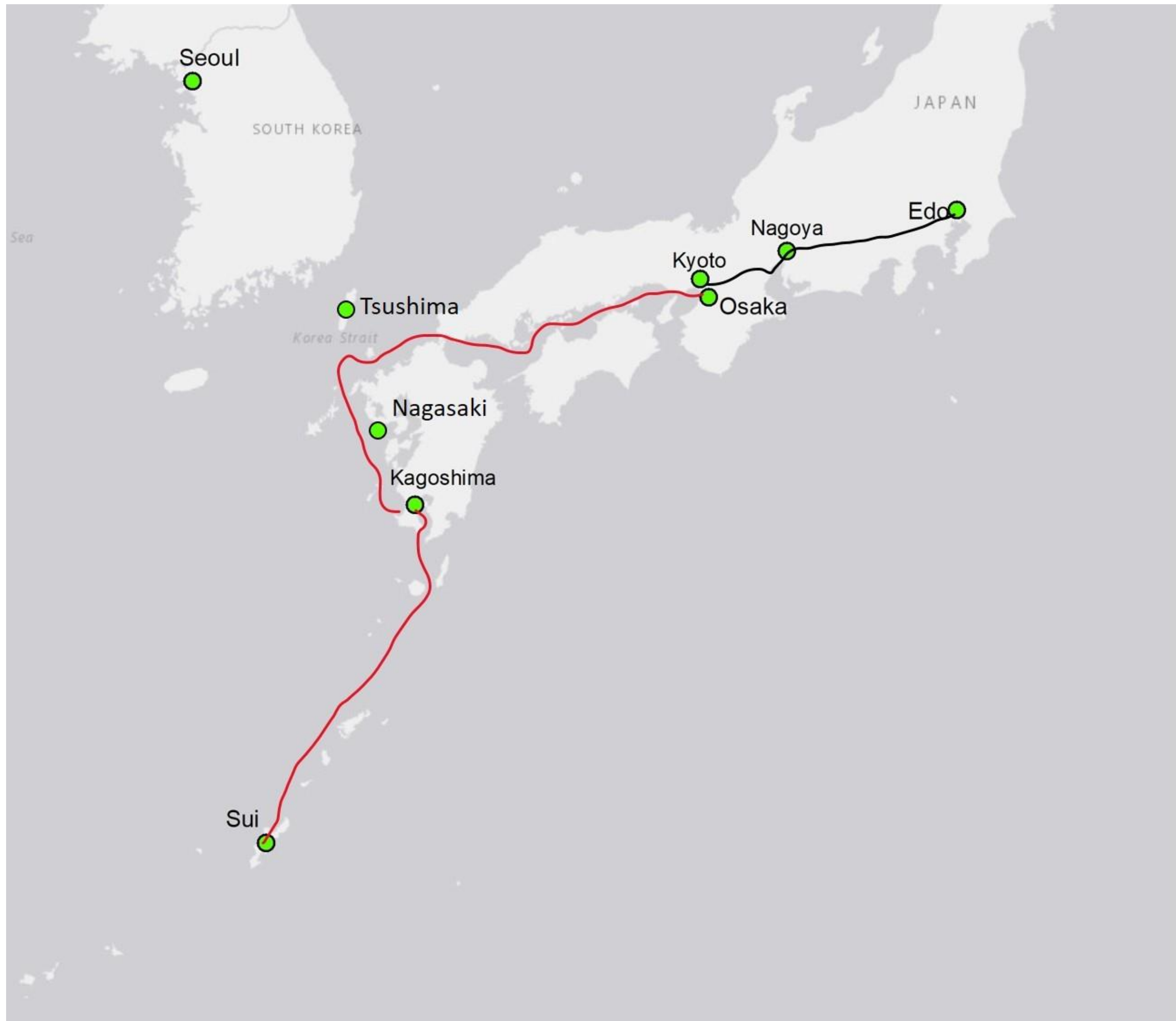

Fig. 1-1: Map of the approximate travel route of the Lūchūan embassies, by ship from Naafa (Uchinaa), via Kagoshima and the Inland Sea, to Osaka, and then overland to Edo. Esri, HERE, Garmin © OpenStreetMap contributors and the GIS user community. Thanks to Kristi Liu and the UCSB Interdisciplinary Research Collaboratory for help with these maps.

Once preparations and official ritual obligations were complete, the mission departed Kagoshima for Osaka, typically in the 9th month. The mission sailed from the port of Satsumasendai 薩摩川内 north along the west coast of Kyushu, past Nagasaki, Hirado, and Hakata, before passing through the straits at Shimonoseki and traversing the Seto Inland Sea, to

make port at Osaka. The total journey from Kagoshima to Osaka usually took around six weeks.[135]

The types of vessels the embassies traveled upon contributed to the enactment of their multivalent status. Though the embassies traveled as far as Kagoshima aboard their own Lūchūan vessels (as embassies to China also did, as far as Fuzhou), on this next portion of the journey the embassy members traveled aboard three large luxurious Shimazu vessels known as *sekibune* 関船, accompanied by a fleet of over seventy other Shimazu vessels, ranging in size, which carried their luggage and samurai escort. When traveling along a sea route to or from Edo on *sankin kōtai*, the lord of Kagoshima sailed in much the same fashion as the Lūchūans did, aboard a *sekibune* amidst a fleet of tens of other ships.[136] This ostensibly conveyed to onlookers that the Lūchūan mission was of high status, worthy of conveyance in such luxurious vessels, but also that Lūchū in some way "belonged to" the Shimazu household or retainer band. The *sekibune* were the personal vessels of the Shimazu lord, which he regularly employed for his own maritime journeys. Lavishly decorated in lacquer and gold all along their length, they were also known as *gozabune* 御座船 as they included a cabin with elegant *fusuma* (sliding door or wall) paintings and a two-tiered tatami floor, which served as the *daimyō's* "seat" (*goza*), a miniature audience hall where he could receive and meet with retainers or

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[135] Okinawa-ken Bunka Shinkōkai Kōbunshokan Kanribu Shiryōhenshūshitsu, 57.

[136] Due to the dangers of sea travel, among other concerns, many *daimyō*, the Shimazu included, shifted from sea routes through the Inland Sea on their way to/from Edo in the 17th to early 18th centuries, to more frequently traveling overland as much as possible. While the Shimazu *sankin kōtai* missions took a sea route some 123 times, chiefly in the 17th to early 18th centuries, roughly ninety times in the latter half of the Edo period they traveled instead from Kagoshima overland across Kyushu, and then along the San'yōdō 山陽道 highway to Osaka. Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 40.; Ueno, 43-53.

others in a space appropriate for, and evocative of, his elevated status.[137] A 1748 scroll painting by a Kagoshima domain court painter, today in the collection of the Kagoshima Art Museum, depicts such a fleet.[138] Two of the largest ships fly fringed banners in a Lūchūan or Chinese-looking style, one of which reads "*Chūzan-ō shisha*" 中山王使者, or "envoys of the King of Chūzan." Several figures in colorful wide-sleeved clothing, who we might presume to be Lūchūans, are clearly visible on the decks of those ships in this painting.[139] When sailing past Hirado and certain other major coastal cities, the Lūchūan street musicians performed processional music aboard ship, which reportedly could be heard from the town.[140] Yet, in addition to their overt display of Lūchūan identity, these two ships, and many others in the painting, also boast large blue banners draped over the sides of the ships, emblazoned with the Shimazu family crest. All those ships without such large banners at least fly flags with that same crest, a simple cross within a circle. The Lūchūans' distinctive foreign status and cultural identity was on display but it was on display aboard and surrounded by an impressive fleet of vessels boldly labeled as belonging to the Shimazu.

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[137] Eisei Bunko 永青文庫, *Eisei bunko no kokuhō* 永青文庫の国宝 (Tokyo: Eisei Bunko, 2008), 54-54, 68, cat. no. 42.

[138] *Ryūjin omeshibune no zu* 琉人御召舟之図. 1748. Ink and colors on paper. Handscroll. Kagoshima Shiritsu Bijutsukan 鹿児島市立美術館. Image reproduced in Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan, 8-9.; Description on Kagoshima Digital Museum website (run by Kagoshima City) identifies artist as a member of the Satsuma Kanō school 薩摩狩野派 of painters. http://kagoshima.digital-museum.jp/index.php?app=shiryo&mode=detail&list_id=282203¤t_pict=0&data_id=1000423

[139] Traditional Ryūkyūan garments typically have wider sleeves than their Japanese counterparts and were often referred to in early modern documents as *kōsode* 広袖 (lit. "wide sleeves"). Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 168-169.

[140] Yokoyama, "Ryūkyū koku shisetsu tōjō gyōretsu emaki o yomu," 166.; Kimura Yoshisato 木村吉聡, *Ryūkyū shisetsu no Edo nobori to Mitarai* 琉球使節の江戸上りと御手洗 (Kure, Hiroshima: Mitarai Shiomachikan Kankō Kōryū Sentaa, 2001), 77.

Joseon embassies to Edo by contrast did not travel the Inland Sea aboard Japanese vessels belonging to the lord of Tsushima, but rather aboard their own Korean ships.[141] The use of the Joseon court's own vessels was a show of independence, wealth, and power, and likely contributed to a sense among Japanese onlookers that the Korean missions were more truly, more fully, "foreign" "diplomatic" missions, not subject to the authority of the Sō family lord of Tsushima, the Tokugawa, or any other Japanese authority. Unlike the Lūchūans, who were passengers aboard Shimazu vessels, subject to the whims and policies of the Kagoshima captain and crew, the Koreans sailed under their own power, aboard their own vessels, and were merely escorted or aided by manpower and crafts from Tsushima and from elsewhere in Japan. Indeed, these Korean ships were the only foreign ships permitted to travel this deeply into the Tokugawa realm. Chinese, Dutch, and Lūchūan ships were only seen at Nagasaki and Kagoshima, and Lūchūan travelers elsewhere were seen by Japanese viewers only in their costumes, banners, music, and other accoutrements (aboard Japanese ships); the Koreans thus made for a unique and far grander spectacle, as their large ocean-going vessels made port at numerous Inland Sea harbors and at the metropolis of Osaka.

The Lūchūan mission typically stayed at the Osaka mansion of the main Kagoshima Shimazu family or that of a Shimazu branch family, lords of Sadowara domain, for several days, taking in performances of *ningyō jōruri* (puppet theatre, also known as *bunraku*), Takeda

[141] Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens," 420.

karakuri (clockwork automata) puppet theatre, and Noh, before departing to continue their journey.[142]

Leaving Osaka, the embassies continued to travel in a fashion which reinforced their status as members of a *daimyō* entourage, even as they continued to display their distinctive foreign cultural identity. From Osaka, they traveled up the Yodo River 淀川 (J: *Yodogawa*) to Fushimi 伏見, a city just outside Kyoto, aboard four to six luxurious riverboats, which were literally pulled upstream by men standing on both riverbanks wielding heavy ropes attached to the boats.[143] As during the preceding maritime portion of the journey, the Lūchūans performed processional music and displayed their distinctive costumes, banners, and certain other symbols of Lūchūan royal prestige, including red-lacquered and gilded ornamental halberds and a red silken parasol, aboard Japanese vessels, displaying their foreign, distinctive, and refined court culture but within a context that conveyed a sense of their containment within a *daimyō* household, and within a context not entirely divorced from *sankin kōtai*.

These vessels, known as *kawa gozabune* 川御座船, were riverboat versions of the *sekibune*. Rather than belonging to the Shimazu house, however, these were the personal vessels of several other *daimyō* of the western provinces, who were obliged by the Tokugawa

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[142] Itaya, "Kafu ni mirareru geinō shiryō 2: Edo nobori," 155-184.; Shinshū Ōsaka Shishi Hensan Iinkai 新修大阪市史編纂委員会, *Shinshū Ōsaka shishi: shiryō hen* 新修：大阪市史, vol. 6 (Osaka: Ōsaka-shi, 1994), 566. The 1710 mission also stayed at the Sadowara mansion in Fushimi; it is unclear whether later missions did the same. *Shinshū Ōsaka shishi: shiryō hen*, vol. 6, 572.
[143] As on the sea journey, a fleet of some sixty smaller boats carried their luggage. Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 151.

government to lend the boats for this purpose.[144] *Daimyō* travelling on *sankin kōtai* also employed *kawa gozabune* that the Tokugawa government "procured" or "provisioned" from their fellow *daimyō* for them.[145] Like the ocean-going *sekibune*, the riverboats were lavishly designed and ornately decorated, often lacquered red or black along their full length, and with extensive ornaments in gold. They were obliged by the Tokugawa government to match particular specifications, both in their size and design, and in their equipping and furnishing. The domains providing the ships had to coordinate with one another to make sure the ships were the same size/dimensions and that they were decorated in an equal or equivalent way. The interiors of the ships had to be prepared/arranged properly as well, with the right type and number of tables/stands, hibachi, boxes for paper, ashtrays, tea utensils, candle stands, and so forth, as well as being stocked with food and drink. Shin Yu-Han 申維翰, *chesulgwan* (製述官, chief composer of documents) on the 1719 Korean mission to Edo, wrote that aboard the riverboats they were provided with tea sets, bottles of saké, and bedclothes with stiches of golden thread.[146] Tokugawa *metsuke* 目付 (inspectors) based in Osaka inspected the ships

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[144] The Lūchūan missions typically rode on vessels belonging to the Hosokawa of Kumamoto domain, the Mōri of Hagi, the Matsura of Hirado, the Ogasawara of Kokura, the Kamei of Tsuwano, and the Mōri of Saiki. Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 74-75. The *kawa gozabune* employed by the Korean missions were provided by a different set of *daimyō*, including the Date of Uwajima domain, the Mōri of Chōfu, the Hisamatsu Matsudaira of Iyo-Matsuyama, and the Abe of Fukuyama. Nakao Hiroshi 中尾宏 and Shin Kisu 辛基秀, eds., *Taikei Chōsen tsūshinshi* 大系朝鮮通信使, vol. 4 (Tokyo: Akashi Shoten, 1993), 8, 10, 54.

[145] Ronald Toby uses the term 調達, *chōtatsu*, meaning to supply, to procure, or to raise. Toby, *"Sakoku" to iu gaikō*, 233.; Both in the cases of the foreign missions, and of *sankin kōtai* travelers, it is unclear why certain *daimyō* and not others were chosen to be obliged to provide this service. It is also unclear the context within which these ships were provided, that is, whether this was in fulfillment of corvée obligations, or whether the *daimyō* were compensated by the Tokugawa regime in some fashion for the use of their vessels.

[146] Lee, "Cultural Expressions of Tokugawa Japan and Choson Korea," 149-150, citing Shin Yu-Han 申維翰, *Haeyurok* 海遊録, entry for 1719/9/4.

before they were given over to the Lūchūan, Korean, or *daimyō* travelers, to make sure they were constructed and furnished properly.[147] While this served certain practical purposes, helping to enforce that the Lūchūans' treatment and the display of status produced by these riverboats was appropriate for their status, it may have also served to signal to the Lūchūans that they were in a space of Tokugawa authority. The upriver journey aboard these *kawa gozabune* typically took the better part of one or two days.[148]

Korean missions traveled up the Yodo River in a similar fashion, but aboard a somewhat different arrangement of vessels which signaled their simpler, less-multivalent, identities. In addition to *kawa gozabune* procured from the *daimyō*, Korean embassies also made use of riverboats known as *kōgisen* or *kōgibune* 公儀船, provided by the Tokugawa government.[149] These *kōgibune* were a slightly different style of riverboat, slightly different in dimensions, and with two levels (two stories) of cabins (屋形, J: *yakata*) above the deck, whereas those provided to the Lūchūans had only one level of cabins. Furthermore, when the Koreans traveled between Osaka and Yodo 淀 (a small castle-town along the river, very near to Fushimi), the boats were rowed upriver, rather than being pulled by ropes.[150] As the Korean missions were much larger

[147] Miyake Hidetoshi, 6-7.

[148] In 1748, for example, the mission traveled upstream from Osaka to Hirakata 枚方 on 1748/11/18, then stayed overnight in Hirakata, departed Hirakata around dawn the next day (11/19), passed through the castle-town of Yodo 淀 around noon, and arrived in Fushimi by dusk. Watanabe Zen'emon 渡辺 善右衛門, *Nyūrai Ryūkyū ki* 入来琉球記 (Yodo, 1748), transcribed in "Nyūrai Ryūkyū ki" 入来琉球記, ed. Hirayama Toshijirō 平山敏治郎, *Minzoku gaku kenkyūsho kiyō* 民俗学研究所紀要 3 (1978/12), 105-106, 113. In 1832, the mission simply departed Osaka before dawn, and arrived in Fushimi before dusk that same day. "Gieisei nikki," 148.

[149] Lee, "Cultural Expressions of Tokugawa Japan and Chosŏn Korea," 150. The term *kōgi*, roughly meaning "public affairs" or "the public interest," was one of a number of terms commonly used to refer to the Tokugawa regime.

[150] Miyake Hidetoshi, 7.

than the Lūchūan ones, they also employed a greater number of riverboats (seven in 1748).[151] Both the Korean and Lūchūan missions traveled upriver dressed in colorful costumes, playing music, and flying numerous banners aboard these lavishly decorated riverboats, intentionally creating a show of their culture and wealth which I touch upon further in the following chapter. The greater spectacle created by the larger size of the Korean embassies and by the larger and more impressive Tokugawa-provided *kōgisen* they rode may have contributed to a sense among onlookers of Korea's greater prestige and greater sovereignty (i.e. a sense that they were more fully a diplomatic mission, guests of the Tokugawa regime, and not subject to any *daimyō* house).

This riverboat journey brought the embassy to Fushimi, just outside the imperial capital of Kyoto. As Kyoto does not lie on the coast, Fushimi was the chief access point for people and goods entering and departing the city by water. This marked the end of the maritime portion of the embassy's journey. They would travel overland the rest of the way to Edo, though it is unclear whether that journey typically included passing through the city of Kyoto itself. Spending time in the imperial capital or being barred from doing so would have contributed meaningfully to constituting the embassy's status.

A manuscript record of the 1710 mission entitled *Ryūkyū-koku raihei kiji* explicitly indicates that the embassy stayed for a time at the major Kyoto temple of Daitoku-ji 大徳寺,[152]

[151] Miyake Hidetoshi, 7.

[152] 「京都旅館紫野大徳寺」 *Ryūkyū-koku raihei kiji* 琉球国来聘記事 (1710), Okinawa Prefectural Archives, Haebaru, Okinawa, 1 *verso*.; transcribed in Fukuyama-shi Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan 福山市鞆の浦歴

and Lūchūan scholar-official Tei Junsoku 程順則, secretary for the 1714 embassy, is known to have met with imperial courtier and *dajō daijin*[153] Konoe Iehiro 近衛家煕 in Kyoto in 1715.[154] A Lūchūan embassy is believed on at least one occasion to have witnessed the annual Gion Festival (*Gion matsuri*) held in the city.[155] Yet, the *Gieisei nikki* 儀衛生日記, an 1832 protocol diary which records the day-by-day travels of that year's embassy suggests that the embassy in that year traveled directly east from Fushimi, to Kajūji 勧修寺 and then to Ōtsu 大津, not going north to Kyoto proper.[156] The great majority of secondary sources discussing the Lūchūan embassies also make no mention of stays in Kyoto proper. Curiously, however, none state outright that the embassies did *not* enter the imperial city. This is striking given the political and cultural significance of Kyoto and of the Lūchūans' possible entry into or exclusion from the city.

Daimyō and their retainer bands were generally excluded from the city, in part as a means of guarding against *daimyō* building up power through connections or alliances with courtier families or the imperial court itself (i.e., against the Tokugawa),[157] but a brief stay in Kyoto was a standard element of the Korean embassies' journeys to and from Edo. The Korean

史民俗資料館, *Shirarezaru Ryūkyū shisetsu: kokusai toshi Tomonoura tokubetsuten* 知られざる琉球使節 : 国際都市・鞆の浦 : 特別展 (Fukuyama, Hiroshima : Fukuyama-shi Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan, 2006), 143.

[153] 太政大臣. One of the highest positions within the imperial court, sometimes translated as "chancellor of the realm."

[154] Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan, 37.; Smits, *Visions of Ryūkyū*, 47-48, citing Maeda Giken 真栄田義見, *Nago ueekata Tei Junsoku hyōden* 名護親方程順則評伝, Haebaru-chō, Okinawa: Okinawa Insatsu Danchi Shuppanbu (1982), 127-131.

[155] Sakai, "The Ryūkyū (Liu-Ch'iu) Islands as a Fief of Satsuma," 126.

[156] "Gieisei nikki," 150.

[157] Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 51.

envoys typically enjoyed lodgings at a number of Buddhist temples across the city, including Hongoku-ji 本圀寺, Daitoku-ji 大徳寺, and in 1719 Honnō-ji 本能寺.[158] The Tokugawa government made a point of making a display of Japanese power by showing Korean envoys to Hōkō-ji 方広寺 (a Buddhist temple founded by 16th century warlord Toyotomi Hideyoshi), and the neighboring *mimizuka* 耳塚, a mound containing countless ears and noses collected as trophies by samurai who invaded Korea at Hideyoshi's orders in the 1590s, an event which is still prominently felt as a historical trauma by Koreans today. Toby discusses the implications of these Korean visits to such sites at some length,[159] but for our purposes the key point is simply that it is well-established that spending time in Kyoto was a standard part of Korean embassies' itineraries.[160]

For Lūchūan embassies to have spent time in Kyoto proper as Korean envoys did – and as *daimyō* entourages were forbidden from doing – would have contributed to the enactment of their status as foreign envoys, as representatives of the sovereign ruler of a foreign kingdom and not simply vassals of the Shimazu household. Conversely, if the Lūchūan embassies were

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[158] Lee, "Cultural Expressions of Tokugawa Japan and Chosŏn Korea," 154-155, 228.
[159] Toby, *"Sakoku" to iu gaikō*, 63-67.
[160] Kyoto was also a standard stop on the itineraries of the heads of the Dutch East India Company base at Dejima, when making their regular journeys to Edo. While there, it seems it was standard for them to have formal audiences with Tokugawa officials. It is unclear how their status as foreigners and as merchants with whom the Tokugawa government maintained commercial but not formal diplomatic relations contributed to, or determined, that this would be the case. It is also unclear from the sources I have consulted where the Dutch factors were lodged during their time in Kyoto, or where (if anywhere) they were formally received upon their entry into the city. Engelbert Kaempfer, *Kaempfer's Japan: Tokugawa Culture Observed*, trans. and ed. Beatrice Bodart-Bailey (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1999), 318-324.; Willem van Gulik, *A Distant Court Journey: Dutch Traders Visit the Shôgun of Japan* (Amsterdam: Stichting Kininklijk Paleis Amsterdam, 2000), 41-49.; Jan Cock Blomhoff, *The Court Journey to the Shōgun of Japan*, trans. and ed. F.R. Effert and Matthi Forrer (Leiden: Hotei Publishing, 2000), 74-77.

typically obliged to avoid Kyoto – that is, if these few known instances in the 1710s were exceptions – traveling around the city and not entering it would have reinforced their identity as members of a Shimazu retainer band.

After traveling through or past Kyoto, the mission continued the rest of the way to Edo via the major highways of the realm. This overland portion of the journey, from Fushimi to Edo via the Tōkaidō and Mino Road, typically took about 16-19 days.[161] The first several Edo missions (1644, 1649, 1653, and 1671) traveled almost exclusively via the Tōkaidō 東海道, the chief highway of the realm. However, in 1672, on the return journey from Edo, the mission encountered a storm at Shichiri-no-watashi 七里の渡, the sea crossing across Ise Bay between Kuwana 桑名 and Miya 宮 post-stations, resulting in the Lūchūans being scattered and shipwrecked or castaway at a number of different villages across the area.[162] After this, every mission (with the exception of that in 1710, for reasons which remain unclear) traveled instead via the Mino Road 美濃路 (*Minoji*), a northerly route which avoided this treacherous sea (bay) passage. While the Mino Road taken by the Lūchūans was a highway also used by countless other travelers, the Korean missions traveled a route between Yasu 野洲 and Toriimoto 鳥居本 post-stations which was associated with Tokugawa Ieyasu's journey to Edo following his victory at the battle of Sekigahara[163] and was restricted to only the Korean missions and the *kubō*

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[161] Shibamura, ed., *Ryūkyū shisetsu no Edo nobori to Kamagari,* 19.

[162] Kurushima, ed., *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei*, 114.; Bisai-shi Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan, 4.

[163] The battle of Sekigahara 関ヶ原の戦い (J: *Sekigahara no tatakai*), which took place on 1600/9/15 at Sekigahara in Mino province (today, Fuwa district, Gifu prefecture), was the decisive battle in which Tokugawa Ieyasu defeated a massive coalition of his enemies and claimed hegemony over the archipelago, setting the stage for the establishment of the Tokugawa regime three years later.

himself. Known historically as the *Tōjin kaidō* 唐人街道 ("Chinaman's Road") because of its association with the Korean missions,[164] the embassies' use of this auspicious route stands as another example of a privilege extended to the Korean missions, and not to the Lūchūans. It seems to have been standard for Dutch East India Company representatives to travel the Tōkaidō route, including the dangerous river/bay crossings, without notable detours.[165]

The shipwreck suffered by the Lūchūan embassy in 1672 took place because the Tōkaidō was not truly an entirely overland route. As part of Tokugawa efforts to protect Edo from attack, or perhaps because of the difficulty in maintaining bridges (which were often destroyed by flash floods), many of the river crossings along the Tōkaidō did not have bridges thrown across them; travelers were obliged to wade across where they could, hire porters to carry them on platforms or on their backs, or cross aboard ferry boats.[166] The Lūchūan embassies, traveling *daimyō* and their entourages, and Dutch merchants generally crossed in ferry boats.[167] By contrast, for the most elite travelers, including the heads of the *gosanke* 御三家 houses (collateral Tokugawa branch families), envoys or courtiers of the imperial court, Korean

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[164] As a result of efforts by certain *Zainichi* scholars (Japanese permanent residents of Korean descent), the *Tōjin kaidō* is today frequently referred to as the *Chōsenjin kaidō* 朝鮮人街道 ("Koreans' Road"), avoiding the term "*Tōjin*" ("Chinaman"), which they saw as derogatory. Lee, "Cultural Expressions of Tokugawa Japan and Chosŏn Korea," 150-151.
[165] This, after traveling overland from Nagasaki to Kokura, and then by ship to Osaka. Blomhoff, 76-79.; Kaempfer, 325-350.
[166] Vaporis, "Linking the Realm: The Gokaidō Highway Network in Early Modern Japan," in *Highways, Byways, and Road Systems in the Pre-Modern World*, ed. Susan Alcock, John Bodel, and Richard Talbert (New York: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), 102.
[167] Blomhoff, 76-77.; "Tōri shū Minoji kawagawa watarifune shirabechō kakinuki" 通り衆美濃路川々渡船調帳書抜, n.d., in Bisai Shishi Hensan Iinkai 尾西市史編さん委員会, *Bisai shishi: shiryō hen* 尾西市史：資料編, vol. 4 (Bisai, Aichi: Bisai Shishi Hensan Iinkai, 1989), 144-145.

missions, and the shogun himself, pontoon bridges (船橋, *funahashi*, lit. “boat bridges”) – a series of boats or rafts strung together, often with planks laid across them so as to create a temporary, floating, surface on which to walk across – were constructed. This was a privilege which according to Satō Kenji was not extended to the Lūchūans.[168] In fact, records from Bisai City show that, at least on the crossing of the Oguma River 小熊川 (along the Mino Road in modern-day Aichi prefecture), the Lūchūans *did* use pontoon bridges.[169] This is an important detail, showing at least one exception to the general rule; nevertheless, to the extent that Lūchūans may have been denied this privilege at other crossings, it serves as one more way in which the Lūchūans’ status as part of a Shimazu retainer band, or at the very least as representatives of a king of comparatively lesser status, was enacted.

Meanwhile, though some of the Lūchūans’ luggage would travel alongside the mission all the way to Edo, a considerable portion (including, chiefly, gifts to be given to the shogun and others in Edo) traveled separately, carried by some one hundred post-horses (伝馬, *tenma*) and six hundred or so hired porters (担夫, *tanpu*);[170] records from ports and post-stations show the Lūchūans’ luggage passing through weeks in advance of the mission itself, highlighted as a noteworthy event in itself.[171] The great majority of the porters and horses which accompanied

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[168] Satō Kenji 佐藤権司, *Chōsen tsūshinshi Ryūkyū shisetsu no Nikkō mairi* 朝鮮通信使琉球国使節の日光参り (Utsunomiya, Tochigi: Zuisōsha, 2007), 27.

[169] “Tōri shū Minoji kawagawa watarifune shirabechō kakinuki,” 145.

[170] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 106.

[171] See, for example, Watanabe Zen’emon, 105, 107.; and Odagiri Shunkō 小田切春江, *Ryūkyū gashi* 琉球画志 (Nagoya: Onoya Sōhachi, 1832), Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo, 5 *recto* – 6 *verso*.

the mission and carried the luggage did not travel with the embassy from Kagoshima or Lūchū, but rather were obtained at each post-station to travel with the mission for only a few days.

The provision of such logistical support set the Lūchūan embassies apart as "guests of the realm," but only to a partial extent when compared to their Korean counterparts. While traveling *daimyō* and most others (including middle- and low-ranking Tokugawa government officials, even traveling on official business) were left to purchase such help themselves, the Lūchūan missions were provided with horses and porters, for the overland portion of the journey, by Tokugawa orders.[172] The Tokugawa government also assigned a *daimyō* to serve temporarily as "reception officer" (馳走役, *chisōyaku*), and to oversee the issuing and implementation of these orders in the post-towns the Lūchūans passed through on this overland portion of the journey; for Korean missions, officially appointed reception officers were provided to oversee such matters for the *entire* journey.[173] *Furegaki* 触書 were distributed well in advance, sometimes months before the embassy departed Kagoshima, instructing each town to prepare the necessary number of workers and post-horses, which were paid for, so to speak, through a combination of corvée and other means.[174] Each town was also notified of the dates and times of the embassy's expected arrival in that location, the route their procession would take, and the reception that was required, allowing local officials

[172] Fukai, *Edo no tabibito tachi*, 170-171.

[173] Fukai Jinzō, *Edo no yado* 江戸の宿 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 2000), 76-77.

[174] Fukuyama-shi Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan, 139. *Furegaki* 触書, *ofuregaki* 御触書, or *ofure* 御触 were a type of Tokugawa or domanial instruction or order aimed at a wide (non-elite) population and circulated widely through a process of local authorities copying down and re-distributing copies of the edict.

to plan out and execute the necessary preparations.[175] Beginning in 1806, the Tokugawa government employed a type of levy known as *kuniyaku* 国役 in the eight provinces surrounding Edo to help pay for these expenses.[176] The Shimazu and the Lūchū royal court were thus spared the burden of paying for these services entirely on their own, with the burden being partially placed on regional *daimyō*, and often on individual towns and villages, though some towns and villages received financial aid in this matter from Edo or Nagoya.[177] This levying of *kuniyaku* set the Lūchūan missions apart from even the highest-ranking *daimyō*, and from solely belonging to the Shimazu household – whereas the Shimazu were obliged to provide for themselves and their retainers, the Lūchūan missions were treated, in this respect, as guests of the Tokugawa. Only other foreign missions and top-ranking Tokugawa government officials such as the *rōjū* were provided horses and porters in a similar fashion.[178] The Tokugawa government also provided guards to patrol outside the Shimazu mansion in Osaka while

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[175] Kurushima Hiroshi, Scot Hislop (trans.), "The Early Modern Period as 'The Age of Processions'" (paper presented at "Interpreting Parades and Processions of Edo Japan" symposium, University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, 11 February 2013).

[176] Fukai, *Edo no tabibito tachi*, 134.; Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 187.; Okinawa-ken Bunka Shinkōkai Kōbunshokan Kanribu Shiryōhenshūshitsu , 32, 59. Not only *daimyō* whose territory encompassed the post-stations were called upon to contribute to this effort; for example, the lord of Iyo-Matsuyama domain on Shikoku was obliged, at least on the occasion of the 1748 mission, if not more frequently, to provide the horses for the Korean mission's return trip, for the section from Arai checkpoint 新居関所 (in modern-day Hamamatsu, Shizuoka) to Yodo 淀 (between Kyoto and Osaka). Tamai Tatsuya 玉井達也, "Chōsen tsūshinshi, Ryūkyū shisetsu tsūkō to jōhō, settai, ōtai" 朝鮮通信使・琉球使節通航と情報・接待・応対, *Fūzoku shigaku* 風俗史学 36 (2007), 12. While *kuniyaku* was levied to help support the Korean missions throughout the period, it was only from 1806 onward that this was done for the Lūchūan missions. Tinello, "The termination of the Ryūkyūan embassies to Edo," 91.

[177] Okinawa-ken Bunka Shinkōkai Kōbunshokan Kanribu Shiryōhenshūshitsu, 33.; "Yorozu oboe chō" 萬覺帳, 1712/1, transcribed in Bisai Shishi Hensan Iinkai, 42-43. Records from the Tōkaidō post-station at Kanaya suggest that domains less than 100,000 *koku* in status received support from the Tokugawa government to help with the costs of receiving foreign embassies, fellow *daimyō*, and other elite official travelers. Kanaya Chōshi Hensan Iinkai 金谷町史編さん委員会, *Kanaya chōshi tsūshi hen honpen* 金谷町史・通史編本編 (Kanaya-machi, Shizuoka: Kanaya-machi, 2004), 414.

[178] Fukai, *Edo no tabibito tachi*, 170-171.

Lūchūan embassies were staying there,[179] and to escort the embassies in procession.[180] Still, while the Lūchūans were treated as "guests of the realm" in a sense in these particular respects, the Lūchū court (or Kagoshima) still had to pay for many aspects of the journey which the Korean missions did not, especially during the oversea portion of their journey.[181]

On the return journey, the mission traveled along largely the same route as on the way *to* Edo, the chief difference being merely which post-stations or port towns they stopped at, and at which they merely rested or ate meals. For example, on the way to Edo in 1718, the mission rested at Oki-juku 起宿 on the way to the post-station at Inaba 稲葉宿, where they stayed the night; on the way home the following year, they rested at Kiyosu post-station 清須宿, and stayed overnight at Oki.[182] As the Shimazu lord typically was required to remain behind in Edo in fulfillment of his *sankin kōtai* obligations, the escort for the mission's return was usually led by one or more *karō*. This also meant that the lord's own personal riverboat (*kawa*

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[179] Shinshū Ōsaka Shishi Hensan Iinkai, 574.

[180] While a great many samurai retainers of the Shimazu also processed with the Lūchūans, the *yoriki* 与力, *dōshin* 同心, and *okachi metsuke* 御徒目付 guardsmen accompanying the processions, in Edo at least, were men in the service of the Tokugawa government. Iwahana, 61-62.

[181] The Shimazu regularly requested loans from the Tokugawa government to help cover the considerable expenses of bringing Lūchūan envoys to Edo; the Tokugawa government acceded to giving such loans on the occasion of every embassy from 1796 onward. Tinello, "The termination of the Ryūkyūan embassies to Edo," 92. Lūchūan tributary missions to Beijing, by comparison, were treated wholly as guests of the realm in this respect, with Beijing either providing lodgings, guards, porters, horses, ships, and most other travel needs for the embassies directly, or obliging the provinces to cover such expenses; whereas Lūchū's status in Japan was complicated by the multi-layered relationship with the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses, its relationships with the Ming and Qing courts were more direct. "Daishinkoku e Ryūkyūjin tōshifure no taitei kikiawase sōrō oboegaki" 大清国江琉球人通融之大抵聞合候覺書, transcribed in Kamakura, 94.; Akamine, *The Ryukyu Kingdom*, 117.; Akazaki Kaimon 赤崎海門, *Ryūkaku danki* 琉客談記 (1796), pub. *Kaitei shiseki shūran* 改定史籍集覧, vol. 16, ed. Kondō Heijō 近藤瓶城 (Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1996), 626.; Ta-Tuan Ch'en, "Sino–Liu-Ch'iuan Relations in the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., Indiana University, 1963), 121-122.

[182] Bisai-shi Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan, 3.

gozabune) was not typically used on the return journey for the river journey from Fushimi to Osaka.[183]

The missions typically arrived back in Satsuma in the spring, and back home in Lūchū in the 3rd or 4th month (summer).[184] There were two times of good winds / calm seas for returning to Lūchū from Kagoshima. One was *urizun* うりずん, a time of southern winds in the 2nd-3rd months (spring); the other was in autumn, the time of northern winds, known as *miinishi* 新北.[185]

Lodgings

When the Lūchūan mission stayed overnight in a post-station or port town, the top-ranking Lūchūan officials were most typically provided lodgings in elite inns known as *honjin* 本陣 or *chaya* 茶屋, as traveling *daimyō*, Tokugawa officials, and Dutch and Korean embassies would. In some towns, such as the Hiroshima-area port-town of Mitarai 御手洗,[186] they stayed at inns run by families in the service of the Shimazu, while in cities such as Osaka, Fushimi, and Edo they were housed at Shimazu family mansions. While the lead enovys and other high- and

[183] Watanabe Zen'emon, 113.
[184] Okinawa-ken Bunka Shinkōkai Kōbunshokan Kanribu Shiryōhenshūshitsu , 59.
[185] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 69.
[186] A port town on the Inland Sea island of Ōsaki-Shimojima 大崎下島, located roughly halfway between the cities of Kure 呉市 on Honshū and Imabari 今治 on Shikoku. Historically part of the territory of Hiroshima domain, the town is today administered as part of Kure City, Hiroshima prefecture.

middle-ranking scholar-officials on the embassy stayed at such establishments, the remainder of the mission, and most of the Japanese escorting them, were housed elsewhere in the town.

Honjin were elite inns set aside specifically for hosting special guests such as traveling *daimyō*, Imperial envoys, Tokugawa officials, and foreign missions. They were often the private homes of village elders, which also served as centers of village administration, commercial storefronts, and/or artisanal workshops when they were not being used to house elite visitors.[187] Most *honjin* only hosted visitors a few tens of days out of each year, and even some of the busiest *honjin*, such as that at the Tōkaidō post-staton of Futagawa-juku 二川宿,[188] were only occupied in such a fashion 100-200 days a year. *Honjin* were often the largest building in a port or post-town, and the only ones in the town permitted to have gatehouses flanking their entrances.[189] A *honjin* was typically large enough to house tens of high-ranking individuals at once. Even the largest *honjin* typically hosted a lord and no more than sixty or so of his highest-status retainers.[190] The basic practicalities of limited space, as well as social norms dictating that people of differing status should not share the same lodgings meant that middle- and lower-ranking members of a *daimyō*'s entourage or of an embassy were housed elsewhere, such as in secondary official lodgings known as *waki-honjin* 脇本陣 ("side *honjin*"). When the 1832 Lūchūan mission stayed overnight at Futagawa, 38 Lūchūan officials, 17 samurai, and two

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[187] Miyake Riichi 三宅理一, *Edo no gaikō toshi: Chōsen tsūshinshi to machizukuri* 江戸の外交都市：朝鮮通信使と町づくり (Tokyo: Kashima Shuppankai, 1990), 77.

[188] Today, located within Toyohashi City 豊橋市 in Aichi prefecture.

[189] Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 29-30.

[190] Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 27, 29.

hired day laborers were provided rooms at the *honjin*. As was typical, the deputy envoy and the remaining members of the mission were given rooms at the *waki-honjin*, private homes, or *hatagoya* 旅籠屋 (private inns).[191] These secondary, smaller, lodgings are often referred to in records from the time as *shimo-yado* 下宿 ("lower lodgings").[192]

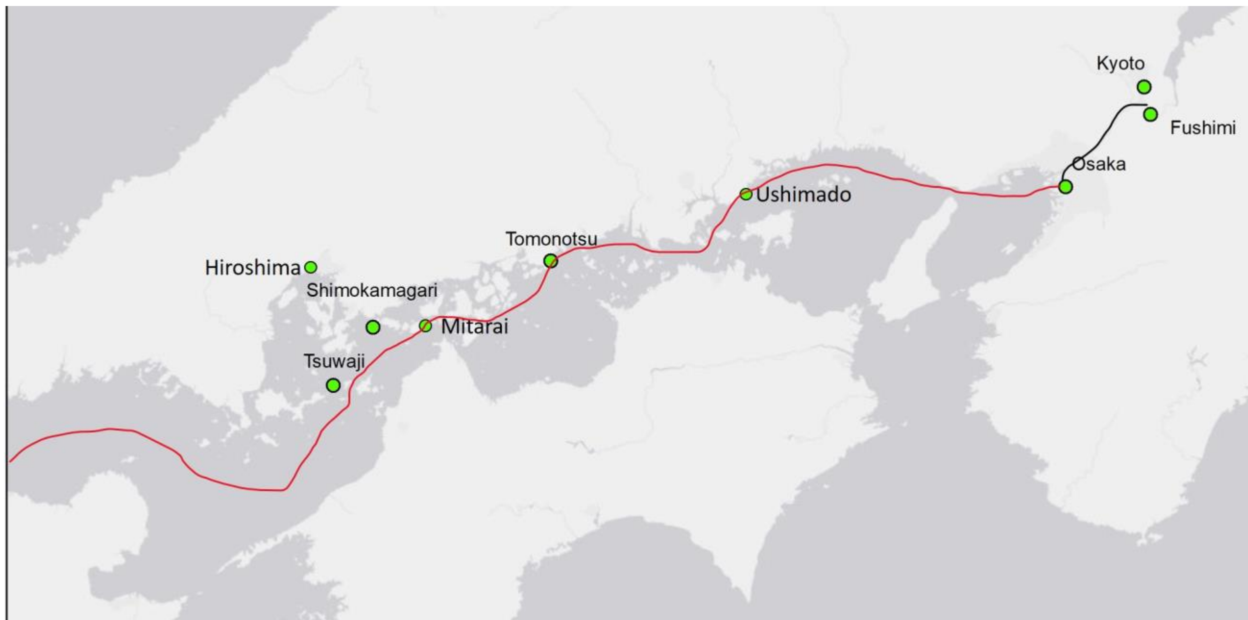

Fig. 1-2: Map of the approximate route of the Lūchūan embassies through the Inland Sea to Osaka, and then up the Yodo River to Fushimi. Esri, HERE, Garmin © OpenStreetMap contributors and the GIS user community. Thanks to Kristi Liu and the UCSB Interdisciplinary Research Collaboratory for help with these maps.

Instead of, or in addition to, a *honjin*, many of the key port-towns in the Inland Sea maintained establishments known as *chaya* (lit. "teahouse"). Unlike *honjin*, which often doubled as the home, shop, or office of local village leaders and which were maintained for the use of a variety of elite guests who might stop in the town, these "teahouses" were primarily

[191] Shibuya, 81-82.; Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan, 17.; Fukuyama-shi Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan, 62.

[192] See, for example, Watanabe Kazutoshi, ed., *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō* 二川宿本陣宿帳, vol. 3 (Toyohashi, Aichi: Toyohashi-shi Futagawa-juku Honjin Shiryōkan, 2011), 480-482.

for the personal use of the lord of that domain, to use as his own lodgings when he traveled to that town for business or pleasure, or when stopping there along the way to or from Edo on his own *sankin kōtai* journeys.[193] Such establishments were often, however, given over to hosting members of the Lūchūan and Korean missions as well. They were typically managed by officials in the service of the domain, rather than by local town or village elites. While the idea of a lord's personal "teahouse" might lead us to imagine a fairly small establishment, these were often quite sizable, comparable in size and furnishings to a *honjin*. A 1711 diagram of the *chaya* at Ushimado 牛窓[194] shows some 24 tatami rooms, in addition to a foyer (*genkan*), hallways, earthen-floored semi-outdoor areas (*doma*), kitchens, and so forth.[195] These were luxurious establishments, with one at Tsuwaji 津和地[196] covering an area 22 *ken* long and 11 *ken* wide, a total of 260 *tsubo*.[197] It included a study (*shoin*), storage room, sweets room, multiple gates, bath, two kitchens, and several other rooms; a neighboring *nagaya* (longhouse) building

[193] Though the term *chaya* is among the most standard euphemisms for brothels or houses of assignation in this period, and while many of these port towns were also thriving sites of prostitution, the lord's personal *chaya* ("teahouse," guesthouse) had no connection to prostitution, and should not be confused for such an establishment.

[194] An Inland Sea port-town today part of Setouchi City 瀬戸内市, Okayama prefecture.

[195] "Ochaya ezu" 御茶屋絵図, Collection of Okayama University Library. Reproduced in Ehime-ken Rekishi Bunka Hakubutsukan 愛媛県歴史文化博物館, *Kaidō o yuku: Edo jidai no Seto Naikai* 海道をゆく: 江戸時代の瀬戸内海 (Uwa, Ehime: Ehime-ken Rekishi Bunka Hakubutsukan, 1999), 48, and Okayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan 岡山県立博物館, *Chōsen tsūshinshi to Okayama* 朝鮮通信使と岡山 (Okayama: Okayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 2007), 75.

[196] An island in the Inland Sea located roughly 6-7 miles south of the city of Kure, Hiroshima prefecture, on Honshū, and roughly the same distance northeast of the city of Matsuyama 松山市, the capital of Ehime prefecture on Shikoku. Historically part of the territory of the lords of Iyo-Matsuyama 伊予松山 domain, the island is today administered as part of Matsuyama City.

[197] One *ken* 間, perhaps equivalent to roughly 1.8 meters, is the traditional distance between a building's pillars. One *tsubo* 坪, the size of a 1 *ken* by 1 *ken* square, or of two tatami mats placed together, equivalent to roughly 3.3m^2. Arne Kalland, *Fishing Villages in Tokugawa Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1995), ix.

contained further kitchens and rooms and served as the main residence of the local district magistrates.[198] Towns that were home to such *chaya* included Nakanoseki, Kaminoseki, Okikamuro, Karōto, Tsuwaji, Kamagari, Mitarai, Tomonotsu, Ushimado, and Murotsu, among others.[199]

In many port-towns, there also existed inns maintained by *goyō shōnin* 御用商人, merchants who enjoyed the patronage of a particular *daimyō* and were dedicated to his service. The Nekoya 猫屋 in Tomonotsu 鞆津[200] and the Wakiya 脇屋 in Mitarai were these sorts of establishments. Run by families with a long history of service to the Shimazu, they played primary roles in effecting the reception and hosting of the Lūchūan missions in those port-towns.[201]

Finally, in the cities of Osaka, Fushimi, and Edo, the Lūchūan missions were housed alongside the *daimyō* and his retainers in mansions maintained by Kagoshima domain. By contrast, Korean missions were not typically housed in the mansions of the lord of Tsushima, but rather in Buddhist temples, including Honnō-ji and Honkoku-ji in Kyoto and Asakusa Higashi Hongan-ji in Edo.[202] The same was the case in some port-towns and post-stations: while the

[198] Ehime-ken Rekishi Bunka Hakubutsukan, 121.
[199] Ehime-ken Rekishi Bunka Hakubutsukan, 48-49.
[200] An Inland Sea port town located on the Honshū mainland, some ten miles south of Fukuyama castle 福山城. Historically part of the territory of Fukuyama domain, the town is known today as Tomonoura 鞆の浦 and is administered as part of Fukuyama City 福山市, Hiroshima prefecture.
[201] Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan, 11. The former Wakiya inn still stands, and is today home to an art gallery. Plaques on-site at the Wakiya, Mitarai, Kure City, Hiroshima.; The Nekoya is no longer extant, as a road was cut through the row of buildings, but its former location, facing the harbor, is well-known. Conversation with curators at Fukuyama-shi Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan, 8 August 2017.
[202] Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens," 428.; plaques on-site at Honnō-ji, Kyoto.

Lūchūans were hosted primarily in *honjin* and *chaya*, in towns such as Ushimado and Tomonotsu, Korean envoys were housed in Buddhist temples as well as in the *honjin* or *chaya*.[203] This was likely not for any religious reason, but simply because temples included large rooms, kitchens, and baths which could accommodate a large number of people conveniently.[204] This was not necessarily seen as an invasion of the monks' space, or a violation of the temple's autonomy, since temples were seen less as private institutions which belong solely to the religious sect, and more as public spaces, a part of the community. These spaces were regularly used for a variety of local "public" events, and hosting foreign visitors was seen as merely an extension of the same.[205]

Yet, if putting elite visitors up in the local temple was such a natural and unproblematic choice, it seems strange that Lūchūan missions were so rarely housed in temples. Though some members of the Lūchūan missions were occasionally provided lodgings in temples, e.g. in Kyoto's Daitoku-ji in 1710 and in several temples at Futagawa-juku in 1832,[206] their staying in temples seems to have been a far less common, and less prominent, feature of the Lūchūan missions than of the Korean ones. This marked difference in how Lūchūan and Korean missions were housed may point, again, to the Lūchūans being seen and treated as part of the Shimazu entourage. While the Korean envoys were guests of the realm, and were provided for in a special way, with the lord of Tsushima and his men serving merely as escorts, the Lūchūans'

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[203] Namely, Honren-ji in Ushimado (through 1655), and Fukuzen-ji in Tomonotsu. Okayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 56.; plaques on-site at Fukuzen-ji, Tomonoura, Fukuyama City, Hiroshima.
[204] Fukai, *Edo no yado*, 76-77.
[205] Conversation with Inoue Chizu 井上ちず, 8 Aug 2017.
[206] *Ryūkyū-koku raihei kiji*, transcribed in Fukuyama-shi Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan, 143.; *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō*, vol. 3, 486.

lodgings and provisions were (to some extent) regarded as the concern of Kagoshima, and so they were housed in a similar fashion to the Kagoshima samurai, within the system of *honjin* and so forth maintained for accommodating *daimyō* travel.

After arriving in Edo, the Lūchūan missions usually remained in the city for around one month,[207] staying in rooms within the Shimazu family "upper mansion" (上屋敷, *kami yashiki*) in the Shiba area.[208] While other Shimazu retainers were relatively free to leave the mansion and walk the streets of Edo, engage in shopping, go to food & drink establishments, meet up with friends or associates, attend entertainments, and so forth,[209] the Lūchūans were restricted to the mansion, only going out on official business. Though they were free to wear casual Japanese-style garments within the mansion, they were forbidden from being seen in Japanese clothing in public. On visits to high-ranking Tokugawa court officials, members of the Tokugawa household, or Tokugawa-affiliated temples and shrines, the middle- and high-ranking officials wore Ming court costume; on all other occasions, they wore Lūchūan court robes.

Lūchūan officials who had served as members of missions to Beijing likely found these restrictions on their movements familiar, and understandable. In Beijing, too, the Lūchūans were forbidden from leaving their lodgings at the Huìtóng-guǎn 會同館 without permission,

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[207] Okinawa-ken Bunka Shinkōkai Kōbunshokan Kanribu Shiryōhenshūshitsu, 57. One exception was in 1649, when aftershocks from a major earthquake on 1649/6/20 continued through the 6th, 7th, and 8th months, causing audiences to be postponed until the 9th month. Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 103.
[208] Specifically, in what is today Minato-ku, Shiba 3-chōme, a site today occupied by the Celestine Hotel and NEC main headquarters, a short walk south of Zōjō-ji and Shiba Park.
[209] Though retainers were typically required to request formal permission to leave the mansion compound on personal business, such permission seems to have been very frequently granted. As Vaporis indicates, "one Tosa retainer, for example, went out between five and ten times per month." Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 198.

and without a Qing escort.[210] Notably, however, in Beijing the Lūchūans' outings were not limited to official obligations but included formal opportunities to visit markets and other areas in the nearby neighborhood, as well as institutions such as the Confucian temple at the Qing Imperial Academy (國子監, *Guózǐjiàn*). Unlike visits to Tokugawa-affiliated shrines and temples, an obligation imposed upon Korean and Lūchūan envoys by the Tokugawa government, Lūchūan visits to the Confucian temple at the National Academy in Beijing were at their own initiative, for which permission was granted by the Qing court.[211] Of further significance is the fact that while Lūchūan envoys in Edo were quite restricted in their interactions even with Japanese, those who sojourned in Beijing lived alongside envoys from Joseon, Vietnam, Burma, Nepal, Siam, and other tributary kingdoms at the Huìtóng-guǎn, and participated alongside them in Imperial Palace ceremonies and banquets.[212] In this way, albeit through this limited avenue alone, Lūchūan missions to Beijing provided a connection to the outside world that relations with Japan did not, allowing the kingdom to retain some small semblance of the international engagement it had enjoyed as a more fully independent kingdom, despite the restrictions placed on its foreign affairs by its quasi-incorporation into the Japanese sphere of "maritime restrictions."[213]

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[210] Maehira Fusaaki 真栄平房昭, "Ryūkyū shisetsu no ikoku taiken" 琉球使節の異国体験, *Kokusai kōryū* 国際交流 59 (1992), 63, 65.
[211] Ch'en, "Sino–Liu-Ch'iuan Relations in the Nineteenth Century," 136.
[212] Kamiya, *Ryūkyū to Nihon, Chūgoku*, 75.
[213] Kamiya, "Pekin no Ryukyu shisetsu*"* 北京の琉球使節, *Rekishi techō* 歴史手帖 23:6 (June 1995), 10. On the notion of "maritime restrictions" (海禁, J: *kaikin*) as an alternative to the much-critiqued *sakoku* 鎖国 ("closed country") view, see Arano Yasunori 荒野泰典, *"Sakoku" o minaosu* 「鎖国」を見直す (Kawasaki: Kawasaki-shi Shōgai Gakushū Shinkō Jigyōdan Kawasaki Shimin Akademii Shuppanbu, 2003)., and Arano, "The Entrenchment of the Concept of 'National Seclusion,'" *Acta Asiatica* 67 (1994), 83-103.

Though in most towns along their journey the Lūchūan envoys typically enjoyed the most lavish, expansive, and elite lodgings, a treatment reaffirming their elite status, it was not only the level but also the type of lodgings which contributed to constituting and signaling their status. As we have seen, in towns such as Kamagari, foreign embassies enjoyed receptions or lodgings in the *chaya* while the town's *honjin* was reserved for the use of traveling *daimyō*.[214] And while in most towns the Lūchūans stayed at *honjin* or *chaya* as *daimyō*, Tokugawa officials, and Dutch and Korean embassies did, in Osaka, Fushimi, and Edo, as well as in some smaller towns such as the Inland Sea port-town of Mitarai, they were housed at Shimazu family mansions or at inns run by families in the service of the Shimazu. *Daimyō*, similarly, stayed at their own mansions or *chaya* in those cities or towns where they maintained such establishments, or at lodgings run by innkeepers in their service. Dutch and Korean embassies, by contrast, were often housed at Buddhist temples and rarely if ever at lodgings associated with a *daimyō* family.

The numerous remaining members of the missions often occupied a very significant portion of the villagers' homes (and of their time and efforts) beyond the *honjin* or *chaya*, *goyō shōnin* establishments, and temples. The port-town of Kaminoseki 上関,[215] for example, was a town of some one thousand people, comprising just over 140 households, when a Korean

[214] Stone plaque, "Shimo-Kamagari-chō no ken shiseki" 「下蒲刈町の県史跡」, on-site at Shimo-Kamagari harbor.
[215] A port-town in Yamaguchi prefecture (formerly, Suō province) near the western end of the Inland Sea. Historically part of the territory of Nagato (aka Chōshū) domain, the town was an official maritime checkpoint (関所, *sekisho*) maintained by the domain.

mission of 569 Koreans and however many Japanese escorts passed through in 1711.[216] Every time a major *daimyō* on his *sankin kōtai* journey or a foreign embassy came through the town, their entourage took up the great majority of the private homes along the main streets of both Kaminoseki proper and the neighboring town of Murotsu 室津.[217] Many towns, including Kaminoseki, also built temporary structures as supplementary lodgings, in order to accommodate large entourages,[218] while towns such as Ushimado relied more heavily on expanding existing spaces: tatami was laid across wooden-floored spaces, hallways, and even across areas of dirt & grass between buildings to create enough space for the hundreds or thousands traveling with a mission to have space to sleep.[219]

The same was surely the case for the Lūchūan missions when they took up lodgings in Kaminoseki or in other port-towns and post-stations. That said, while these towns were by certain standards quite small, the people of the town, their administrative structures, and commercial infrastructure were generally well-prepared and capable of handling the burden. The port of Mitarai, for example, a town of some 537 people in 1768, despite growing to nearly triple that population by 1800, still housed a permanent population smaller than the number of people in a Kagoshima lord's entourage who would need hosting. And yet, Mitarai was a very active commercial port throughout the Edo period, sometimes handling as many as 50-100

[216] Martin Dusinberre, *Hard Times in the Hometown: A History of Community Survival in Modern Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2012), 23.
[217] Dusinberre, 24-25. This village of Murotsu in Suō province should not be confused with the more significant port of Murotsu in Harima province (today, Hyōgo prefecture).
[218] Shimokamagari Chōshi Hensan Iinkai 下蒲刈町史編纂委員会, *Shimo-Kamagari chōshi: zusetsu tsūshi hen* 下蒲刈町史：図説通史編 (Kure, Hiroshima: Kure-shi, 2007), 64.
[219] Vaporis, *Tour of Duty,* 27.; Miyake Riichi, 77-83, 91.

kitamaebune 北前船 trading ships at once.[220] Further, surrounding towns and villages often contributed loans, materials, and/or men to reception efforts, easing the burden on a single post-station or port town acting alone. Though local records occasionally reveal that a given town's supply of futon, hibachi, or some other provisions were insufficient, and that additional supplies had to be obtained from elsewhere, that housing was tight, and additional spaces needed to be found or created, or that funds had to be borrowed from neighboring towns or local authorities, they seem to have generally provided successfully for their guests in the end.[221]

Much of the local labor involved in receiving foreign missions, such as the providing of boats to escort the mission's ships into harbor and to ferry people and cargo between the ships and the shore, was provided by corvée (助郷, *sukegō*). While fishermen and boatmen were given some compensation for their time, in the form of rice,[222] still they could expect each year to be called up for corvée duty quite frequently; in Chikuzen province (Fukuoka prefecture), fishermen regularly lost as much as 10% of fishing time (and thus a sizable amount of fish, i.e.

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[220] Kimura, 11. Incidentally, Mitarai was also a major center of prostitution, with as many as one-fifth of the residents being affiliated with the brothels, catering to merchants and other travelers, in the mid-18th century. Prostitution was presumably also available in many of the other port-towns mentioned in this study, though on a smaller scale. I have found no explicit mention of brothels in Kamagari, Tomo, Onomichi, or any of the other port-towns I discuss, outside of Mitarai. For more on prostitution in Mitarai, see Amy Stanley, *Selling Women: Prostitution, Markets, and the Household in Early Modern Japan* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2012), 163-187.

[221] See, for example, *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō*, vol. 3, 480, 488, 513-514, and *Yahara-ke goyō nikki* 八原家御用日記, entries dated 1791/1/17, 1/18, 1/24, 2/10, transcribed in Kimura, 74-75. Also, Shibuya, 89.

[222] "Tenpo yonen midoshi Ryūkyūjin kichō ni tsuki Tsuwaji-mura e kogibune ni makari izu no monodomo e fuchi hō watashi chō" 天保四年巳歳琉球人帰朝二付津和地村江漕船二罷出之者共江扶持方渡帳 (Tsuwaji Village record, 1833, collection of Matsuyama City Board of Education), excerpts transcribed in Fukuyama-shi Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan, 110-113.

income/livelihood) as a result of being called away on corvée.[223] Combined, the villagers of Chikuzen province contributed some 120,000 days' worth of man-hours to the reception of the 1748 mission from Korea.[224]

Formal meetings with local officials or *honjin* proprietors was another key site of the enactment of the status of traveling *daimyō* or other elites. The precise step-by-step logistics of a Lūchūan mission's arrival in a post-station town, and of their meetings with local officials are unclear. However, records from the Futagawa *honjin* indicate that "in the case of Lūchūans staying [at the *honjin*] … their reception into the town, [and] their welcome into the *honjin* … these were just as for a *daimyō*."[225] Thus, even though more detailed information is not available specifically for the Lūchūan case, we can take examples from *daimyō* receptions as a guide towards imagining the procedures and practices likely involved in the arrival and reception of a Lūchūan embassy into a post-station or port-town. In the case of a *sankin kōtai* mission, an official message (御触書, *ofuregaki*) was sent to inform the post-station when the *daimyō* and his entourage were one *ri* 里 (roughly 4 km) away. When the mission got closer to the town, several aides to the *daimyō* traveled ahead to confirm with the post-station officials in person that all was in preparation.[226] When the lord arrived, he was met at the edge of the

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[223] Kalland, 222.
[224] Kalland, 222.
[225] 「琉球人御泊り…御宿入御本陣迎ひ…是ハ御大名様方之通り」. *Futagawa shukuchō*, vol. 3, 485.
[226] These aides typically included *sobayaku* 側役, *konando* 小納戸, and/or *koshō* 小姓 *Sobayaku* literally translates to "official by [one's] side," and were among the lord's attendants. A *konando* was a lord's personal aide, typically young and low in rank, who was responsible for helping the lord with his personal effects – including his clothing, swords, hairdo. *Koshō* is typically translated as "page," but while *koshō* were often quite young, and while it was considered a low position from which one could be later promoted to more illustrious positions, the *koshō* seem to have been shouldered with a great many responsibilities, and were ostensibly quite capable in fulfilling them.

post-station by local officials, who then escorted and guided him as he and his men processed into the town. The *Gieisei nikki*, written by a member of the 1832 mission, suggests that the same was done for the Lūchūan embassies, indicating that "along the Mino Road and Tōkaidō, there is considerable reception … in the various provinces/domains. Officials, footmen, forerunners, and guides, etc., are sent out [to receive us]."[227] The Lūchūan mission was met at the entrance into the town by a village headman, the proprietors of the lodgings, and/or by a more high-ranking figure such as a *daikan* 代官, who administered a district on behalf of the Tokugawa government, or a local magistrate (奉行, *bugyō*). High-status *daimyō* such as the heads of the Ii family, lords of Hikone (who regularly served as *rōjū* 老中, the shogun's top advisors), were similarly met by a *daikan*, or by representatives or messengers sent by the local *daimyō* or other local authority. These representatives could vary considerably in rank, however, from a lowly page (小姓, *koshō*) up to a local magistrate, making it difficult to ascertain whether the Lūchūans' reception was necessarily greater or lesser in this respect.[228]

Lūchūan *yuetongzi* are often described as *koshō* as well, though it is unclear just how similar their responsibilities, status, and position otherwise were to Japanese *koshō*.

[227] 「美濃路、東海道筋、諸国為御馳走通筋…結構有之、…出役足軽先払案内者等出候事。」"Gieisei nikki," 150.

[228] Noda Hiroko 野田浩子, "Oitoma kara sankin made no ichi-nen" 御暇から参勤までの一年, in *Fudai daimyō Ii ke no girei* 譜代大名井伊家の儀礼, ed. Asao Naohiro 朝尾直弘 (Hikone, Shiga: Hikonejō Hakubutsukan, 2004), 149. "Go-sankin go-jōkoku zakki" 御参勤御上国雑記, a circa 1793 record of the *sankin kōtai* journey of Ii Naonaka 井伊直中, lord of Hikone domain, includes mention of how the lord was received in each town along his journey, by a mix of pages, *sobayaku* (aides to local officials such as *daikan*), magistrates, *daikan*, and others. The document is transcribed in Asao, ed., 320-360.

After being met outside the town, a Lūchūan embassy then formed up into a formal procession and processed into the town, playing music until after they passed through the gates of the *honjin*.[229] In at least some cases, perhaps most, the musicians lined up to either side of the entrance of a mansion or inn and continued playing as the other members of the mission walked past them and entered the building.[230]

Even when accompanied only by a Shimazu House Elder 家老 (*karō*) and not by the Shimazu lord himself (e.g. on the return journey from Edo, or when the Shimazu lord was a day behind or ahead of the Lūchūans), *honjin* seem to have given the embassies a level and type of reception as if they were *daimyō* on *sankin kōtai*. *Daimyō* were typically greeted at the entrance to the *honjin* by its proprietors, the village headman, and/or other individuals of similar status, who then led the *daimyō* into a sitting room where saké, tea and sweets, or the like was brought out.[231] Lūchūan envoys similarly were welcomed with a formal ceremonial meeting, described in the Futagawa records as "an audience … just as [was done] for *daimyō*."[232] Korean missions were welcomed with a ceremonial presentation of a 7-5-3 set of dishes 七五三膳, involving two courses of seven dishes, one course of five dishes, and two

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[229] 「御宿入御本陣御迎ひ御大名様方之通宿端まで参り、同宿端ゟ行列神明橋よりくわけん御本陣御門之内まで…」*Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō*, vol. 3, 485. Hirayama Toshijirō glosses 「くわけん」as referring to 管弦 (くゎんげん, lit. "wind and string instruments", i.e. "music"). Hirayama, 109. The arrival and reception of a Lūchūan mission for a "short rest" (小休) is similarly described as "not differing from the short rest of a daimyō." *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō*, vol. 3, 491.

[230] "Shimazu ke monjo Ryūkyū ryōshi sanpu ikkan gansho" 島津家文書　琉球両使参府一巻願書, excerpted in Shinshū Ōsaka Shishi Hensan Iinkai, 566. This document describes the case of the Lūchūans' arrival and entry into the Sadowara domain mansion at Osaka in 1710.

[231] "Go-sankin go-jōkoku zakki," Asao, ed., 353.

[232] 「御目見へ有之、是ハ御大名様方之通り」. *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō*, vol. 3, 485.

courses of three dishes, including foods gathered from all across the realm. These dishes were beautifully arranged and are vividly depicted in a number of paintings and other visual records from the time. However, this was a ritual meal, and was not actually eaten. It was presented, then taken away and replaced with a real meal of three soups and 15 dishes 三汁十五菜.[233] By contrast, in another enactment of the hierarchical difference between the regard for Korean and Lūchūan missions, the Lūchūans did not receive such a ceremonial presentation, and instead only received an actual meal, to be eaten, of three soups and 11 dishes 三汁十一菜.[234] This was still a more extensive meal, however, than that typically provided to high-ranking Tokugawa officials. One record from Yakage 矢掛, a post-station along the San'yōdō highway in Bitchū province (Okayama prefecture), for example, describes a Nagasaki *bugyō* as receiving only two soups and five dishes when he stayed at Yakage in 1774.[235]

A visiting *daimyō* also exchanged pleasantries with the local officials at this time, asking after their health, the condition of the *honjin* and of the town, and perhaps discussing recent events of note before turning to discussion of his stay, including for example what time he and his entourage were planning to depart the following day. This discussion was followed by a presentation by local officials of gifts to the lord, typically a modest amount of local products such as fish.[236] *Honjin* proprietors and local officials are said to have generally felt it proper, and essential, to present gifts to their elite guests as a performance of the correct etiquette given

[233] Okayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 64.
[234] Shibamura, ed., *Ryūkyū shisetsu no Edo nobori to Kamagari*, 40.
[235] Kurushima, *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei*, 190.
[236] "Go-sankin go-jōkoku zakki," Asao, ed., 353.

their lower station.[237] The guest often had this fish or other foodstuffs sent immediately to the kitchens to be prepared and served; sometimes he politely declined the gift.[238] Regardless, this interaction – the formal presentation of the gift, and its acceptance (or polite declination) – was an important performance of the hierarchical difference and social relationships of etiquette and obligations between hosts and guests.[239] It was typical for guests to have multiple formal meetings (or audiences) with the operators of the lodgings, with local officials such as village headmen, and in some cases with the local *daimyō* himself, during their time in a port-town or post-station.[240]

The Futagawa-juku *honjin* records indicate that the Lūchūans engaged in "an audience just as for *daimyō*,"[241] so the pattern of practices may have been quite similar. An entry in the *Gieisei nikki* describing the 1832 embassy's arrival in Odawara 小田原 (a castle-town and post-station a short distance from Edo) suggests that the lead and vice envoys and all other high- and middle-ranking members of the embassy were present at the *honjin* for the "celebration of arrival ceremony" (御着之御祝儀, J: *gochaku no go-shukugi*) in which ceremonial inquiries of health as well as gifts from the lead envoy were offered, with Shimazu *karō* Zusho Shōzaemon

[237] Fukai, *Edo no yado,* 68-69.
[238] Fukai, *Edo no yado*, 69.
[239] I discuss gift-giving as social performance at greater length in Chapter Three.
[240] "Go-sankin go-jōkoku zakki," Asao, ed., 327-328, 343.; Fukuyamajō Hakubutsukan Tomo-no-kai 福山城博物館友の会, *Nakamura ke nikki: Fukuyama shi jūyō bunkazai* 中村家日記： 福山市重要文化財, vol. 2 (Fukuyama, Hiroshima: Fukuyamajō Hakubutsukan Tomo-no-kai, 2008), 41.
[241] *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō*, vol. 3, 485.

調所笑左衛門 (1776-1848) acting as “agent” or “intermediary” (取次, J: *toritsugi*).[242] It remains unclear, however, precisely how such audiences proceeded in the Lūchūan case. The envoys may have engaged in such discussions with local officials or *honjin* proprietors themselves (presumably through interpreters), or the Shimazu lord or *karō* accompanying them (Zusho, in this case) may have been the primary figures in such audiences, with the Lūchūan envoys participating in a more passive manner.

The Lūchūan embassies were markedly distinguished from *daimyō*, however, in the manner in which they paid for their lodgings. When a *daimyō's* entourage departed a post-station, the lord typically met with the *honjin* operators and/or local officials again, granting them an amount of gold or silver, occasionally alongside textiles, fans, paper, woodblock prints, tobacco, or other additional goods.[243] This monetary amount given by the lord was not, however, seen as “payment.” Even though *honjin* ledgers such as that from Futagawa-juku often record specific amounts under terms such as *shukuryō* 宿料 (“charge for lodgings” or “lodgings rate”), the amount given by the lord is regularly described not as “payment” (払い, *harai*), but rather with terms such as *hairyō* 拝領 or *kashi* 下賜.[244] These are the same terms

[242] 「…正使副使賛議官中宮楽童子迄、聞役案内一房御本陣に参上、調所笑左衛門殿御取次、御着之御祝儀、且御機嫌伺被申上、正使 β 進上物等被仕…」 “Gieisei nikki,” 163.

[243] Ina Toshisada 伊奈利定, "Tōkaidō Futagawa juku honjin ni okeru daimyō-ke no riyō" 東海道二川宿本陣における大名家の利用, in Watanabe Kazutoshi, ed., *Honjin ni tomatta daimyō tachi*, 61, 74.; *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō*, vol. 3, 474-477, 479-480, 497, 499, 504, 508, 515-516, 518, 520, 526, 529. Tobacco is represented here by the term *kokubu* 国分, a city in Kagoshima domain which was a major site of tobacco cultivation.

[244] To give just one example, the Hikone domain record “Go-sankin go-jōkoku zakki”, Asao, ed., 354, employs the phrase 「御金拝領御礼御取次披露」, roughly, “a bestowal of gold was presented as thanks”; Yamamoto, *Sankin*

used in other documents when describing a lord's "bestowal" of gifts, fiefs, or stipends upon a vassal, or upon someone else of lesser status in a gift exchange relationship. By contrast, the term *harai*, or "payment," *does* appear in the Futagawa *honjin's* records of the rate charged for the Lūchūans' lodgings. For each stay by a Lūchūan party at Futagawa, the *honjin* records indicate a monetary amount followed by the terms *ōharai* 大払 ("large payment," indicating they paid altogether in one sum) or *meimei harai* 銘々払 ("each paid individually"), suggesting that the Lūchūan missions may have paid for the lodgings in a more straightforward, commercial manner than *daimyō* typically did.[245] The verb *harau* 払 ("to pay") also sometimes appears directly following the lodgings rate listed for the stays of Shimazu retainers, or women of the Shimazu household, who stayed at Futagawa with their own entourages on separate travels,[246] but not in records of stays by the Shimazu lord himself, which generally provide no verb at all after the monetary amounts.[247] These "bestowals" from visiting *daimyō* were a performance of the relationship between them and the innkeepers, something akin to a lord-vassal relationship, even if the innkeepers were not usually considered *goyō shōnin* in the service to that lord specifically. Though propriety dictated that innkeepers owed a certain degree of service to other members of a *daimyō's* household – such as retainers or women of

kōtai, 117.; *Karō* or others sometimes supplemented this amount afterwards, in order to be sure to cover the equivalent of a charged rate. Miyamoto, *Nihon no yado*, 175.

[245] *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō,* vol. 3, 480-482, 508-509. Shibuya Shiori clarifies that the Lūchūans and the attached samurai were divided into groups, with each group of Lūchūans and samurai paying all together in one lump for their lodgings (大払), while those merely attached to the mission more incidentally, in this case namely the day laborers, paid individually (銘々払). Shibuya, 82.

[246] *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō*, vol. 3, 468, 494-495, 497, 499-500, 503, 510.

[247] *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō*, vol. 3, 470-478, 494, 504, 506, 524. Sadly, as these Futagawa-juku *honjin* records only cover the years 1807 to 1866, and the last Korean embassy to Edo was in 1764, direct comparisons to the treatment of the Korean embassies cannot be drawn.

the household – they did not maintain such individual lord-vassal relationships with those retainers or women as they did with the *daimyō*. Nor did they see themselves as vassals or servants of the King of Lūchū, or of his envoys, and thus did not receive "bestowals" from the Lūchūan envoys but rather "payment."

Comparison of the amounts paid by other elite visitors, such as *daimyō* of varying rank/status, in order to ascertain where the Lūchūans might have fit in a hierarchy of special guests, is difficult, however. This is due in part to the multiple different denominations in which these payments are recorded, and the widely varying amounts paid. For example, within a month or so to either side of the Lūchūans' visit to the Tōkaidō post-station of Chiryū-juku 池鯉鮒宿 in 1710, the *hatamoto* Nagasawa Iki-no-kami paid one *bu* 分 of gold (one-quarter of one gold *ryō* 両) for an overnight stay, Sone Noto-no-kami paid 500 *mon* 文 (half a *kanmon* 貫文 of copper) for a "short rest," and the Shimazu *karō* accompanying the Lūchūans paid two *bu* of gold, as did Mōri Suruga-no-kami, all for groups of similar size, ranging from 13 to 29 people, while Matsudaira Hizen-no-kami (i.e. the Nabeshima lord of Saga domain) paid five pieces of silver for a "short rest" for only nine people.[248] There has been surprisingly little scholarship aggregating and analyzing such numbers to suggest any coherent logic or overall conclusions as to the intersections between status and lodging rates.

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[248] Chiryū Shishi Hensan Iinkai 知立市史編さん委員会 *Shinpen chiryū shishi 5: Chiryūshuku honjin on'yadochō* 新編知立市史. 5, 池鯉鮒宿本陣御宿帳 (Chiryū, Aichi: Chiryū-shi, 2011), 174, 190, 243-244.

Still, to the extent that we might surmise based on a very limited portion of the data, some patterns do, tentatively, seem to emerge. The 1832, 1842, and 1850 Lūchūan missions each paid two pieces of silver 銀二枚 each time they stayed overnight at Futagawa-juku, and either one silver *ryō* or 50 *hiki* 疋 of gold for a short rest.[249] Active and retired lords of Kagoshima, as well as their designated heirs, also typically paid either one piece of silver or 100 *hiki* of gold for a short rest at Futagawa. However, when it came to overnight lodgings, active and retired lords of Kagoshima paid considerably more than the Lūchūans. Lord Shimazu Narioki 島津斉興 (r. 1809-1851) paid five pieces of silver and 100 *hiki* of gold to stay at Futagawa overnight on 1819/int.4/1, while his grandfather, the retired former lord Shimazu Shigehide, paid a similar amount (five pieces of silver and 300 *hiki* of gold) to stay overnight at Futagawa on 1833/2/21.[250] The Kuroda 黒田 family lords of Fukuoka domain 福岡, *daimyō* in a similar status class with the Shimazu, also regularly paid five pieces of silver for their stays at Futagawa throughout the first half of the 19th century, while their retainers, and those of the Shimazu, often paid several hundred *hiki* of gold.[251] It is unclear whether these figures are simply the practical result of the actual costs associated with the grander or more luxurious

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[249] Ina, 74. Early modern Japan had numerous denominations of currency, some measured by weight and some by coin (i.e. face value), and both values and denominations fluctuated over the course of the period. Generally, however, one hundred *hiki* 疋 (or 匹) of gold was equal to one *bu* 分, or 1/4 of one *ryō* 両. One piece of silver, meanwhile, was worth 43 *monme* 匁, or 43/60ths of a *ryō* of gold.

[250] Ina, 74. The Japanese lunar calendar occasionally employed intercalary months (閏月, *uruuzuki*), adding an additional month into the year in order to realign the calendar with the seasons. In the second year of Bunsei 文政 (roughly, 1819), an additional month, indicated here as "int.4," was inserted between the 4th and 5th months, helping to assure that the following New Year (Bunsei 3/1/1) would roughly align with the beginning of spring, rather than coming a month too early.

[251] Ina, 61, 74.

reception required for more illustrious guests, or whether the amount is more directly associated with the guest's rank or status as a result of protocol, propriety, or tradition. Regardless, the end result is the same: Lūchūan missions seem to have regularly paid less for their stays at Futagawa than top-ranking *daimyō* (or their heirs, or retired predecessors), but more than even the highest-ranking retainers to the *daimyō*.

The multivalent status of the Lūchūan embassies was reflected, and constituted, in their lodgings as it was in the ceremonial receptions extended to them. As a group falling under the purview of the Shimazu house, the embassies were often housed in Shimazu mansions or at Shimazu-associated inns while Korean and Dutch envoys – more exclusively associated with the Tokugawa court, and not subject to the authority of any *daimyō* house – were typically housed in *honjin* and Buddhist temples, and never in *daimyō* mansions. Like retainers, they also paid for their lodgings directly, rather than "granting bestowals" to innkeepers as *daimyō* did. Still, the Lūchūans were not simply Shimazu retainers; they paid less for their stays than the Shimazu lords and other top-ranking *daimyō* did, but more than any *karō* – a reflection, perhaps, of their special status.

Though considered lesser in status than their Korean counterparts – and granted accordingly lesser reception in various ways – the Lūchūan embassies were still treated in important ways as foreign embassies, with a prestigious and distinct status apart from any traveling *daimyō* or other Japanese elites. In towns such as Kamagari, while *daimyō* were consistently housed at the town's *honjin*, the Lūchūan embassies were provided receptions at the *chaya*, as Korean and Dutch embassies were.

Reception

On both the maritime and overland legs of the journey, the missions stopped at numerous port towns, post-stations (宿場, *shukuba*), and castle-towns, sometimes staying overnight, and sometimes stopping merely for a meal, or for a "short rest"[252] during which they were provided tea, sweets, and/or saké. The Lūchūans entered and exited many of these towns in grand street processions, displaying their cultural identity and hierarchical status through music, costume, and banners, as they did in Edo.

But the cultural and political status of the Lūchūan embassies was not only realized through the embassies' own ritual performances. Missions were also welcomed into each town along their journey in a formal and ceremonial fashion, often being met at the outskirts of the town by a local official who guided them through recently cleaned and repaired streets to their lodgings. Curtains and wooden placards were hung both at their lodgings and at the entrances to the town, announcing the status and identity of the visitors, and ornamental buckets and brooms were placed along the roadside, a symbolic gesture suggestive that extensive cleaning had been performed in anticipation of the arrival of these illustrious guests.[253] Kurushima Hiroshi identifies some eleven categories of reception, ranging from those I have just mentioned to the issuing of information to the townspeople informing them of their expected behavior, to precautions against fire; the preparation of the processional routes by clearing the

[252] Frequently referenced in records as 小休, *shōkyū*.

[253] Miyamoto Tsuneichi 宮本常一, *Nihon no yado* 日本の宿 (Tokyo: Yasaka Shobō, 1987), 175.; Kurushima, "Morisuna, makisuna, kazari teoke, hōki, kinsei ni okeru chisō no hitotsu toshite" 盛砂・蒔砂・飾り手桶・箒－近世における「馳走」の一つとして, *Shigaku zasshi* 史学雑誌 95:8 (1986): 1346-1378.

roads of horses, oxen, carts, eyesores, and mercantile activity; the setting up of gates and guardsmen, and the placement of signs to clearly identify towns, neighborhoods, and streets.[254] These ceremonial and logistical elements of the missions' reception varied from town to town, and from year to year, sometimes simply for practical or economic reasons, but, importantly, they also varied in accordance with the identity and status of the visitors being hosted, and with the visitors' relationship to the hosts. Correct reception practices in accordance with these factors were determined by widely shared attitudes about propriety and customary behavior based on prior precedent. This was by no means limited to elite or samurai hierarchies, or to any "system" of practices handed down by the Tokugawa government; to the contrary, throughout early modern Japanese society, members of a household "would instantly appraise the status differential between a guest and the master of the house and receive the guest in a manner appropriate to his or her rank."[255] To receive guests in an appropriate fashion was simply one element of the broader widely held Confucian value of ritual propriety.

Processions and reception are each complex, prominent, and impactful affairs and distinctive modes of ritual performance, enacting political and cultural realities in complementary but different ways. I leave the complex discussion of how such realities were enacted in the Lūchūans' processions specifically – including how they were displayed by the Shimazu and how they displayed themselves; how visual, material, sonic, and performative aspects of the processions and of the spaces they moved through, along with processes of seeing and being seen – to the next chapter, so that this chapter might focus more exclusively

[254] Kurushima, "Morisuna…," 1350.
[255] Eiko Ikegami, *Bonds of Civility* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 324.

on the ways in which other aspects of the logistics of the embassies' journeys and the preparations and ritual receptions performed by people in each locale along the route, outside of the embassies' processions and townspeople's viewing of them, contributed to the construction of such realities.

Lūchūan missions were very rare events. Whenever they took place, local officials looked to the precedents of how reception, processions, and audiences were performed at that time, as well as records of their town's past practices and the practices of other towns with which they were in communication, in order to prepare an appropriate reception for each new Lūchūan mission, much as they did for every other elite entourage that passed through. Through this process of precedent and comparison informing etiquette, these practices became customary, conventionalized and ritualized to a stronger extent over the course of the 17th century, and reached a largely set form by the end of the 17th or the early 18th century.[256]

These customs of reception – such as which types of banners to hang for which types of guests, or how to arrange the brooms and buckets – grew out of 16th century (pre-Tokugawa) practices, and like numerous other Edo period conventions became formalized and ritualized over the course of the period. As with the processions and audience rituals which I discuss in the following chapters, reception customs began to be formalized from 1644 onwards based on precedents set by edicts and events as early as 1607, when a Korean mission came to Japan, and of course on earlier practices of the Sengoku period as well. When King Shō Nei of Lūchū was brought to Edo as a war captive in 1610, the *rōjū* decided that the Tokugawa government

[256] Kurushima, "Morisuna…", 1373.; also, conversation with Kurushima, 21 July 2017.

would provide for the Lūchūans' journey, lodgings, and reception in the same way as for the Koreans three years earlier.[257] Tinello suggests that the Shimazu may have influenced this decision, in order to help ensure that the Lūchūans would be received in a prestigious manner, as guests of the realm, thus enhancing Shimazu prestige in the process.[258] Standard practices for the reception of Lūchūan envoys would change later in the period, but continued to be based on the precedents set in this initial event. Thus, despite variation and a lack of centralized control over the precise details of reception practices, there was a fairly standard pattern which we can look to for evidence of the place of the Lūchūan missions in Japanese official hierarchies.

As we have already begun to see, comparison of the reception of the Lūchūan missions to the reception of Korean and Dutch missions, *daimyō* of various ranks, and others reveals a complex conglomeration of practices and attitudes in which the Lūchūan missions were treated in some respects as foreign embassies, with receptions appropriate to rare and honored "guests of the realm," albeit lower in status or importance than missions from Joseon, while at the same time being treated in other respects as part of a Kagoshima domain entourage.

In Inland Sea port-towns, reception began with a variety of forms of logistical support well before the embassies even entered the port. As the fleet carrying the mission approached a port-town, scout boats (遠見, *enken*, lit. "far seers") spotted them and reported back to the port, allowing port officials to then send out tugboats (曳舟, *hikifune*), guard boats (番船,

[257] Tomiyama, *Ryūkyū ōkoku no gaikō to ōken*, 118-119.
[258] Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies to Edo," 51-52.

bansen), boats providing fresh water and firewood (水船, *mizubune*, 薪船, *takigibune*) and whatever else was necessary for the embassy's reception and escort into the port.[259] One of the port's top officials, or their representatives, also often went out in person to meet the envoys aboard their ship, and to formally inquire as to their well-being.[260] Tamai Tatsuya has suggested that the preparation and dispatching of boats to guide, supply, and otherwise aid passing missions, a process known as *oshikamai* 御仕構,[261] was seen by port officials as one of the most important elements of maritime reception.[262]

That port-towns across the region provided this logistical support to Lūchūan embassies is of note, as *oshikamai* seems to have been performed only for Tokugawa officials such as the Nagasaki Magistrate (長崎奉行, *Nagasaki bugyō*) or touring inspectors (巡見使, *junkenshi*), and for foreign missions.[263] *Daimyō* traveling through the region were largely responsible for managing their own logistics, and received little or no *oshikamai* support from port-towns. Receiving such support was one way in which the identity of the Lūchūan embassies as

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[259] Tamai, "Ryūkyū shisetsu tsūkō ni taisuru oshikamai taisei ni tsuite" 琉球使節通行に対する『御仕構』態勢について, *Waseda daigaku daigakuin bungaku kenkyūka kiyō dai-4-bunsatsu* 早稲田大学大学院文学研究科紀要第4分冊 51 (2006), 38.; Tamai, "Kinsei ni okeru kaijō chisō to Seto Naikai" 近世における海上馳走と瀬戸内海, *Jōhōgaku kenkyū: gakkan: Tōkyō daigaku daigakuin jōhōgakkan kiyō* 情報学研究 : 学環 : 東京大学大学院情報学環紀要 81 (2011), 29.

[260] Tamai, "Kinsei ni okeru kaijō chisō to Seto Naikai," 29.; Shibamura, ed., *Ryūkyū shisetsu no Edo nobori to Kamagari*, 32-36. "*Go-kigen [o] ukagau*" 伺御機嫌 or 御機嫌窺, lit. "to ask [one's] health," is a formal phrase which appears frequently in records of such matters. See, e.g. "Go-sankin go-jōkoku zakki," Asao, ed., 328-360 passim.; Fukuyamajō Hakubutsukan Tomo-no-kai, 211-212.

[261] Also, 御仕成、諸仕構. Tamai, "Kinsei ni okeru kaijō chisō to Seto Naikai," 25.

[262] Tamai, "Kinsei ni okeru kaijō chisō to Seto Naikai," 29.

[263] Tamai, "Kinsei ni okeru kaijō chisō to Seto Naikai," 25, 35.

prestigious diplomatic missions, distinct from simply being a part of a Shimazu house entourage, was reinforced.

Such “maritime reception” was one of the few major aspects of diplomatic and reception ritual, however, that in its form and extent was based very little on ceremonial precedent or protocols, but rather on practical logistics, especially regarding the wind, waves, and tide conditions.[264] Indeed, “precedent” is mentioned only rarely in records of maritime reception, and then largely only in discussions of other aspects of reception practices – such as dressing in the proper formal costume, in accordance with precedent.[265] After all, sea travel was necessarily dependent on changing (weather) conditions. The *Gieisei nikki*, as well as Yoshida domain physician Oka Tachū’s 岡太中 diary of an 1860 *sankin kōtai* mission, show how in both cases the fleet’s progress varied from day to day, traveling sometimes by sail and sometimes by oar, depending on the winds, waves, tides, and other conditions. When conditions were good, a mission often sailed quickly, skipping past numerous ports; by contrast, when they encountered inclement weather, missions were often forced to make port after traveling only a shorter distance than hoped, or were forced to stay at a given port for additional days while they waited for better winds or tides. These were not occasional or exceptional situations – this was the norm when traveling by sea.[266] As the 1748 Korean mission made its way from Tomonotsu to Ushimado, for example, rough seas forced them to anchor in

[264] Tamai, “Kinsei ni okeru kaijō chisō to Seto Naikai,” 30-31.
[265] Tamai, “Ryūkyū shisetsu tsūkō ni taisuru oshikamai taisei ni tsuite,” 38.
[266] Inoue Jun 井上淳, “Iyo hachi han no hansen to sankin kōtai” 伊予八藩の藩船と参勤交代, in Ehime-ken Rekishi Bunka Hakubutsukan, 110-112, quoting Oka Tachū 岡太中, *Oka Tachū ryochū tehikae* 岡太中旅中手控.

the harbor at Hibi 日比 instead.[267] The 1719 mission described by Shin Yu-Han encountered similar last-minute changes to their schedule on account of the weather.[268] Conversely, the 1832 Lūchūan mission recorded in the *Gieisei nikki* had such good winds on its return journey through the Inland Sea on 1833/2/2 that the Lūchūans were forced to sail directly from Hibi to Inushima 犬島, skipping a stop at Tomonotsu, where they had hoped to light incense at the grave of Yoseyama *peechin* Chōeki 與世山親雲上朝易, who had died on the 1790 mission and was buried there.[269]

Embassies did not stop at every major port-town in the region, but depending on timing, weather conditions, and other factors, often sailed past a port. Even when they did drop anchor at a given port or harbor, embassies often remained aboard-ship, sometimes even overnight, without coming ashore into the port-town itself. Even in circumstances such as these, when a port-town did not have to provide lodgings or a reception in-town for a given mission, towns still regularly coordinated considerable resources and labor to provide logistical support for embassies passing through their local area. Even when a mission stayed aboard ship in the harbor overnight and did not come ashore, paper lanterns were hung and stone lanterns and braziers lit along the water's edge, helping to guide ships through the sea and into the ports. Guard boats equipped with lanterns also patrolled the harbor overnight.[270] Though numbers for

[267] Okayama Kenritsu Hakubutsukan, 63.
[268] Miyake Riichi, 69-71.
[269] "Gieisei nikki," 213. "Inushima" 犬島 in the document is likely a reference to the island today typically called Innoshima 因島.
[270] Tamai, "Ryūkyū shisetsu tsūkō ni taisuru oshikamai taisei ni tsuite," 38-40.; Ehime-ken Rekishi Bunka Hakubutsukan (1999), 116, 123.

the Lūchūan missions are unclear, in the case of the Korean missions, at Tomonotsu, this regularly involved some 6,000 lanterns in total, lit by some 40,000 candles.[271]

When missions did come ashore, either for a short rest or an overnight stay, they often did so with a formal procession through the streets of the port town. Whether alighting from vessels at the docks of a port-town or entering a post-station, castle-town, or major city from the highway, Lūchūan embassies paraded into cities and towns in full formal processions much as Korean embassies did, with the lead envoys being carried in sedan chairs and processional music being played.

In place of permanent wooden docks or piers, many Inland Sea ports, including Kamagari, Tomonotsu, Mitarai, Onomichi, and Nakanoseki, maintained stone steps known as *gangi* 雁木 along the water's edge. Though the Lūchūan missions never stayed overnight at the port of Kamagari (today, Shimo-Kamagari, Kure City, Hiroshima prefecture),[272] the well-documented reception of Korean envoys there serves as a vivid example of the type of reception provided to foreign embassies. As at other port towns in the region, the main stretch of stone steps at Kamagari were used by the *daimyō* of the region (the lord of Hiroshima), those in his service, and certain other elite visitors, while a smaller set of steps located directly in front of the *honjin* were set aside specifically for the Korean missions and their Tsushima escorts. Wooden piers (桟橋*, sanbashi*) were temporarily constructed over the water when

[271] Gallery labels, Fukuyama-shi Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan 福山市鞆の浦歴史民俗資料館, Tomonoura, Fukuyama City, Hiroshima prefecture.
[272] Shimokamagari Chōshi Hensan Iinkai, 75, 353.

receiving a Korean mission, and lavish red carpets were lain across the piers and roadways, creating a clean and special surface on which the visitors could walk, never touching the dirt road, all the way from where they alighted from the boats, up to the entrances to the lodgings. The Koreans, decked out in formal robes, carrying colorful banners, weapons, and other accoutrements, some riding in palanquins, paraded to their lodgings, including the *ue-no-chaya* (上之茶屋, "Upper Teahouse"), located a few tens of meters from the harbor, just behind the *honjin* and up a short set of steps. A small shed for their palanquins was maintained next to these steps.[273] Taking the 1711 Korean mission as an example, in that year, the three chief envoys, the mission's physicians, scholars, and a number of other high officials, stayed in the *ue-no-chaya*, while the remaining members of the Korean missions stayed either in the *shimo-no-chaya* (下之茶屋, "Lower Teahouse") located directly across from the stone steps, or in any of a number of smaller lodgings nearby.[274] While visiting *daimyō* were generally housed in the *honjin*, Lūchūan and Dutch missions were provided lodgings and/or receptions at the two *chaya*, as Korean embassies were.[275] The Korean missions were received similarly at Ushimado,

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[273] Conversation/tour with Funada Takaoki 船田孝興, head of Shimo-Kamagari volunteer tour guide association, 6 Aug 2017.; Shimokamagari Chōshi Hensan Iinkai, 54-55.

[274] Shibamura, *Ezu ni miru mukashi no Shimo-Kamagari* 絵図にみる昔の下蒲刈 (Kure, Hiroshima: Shimo-Kamagari-chō, 1981), 12-13.

[275] Stone plaque, "Shimo-Kamagari-chō no ken shiseki" 「下蒲刈町の県史跡」, on-site at Shimo-Kamagari harbor. While the official town history compiled by local historians explicitly indicates that Lūchūan embassies never stayed overnight at Kamagari, and I have not seen any texts describing their arrival or stay there, this historical marker at the site states explicitly that the *chaya* were used as "lodgings and reception space" (宿泊接待所) for the Korean, Lūchūan, and Dutch missions. Shimokamagari Chōshi Hensan Iinkai, 54-55. Perhaps some of the Lūchūan embassies were provided a formal reception here but did not stay overnight.

Tomonotsu, and other ports in the region;[276] at Tomonotsu, this welcoming process involved as many as 3,500 sections of red carpeting.[277] Sources from these port towns are sadly silent on whether the Lūchūan embassies were received in quite the same fashion. However, records of the entry of the 1710 Lūchūan mission into Osaka indicate that upon arriving at that port, the Lūchūans processed along roads lined with straw mats, directly from the wharfs to the nearby Sadowara 佐土原 domain mansion.[278] It is unclear whether this provision of reed mats in Osaka for the Lūchūans and red carpets in Kamagari for the Koreans was standard practice throughout the region, or whether it varied from place to place; nevertheless, it is suggestive of the various ways in which Lūchūan embassies received a somewhat lesser reception than their Korean counterparts – marking for reception organizers and onlookers alike that the Lūchūans were a prestigious and special group worthy of having mats laid down for them in this fashion, but only worthy of reed mats and not the lavish red carpets provided to their Korean counterparts.

Missions often arrived in a given town after dusk and/or departed before dawn. It was therefore quite typical for a town to hang paper lanterns every few meters along the main streets, as well as in front of the visitors' lodgings and elsewhere. In some cities, such as Nagoya, it seems to have been the responsibility of individual residents to hang lanterns

[276] Miyake Riichi, 65, citing "Kyōho yon tsuchinotoi doshi raichō kihan tomo Chōsenjin goyō tomechō" (1719), MS, Okayama University collections.; Conversation / tour with Funada Takaoki 船田孝興, Shimo-Kamagari volunteer tour guide, 6 Aug 2017.; Gallery labels, Chōsen Tsūshinshi Shiryōkan Gochisō Ichibankan, Shimo-Kamagari, Kure, Hiroshima.; Gallery labels, Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan.

[277] Gallery labels, Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan, Tomonoura, Fukuyama City, Hiroshima prefecture.

[278] "Shimazu ke monjo: Ryūkyū ryōshi sanpu ikkan gansho" 「島津家文書・琉球両使参府一巻願書」, transcribed in Shinshū Ōsaka Shishi Hensan Iinkai, 566-568. Sadowara domain, based in Hyūga province (today, Miyazaki City, Miyazaki prefecture), was ruled by a branch of the Shimazu family.

outside their homes and shops;[279] in many other towns, this was an effort coordinated by town officials. Hanging lanterns in this fashion was a standard element of the reception performed for traveling *daimyō*, imperial and Tokugawa envoys, and other such elites as well, albeit with some variation. For the reception of Korean missions, the port-town of Tomonotsu had paper lanterns hung "every five steps" along the entire route the mission walked from the harbor to the lodgings, and it is said that "night was as bright as daytime."[280]

In preparation for the reception of an embassy, in addition to the hanging of lights, streets were also cleaned, and gates, bridges, storefronts, rooftops, and other aspects of the town's appearance which would be visible to the visitors were repaired. Earth was pounded into the roads to fill potholes and to even the road surface. Water was sprinkled over the roads to keep the dust down in a practice known as *uchimizu* 打ち水, and sand sprinkled to dry up muddy roads, a practice known as *makisuna* 蒔砂 or *shikisuna* 敷砂.[281] Ornamental brooms (飾箒, *kazari hōki*) and water buckets (飾手桶, *kazari teoke*) were placed along the sides of the roads every few feet, as symbols that the street had been both physically and spiritually cleaned. Small piles of sand known as *tatesuna* 立砂 or *morisuna* 盛砂 were also placed to either side of the entrance of the visitors' lodgings, and sometimes along the road, similarly as symbols that the roads had been repaired and sanded for the guests, and spiritually purified.[282]

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[279] Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 155.
[280] Gallery labels, Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan.
[281] Kurushima, *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei*, 190.
[282] In addition to serving as symbols of purification, these piles of sand could be used to fill in puddles or potholes in case of sudden rains, or other things which might cause problems with the road surface. Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 65, 254n8.

That this was done for the Lūchūan missions in particular is confirmed by the *Gieisei nikki*, which indicates that "along the Mino Road and Tōkaidō, there is considerable reception and cleaning along the roads in the various provinces/domains. *Tatesuna*, decorative buckets… etc. are put out."[283] Records from the Inland Sea port town of Tomonotsu indicate similarly that sand was regularly sprinkled on the roads and piled up in *morisuna* for the reception of Lūchūan missions.[284] Though it is difficult to know whether all of this was done specifically for the Lūchūan embassy, or simply in accordance with the status of the Shimazu escort, this nevertheless provides a sense of the style and extent of the reception enjoyed by the Lūchūan visitors.

While some details regarding these material aspects of reception ritual can be found in some local town and *honjin* records, many devote themselves largely to recording monetary revenues, the names of individuals who provided lodgings or labor, and/or the numbers of horses, sliding screens, lanterns, and other basic amenities prepared, and make no note of the more ceremonial aspects of the reception, such as whether buckets and brooms were put out on certain occasions, or for certain guests (and not others), or what style or color of curtains were hung.[285] Fortunately, however, illustrations of the Lūchūan processions help confirm that these elements of reception were indeed performed for the Lūchūan missions. The *Ryūkyū*

[283] 「美濃路、東海道筋、諸国為御馳走通筋払除結構有之、立砂手桶飾…等出候事。」"Gieisei nikki," 150.
[284] Kurushima, *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei*, 191.
[285] For example, see Maisaka Chōshi Kenkyūkai 舞阪町史研究会, *Maisaka chōshi: shiryō hen* 舞阪町史：史料編, vol. 1 (Maisaka, Shizuoka: Shikuoka-ken Hamana-gun Maisaka-chō, 1970), 34-37.; Maisaka Chōshi Kenkyūkai, vol. 2, 82-87.; Fujieda Shishi Hensan Iinkai 藤枝市史編さん委員会, *Fujieda shishi: shiryō hen* 藤枝市史：資料編 , vol. 3 (Fujieda, Shizuoka: Fujieda-shi, 2004), 177-195.; Chiryū Shishi Hensan Iinkai, passim.

gashi 琉球画志, a book of hand-painted illustrations produced in 1832 by Nagoya domain retainer Odagiri Shunkō 小田切春江, is an especially valuable resource of this sort. In the fourth of seventeen two-page spreads (openings), Shunkō depicts a large group of people on the street, and several on ladders and rooftops, working to clean and repair the streets and buildings of Nagoya's main streets. As he writes,

> All of Honmachi and Kyōmachi Avenues are of course along the route of where the Ryūkyūans will pass through, so of course various repair work was done, and in addition roofs were rethatched, roof tiles were polished, for several days. Everything visible outside was made clean/pretty. It really came to resemble [something]. This began around 9/17 and went through roughly the end of the 10th month. Beyond those streets, too, other repairs were done here and there, and the various neighborhoods of the castle-town, became doubly as splendid as usual.[286]

Four pages later, a pair of individuals are depicted sweeping the road and sprinkling water from a bucket, just ahead of the Lūchūan procession, as it makes its way down the street. Decorative buckets are clearly visible, arranged along both sides of the street, both in this opening and the next.[287] While Shunkō for some reason omitted the brooms from the illustrations in this volume, they are clearly visible leaning against each of the many buckets along the side of the road in his illustration of the same event in the *Meiyō kenbun zue* 名陽見聞図会 ("Illustrations of [Things] Seen and Heard in Nagoya"), a volume published the same year.[288] The buckets

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[286] Odagiri, *Ryūkyū gashi*, 3 *verso*, 4 *recto*. Translation my own, based on transcription in Yokoyama, "Ryūshi no Nagoya tsūkō to kashihonya Ōsō" 琉使の名古屋通行と貸本屋「大惣」, in *Nantō: sono rekishi to fūdo* 南島：その歴史と風土, vol. 2, ed. Nantōshi Gakkai 南島史学会 (Tokyo: Daiichi Shobō, 1979), 234.

[287] Odagiri, *Ryūkyū gashi*, 1832, 9 *recto* – 11 *verso*.

[288] Odagiri and Hattori Yoshio 服部良男, eds., *Meiyō kenbun zue* 名陽見聞図会, vol. 2 (Nagoya: Ōnoya Sōhachi, 1833), Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo, 15 *verso* – 16 *recto*.

were a representation that *uchimizu*, the sprinkling of water to settle the dust and to symbolically purify the space, had been performed, but they were also kept for a practical and symbolic purpose of representing preparedness in case of a fire.[289]

All of these ritual elements would have done little to enact or reinforce the status of an elite entourage, however, if the identity of that entourage – e.g. whether envoys from Lūchū or the retinue of the lord of a given domain – was not known.

[289] Shibamura, *Ryūkyū shisetsu to Kamagari*, 23.; also, *Furegaki* #3008, Kanbun 11 (1671)/7. Takayanagi Shinzō 高柳真三 and Ishii Ryōsuke 石井良助, eds., *Ofuregaki Kanpo shūsei* 御触書寛保集成 (Tokyo: Iwanami shoten, 1934), 1349-1350.

Fig. 1-3: Curtains and lanterns bearing family crests at the entranceway to the *honjin* (within the outer gate, facing stairs leading up into the *genkan*) at Futagawa-juku. Today, the Toyohashi City Futagawa Shuku Honjin Museum. Photo by the author.

Curtains (幕, *maku*) denoting the status and identity of the visitors, therefore, were typically hung outside of *honjin* or other lodgings, and often at the gates to the town as well. Curtains for some of the most illustrious guests, such as the heads of the Maeda family 前田家, lords of Kaga domain 加賀, were purple in color, and bore the family's house crest (家紋, *kamon*).[290] Records from the port town of Ushimado 牛窓 in Okayama domain show that in

[290] Miyake Riichi, 90.; Hikonejō Hakubutsukan 彦根城博物館, *Sankin kōtai to Hikone hanryō* 参勤交代と彦根藩領 (Hikone, Shiga: Hikonejō Hakubutsukan, 2016), 8. Vaporis suggests that purple banners were hung for *all* daimyō, but offers no citation or further information on this point, in Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 30. Complicating matters, in at

1719, purple curtains with crests were hung at many of the lodgings for members of that year's mission from Korea, as well.[291] *Honjin* housing representatives of the Dutch East India Company similarly often hung banners or erected screens displaying the monogram of the Company.[292] Yet, while records from the Tōkaidō post-station of Futagawa 二川宿 (in modern-day Toyohashi City, Aichi prefecture) indicate that banners were hung for the Lūchūan missions,[293] it is unclear what style or color these banners were, and in fact what meaning any color or style outside of purple might have had within the symbolic status systems of the day. A Shimazu edict issued to the Lūchūan court in 1709 prescribing the clothing and accoutrements to be used by the Lūchūan missions indicates that to use the curtains or banners hung at post-stations for Japanese guests would be "inappropriate" for the reception of the Lūchūans, and suggests instead the possibility of banners incorporating sections of plain weaved satin or tabby cloth.[294]

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least some cases, the banners hung bore the crest not of the visiting *daimyō*, but of the lord of the local territory within which that post-station was located. Kurushima, *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei*, 190.

[291] Specifically, "purple curtains with crests" 「紫御紋付幕」 were hung at the entrances to the lodgings for the upper, middle, and lower officials 上・中・下官, and at the lodgings for the *chōrō* 長老, monk-officials from Tsushima who accompanied them. The document does not indicate the appearance or style of the crest. White banners with crests were hung at the lodgings of the interpreters, though the significance of white as an indicator of rank or status is unclear. "Kyōho yon tsuchinotoi doshi raichō kihan tomo Chōsenjin goyō tomechō" 享保四己亥年来朝帰帆共朝鮮人御用留帳 (1719), Okayama University collections, excerpted in Miyake Riichi, 72-77.

[292] Van Gulik, 50.

[293] 「当日御用分…御幕弐張掛ル」. *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō*, vol. 3, entry for Tenpō 3 (1832)/11/6, 483.; Also, 「御幕琉球人宿　　三軒」. *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō*, vol. 3, entry for Tenpō 13 (1842)/10/27, 509.

[294] 「一道中宿幕之儀、日本向之幕二而者不相応二候、何そ為替幕地二而仕立茂替江候様二有之度候、繻珍・たひい類之物二切入なと可然哉、」, Kagoshima-ken Ishin Shiryō Hensanjo 鹿児島県維新史料編さん所, *Kagoshima ken shiryō: kyūki zatsuroku tsuiroku* 鹿児島県史料：旧記雑録追録, vol 2 (Kagoshima: Kagoshima-ken, 1972), item 2861, 872-873. quoted in Tomiyama Kazuyuki 豊見山和行, "Edo nobori kara Edo dachi he - Ryūkyū shisetsu zō no tenkai" 『江戸上り』から『江戸立』へー琉球使節像の転回, in Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan, 60. The fact that the Shimazu discuss the type of curtains to be hung within an edict otherwise talking about Lūchūan clothing, ornamental weapons, and other travel gear might suggest that these curtains were brought by elite travelers along their journeys, rather than being provided by the towns or lodgings. Logistically, this does seem more reasonable, as it would mean the embassy could carry just one or two sets of curtains and

Thus, while Korean missions were welcomed in a fashion that included them within a standard Japanese system of symbolic indications of status through color and crest, Lūchūan missions were to be explicitly marked as foreign, outside of that system. However, I have yet to find any documents which indicate whether Kagoshima's suggestion of woven satin or tabby cloth was implemented, or what style or color of banners were actually hung for the reception of Lūchūan missions, in practice.

Wooden placards known as *nafuda* 名札 bearing the name or title of the elite guest being hosted were also hung at the entrances to *honjin* and other lodgings. At Futagawa in 1832, the Lūchūan mission and its Shimazu escort, some 870-880 people, were housed in *fudayado* 札宿, that is, lodgings marked with such placards. The Lūchūan missions, as was presumably typical for most other elite travelers, carried these placards from one post-station to the next, thus sparing the post-towns the effort and resources of creating new ones.[295] Records from the Futagawa *honjin* show that the hanging of name placards was standard not only for *daimyō*, but also for figures such as the sister of a *daimyō*; name placards were placed, for example, and four banners and two lanterns hung, for the elder sister of the lord of Tsushima when she stayed the night in Futagawa with a small entourage (without the *daimyō*) on a night in 1817.[296] In this way, the Lūchūan embassies were identified as elite guests distinct

provide them to each *honjin* along their journey, rather than the *honjin* being expected to maintain a store of different curtains for receiving myriad different guests.

[295] *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō*, vol. 3, entry for Tenpō 3 (1832)/11/6, 482-483.

[296] 「御幕御門弐ゐ、外二御幕弐張・丁ちん弐つ・木掛札壱枚」. Entry for the elder sister of the lord of Tsushima (「対州様…御姉君様」), 1817/11/23, Watanabe Kazutoshi, ed., *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō,* vol. 2 (Toyohashi, Aichi: Toyohashi-shi Futagawa-juku Honjin Shiryōkan, 2009), 417.

from the Shimazu retinue they accompanied, with *nafuda* hung outside of their lodgings. This placed them on a similar level to *daimyō* and Korean embassies who received similarly elite treatment; intentionally foreign-looking curtains hung outside the lodgings set them apart, however, from even Korean embassies, whose lodgings were decorated with the same sort of purple curtains as were used when samurai elites were in residence.

While these sources give some sense of how the presence of Lūchūan embassies was displayed in post-stations along the highways, a record of communications amongst Kagoshima officials relating to the planning of an 1858 mission which ultimately never took place gives a sense of how Lūchūan embassies were contained within the Shimazu mansion at Osaka. The communication indicates that "at the Ryūkyūans' lodgings [at the Shimazu mansion in Osaka] … in accordance with precedent, *morisuna* [are to be placed] to either side of the gate, and at night large round paper lanterns, marked with crests, are to be lit at the main gate and the entrance foyer."[297] Those by the main gate were to display the Shimazu family crest, while those at the entrance (*genkan*) of the building were to be emblazoned with the *tomoe* (O: *tuba*) crest of the Lūchūan royal family.[298] These lanterns visibly marked the kingdom as a prestigious and distinct entity, of sufficient significance to be worthy of having its own crest displayed on lanterns, and yet at the same time, as being amongst those loyal to, or within the conceptual

[297] Communication from the Shimazu Osaka *rusuiyaku* 留守居役 (chief official overseeing Kagoshima affairs in Osaka in the absence of the lord) to the *Ryūkyū-kan kikiyaku* 琉球館聞役 (the chief Kagoshima official overseeing the *Ryūkyū-kan* in Kagoshima, and one of those managing the missions), dated Ansei 5 (1858)/5/23, "Edo dachi ni tsuki oose watashi dome" 江戸立二付仰渡留, item 47, transcribed in Kamiya, ed., *Kinsei Nihon ni okeru gaikoku shisetsu to shakai hen'yō 3: taikun gaikō kaitai wo ou*, 27.

[298] Shibuya, 81, quoting the "Edo dachi ni tsuki oose watashi dome," item 47. The Lūchūan royal crest, adopted by King Shō Toku 尚徳王 (C: Shàng Dé) around 1466 and maintained since then, consisted of three comma-like shapes, sometimes monochrome and sometimes red, blue, and yellow respectively, organized in a circle.

umbrella of, the Shimazu household.[299] Yet, such meanings would only be conveyed to those few who, for one reason or another, had access to the interior of the Shimazu mansion complex. The *tomoe* lanterns would not have been visible to the rest of the Osaka population, who would have only seen the Shimazu lanterns and banners on the exterior of the compound; for them, the Lūchūan embassy would have effectively simply disappeared into the Shimazu compound, without any outward sign of their distinct identity remaining, e.g. as a banner or lantern visible from the street. While the absence of any *tomoe* banners or lanterns on the outside of the compound may have heightened for some onlookers the idea of Lūchū being subsumed within the Shimazu household, it likely also served to diminished conceptions of the prestige or significance of Lūchū, thereby taking away from discourses of Shimazu power and prestige as well.

All of these various aspects of reception – from street cleaning and repair, to brooms, buckets, and lanterns, to banners and name placards, to food, lodgings, and formal welcomes and escorts from local officials – were most often performed by the local officials without orders, or resources, from Tokugawa or domanial authorities. This reveals that Lūchū's place or position within (or relative to) Japanese socio-political hierarchies was not something artificially constructed or declared by the Tokugawa government, but rather that it was something which emerged somewhat more organically out of a complex of precedents and protocols determined

[299] Though it is unclear precisely which crests might have been displayed on lanterns hung at Korean lodgings, the Koreans were not housed at Sō clan mansions; it seems unlikely, therefore, that lanterns or banners would bear the Sō clan crest in a manner that would imply Korea's incorporation within the Sō household, or Sō territories, quite as directly as the case of Lūchū and the Shimazu.

by the history of the kingdom's relationships, and by local and regional attitudes, understandings, and customs.

The Tokugawa government only provided funds, logistical support, manpower, and materials for the reception of elites with strong ties to the Tokugawa house or government, and for those such as imperial envoys and Korean envoys. *Daimyō* whose territories included port towns and post-stations through which such visitors passed similarly only issued orders, appointed officials, and provided funds, equipment, or manpower for the reception of those in the above categories, or for those with strong ties to the *daimyō's* own household.[300] Still, while scholars such as Tamai Tatsuya, Kurushima Hiroshi, and Constantine Vaporis have rightfully called attention to this distinction – that only some travelers, and not others, were considered important enough to merit a formal reception ordered and funded by the Tokugawa and/or by the *daimyō* of the local territory – we should not allow ourselves to be misled by statements that "it seems that most daimyō formally received no special treatment except for their reception by post station officials."[301] The reception provided by post-station officials was not meagre, paltry, or basic. Propriety dictated that elite visitors were to be received in a manner appropriate to their station. And so, local officials regularly prepared as full a reception as they deemed appropriate for elite guests who came to their town, depending on the rank or status of the guest, and their personal ties or relationship. They did this even without being explicitly ordered, or appointed, to do so, and often without being provided additional funds or

[300] Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 65.; Kurushima, "Morisuna…," 1365-1366.;
[301] Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 65.

equipment (by the domain or the Tokugawa), in order to ensure, best as they could, that they would make a good impression.[302]

For most elite guests, streets were cleaned, and buildings, bridges, etc. repaired; curtains and name-placards were hung; ceremonial buckets, brooms, and piles of sand were placed; lanterns and torches were lit; and local officials went out to meet the visitors, either at the edge of the town, or in the case of Inland Sea port towns, aboard the embassy's vessels, even without direction from above. The Yahara 八原 family of Tsuwaji Island, for example, invariably provided reception to the Lūchūan missions.[303] Every time a Lūchūan mission came to Tsuwaji, or even passed through the nearby waters of the western half of the Inland Sea, the Yahara coordinated the provision of boats to escort the Lūchūans' ships into harbor, and often went out to greet the envoys in person. They also lit lanterns and braziers; provided water, firewood, and other supplies; and prepared baths and occasionally lodgings. The head of the Yahara family, Yahara Sanoemon 八原佐野右衛門, considered the reception of the Lūchūan missions to be of such great importance that, on at least one occasion, he petitioned for leave from obligations to travel to Matsuyama castle to express his formal New Year's greetings to the lord in person, and requested permission to instead remain on Tsuwaji in order to direct the reception of the Lūchūans in person; he sent a relative to Matsuyama in his place.[304] The ability

[302] Kurushima, *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei*, 190.
[303] The heads of the Yahara family were retainers to the lords of Iyo-Matsuyama domain and served them as district magistrates (*gun-bugyō* 郡奉行) overseeing a variety of matters pertaining to Tsuwaji and its immediate surroundings.
[304] Letter from Yahara Sanoemon, dated 1791/1/4, transcribed in Shibamura, ed., *Ryūkyū shisetsu no Edo nobori to Kamagari*, 31-32.

of Sanoemon to state directly to his lord that "because the Ryūkyūans are returning [to Tsuwaji], I cannot go [to Matsuyama]; Yahara Shinjirō will go instead,"[305] suggests the importance of these embassies, and of the locality's (or the domain's) obligations towards the embassies, in the eyes of the domanial government as well.

Even when orders for a group's reception did come down from the Tokugawa government or from *daimyō*, such orders were often fairly general, and the details, as well as the actual performance and implementation of the reception was largely left up to village headmen, *honjin* proprietors, or other local elites in each town.[306] Thus, we see that formal receptions for official guests such as the Lūchūan missions were not governed by strict systems of obligatory practices imposed from above, but rather by widely shared notions of propriety – and a widely held understanding of the position of Lūchūan missions within status hierarchies.

All of this provides a context for seeking to understand Lūchū's position within status hierarchies. As we have seen, Lūchūan missions were regularly received in port towns and post-stations with extensive preparations having been performed by local officials. This was done as a matter of propriety, in recognition of the elite status of the Lūchūan missions, even when local officials received no orders from the Tokugawa government or the local *daimyō* to do so. Streets were cleaned and repaired, and decorative brooms and buckets were placed along the

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[305] As transcribed into modern Japanese by Shibamura: 「…わたしは年頭の御あいさつに松山に出るべきところなのですが、今回は琉球人が帰りますので、出ることができません。そこで、八原信次郎が出ます。…」Shibamura, ed., *Ryūkyū shisetsu no Edo nobori to Kamagari*, 32.

[306] Kurushima, *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei*, 190.; Some *furegaki* explicitly state that "each town/neighborhood is responsible for itself"; local town/district ledgers (町入用, *machi iri yō*) further show that the local administration generally bore the costs for the dirt, sand, and other materials, and for the labor involved in repairing roads, sweeping away water from the roads, etc. Kurushima, "Morisuna…," 1353.

road, a symbolic gesture normally extended to Korean missions, Imperial envoys, *daimyō*, and shogunal officials as well. Their housing of the Lūchūan embassies primarily in *honjin* and Kagoshima domain mansions rather than in Buddhist temples, their transportation aboard Kagoshima vessels rather than Lūchūan or Tokugawa ships, and the smaller and less ceremonial banquets provided to them in ports and post-stations set Lūchūan embassies apart from the Korean missions, as lower in status and as being to some extent events pertaining to the Shimazu house moreso than to the realm; still, in other respects, the Lūchūan missions were recognized as envoys of a foreign king and were treated as elite and distinct from merely being a part of the Shimazu household's retainer band. The Lūchūans were met at various points in the Inland Sea by tugboats, supply boats, and the like, in a form of maritime reception, *oshikamai*, which was only extended to foreign missions and to certain high-ranking shogunal officials, and not to *daimyō*. Banners hung at *honjin* and other lodgings were likely in a design that emphasized the foreignness of the Lūchūan envoys, placing them outside of a Japanese symbolic hierarchy that even Korean missions were included in (at the top-most rung), although the precise appearance of those banners is unknown. For the Lūchūan embassies to be treated in such a manner constructed or reinforced understandings of Lūchū's multivalent status in the minds of local officials and inn proprietors involved in preparing and providing such lodgings and receptions, as well as in the minds of townspeople who simply witnessed these receptions.

Processions were another side to this same coin, reinforcing notions of the kingdom's multivalent status through the performance of colorful and attention-grabbing displays of Lūchūan court culture witnessed and experienced by those townspeople, and others, amidst

those same spaces of streets cleaned, repaired, and decorated in ritual reception of the embassies.

CHAPTER TWO: PROCESSIONS

Processions performed in the streets and waterways of early modern Japan were one of the chief ways in which Lūchūan embassies were displayed to the people of the archipelago and displayed themselves, enacting for onlookers and for themselves their identities as representatives of a kingdom that was at once sovereign, foreign, and culturally refined, and at the same time incorporated within the Shimazu house. Through their preparations, dress, and gathering in crowds to witness these events, onlookers at the same time put themselves and their towns on display for the Lūchūans and for one another, displaying their civility (or incivility, as the case may be) as well. The brightly colored costumes, banners, and other visual aspects of the processions, the exotic sound of Lūchūan processional music, and the fact that such processions came to town only a few times in a generation combined to create a festival atmosphere, making these particularly popular and exciting – and therefore impactful – events. These flamboyant processions attracted great crowds and were the most widely depicted and described aspect of the missions, appearing in numerous paintings, illustrated books, full-color prints, and *kawaraban* 瓦版,[1] as well as commoner and samurai diaries.

Analysis of these events shows us in detail how these processions functioned to construct and convey meaning through the use of specific cultural elements – costumes, banners, musical styles, modes of conveyance, etc. – which each had their own particular histories and iconographical associations, and through the affective impacts or functions of

[1] *Kawaraban* were inexpensive monochrome woodblock prints on cheap paper, produced cheaply and circulated widely, most often relating topics of news or gossip.

procession as a particular form of ritual which moves through space. We see how, as in other aspects of the Lūchūan embassies to Edo, stable consistent ritual forms were employed, growing even more standardized from the 1710s onward, to regularly reaffirm and maintain a particular Lūchūan cultural and political status and set of relationships which remained stable across the period. Like other aspects of the Lūchūan embassies, these processions were neither a new invention by the Tokugawa regime, invented to serve particular strategic political purposes, nor were they a wholesale borrowing of Ming/Qing practices, but rather were in meaningful ways a continuation of standard ritual diplomatic practices from earlier periods.

Processions were a key element of the political cultural landscape of Tokugawa Japan. *Daimyō* and other *bushi* elites, imperial envoys and courtiers, and entourages from Lūchū, Korea, Russia, and the Dutch East India Company all paraded (or were paraded) through the streets of early modern Japan in displays of power, prestige, cultural character, and status. Lūchūan envoys dressed in Lūchūan- and Ming-style costume, with some members carrying a variety of banners and other items of royal regalia, and others riding on horseback or in a royal sedan chair, accompanied by Lūchūan court music, processed (or, were processed) amidst a far larger entourage of samurai retainers to the Shimazu house. In doing so, they displayed their kingdom's prestige, refinement, and cultural distinctiveness, but also their position under the banners of the Shimazu house. Onlookers witnessed all of this, and also witnessed one another, as they showed their own civility and refinement to the processing samurai and envoys through displays of cleanliness and etiquette. Lūchū's political and cultural status, those of the Shimazu house and of the various towns and cities, and the relationships between these various parties,

were thus enacted through this complex set seeing and being seen, showing and being shown, on the part of all parties involved.

Kurushima Hiroshi has described the Tokugawa period as an "age of processions."[2] Whether performed by *daimyō* or other *bushi* elites traveling with large retinues; foreign embassies; or by religious figures and local villagers as part of religious or folk festivals, processions were a common sight in the early modern period throughout much of the archipelago. As Constantine Vaporis writes, "the passage of daimyo processions was part of the regular cycle of years events experienced by people living in castle towns, including Edo … as well as along the [highway] network", and that one of "the most popular forms of sightseeing in Edo [was] … watching the daimyo processions."[3] Residents of cities and towns across the realm, commoner and *bushi* alike, were thus well-familiar with the procession as a form, as a type of performance or event, having frequently experienced or participated in local festival processions or those of traveling *daimyō* and others. Processions performed by embassies from foreign lands such as Joseon and Lūchū were far less frequent and accordingly attracted considerable attention when they did take place. But even as these foreign embassy processions featured costumes, banners, music, and other elements decidedly foreign to Japanese onlookers' eyes and ears, they were nevertheless simply a variation on a performative form with which those onlookers were thoroughly familiar. Their familiarity came, in part, from the numerous paintings, illustrated books, full-color prints, and *kawaraban* depicting the embassies' processions, often identifying for viewers the individuals they would see in parade,

[2] Kurushima Hiroshi, "The Early Modern Period as 'The Age of Processions.'"
[3] Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 68, 70.

and/or the ornamental weapons, banners, and other exotic accoutrements the Lūchūans carried.

While most of these works portrayed the embassies' processions up to Edo castle, however, the embassies in fact changed from their travel clothes and formed up into formal processions when entering or departing from a great many cities and towns along their journey.[4] When on the road in between towns, the Lūchūans generally traveled in a relatively relaxed manner. The men wore traveling clothes, rather than formal court costume, and did not march in strict formation; they likely leaned spears or halberds over their shoulders, and the most senior-ranking members of the mission often rode on horseback rather than being carried in palanquins or sedan chairs. When entering or leaving a port town, post-town, or castle town, however, and when marching up to or down from Edo castle, as well as on certain other occasions, the mission formed up into a showier and more formally organized procession.[5] Members of the mission changed into more formal, expensive, showy robes, in figured satin or silk brocade.[6] Spears and other accoutrements carried over the shoulder while on the road

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[4] The *Gieisei nikki* only explicitly lists twenty places where the embassy performed processions on their way between Osaka and Edo in 1832. Interestingly, on a number of occasions the embassy processed through a castle-town before stopping overnight or for a short rest at a post-station without explicit mention of processions within the post-town. If these twenty locations were indeed the only places that processions were performed, it would be roughly once every few days, or roughly on average once every 16 miles along this roughly 325-mile journey. However, the record mentions "boat processions" or "processional music" performed both on the sea journey (including specifically off the coast of Hirado), and on the riverboat journey from Osaka to Fushimi, as well as processions performed in towns within Kagoshima domain prior to the departure by ship from Satsuma-sendai / Gumisaki, but makes no explicit mention of processions performed in port towns on the Inland Sea leg of the journey, between Satsumasendai or Gumisaki and Osaka. Based on these gaps, and the sparse level of detail with which the embassy's stay or passage in each location is described in the *Gieisei nikki*, corroboration with other sources would be necessary to more fully determine the extent of the embassies' processionary practice.

[5] Other occasions included during visits to various shrines and temples in Kagoshima, to Nikkō or Ueno Tōshōgū, and to the mansions of the *Gosanke* (Tokugawa branch families), *rōjū* (Tokugawa court "Elders"), or other top-ranking Tokugawa officials.

[6] "Gieisei nikki," 164. Lūchūan robes are much like the basic Japanese garments today considered under the general term "kimono," albeit with notable differences in their cut. They are cut from single straight bolts of cloth,

were now held upright and displayed, and the street musicians played processional music on a variety of drums, gongs, and trumpets while marching in formation between pairs of flag-bearers.

The processions generally followed a set form but varied slightly with the hierarchical considerations associated with the site or the occasion (e.g., whether entering a minor post-town, or the castle town of a major *daimyō*). For example, on some occasions, the chief and deputy envoys remained on horseback and most members of the mission went without headgear, while at other times, the lead and deputy envoys stepped into palanquins and sedan chairs and other middle- and high-ranking members of the mission mounted up on horseback and donned formal *hachimachi* 鉢巻 court caps. Another variation is seen in the Ming-style court costume worn by the high- and middle-ranking members of the mission, instead of Lūchūan robes, for most interactions with individuals or spaces directly associated with the Tokugawa house. On their travels through the Inland Sea and up or down the Yodo River, too, the members of the embassy put on colorful formal clothing, performed processional music, and displayed banners, ornamental weapons, and a royal parasol, in what many documents

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which are then sewn together to form the garment. They are typically wider in the body than their Japanese counterparts, however, and have wider sleeves. They are also cut to roughly the correct length for their wearer, and not rolled up or tucked under the belt the way Japanese garments are. The belt (帯, J: *obi*, O: *ūbi*) used for Lūchūan robes is also often wider than that typically used in Japan. The sleeves are attached to the body of the garment along their full width, in contrast to Japanese garments, which often leave an opening, and the collars extend the full length of the garment, often being rolled back to reveal a band of color down the front. Lee Talbot and Ichiko Yonamine, eds., *Bingata! Only in Okinawa* (Washington, DC: George Washington University Museum and the Textile Museum, 2016), 115. The styles of figured silk and satin used, known in Japanese as *rinzu* 綸子 and *donsu* 緞子, were types of textiles in which patterns or designs were woven directly into the construction of the cloth, either with dyed or gold thread, or simply by building up patterns in the weaving process.

from the time call a "boat procession" (*funa gyōretsu* 船行列), another variation on the processional form.

These processions along both streets and waterways were not simply colorful shows; they were powerful sites of meaning-making. Amidst constellations of other "ceremonies, rituals, and etiquette that people observed in their interactions with one another" in early modern Japan, the Lūchūan embassy processions "served as opportunities for the symbolic expression, reiteration, and mutual recognition of hierarchical distinctions in status," and of cultural character and refinement.[7] The members of the missions were not only representatives of their court in a political sense, but representatives of the Lūchūan people in a cultural sense as well.

Marching amongst a far larger Kagoshima entourage, often numbering two or three thousand men in total, the Lūchūan embassy generally included around 23 scholar-officials mounted on horseback and another fifty or so on foot.[8] Though many contemporary accounts and depictions of these processions – as well as the current study – focus on the Lūchūans, it is important not to forget that they were but one small part of a much larger samurai procession

[7] Watanabe Hiroshi, *A History of Japanese Political Thought, 1600-1901* (Tokyo: International House of Japan, 2012), 48.
[8] These numbers swelled to 170 and 174 in 1710 and 1714, respectively, when "double" missions were dispatched, combining congratulatory (慶賀使, J: *keigashi*) and gratitude (恩謝史, J: *onshashi*) missions in one. These two instances – 1710 and 1714 – were the only occasions in the 18th or 19th centuries when such double missions took place. In each of these years, the congratulatory and gratitude missions each had their own separate set of leading officials (lead envoy, deputy envoy, secretary, envoys' assistants, etc.), but shared a single set of musicians and entertainers. Yokoyama, "Ryūkyū koku shisetsu tōjō gyōretsu emaki wo yomu," 191n20.; also, as seen in depictions such as: Artist unknown, *Ryūkyū Chūzan ō ryō shisha tōjō gyōretsu* 琉球中山王両使者登城行列 (1710), ink and colors on paper, handscroll, University of Hawaiʻi Sakamaki-Hawley Collection, HW 743.

of Shimazu retainers. Indeed, Toby suggests it may be helpful to think of these not as "Lūchūan processions," but as samurai processions with a Lūchūan element, or with Lūchūans mixed into them.[9] The massive samurai entourage preceding and following the Lūchūan group surely conveyed to onlookers a sense of the power of the lord of Kagoshima, and that these Lūchūans – and by extension, their king, and their kingdom – were in one sense or another loyal followers to that lord.

As has been well-established in prior scholarship, for the Shimazu and Tokugawa, these processions (and the other aspects and activities of the embassies as a whole) thus served as displays of foreign envoys, under the authority of or otherwise "belonging to" the Shimazu household, who were journeying to Edo to pay respects to the *kubō* in recognition of his political power and cultural (civilizational) centrality.[10] For the Lūchūan scholar-officials performing in the processions meanwhile, the embassies served as opportunities to demonstrate their court's adoption and mastery of the cultural practices and etiquette of high Confucian civilization, as exemplified in their emulation of the customs of the Ming court, to display their cultural distinctiveness and the prestige and sovereignty (as granted and recognized by the Ming and Qing courts) of their king, and to engage in precisely those ceremonial acts which enacted their kingdom's identity as one which enjoyed the prestige and privilege of being permitted to dispatch such embassies and to be granted audiences with the *kubō*.

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[9] Toby writes here of the Korean missions, but the point is equally applicable to the Lūchūan ones. Toby, *Sakoku to iu gaikō*, 237.
[10] See, especially, Toby, *State and Diplomacy*.; and Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*.

Most scholarly discussions of these processions take these symbolic and discursive impacts of the processions as a given, however, focusing on the politics themselves and devoting little attention to precisely why, or how, these processions functioned to construct, convey, or reinforce those political and cultural meanings. The Lūchū Kingdom's ritual relationships with the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses were, after all, not something which existed in the absence of these ceremonial performances, something which existed in and of itself on some more fundamental level, which these performances could then merely serve to display or represent by these performances. To the contrary, it was through these events that Lūchū's identity as a kingdom which dispatched embassies that traveled, performed processions, and engaged in audience ceremonies, paying respects to the Tokugawa *kubō* in a particular fashion amidst a Shimazu escort, was constituted. The embassies were not incidental to this process but were the very essence of it.

Procession as a Ritual Form

How might we understand the ways in which the processions performed by early modern Lūchūan embassies made and conveyed meanings, and functioned ritually to constitute or reinforce cultural and political realities? And what might the case of the Lūchūan embassy processions help illuminate about the functioning of processions in general – as a particular form of performance or type of ritual?

The procession or parade is a rather particular type of performance. It is a ritual in motion, passing through space, past onlookers, and is experienced by those onlookers not all at once but sequentially, over time.[11] Individuals or groups, in costumes; with or without banners, spears, other accoutrements; riding in palanquins, on horseback, or simply walking on foot; pass by the onlookers one after another in sequence, accompanied by music, shouting, other sounds, or relative silence. Processions, like all ritual, can be said to make meaning in both symbolic ways, understood intellectually, and affective ways, conveying meanings and constructing or reinforcing ideas emotionally. To understand how they functioned to enact identities and to construct or reinforce political realities, we must consider both how they communicated meaning iconographically, through the use of sights and sounds with defined and widely-understood cultural meanings, as well as how they communicated meaning by evoking emotional reactions such as awe, pride, or amusement through their length or numbers, attention-grabbing visuals and sound, and the rhythm of their motion and music.

Processions have a physical unity to them which other ceremonies lack. Seen from a sufficiently high vantage point, or in illustration, they can be seen (or depicted) as a singular entity in a way which most other ceremonies, with their disparate moments of sitting and standing; approaching and withdrawing; bringing forth various objects, handling them, and taking them away; and so forth cannot. This means, too, that while participants in most civic or religious ceremonies may witness the event only partially, depending on where they are seated or standing within the space relative to others, participants in a procession for the most part

[11] Louis Marin, "Notes on a Semiotic Approach to *Parade*, *Cortege*, and *Procession*," in *Time Out of Time: Essays on the Festival*, ed. Alessandro Falassi (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1987), 227.

cannot be said to witness the procession itself at all. They experience what is immediately around them as they pass through each section of the parade route along with their fellows in that portion of the procession, but are never present in the same time and place as the rest of the procession to witness those portions located far ahead or behind them in line.

Of course, the procession cannot make meaning on its own, in a vacuum, without being seen. It is by now widely accepted among scholars of art, theatre, and performance that meaning is not solely a product of the artist's or performer's intention, nor of the viewer's mind, nor is it contained solely within the object or performance. Rather, meaning emerges out of the interaction between a viewer and the object or performance they are viewing.[12] The procession, therefore, should not be analyzed solely as an entity unto itself, but must be understood in a way that takes into account the viewers, and the interaction between those marching in the procession and the spectators.[13] Tom Pettitt writes that "a procession … wants to be noticed, … [and] expresses something … or seeks to effect something … in relation to the people it encounters on its route, and is undertaken to this end."[14] Ronald Toby expands upon this, suggesting that the key to the ritual effect of processions was in a four-fold dynamic of seeing, being seen, showing, and being shown.[15] Though we may tend to think primarily of a procession as something seen by paradegoers, Toby emphasizes the fuller set of experiential interactions, in which those onlookers are as much on display as those performing the procession. Even as they view the procession, spectators also view one another, and at the

[12] Cameron Deuel, "The Relationship Between Viewer and Fine Art," *Occam's Razor* 3 (2013): 17-22.
[13] Tom Pettitt, "The morphology of the parade," *European Medieval Drama* 6 (2003), 2.
[14] Pettitt, "Morphology of the Parade," 3.
[15] Toby, *"Sakoku" to iu gaikō*, 234-236.

same time those processing through the streets see the town and townspeople while also experiencing the procession itself from their vantage point within it.

While there has been much scholarship on historical and contemporary parades and processions, offering valuable contributions to efforts to understand the functions of organization, proximity, movement through space, or other aspects of procession as a unique ritual form, these works still leave a great many questions unanswered. As recently as 2009, Mary Beard was still asking,

> How can the history of an ancient ceremony best be studied? How should we understand the relationship between written ritual … and ritual practice? What were large-scale public ceremonies and processions *for?* Can we get beyond the easy, even if sometimes correct, conclusion that such rituals … acted to reaffirm society's core values?[16]

Exploring the various aspects and impacts of processions performed by Lūchūan embassies in the streets and waterways of 17th-19th century Japan helps inch us closer to a fuller understanding of the particular ritual workings of procession as a distinctive form of ceremonial performance. As sources describing or depicting Lūchūan embassy processions performed within Edo are by far the most numerous and most detailed, my analysis focuses on those events, albeit while drawing upon sources describing processions performed by the Lūchūan embassies in other locations as well.

Fortunately for the sake of a simpler analysis, comparison of visual and textual depictions of the Lūchūan processions up to Edo castle show remarkable continuity over a

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[16] Mary Beard, *The Roman Triumph* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap Press, 2007), 58-59. By "written ritual" and "ritual practice," Beard refers to the important distinction to be drawn between rituals as described in planning documents or as recorded by observers, and rituals as actually performed.

nearly 150-year period from 1710 through 1850 in the organization and marching order, the banners and other accoutrements carried, and in the style or types of clothing worn by individuals of each rank or position.[17] Though records of Lūchūan embassy processions prior to 1710 are quite sparse, the standard form of the 18th-19th century processions is known to have been based on those performed in the 17th century and in turn on precedents set in earlier Lūchūan traditions of the 16th or even 15th century. Key elements such as the use of Ming costume, processional music, and Ming/Qing-style ceremonial parasols, halberds, and sedan chairs can be seen in records of processions performed in the 15th, 16th, and early 17th centuries, and other elements such as the composition of the embassies and their marching order in procession seem to have changed little since the earliest missions in the 1640s.[18]

This remarkable consistency in ritual practices resulted from the fact that both the senior officials of the Lūchūan royal court and their counterparts in Edo placed great

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[17] See, for example: *Ryūkyū Chūzan ō ryō shisha tōjō gyōretsu*.; Artist unknown, *Ryūkyū Chūzan ō shisha tōjō gyōretsu zu* 琉球中山王使者登城行列図, ink and colors on paper, 1764. Okinawa Prefectural Museum and Art Museum. Reproduced in Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan, 22-29.; *Ryūkyūjin tōjō geba made no gyōretsu* 琉球人登城下馬迄之行列 (1850), hand-copied by Terashi Munenori 寺師宗徳, 1927. University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute, call no. 史談会 2044.

[18] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 120.; Yokoyama, "Ryūkyū koku shisetsu tōjō gyōretsu emaki wo yomu," 177.; Ikemiya Masaharu 池宮正治, *Kumemura: rekishi to jinbutsu* 久米村：歴史と人物 (Naha: Hirugi-sha, 1993), 127-133.; Uwai Satokane 上井覚兼, *Uwai Kakken nikki* 上井覚兼日記 (1574-1586), pub., *Dai Nihon kokiroku* 大日本古記録, part 5, vol. 1, ed. Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo 東京大学史料編纂所 (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1954), 104-121.; Dana Masayuki 田名正之, "Bunken shiryō ni miru uzagaku" 文献資料に見る御座楽, in *Uzagaku: Uzagaku fukugen kenkyūkai chōsa kenkyū hōkokusho* 御座楽：御座楽復元研究会調査研究報告書, ed. Uzagaku Fukugen Kenkyūkai 御座楽復元研究会 (Naha: Okinawa-ken Bunka Kankyōbu Bunka Kokusaikyoku, Bunka Shinkōka, 2001), 5-6.; Tokugawa Yoshinobu, "Traditional Musical Instruments of Okinawa," in *Okinawa bijutsu zenshu* 沖縄美術全集, vol. 5, ed. Okinawa Bijutsu Zenshū Kankō Iinkai 沖縄美術全集刊行委員会 (Naha: Okinawa Taimusu, 1989), 309.; *Ryūkyū shisha Kin ōji shusshi no gyōretsu* 琉球使者金武王子出仕之行列, ink and colors on paper, c. 1671, Sakamaki-Hawley Collection, University of Hawaiʻi Library. HW 751.

importance on the observance and performance of correct and appropriate forms, as determined by precedent, and by propriety. Extensive records were kept by Sui, Kagoshima, and Edo as to the correct forms, and great effort was made to adhere to them; the *Gieisei nikki* regularly makes note of when things were done "according to precedent" (例之通, J: *rei no tōri*)[19] or "according to the notebook" (帳之通, J: *chō no tōri*), and of the reasons for deviations, when such took place.[20] Furthermore, an 1849 communication from the king's top advisors – the *shisshi*[21] and Council of Three,[22] two of whom had led the previous embassy in 1842 – written to the organizers of the 1850 mission, underscored the importance of doing everything correctly, and with great care, for the sake of the reputation of the kingdom, and noted that in previous years, when members of missions to Edo took care in performing all their various activities properly (and in attending to their behavior and basic etiquette in general), they were reportedly praised within the Japanese court. Those past missions, according to this letter, represented the pinnacle of things coming together properly, or of a happy state of affairs.[23] As

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[19] The character 例 (J: *rei*) here, meaning "[prior] example," and referring in this context to precedent, is not to be confused with 礼 (J: *rei*), which denotes the Confucian value of ritual propriety or etiquette.

[20] "Gieisei nikki," 115, 122, 125, 127, 148, 213-214, *passim*. The "notebook" (*chō*) here was some kind of formal guide to past precedents and proper protocols, maintained by the court and carried by the embassy.

[21] 摂政 (J: *sessei*). The chief royal or national advisor, and top administrator in the kingdom. Often translated as "prime minister."

[22] 三司官 (J: *sanshikan*) or *yoasutabe* in Okinawan. The top three advisors to the Lūchūan king and the top administrators in the kingdom. Along with the *shisshi*, the *yoasutabe* constituted the "Upper Seat" (上之座, O: *wii nu za*) within the royal court, and played the primary role of drafting and enacting laws, policies, and decisions, as well as overseeing administrative matters, in concert with the Council of Fifteen (表十五人, J: *omote jūgonin*), or "Lower Seat" (下之座, O: *shicha nu za*).

[23] "Edo dachi no toki oosewatashi narabi ni ōtō no jōjō no utsushi" 江戸立之時仰渡并応答之条々之写, communication dated 1849/4/19, transcribed in Kamakura, vol. 3, 72-73. The term *shiawase* 仕合 can mean either "happiness" or "coming together."

Luke Roberts shows, a “crucial aspect of Tokugawa politics” was the “enact[ment of] subservience in *omote*” 表, a term roughly meaning “surface,” or the official or public sphere within which *bushi* values and customs demanded “the reassuring *performance* of signs that one accepted the hierarchy and general order of the higher authority”;[24] in Lūchū and other Confucian societies as well, strong emphasis was placed on the importance of adherence to standard ritual forms as determined by precedent and propriety.

From 1710 onwards, variation in the structure of the processions up to the castle only occurred in order to adapt to particular circumstances, such as the combination of gratitude and congratulatory missions into a single outsized embassy in 1710 and 1714, or the inclusion in 1832 of an envoy from the retiring King Shō Kō 尚灝 (C: Shàng Hào, r. 1804-1834) alongside one from his soon-to-reign successor, Shō Iku 尚育 (C: Shàng Yù, r. 1835-1847).[25] Otherwise, the processional ritual appears to have gone largely unchanged from 1710 onward. Further, a painting of the 1832 mission’s formal entry into Edo, produced by Kumamoto domain court painter Sugitani Yukinao, depicts a marching order identical to the processions up to Edo castle seen in other scrolls.[26] This serves as valuable evidence for the consistency of the forms of

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[24] Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, 7. Roberts contrasts this with *uchi* 内 or *naisho* 内緒, a private arena within which households managed their own affairs with minimal outside (e.g. Tokugawa) interference.

[25] King Shō Kō 尚灝 (Shàng Hào, r. 1804-1834) fell ill in 1827 and passed the duties and authority of the throne to his son in 1827, though the latter would not formally be named “king” until 1835. Amidst this unprecedented circumstance, the embassy in celebration of the accession of the son, King Shō Iku 尚育 (Shàng Yù, r. 1835-1847) was held early, in 1832. Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 16, 46.

[26] Sugitani Yukinao 杉谷行直, *Ryūkyūjin michigaku no zu* 琉球人道楽之図 (1832), ink and colors on paper, handscroll, Eisei Bunko, Tokyo. Discussed in Sudō Ryōko 須藤良子, “’Ryūkyūjin michigaku no zu’ ni miru ‘Ryūkanpuku’” 『琉球人道楽之図』にみる「琉冠服」, *Fukushoku bunka gakkaishi* 服飾文化学会誌 10, no. 1 (2009), 11-21.

processions not only across different years, but also to some degree across other ritual occasions. As a result, we can safely analyze the processions of the 18th to 19th century embassies as a single stable ritual structure without having to account for an ever-changing complex of differences from one iteration to the next.

The Sound of the Procession

The horns, gongs, drums, and buzzy *gakubura* 楽法螺 blasts of the embassy's musicians would have been heard well before a Lūchūan embassy procession came into view, extending the auditory presence or impact of the missions across an entire town or neighborhood, far beyond its visual or physical presence within certain streets alone.[27] Though we call it "music," Lūchūan processional music, or *rujigaku* 路次楽, was less something to be "listened to" (J: 聞く, *kiku*) and enjoyed, and more something to be "heard" (J: 聞こえる, *kikoeru*), as an essential auditory component accompanying the visual and physical performance of the procession. As Marié Abe writes of the *chindon'ya* ちんどん屋 "music" played by small bands advertising for local businesses in the streets of late 19th and early 20th century Japanese cities,

> Its audience is potentially anyone who might overhear its sound, regardless of the audience's intention or location (indoor or outdoors). Effective performance practice for chindon-ya is that which marshals the attention of listeners who may not have expected to hear the sounds of chindon-ya, entices them by instilling

[27] Yokoyama, "Ryūkyū koku shisetsu tōjō gyōretsu emaki wo yomu," 166.

> certain sentiments through performance, and draws them out to the streets to engage them in social encounters.[28]

The Lūchūan *rujigaku* was just as much a key part of the experience of the mission's passage, and of the impression made by the processions, as any visual element. It announced the procession's presence and called upon people to come see what was going on, making the event extend beyond just any one street and bringing the entire town or neighborhood into the emotional or conceptual liminal space of the special occasion.[29] As Charles and Angeliki Keil write regarding the reed, brass, and drum music often played in street celebrations in Macedonia, "wherever people hear the sound of the instruments they know that a ritual event is taking place."[30]

This sonic phenomenon might also be described as the Lūchūans invading or coopting the soundscapes of the neighborhoods they passed through, interrupting everyday life and contributing to the construction of an emotional or rhetorical space within which the procession could take place. Niall Atkinson, in writing about Renaissance Florence, writes that

> the urban soundscape was always a fluid phenomenon experienced simultaneously as comforting music and disquieting noise, … the construction of the urban sphere, of the city as a dynamic spatial enterprise, was inextricably linked to the sounds circulating through it.[31]

[28] Marié Abe, "Sounding Against Nuclear Power in Post-3.11 Japan: Resonances of Silence and Chindon-Ya," *Ethnomusicology* 60, no. 2 (2016), 239.
[29] Though, of course, it was not just processional performance which did this. As discussed in the previous chapter, a Lūchūan mission would have taken up the majority of homes in a given town; banners, lanterns, etc. were also hung for the mission, converting the space of the town temporarily. The music was just one climactic element of this process.
[30] Charles Keil and Angeliki Keil, *Bright Balkan Morning: Romani Lives and the Power of Music in Greek Macedonia* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 2002), 35.
[31] Niall Atkinson, "The Republic of Sound: Listening to Florence at the Threshold of the Renaissance," *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 16:1/2 (2013), 59, 81.

Local festivals and various other events announced their disruption of this everyday soundscape, signaling the special occasion through the use of drums, gongs, flutes, and other sounds. *Bushi* processions, by sharp contrast, typically employed no musical instruments at all, leading Constantine Vaporis to describe them as moving in near silence, though we can easily imagine that the shouts of people at the front ordering townspeople along the route to "get down!" (*Shita ni iro!* 下に居ろ！) and prostrate before the processing dignitaries, along with the heavy marching footsteps of both people and horses still made for a distinct sonic experience, altering the soundscape from that of the everyday.[32]

A similar contrast can be seen in the boat journeys of foreign embassies and of elite *bushi* travelers. Lūchūan "boat processions" performed when the embassies were traveling by ship between Kagoshima and Osaka, or by riverboat between Osaka and Fushimi, included *rujigaku* performances in which the musicians sang songs and sounded horns, gongs, and drums.[33] The Korean missions are known to have done similarly.[34] This was in stark contrast to ships carrying elite samurai entourages, which are not known to have played music at all. Oka Tachū, a physician in service to Yoshida domain who traveled on the domain's *sankin kōtai* journey in 1860, wrote in his travel diary of drums used to guide the timing of the rowing, and the sounds of the oars themselves hitting the water, as a part of the sonic experience of being

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[32] Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 70, 82-83.

[33] "Gieisei nikki," 134-136.; "Shimazu ke monjo: Ryūkyū ryōshi sanpu ikkan gansho" 島津家文書：琉球両使参府一巻願書, Shinshū Ōsaka Shishi Hensan Iinkai, 566.

[34] As seen in a 1748 handscroll painting by an Okayama artist, depicting musicians blowing horns and playing other instruments. "Chōsenjin raichō oboe Bizen gochisō funagyōretsu zu" 朝鮮人来朝覺備前御馳走船行列図, ink and colors on paper, 1748, reproduced in Ushimado Chōshi Hensan Iinkai 牛窓町史編纂委員会, *Ushimado chōshi: shiryō hen* 牛窓町史：資料編, vol. 1 (Ushimado, Okayama: Ushimado-chō, 1996), 371, 378.

aboard ship as they arrived and departed in various ports. He also describes shell trumpets[35] and occasionally drums being used onboard the ship to announce impending departure.[36] Yet, this seems to have been the extent of the "music" performed aboard *sankin kōtai* vessels – Lūchūan and Korean missions playing horns, gongs, and drums would have presented a rather different auditory experience.

[35] 法螺貝 (*horagai*) or simply 貝 (*kai*).

[36] Oka Tachū, excerpted in Ehime-ken Rekishi Bunka Hakubutsukan, 110-111.

Fig. 2-1: *Rujigaku* musicians and other members of the 1710 Lūchūan embassy, along with Lūchūan banners, *uryansan* royal parasol, and vermillion-lacquered plaques announcing the embassy, visible aboard *kawa gozabune* belonging to various *daimyō*, as depicted in a handscroll painting of the Yodo River boat procession. Anonymous, "Chūzan ō raichō zu" 中山王来朝図. Handscroll, ink and colors on paper. 1710. National Archives of Japan.

Figure 2-2: Lūchūan processional musicians, including (from right to left) two *gakubura* players, two players of *ushibura* and *umabura*, and two drummers, as depicted in a handscroll depicting the 1832 mission's entry into Edo. Sugitani Yukinao 杉谷行直, *Ryūkyūjin michigaku no zu* 琉球人道楽之図 (1832), ink and colors on paper, handscroll, collection of Eisei Bunko (detail).

Whatever sounds *sankin kōtai* processions and boat journeys may have involved, the absence of instrumental music in *bushi* processional tradition made the Lūchūan and Korean missions dramatically distinct, not only in their visual or material character, but sonically as well. Even as they marched amidst far larger *bushi* entourages, the sound of the Lūchūan and Korean embassies would have announced and marked them, even before they came into view, as a decidedly distinct group within those larger processions. Religious festivals and other folk events in early modern Japan often incorporated music, but it seems safe to say that the *rujigaku* performed by Lūchūan embassies was unlike that heard in early modern Japan in almost any other context.

Rujigaku was closely based upon the processional ritual music of the Ming and Qing courts, and employed a very similar ensemble of instruments, including the buzzy clarinet-like *gakubura*; various types of clangy gongs and cymbals; and perhaps most importantly, metal trumpets, i.e. brass instruments, which were all but unknown in Japanese music.[37] These included two types of roughly one-meter long brass trumpets: a higher-pitched one with a

[37] Qing processions, based closely on Ming customs, featured a collection of drums (鼓, C: *gǔ*), horns (画角, *huàjiǎo*), flutes (簫, *xiāo*), clappers (檀板, *tánbǎn*), shawms (嗩吶, *suǒnà*), and a variety of gongs and chimes (鑼, *luó*; 銅鑼, *tóngluó*; 韻鑼, *yùnluó*). Keith Pratt, "Change and Continuity in Qing Court Music," *CHIME Journal* 7 (1993), 95.

smaller bell (mouth) known as an *umabura* 馬法螺 in Okinawan and as *lǎbā* 喇叭 in Chinese (J: *rappa*); and a deeper-toned trumpet with a wide, barrel-shaped bell known as an *ushibura* 牛法螺 in Okinawan and as *tóngjiǎo* 銅角 in Chinese (J: *dōkaku*).[38] The *gakubura* 楽法螺, known in Chinese as *suǒnà* 嗩吶 (J: *sonai*), is a smaller reed instrument closely related to the Turkish *zurna* and the European shawm, and more distantly to the oboe, clarinet, and Japanese *hichiriki* 篳篥. Also known as *charumera* チャルメラ in Japanese,[39] this family of instruments was strongly associated in early modern Japanese discourse with foreign embassies, Chinese merchants, and foreigners otherwise.[40] It was a central instrument in both Lūchūan royal processions and the Ming/Qing imperial processions

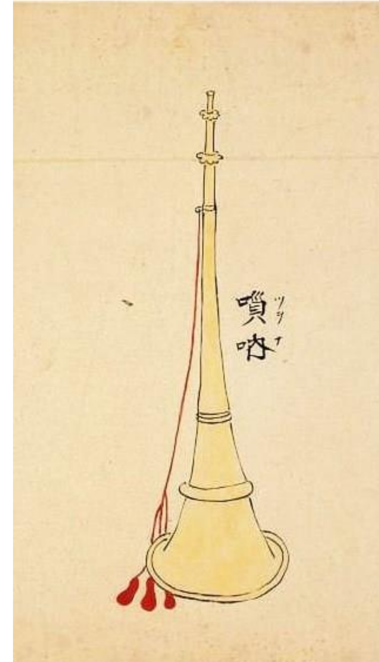

Figure 2-3: A *gakubura* or *suǒnà,* as depicted in *Ryūkyū Chūzan ō ryō shisha tōjō gyōretsu* 琉球中山王両使者登城行列 (1710), ink and colors on paper, handscroll, University of Hawaiʻi Sakamaki-Hawley Collection, HW 743. (detail).

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[38] Okinawan names for these instruments are glossed in Fujiwara Nagatomo 藤原永配, *Ryūkyū heishi ryakki* 琉球聘使略記, (1850), Okinawa Prefectural Library, HK200.8/F68, 12. Comparable 19th century Chinese examples held at the Metropolitan Museum suggest the likely lengths and brass construction of the Lūchūan instruments. "Da Tongjiao (Trumpet)," Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 89.4.63.; "Lapa (Trumpet)," Metropolitan Museum of Art, acc. no. 89.4.2338.

[39] From the Portuguese *charamela*, which in turn derived from the French term *chalumeau*. Higa Etsuko, "Uzagaku: The Vanished Tradition of Ryukyuan Court Music," trans. Robin Thompson, *Maboroshi no Ryūkyū ōfu kyūteigaku uzagaku* 幻の琉球王府宮廷楽 御座楽, compact disc, liner notes (Naha: Uzagaku Fukugen Ensō Kenkyūkai, 2007), 18.

[40] Toby, *"Sakoku" toiu gaikō*, 223, 253. Korean missions featured a very similar ensemble of instruments, including trumpet (*nap'al* or *nabal* 喇叭), drum (*ch'anggo* or *janggu* 杖鼓), gong (*chin* 金), and flute (*p'iri* 篳篥). Their troupe of performers was much larger than the Lūchūans, however, consisting of some one hundred people, in contrast to the ten or so in the Lūchūan processions. Lee, "Cultural Expressions of Tokugawa Japan and Chosŏn Korea,"162.; Toby, *"Sakoku" to iu gaikō*, 239.

they were based on, and produces a distinctive and surprisingly loud sound for its small size, making it an ideal instrument for processions.[41] Along with a variety of gongs, drums, cymbals, chimes, and wooden clappers, the trumpets and *gakubura* called attention to the procession, announcing its passage, and both through their sound and vibrant visual appearance contributed to the sensory experience, raising the emotional impact – and thus the meaning-making efficacy – of the event, while also serving to help set and maintain a rhythm for those marching in the procession. As Ralph Locke, writing about early modern processions in Europe, points out, "loud wind instruments playing strongly rhythmic tunes could be heard by the riders and their mounts," and by those marching on foot, "above the noise of the tromping horses' hooves," and "helped the riders and horses maintain coordination and a steady pace."[42] "Brass fanfares" were regularly used in early modern European processions as well, "to focus the viewers' attention and to convey a sense of the lord's or regime's grandeur and power."[43] Reed instruments similar to the *gakubura*, such as the *zurna*, remain prominent in popular processional traditions in the Balkan/Anatolia region today as well, where they are, for example, blown (and accompanied by brass instruments and drums) to call attention to a

[41] Though very little is known of the style or melodies of Lūchūan *rujigaku* prior to 1600, some form of processional music featuring reed, wind, and brass instruments along with drums, gongs, and chimes, based on Ming models, is known to have been performed in Lūchū and by Lūchūan embassies to Fuzhou at least as early as the 1430s. Processional music closely similar to that of the Edo missions was also employed in processions performed by the entourage of King Shō Nei in 1611 and by Lūchūan embassies to Kyoto in the 1620s-1630s. Ikemiya, *Kumemura*, 127-130.; Uchida Junko 内田順子, "Ryūkyū ōken to zagaku" 琉球王権と座楽, in *Uzagaku no fukugen ni mukete*, 14.; Dana, "Bunken shiryō ni miru uzagaku," 5-6.; Ōshiro Manabu 大城学, "Okinawa geinō to taiko (jo)" 沖縄芸能と太鼓 (序), *Okinawa kenritsu hakubutsukan kiyō* 沖縄県立博物館紀要 15 (1989), 51-52.; 山内盛彬、「琉球の音楽芸能史」, 1959, 113-114.; also Robin Thompson, "Ryukyu," in Hugh de Ferranti, et al., "Japan," *Grove Music Online.* Accessed 11 Jan. 2018. http://www.oxfordmusiconline.com/grovemusic/, section VIII, 1, ii., a.; Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 107.
[42] Ralph P. Locke, "Music, Horses, and Exotic Others: Early-Modern Processions, Tournaments, and Pageants," *Music & Politics* XI:1 (2017), 6.
[43] Locke, 3-4.

wedding procession or other event, inviting all those who hear it to come and join the celebration.[44]

Viewing the Procession // Displaying "Ryūkyū"

Once the first portion of the Shimazu retinue, dressed chiefly in black, blues, greens, and browns,[45] had passed by and the Lūchūan embassy came into view, spectators were presented with a startlingly different aesthetic – one dominated by vermillion and gold. Groups of clean-shaved and heavily armed warriors gave way to bearded scholar-officials on horseback and on foot accompanied by only a limited number of decorative, ornamental weapons amidst a display of banners and music.

Numerous handscroll paintings, illustrated books, and textual sources from across the 18th and 19th centuries show considerable consistency in the content and marching order of the Lūchūan portion of the procession. The Lūchūan procession was organized overall around the lead and deputy envoys at its center. Each high- or middle-ranking Lūchūan official was preceded, accompanied, and/or followed in procession by a number of lower-ranking Lūchūan

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[44] Keil and Keil, 23-86.; Timothy Rice, et al., "Macedonia," *Garland Encyclopedia of World Music: Europe* (London: Routledge, 2000), 1006-1008.

[45] As suggested by the depiction of Shimazu retainers in *Ryūkyū Chūzan-ō ryō shisha tōjō gyōretsu*.; See also, numerous handscroll paintings of *sankin kōtai* processions reproduced in Kodama Kōta 児玉幸多, ed., *Sankin kōtai gyōretsu ezu* 参勤交代行列絵図 (Tokyo: Kasumi Kaikan, 2000).; Vaporis writes that the clothing worn by members of *daimyō* processions was "colorful," but while it no doubt made for a spectacle, a "luxurious display" of the wealth, power, and cultural refinement of the lord, it does seem from Vaporis' description and from various illustrations of these processions that blacks, browns, and blues were quite typical. In any case, the extensive use of red (vermillion) and gold in the Lūchūan processions would have stood out as starkly distinct compared to the colors featured in the procession of almost any lord. Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 78-79.; Kurushima, ed., *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei*, 10-78.

officials (their bureaucratic subordinates),[46] as well as by numerous porters, horse-guides, *ashigaru* 足軽 (footmen), *koshō* 小姓 ("pages"), and other Japanese on foot. Considering these groupings as discrete units unto themselves, and the procession overall as a collection of such groupings allows for a vision of the overall procession as an enactment of complex bureaucratic hierarchies.

Daimyō processions were organized somewhat similarly, insofar as each of the lord's vassals was accompanied by his vassals in turn, in accordance with the logics of feudal samurai hierarchies.[47] As on the Sengoku battlefield, each samurai was loyal not directly to the *daimyō*, but more chiefly (perhaps exclusively) only to his direct lord (who might in turn be a retainer to the *daimyō*, or a retainer to a retainer of the *daimyō*, for example). However, while Lūchūan and samurai processions were both organized in similar fashion, around groups of superiors and followers, the relationships being performed were quite different.[48] The Confucian scholar-

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[46] For example, Nagoya domain retainer Asahi Shigeaki, presumably copying the information out of a publication he purchased, recorded in his diary that in the 1710 embassy's processions the lead envoy and his immediate followers numbered 20 people, the deputy envoy and his immediate followers numbered nine people, that the *zànyíguān* and his immediate followers numbered five people, and so on. Asahi Shigeaki 朝日重章, *Ōmurōchūki* 鸚鵡籠中記, pub. *Nagoya sōsho zokuhen* 名古屋叢書続編, vol. 11, ed. Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai 名古屋市教育委員会 (Nagoya: Nagoya-shi Kyōiku Iinkai, 1968), 637-638.

[47] Daniele Lauro, "Displaying authority: Guns, political legitimacy, and martial pageantry in Tokugawa Japan, 1600 – 1868" (MA thesis, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2013), 19.

[48] Japanese scholarship often describes the logic of the Lūchūan hierarchies as *shujū kankei* 主従関係, which might be translated as "master-servant" or "lord-vassal relationships." Sugimura Yukinori 杉村征紀, "Ryūkyū shisetsu no hensei to un'ei: jūsha no kōsei to tabiyakusho" 琉球使節の編成と運営: 従者の構成と旅役所, in *Kinsei Nihon ni okeru gaikoku shisetsu to shakai hen'yō: gieisei nikki o yomu* 近世日本における外国使節と社会変容: 『儀衛生日記』を読む, ed. Kamiya Nobuyuki (Tokyo: Kamiya Nobuyuki Kenkyūshitsu, 2006), 117-118. This appears in early modern documents as well, with the *Ōmurō chūki* listing out the number of men in each leader-follower 「主従」 group in the 1710 mission. In total, Asahi records the members of the mission as numbering 35 "leaders" and 135 "followers." Asahi, vol. 11, 637-638.

bureaucrats of the Lūchūan court were not warrior “lords” and “vassals” tied to one another by interpersonal feudal ties, nor were they “master” or “servant” to one another. Their relationships were those of superiors and subordinates within a bureaucratic structure, based on their official posts in governmental departments or offices. The Lūchūan portion of the procession can be seen as being divided into two sections, with the first half containing numerous elements of Lūchūan royal regalia leading dramatically up to the lead envoy, a royal prince, at the center of the procession and enhancing the impression of his prestige, and the second half containing the remainder of the members of the Lūchūan embassy. The first half began with the director of the embassy’s street musicians, an official known in Chinese as the *yíwèishēng* 儀衛生,[49] clad in lavish court costume, mounted on horseback, and accompanied by a series of Lūchūan officials and Japanese guards, porters, and the like on foot. He was immediately followed by a pair of figures in long red robes and caps, carrying large vermillion-lacquered bamboo staffs known as *waibuchi* 割い鞭,[50] which were used either symbolically or

[49] J: *gieisei*.; Kamakura Yoshitarō glosses the title as ニイウイチン (*niiuichin*), as does the *Okinawa bunkashi jiten* (“Okinawa Cultural History Encyclopedia”), suggesting a Chinese reading, rather than a Japanese or Okinawan language reading for these characters. In identifying several objects carried in procession by the Lūchūans, Kamakura gives a Chinese reading, and then explicitly writes that “this was pronounced the same way in Ryūkyū” (「琉球二而も此通唱候」). In following with this, I render this and other terms in modern Mandarin *pinyin*, for those terms where the Chinese reading appears to have been more standard than an Okinawan or Japanese reading. Kamakura, 87.; Maeda Giken et al., eds., 62.

[50] Okinawan reading from Ikemiya, “Shiryō shōkai: gieisei nikki,” 110. Also known as 鞭, J: *muchi, ben*, C: *biān*.

Figure 2-4: Two figures carrying *waibuchi* (right) and *chinku* banners (left). Sugitani, *Michigaku no zu* (1832) (detail).

actually to push people out of the street and help clear the way for the procession.[51] Next came the eight to twelve street musicians, in the same red robes and caps, their instruments lavishly ornamented with vermillion lacquer, gilding, and tassels. A pair of banners bearing the two-character phrase "gong and drum" (金鼓, O: *chinku*, C: *jīngǔ*, J: *kinko*) preceded them, announcing or identifying the group of musicians as a whole.[52]

The musicians were then followed by a pair of banners bearing images of winged tigers,[53] the horse(s) to be presented as a gift to the shogun,[54] two vermillion-lacquered

[51] While these might have been used in a practical manner in processions performed in Lūchū, in Lūchūan processions in Japan, the roads would presumably have already been thoroughly cleared for the Shimazu procession already well underway, meaning the *muchi* would have served a more purely symbolic purpose.
[52] The term which I translate here as "gong and drum" was used both to refer to the collection of processional instruments or the group of musicians playing them, and more specifically to a drum and small metal gong or chime suspended together in a single wooden frame and used in "seated" Lūchūan court music (*uzagaku*). This style of music is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter. The banners bearing this phrase are often referred to in documents from the time by the Chinese term *zhāng qí* 張旗. See, for example: *Shinpan Ryūkyūjin gyōretsu ki* 新版琉球人行列記 (Kyoto: Hishiya Yahei, 1832), Tōyō Bunko, Tokyo, 12.; *Ryūkyūjin tōjō geba made no gyōretsu*, 4 *verso*., both of which gloss the term as *chankii* チャンキイ or *jankii* ヂャンキイ, suggesting the Chinese reading.
[53] Such winged tigers (飛虎, C: *fēi hǔ*) were a common sight in Ming Chinese and Joseon Korean court processions as well, and were a symbol associated with royalty, and with the power to drive away inauspiciousness. Morohashi Tetsuji 諸橋轍次, ed., *Dai kanwa jiten* 大漢和辞典, vol. 12 (Tokyo: Taishūkan Shoten, 1986), 363.; Terese Tse Bartholomew, *Hidden Meanings in Chinese Art* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 2012), 80. For a Korean example, see Hyonjeong Kim Han, *In Grand Style: Celebrations in Korean Art during the Joseon Dynasty* (San Francisco: Asian Art Museum, 2014), 70.
[54] If present. Only missions congratulating the shogun on rising to that position brought horses; missions conveying gratitude for the shogun's recognition of a new king on the Lūchūan throne presented the shogun with an amount

plaques inscribed with phrases such as "royal government of Chūzan" 「中山王府」and "congratulatory envoy" 「慶賀正使」in gold characters, the mission's secretary (*zhǎnghànshǐ* 掌翰使),[55] and a large red silken parasol known in Okinawan as an *uryansan* 御涼傘.

Figure 2-5 (left): Two figures carrying vermillion-lacquered wooden plaques with gilded writing, reading "Royal government of Chūzan" (中山王府) and "Congratulatory lead envoy" (慶賀正使). Artist unknown, *Ryūkyū Chūzanō tōjō gyōretsu zu* 琉球中山王登城行列図, ink and colors on paper, handscroll, n.d. Okinawa Prefectural Museum. (detail).
Figure 2-6 (right): Two figures carrying winged tiger banners, as depicted in Sugitani, *Michigaku no zu* (1832) (detail).

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of silver in place of a horse. Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 110. The official overseeing all of the embassy's horses, including those to be gifted to the shogun, was known by the Chinese title *yǔshī* 圉師 ("horse master").

[55] J: *shokanshi*. Glossed by Kamakura Yoshitarō as *chankansui* チャンカンスイ, an approximation of the Chinese. Kamakura, 87.

All of these, from the banners and musicians to the plaques and parasol, were standard elements of the king's regalia in processional rituals conducted within Lūchū and served to enhance the prestige of the royal prince (the lead envoy) at the center of the procession, immediately following the *uryansan* parasol and to lead up to him in a dramatic sense.

Fig. 2-7 - Lead Envoy Prince Misatu 美里王子 in Ming-style court costume, riding in a sedan chair, preceded by *uryansan* parasol, and followed by spear, *lóngdāo* (dragon halberd), and umbrella. "Ryūkyū Chūzan ō ryō shisha tōjō gyōretsu" (1710) (detail).

Kathleen Ashley notes that "placement within the procession was also important in understanding its impact and significance," writing that in medieval Europe, "royal entry processions … often placed those with less authority first," while in religious processions, "the centre … was the most ornate, the most densely decorated."[56] Pettitt similarly writes that

> some processions had an ascending order, with the most prestigious coming last … some had a descending order … all processions had an apex, identified by the position of the object or person defining or motivating the procession – a monarch,

[56] Kathleen Ashley, "Introduction: The Moving Subjects of Processional Performance," in *Moving Subjects: Processional Performance in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance*, ed. Kathleen Ashley and Wim Hüsken (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2001), 17-18.

> or a mayor … [or] a saint's relic … with an ascending order ahead and a descending order following.[57]

The Lūchūan royal prince serving as chief envoy of the king certainly constituted that dramatic apex as he rode at the center of the procession in an ornately decorated sedan chair like that which the king himself employed in royal processions in Lūchū.[58] As in Ashley's and Pettit's descriptions of reliquaries or other central objects in medieval European processions, his sedan chair was undoubtedly "the most ornate, the most densely decorated" element of the procession. It featured multi-colored paintings and carvings of dragons, clouds, cranes, and other auspicious motifs against a ground of vermillion lacquer across its entire form and was topped with a metalwork phoenix in gold.

Figure 2-8: The lead envoy's sedan chair as depicted in Odagiri Shunkō 小田切春江, *Ryūkyū gashi* 琉球画誌, handpainted woodblock-printed book, Nagoya: Ōnoya Sōhachi (1832), Tōyō Bunko, 10 *recto*.

[57] Tom Pettitt, "Moving Encounters: Choreographing Stage and Spectators in Urban Theatre and Pageantry," *Medium Aevum Quotidianum* 48 (2003), 69-70.

[58] Japanese sources refer to this sedan chair variously as *hōren* 鳳輦 ("phoenix carriage") or by more general terms for sedan chairs, including *koshi* 輿 and *kyō* 轎 (O: *chū*). Fujiwara, 105.; Tomioka Shukō 富岡手暠, *Ryūkyū kaigo* 琉球解語 (Edo: Jakurindō / Wakasaya Yoichi, 1850), University of Hawaiʻi Library Sakamaki-Hawley Collection, HW 449, 3 *verso*.; *Ryūkyūjin tōjō geba made no gyōretsu*, 7 *verso*.

Carried by some six to ten Japanese palanquin-bearers, it rose above the carrying poles, and had open sides allowing the envoy to be seen by onlookers from all sides. The use of a sedan chair such as this shows that visibility was a key and intentional element of the symbolic and affective impact of the Lūchūan processions even in places where invisibility was enforced in Japanese custom. Japanese elites such as *daimyō* and shoguns, court aristocrats, and most especially the emperor often processed in closed palanquins, the inaccessibility of the experience of viewing their person (i.e. their invisibility) strengthening the mystique of their high status and power; by contrast, the use of a sedan chair in Lūchūan processions explicitly

Fig. 2-9 – Vermillion lacquered, dragon-headed, gilded halberd 朱漆龍頭金箔長刀. Urasoe Art Museum. Photo from *Ryūkyū shitsugei* 琉球漆芸 exhibition catalog, Urasoe, Okinawa: Urasoe Art Museum (1995), 173.

enabled onlookers to gaze upon the royal prince and to see him dressed in lavish Ming robes, carried high above all others on the road, and surrounded by Lūchūan symbols of royal prestige: ornate regalia including the *uryansan* parasol and several vibrantly gilded and vermillion-lacquered decorative spears and halberds.[59]

[59] While *bushi* processions were military parades, demonstrations of real martial power which employed real weapons, the spears and halberds carried in procession by members of the Lūchūan embassies were gilded, lacquered, and painted objects carved of wood, without metal blades, produced purely for ceremonial display. A wooden "dragon blade" halberd in the collection of the Urasoe Art Museum, decorated in vermillion lacquer, gilding, and tassels, is a surviving example of such ceremonial parade weapons. See entries for *Shu urushi ryūtō kinpaku naginata* 朱漆龍頭金箔長刀 ("vermillion-lacquered dragon-headed gilded halberd") in Urasoe-shi Bijutsukan 浦添市美術館, *Ryūkyū shitsugei* 琉球漆芸 (Urasoe, Okinawa: Urasoe-shi Bijutsukan Tomo no Kai, 1995), 173.; and Arakawa Hirokazu 荒川浩和, *Ryūkyū shikki no bi ten* 琉球漆器の美展 (Urasoe, Okinawa: Urasoe-

Such display weapons, a standard element of Lūchūan royal processions, held powerful symbolic meaning in *bushi* processional traditions as well, as reflections of a lord's rank or status. Only the most powerful lords, such as the Shimazu of Kagoshima and the Maeda of Kaga domain, were permitted by the Tokugawa government to be immediately accompanied by three spears in procession, and only thirty or so lords enjoyed the privilege of being accompanied by a halberd.[60] Though likely not intended or understood as directly indicative of a specific status within *bushi* hierarchies as governed by these same Tokugawa regulations, the Lūchūan prince was regularly accompanied in procession by some combination of two or three decorative ceremonial spears and/or "dragon blade" (龍刀, C: *lóngdāo*) halberds.[61] These weapons were a symbolic gesture towards the military might of the kingdom, but within a broader context of a procession organized around expressing the kingdom's civility and refinement. In contrast to the functional, metal-bladed weapons carried in *daimyō* processions, the Lūchūans' ceremonial weapons were non-functional, strictly ornamental, wooden objects, covered in vermillion lacquer with considerable gold accents, tassels, and other decorative elements, their chief purpose being solely to contribute to the visual impact and sense of majesty of the lead envoy and of the procession as a whole.

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shi ,1983), cat. no. 178. Media and construction of object confirmed in personal communication, Kinjō Satoko 金城聡子, curator, Urasoe Art Museum, 15 November 2017.

[60] Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 97-98.

[61] As seen in numerous pictorial and textual sources, including *Ryūkyū Chūzan-ō ryō shisha tōjō gyōretsu*.; and Odagiri, *Ryūkyū gashi*, 10 *verso* – 11 *recto*.

Gunpowder weapons or fireworks of some sort were carried and fired in Lūchūan processions prior to 1609, both in ceremonies within Lūchū and by embassies to Kagoshima.[62] This was in emulation of Ming procession practices, and lighting fireworks remains a common element of various folk processional traditions in China today as well.[63] Arquebuses were also a standard feature of the display of martial power in samurai processions;[64] some *daimyō* retinues such as that of the lord of Sendai even regularly employed arquebuses with smoking lit fuses in their processions as a particularly theatrical version of such displays.[65] While the processions performed by the Lūchūan embassies retained much of the traditional protocols and practices of earlier periods, the use of these firearms or fireworks was one element which was not continued. This may have been in large part for purely practical reasons, as the Shimazu strongly restricted the carrying of (functional) weapons from Lūchū into Japan. Still, it might also be argued that the absence of such a martial display in the Lūchūan processions contributed to the impression of Lūchūan difference, subordinance to Shimazu authority, and the Lūchūan court's emphasis on the kingdom's civil (文, C: *wén*, "letters") rather than martial (武, C: *wǔ*) cultural character. As Smits has argued, in light of Lūchū's political, economic, and

[62]「色々楽を仕、鐵放なと仕候て」 Uwai, 116.; Ikemiya, *Kumemura*, 129.; Tokugawa, 309. Shimazu retainer Uwai Kakken, writing of a Lūchūan embassy to Kagoshima in 1575, uses the word *teppō* (鐵放 or 鉄砲, lit. "metal gun"), suggesting that the embassy may have been firing European-style arquebuses. However, Chinese and Korean records indicate the firing of gunpowder weapons in ceremonial displays in Lūchū going back as early as 1450, long before European-style firearms had been introduced into Asia; these accounts describe the Lūchūan "fire arrows" (火矢, O: *hyaa*) as being little different in style from the bamboo "hand cannons" or "bird guns" used in China and Korea. Uezato Takashi 上里隆史, "Ryūkyū no kaki ni tsuite" 琉球の火器について, *Okinawa Bunka* 沖縄文化, vol. 36:1, no. 91 (July 2000), 76-77.

[63] Stephen Jones, *Folk Music of China: Living Instrumental Traditions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995), 19.

[64] Lauro.

[65] Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 85.

Figure 2-10: - The *yíwèizhèng* of the 1832 mission in Lūchūan court robes and *hachimachi* court cap. Sugitani, *Ryūkyūjin michigaku no zu* (1832) (detail).

military weakness compared to China and Japan, leading scholar-officials such as Sai On 蔡温 (C: *Cài Wēn*, 1682-1761) to replace "the language of military force with that of Confucian virtue" in how the kingdom represented itself;[66] in doing so, Sai On and others promoted a vision of Lūchū which "placed [the kingdom] on a moral par with its larger neighbors, with material stability and prosperity as the outward manifestations of an inward moral excellence."[67]

The prince was then followed by the remaining members of the embassy, beginning with men guiding one or two riderless horses which were maintained for his use when not in procession, followed by the deputy or vice envoy (副使, J: *fukushi*, C: *fù shǐ*) and the *zànyíguān* 賛儀官 (J: *sangikan*), who advised the vice envoy and directed various logistical and practical aspects of the missions. He was followed in turn by seven or so assistants to the lead and vice envoys, known by the Chinese term *shǐzàn* 使賛 (J: *shisan*). Each of these officials, like those in the first half of the Lūchūan portion of the Shimazu procession, wore luxurious silk or satin robes, rode in a palanquin or on horseback, and was accompanied by a number of lower-ranking Lūchūan officials and Japanese escorts, porters,

[66] Smits, *Visions of Ryūkyū*, 98.
[67] Smits, *Visions of Ryūkyū*, 98.

and the like on foot. Though certainly still visually eye-catching and impressive, this latter half of the procession, beginning with the deputy or vice envoy (the second highest-ranking official in the embassy, after the lead envoy himself) and progressing hierarchically downward through the *zànyíguān*, *shǐzàn*, and others, represented a "descent" or "decline" away from the hierarchical and aesthetic apex represented by the prince's sedan chair and royal regalia, just as the progression from the street musicians to the mission's secretary (the third highest-ranking official in the mission, after the lead and deputy envoys) conveyed a sense of hierarchical and affective "ascent."

Figure 2-11: – *Shǐzàn* (right) and two *yuètóngzǐ* (left) in Lūchūan costume, riding on horseback and accompanied by umbrellas. Artist unknown, "Ryūkyūjin nyūchō zuhiki" 琉球人入朝図引 (year unknown), ink and colors on silk, handscroll, reproduced in *Shin Ryūkyū shi: Kinsei hen* vol. 2 新琉球史：近世編（下）, Naha: Ryūkyū Shimpō sha (1990). (detail).

The final group in the procession were the music masters (楽師, C: *yuèshī*, J: *gakushi*) and young entertainers (楽童子, C: *yuètóngzǐ*, J: *gakudōji*) who would perform before the Shimazu lord, the shogun, and others in indoor banquets, led by the *yuèzhèng* (楽正, J: *gakusei*). The *yuètóngzǐ*, teenage sons of prominent artistic scholar-official lineages known for

their talent in music, dance, and other arts, attracted particular attention.[68] While the official court robes worn by others in the procession were certainly made of fine materials with intricate raised patterns as well, the robes of the *yuètóngzǐ* attracted particular attention. Decorated using a stencil-dyeing technique known today as *bingata* 紅型, or at that time more frequently by the Okinawan term *katachiki* 形付, these robes were covered in brightly multi-colored patterns and designs, and had long sleeves which hung down, like the *furisode* 振袖 worn by young women in Japan. The *yuètóngzǐ* also whitened their hands and clean-shaven faces, reddened their lips, and wore their hair up in buns, affixed with large golden hairpins from which small metal flowers dangled.[69] Numerous diaries and other records describe them and their clothing as "beautiful" (美, *bi*, or *utsukushii*), and account for their exceptional skill and beauty in music and poetry as well,[70] dubbing the *yuètóngzǐ* the "flowers of the mission" (使節の花, *shisetsu no hana*), or other similar appellations.[71]

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[68] The *yuètóngzǐ* were teenage boys selected from Lūchūan scholar-aristocratic families for their ability in music, dance, calligraphy, poetry, tea ceremony, and other arts or cultural skills; in procession, they simply rode along, but while in Edo and some other cities and towns they performed *uzagaku* music, dances, theatrical skits, calligraphy, poetry, and tea ceremony, serving in some respects as the "stars" of the embassies' performances of cultural refinement. Though Lūchūan aristocratic males typically had their coming-of-age ceremony (欹髪結, J: *kata kashira yui*) around age 15, those specializing in music and dance often had their coming-of-age delayed, so they could continue to perform in certain court positions and contexts exclusive to those who were not yet adults. Many who served as *yuètóngzǐ* on the Edo missions had their comings-of-age delayed until they were 17, 19, or even 20. Furusawa Mizuki 古澤瑞希, "Gakudōji no katakashirayui no nenrei ni tsuite" 楽童子の欹髪結いの年齢について, *Mūsa* ムーサ 18 (March 2017), 51-58.

[69] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 255. The golden flower hairpins were known as *huāzān* 花簪 in Chinese, and as *kugani jifaa* 黄金じーふぁー in Okinawan.

[70] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 254-255.

[71] Sudō, "Ryūkyūjin michigaku no zu," 18.

Even so, the *yuètóngzǐ* were still the lowest-ranking of the scholar-officials featured prominently (i.e. on horseback, not on foot) in the processions, providing a colorful and exciting conclusion to the Lūchūan portion of the procession, but one which did not conflict with the visible hierarchical ascent and then descent of the processions' overall organization. The music and the various visual and material elements constituting the entire first half of the Lūchūan portion of the procession served to herald the prince's presence and to announce his identity. They likely can be said to have not only "led" up to him in a directional sense, but also to have "built up" towards his appearance in a dramatic or emotional sense, offering tantalizing tastes of the aesthetic that was to be displayed in full force in the prince's sedan chair and in the accoutrements immediately surrounding him. The remainder of the procession then led down away from that aesthetic and hierarchical apex, displaying the remaining members of the mission in a manner which gradually led visual and emotional interest down to a satisfying end.

This performance of Lūchūan court culture benefited both the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses by highlighting that the Lūchūan court, and in particular the Lūchūan kings, whose *tuda* 三巴 (J: *mitsudomoe*) crest was emblazoned on luggage boxes, paper lanterns, and elsewhere in these processions, were a *foreign* court or house recognizing the authority of these two samurai houses.[72] However, it also allowed the Lūchū royal court to proudly display its

[72] The Lūchūan royal crest, known as *tuda* or *fujaigumun* 左御紋(lit. "left[-ward spinning] crest") in Okinawan, resembling three comma-shaped droplets arranged in a clockwise spiral, is seen on luggage boxes in the 1850 *Ryūkyū heishi ki*, and on paper lanterns and the saddle blankets of the lead envoy's horse in an 1850 handscroll procession painting by Uwajima domain retainer Uetsuki Gyōkei (Yukiyoshi). See Fujiwara, 106.; Uetsuki Gyōkei 上月行敬, *Ryūkyūjin gyōshō no zu* 琉球人行粧之図 (1850), Kagoshima University Library, Tamazato Collection, Tamazato bunko bangai no bu #5034. For more on the royal crest, see Naha-shi Rekishi Hakubutsukan 那覇市歴史博物館, *Kokuhō "Ryūkyū kokuō Shōke kankei shiryō" no subete* 国宝「琉球国王尚家関係資料」のすべて (Naha:

sovereignty, wealth and power, and distinctive and highly refined, civilized, cultural identity as it saw fit, as a court which incorporated many of the "correct," "proper," practices of high Ming civilization.

The clearly distinct cultural character of these Lūchūan displays certainly conveyed to Japanese onlookers a sense of Lūchū as a "foreign" place, but on a political plane as well, foreignness meant non-membership or non-inclusion in the imagined cultural space or imagined political community of "Japan," thus reinforcing a sense of the kingdom's independence or sovereignty. Costumes, music, and various accoutrements drawn from Ming and Qing models served to demonstrate this distinctiveness and at the same time indicated or reinforced for knowledgeable Japanese viewers that the legitimacy and sovereignty of the Lūchūan king were invested in him by the emperor in Beijing, the ostensible Son of Heaven and source of all civilization. This can be seen in the musical instruments and the processional music they performed, based directly upon Ming & Qing imperial processional traditions. Silk parasols like the Lūchūan *uryansan*, along with spears and halberds decorated with red lacquer, gilding, and tassels, were also standard symbols of royal or imperial prestige not only in Lūchūan court ceremony but in the Ming and Qing courts as well, and can be seen in numerous examples of paintings of Ming or Qing court ceremonies.[73] The chief envoy's phoenix-topped sedan chair,

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Okinawa Taimusu, 2006), 47.; and Kinjō Yuijin 金城唯仁, *Ryūkyū kokki no tomoebata* 琉球国旗の巴旗 (Naha: Ryūkyū Bunko, 1981).

[73] See, for example, the Qing dynasty paintings "Arrival of Envoys from Thousands of Regions" (萬國来朝圖軸, c. 1779), "Complete Illustrations of the Guangxu Emperor's Imperial Wedding" (大婚典禮全圖冊, c. 1889), and "All Foreign Lands Paying Tributes to the Court" (萬國来朝, c. 1735-1796). Li Jian, *Forbidden City: Imperial Treasures from the Palace Museum, Beijing* (Richmond, VA: Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, 2014), 36-37, 41-42.; Evelyn Rawski and Jessica Rawson, eds., *China: The Three Emperors, 1662-1795* (London: Royal Academy of Arts, 2005), 85.

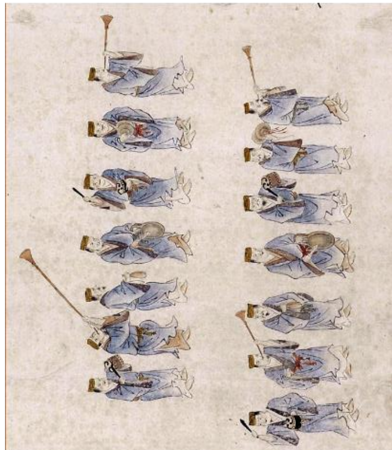

Fig. 2-12 - Prince Chin in procession. *Ryūkyū shisha Kin ōji shusshi no gyōretsu* (c. 1671) (detail).

likewise, closely resembled those used by Ming & Qing emperors and by kings of Joseon.[74] Finally, though for most processions all members of the embassy wore Lūchūan court costume, when processing to or from audiences with the shogun or his heir, Tōshōgū 東照宮 shrines,[75] or other sites directly associated with the Tokugawa house, the high- and middle-ranking members all dressed in Ming-style court robes and caps.

The Ming court had granted formal court robes to each king of Lūchū and his top ministers, and the Qing court which succeeded it in 1644 granted the Lūchūans permission to fabricate their own Ming-style robes and to continue to wear them for investiture ceremonies and certain other special occasions.[76] For the king's representatives to wear such garments was thus a direct assertion of the kingdom's close ties with Beijing and membership in high Confucian civilization.

The Edo embassies' processions had not always been this visually and materially lavish and impactful, however. A

[74] Li, 26-27, 33, 38, 41. Kim Han, 86-89.
[75] Shrines dedicated to the deified spirit of Tokugawa Ieyasu, founder of the Tokugawa regime.
[76] Watanabe Miki 渡辺美季, "Ryūkyū kara mita Shinchō" 琉球から見た清朝, in *Shinchō to ha nani ka* 清朝とは何か, ed. Okada Hidehiro 岡田英弘 (Tokyo: Fujiwara Shoten, 2009), 256.; Sudō, "'Ryūkyūjin michigaku no zu,'" 21n51.

handscroll painting of the 1671 embassy's processions depicts the head of that embassy, Prince Chin 金武王子 (J: Kin),[77] in a comparatively plain sedan chair, illustrated in brown rather than vermillion. No *uryansan* parasol is depicted preceding him, nor any halberds or spears immediately following him. While most of the other mounted figures in the procession are clearly dressed in Ming costume, the overall palette and style of the clothing of all in the procession appears far plainer than that of figures in paintings of the later 18th-19th century processions.[78] This stark difference in the colorfulness and visual style otherwise of the procession can be partially attributed to increased affordability of pigments later in the early modern period, greater attention to detail "sketched from life" (写生, J: *shasei*), and other developments in Japanese painting. This must also be attributed, to some extent, to variation from one artist to the next, and in the time and expense put into a work; compared to a lavish and expensive handscroll painting on silk by Kanō Shunko 狩野春湖 depicting the 1710 embassy's procession up to Edo castle, a procession scroll in the University of Hawaiʻi collection from the same year, painted on paper, depicts everything in a plainer, simpler fashion, revealing little of the fine detail seen in the Kanō scroll.[79]

However, documentary evidence also shows that the embassies' clothing was indeed of poorer quality in the 17th century, and that explicit efforts were made towards the end of that century to introduce the use of higher quality materials for the embassies' costumes, so as to

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[77] Prince Chin Chōten 金武王子尚朝典, also known by his Chinese-style name Shō Ki 尚熙 (Shàng Xī).

[78] See *Ryūkyū shisha Kin ōji shusshi no gyōretsu*.

[79] *Ryūkyū Chūzan ō ryō shisha tōjō gyōretsu*.; Kanō Shunko 狩野春湖, *Ryūkyū-koku ryōshi tōjō no gyōretsu emaki* 琉球国両使登城之行列絵巻 (1710), ink, colors, and gold on silk, handscroll, British Museum, JA 1886.3-9.01, 02.

match the magnificence of Edo, and of the samurai and others seen in procession.[80] Kagoshima leaders were concerned that Lūchū be made to seem refined, wealthy, and magnificent, again in order to bolster the prestige of Kagoshima, which claimed such a grand kingdom as its vassal. Changes to Tokugawa court ritual by Confucian scholar and shogunal advisor Arai Hakuseki in the early 1710s contributed to this change in the Lūchūans' costume as well: his reforms included an elevation or refinement of the clothing worn by the shogun, Tokugawa officials, *daimyō*, and others in ceremonial contexts, provoking changes to the costume worn by members of the Lūchūan embassies as well, in order to accord with the higher level of ritual display.[81]

Hakuseki's reforms also prompted changes in the terminology used to refer to official positions within the mission. Records from the 18th and 19th centuries use a standard set of Chinese-style terms, such as *zhǎnghànshǐ* ("secretary"), *yíwèishēng* (for the head of the street musicians), and *yuètóngzǐ* (for the young musicians and dancers). By contrast, earlier records use more generic Japanese terms, such as *yūhitsu* 祐筆 ("secretary" or "scribe") for the position later known as *zhǎnghànshǐ* 掌翰使 (J: *shokanshi*), and *tsukeyaku* 附役 ("attached official") or *tsukeshū* 付衆 ("attached people") for others.[82]

This very same emphasis on Lūchūan distinctiveness, majesty, and civilization served the Shimazu and Tokugawa as well. They used the processions to display the fact that such a

[80] Tinello, "The Ryukyuan Embassies to Edo," 181, citing *Kagoshima ken shiryō*, vol. 1, item 1800, 703.
[81] Tinello, "The Ryukyuan Embassies to Edo," 181.
[82] Yokoyama, "Ryūkyū koku shisetsu tōjō gyōretsu emaki wo yomu," 177.

powerful, prestigious, and civilized kingdom – second only to Joseon in the hierarchy of loyal tributaries to the Ming and Qing Empires[83] – dispatched embassies to Edo in recognition of Shimazu authority and Tokugawa centrality. That the Lūchūans paraded through the streets amidst a Shimazu escort benefitted the Shimazu greatly as a display of the power and prestige of their house, the only *daimyō* house to claim a foreign king(dom) as vassal. In the competitive display of *daimyō* processions, lords regularly showed off tiger skins and other gifts from past shoguns, gilded and lacquered items, impressive numbers of warriors, and other signs of the power or privileges of their house as they vied with one another to maintain a reputation of power and status.[84] The display by *daimyō* and shoguns of prized collections of swords, falcons, tea implements, and other heirlooms – including those acquired from defeated enemies in the aftermath of battle or received as gifts from a lord – was a prominent element of cultural competition and warrior hierarchy in earlier centuries as well.[85] Morgan Pitelka suggests that tea masters and others in service to a lord were also prized as elements of lords' "collections";[86] the Shimazu display in procession of representatives from a foreign land they had conquered can perhaps be seen in similar fashion, as a show of the highly cultured and prestigious kingdom in their possession.

At the same time, many spectators understood these processions as displays of embassies dispatched in recognition of or submission to the great virtue and power of the Tokugawa shogun. Spectators in cities and towns across the realm did not simply see the

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[83] Tinello, "The Ryukyuan Embassies to Edo," 184.
[84] Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 97-100.
[85] Morgan Pitelka, *Spectacular Accumulation: material culture, Tokugawa Ieyasu, and samurai sociability* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2016).
[86] Pitelka, 58.

Lūchūans escorted by Shimazu forces, without awareness of, or thought to, their destination; they were keenly aware that the Lūchūans were on their way to or from ceremonial audiences at the shogun's castle, just as Korean embassies were seen escorted to Edo by the head of the Sō house, lord of Tsushima. Upon witnessing Lūchūan processions in 1634, Kyoto court noble Kujō Michifusa wrote, "Here, the shogun's military power has already reached to foreign lands, and as a result, at times of celebration, they send envoys."[87] Yodo domain retainer Watanabe Zen'emon similarly wrote in 1748 that the Lūchūan missions were an embodiment or a sign of "the grace of the Taikun [i.e. of the shogun],"[88] and popular fiction writer Jippensha Ikku, on the occasion of the final Korean mission in 1811, wrote that they came to Japan "solely because of the merit of the Sacred Reign [of Shogun Tokugawa Ienari]."[89] Lūchū was thus tied conceptually to a position within a network or "world" of Tokugawa foreign relations, within which the Shimazu escort was both a display of Shimazu "possession" of the kingdom and at the same time an act performed in fulfillment of feudal obligations in service to the Tokugawa house.[90]

The apparent foreignness of the Lūchūan embassies was essential to these discourses of both Shimazu and Tokugawa prestige and power. It allowed the Shimazu to boast its unique position as the only *daimyō* house to claim a foreign king or kingdom among its vassals (the Sō, vassals of both the Tokugawa and of the kings of Joseon, escorted embassies to Edo as an act of service to both). And it allowed the Tokugawa to claim that even foreign lands were

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[87] 「これ、将軍の武力はすでに異国に及び、然るに、この如く、慶びの時、使を送る。」Toby, *Sakoku to iu gaikō*, 235. Upon seeing a large bronze bell gifted to Nikkō Tōshōgū by Korean embassies, Michifusa wrote similarly that "the reach of the shogunal majesty 'extended even to foreign countries!'" Toby, "Contesting the Centre," 358.

[88] 「大君の御めぐみ成り」. Watanabe Zen'emon, 121.

[89] Toby, "Contesting the Centre," 362.

[90] Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies to Edo," 52.

spontaneously inspired to dispatch embassies to pay respects to the *kubō* in recognition of Tokugawa power and virtue. If the processing Lūchūans were to have worn Japanese clothing, displayed Japanese-style accoutrements, or otherwise appeared as though Lūchū was (now) merely a region within the cultural/geographical space of "Japan," it would have considerably weakened Shimazu & Tokugawa prestige associated with claiming authority over the islands, and receiving envoys from them. The Shimazu therefore obliged members of Lūchūan embassies, whenever they were seen in public while in Japan, to ensure that they cultivated a foreign appearance and avoided being confused for Japanese.

This policy can be seen clearly in an edict issued in 1709, in which the Shimazu mandated that the spears, halberds, and certain other accoutrements used in the embassies' processions be constructed and decorated in the style of a foreign court, and not in a style which could be mistaken for Japanese.[91] The edict further indicated that curtains hung at the embassies' lodgings in towns along their journey should not be like those hung for elite Japanese visitors, but should be made of another material, such as tabby cloth or figured satin (*juchin* 繻珍).[92] All other traveling equipment was also to be in a foreign style, and not in a style or of a type which could be confused for Japanese; the edict stipulated that this applied to

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[91] 「一、長刀拵様錦物付候儀能々可有吟味候／一、鑓茂大清之鉾之様ニ拵様可有之帰朝之琉球人江吟味之上可被相調」 "Dai Shin kōki yonjūsan nen kinoe saru yori Ryūkyū shiryō san go gojō kakiutsushi Nihon hōei gannen hikae utsushi" 大清康熙四拾三年甲申より　琉球史料三五　御条書写　日本宝永元年　扣写 (1709/9/26), Kamakura, 115.

[92] 「一、道中宿幕之儀日本向之幕二而は不相応二候何そ為替幕地二而仕立も替江候様有之度候繻珍たひい類之物二切入なと可然哉」"Dai Shin kōki …," Kamakura, 115.

raincoats as well.[93] This document is oft-cited as the chief evidence for Kagoshima's efforts to enforce the foreign or exotic appearance of the Lūchūan embassies, in order to reinforce the notion that Lūchū was not a mere string of islands within the cultural space imagined as "Japan," but rather was a *foreign* kingdom.

Up until recently, scholars generally cited this edict, among others, as evidence of the Shimazu house's oppressive and micromanaging control over Lūchū, even to the point of forcing embassy members to dress in a particular fashion tailored to serve Shimazu ends. Miyagi Eishō, for example, writing in 1982, employed the term *kyōyō* 強要, meaning coercion, compulsion, or force, several times in his treatment of this aspect of the embassies.[94] An account by Shimazu retainer Uwai Satokane 上井覚兼 (1545-1589) of a 1575 Lūchūan embassy to Kagoshima, however, indicates that both in processions and in audiences with the Shimazu lord the ambassadors wore "Chinese clothing" (唐衣装, J: *tō ishō*), changing into "Ryūkyūan clothing" (琉球支度, J: *Ryūkyū shitaku*) for a later portion of the ceremonial events.[95] This reveals that even prior to the Shimazu takeover of the kingdom, when Lūchū was engaging in diplomatic interactions even more fully, more truly, as an independent, foreign, sovereign entity, Lūchūan ambassadors wore Ming-style costume for such embassies. The use of Ming costume in this earlier embassy serves as valuable evidence against the notion that the post-

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[93] 「一、右之外海陸旅立之諸具異朝之風物二似候様二可有之日本向に不紛敷様二可相調.／一、雨具右同断」 "Dai Shin kōki …," Kamakura, 115.

[94] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 56.

[95] Uwai, 116.; Ikemiya, *Kumemura*, 129.

1609 embassies' identity performance was determined and forcibly imposed upon the king by either the Shimazu or Tokugawa houses.

This reassessment is further strengthened by a line-by-line examination of the original 1709 edict. Pointing to a mistaken interpretation of the edict in Majikina Ankō's 1923 *Okinawa issen nen shi* 沖縄一千年史 ("One Thousand Years' History of Okinawa") which many later scholars have cited and re-cited without examining the edict themselves, Tomiyama Kazuyuki notes that while the edict emphasizes the importance of foreign appearance and the inappropriateness of implements which could be confused for Japanese, it does not for the most part describe specific designs or decorations which must be used. Rather, the specific style of implements to be employed is entrusted to Lūchūan officials who had sojourned in China, who were to inspect the accoutrements and confirm that they were constructed and decorated properly "in the style of Qing halberds."[96] Further, the edict includes no discussion of court robes, court caps, or other items of clothing other than a vague, general reference to "travel equipment," focusing instead on ceremonial weaponry, curtains, and other accoutrements.[97] In summary, the edict merely obliged members of Lūchūan embassies to ensure the foreignness of their appearance, leaving the details up to the Lūchūans and not imposing any particular Shimazu-devised program of "foreign" or "Ryūkyūan costume."

The Lūchūan court does not seem to have bristled at the enforced foreignness mandated by edicts such as that issued in 1709. To the contrary, the court seems to have taken

[96] 「一、鑓茂大清之鉾之様二拵様可有之帰朝之琉球人江吟味之上可被相調」"Dai Shin kōki …," Kamakura, 115.
[97] Tomiyama, "Edo nobori kara Edo-dachi e," 58-62.

this continuation of pre-1609 modes of diplomatic ritual as an opportunity to continue to perform displays of Lūchū's own refined, cultured, processional traditions before Japanese viewers, demonstrating their mastery of the ritual forms of high Confucian civilization and adherence to precedent and ritual propriety. A set of instructions or guidelines mentioned above and issued to the heads of the 1850 embassy by the kingdom's senior officials presents the obligation to appear foreign not as a Shimazu or Tokugawa imposition to which Lūchū has to begrudgingly accede, but rather as a matter of adherence to custom, propriety, and precedent, and with the pride and reputation of the kingdom strongly in mind.[98] The communication instructs the members of the 1850 embassy that when performing these rites, reputation is not something to be taken lightly, and that while on the journey, everyone should place priority on prudence and discretion and should perform their various tasks in a way which would not damage the reputation of the kingdom.[99] The document also specifies that for members of the embassy, everything about their conduct or comportment, from the way they stand, sit, and walk to the way they eat, should not be in a Japanese manner but should resemble a Chinese or foreign style.[100] Further, it indicates that when wearing *katachiki*

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[98] Prince Urasoe Chōki 浦添王子朝熹, Ikegushiku *ueekata* An'yū 池城親方安邑, Zachimi *ueekata* Seifu 座喜味親方盛普, Kunjan *ueekata* 国頭親方, "Edo dachi no toki oosewatashi narabi ni ōtō no jōjō no utsushi" 江戸立之時仰渡并応答之条々之写, 1849/4/19, transcribed in Kamakura, 72.

[99]「御礼節御座候儀御外聞不軽事候…途中宿々二而茂其慎専一候尤各請込之職分品能相勤国風之名折無之様可相嗜事」. "Edo dachi no toki oosewatashi …," Kamakura, 72.

[100] 「惣而立居歩行之挙動且又食事之喰様等迄日本格無之唐風めき候様可相嗜事」. "Edo dachi no toki oosewatashi…," Kamakura, 72.

garments, those with patterns or designs that resembled Japanese styles were inappropriate and should not be worn.[101]

The result were processions which displayed for Japanese onlookers standard forms of royal Lūchūan processional ceremony, incorporating both elements adopted from Ming and Qing court practice and those of more purely Lūchūan origin that could not be easily confused with Japanese culture. As scholars today, we may feel compelled to draw a distinction and to note which aesthetics, designs, and practices might be categorized as "Chinese" in origin, and which "Lūchūan." However, it is important to remember that for the Lūchūan scholar-aristocracy, as for the Japanese elites who centuries earlier borrowed so much from the visual, material, and ritual culture of the Tang imperial court, these categories were not so clear-cut. Cultural elements adopted (or adapted) from Ming and Qing court practice are frequently denoted in Lūchūan documents as being "Ming" (明), "Qing" (清), or "Chinese" (唐) but are at the same time often treated as cultural forms belonging to Lūchū's own traditions.[102] The section on music in the *Ryūkyū-koku yuraiki*, an early 18th century official history produced by the Lūchūan court, for example, describes "the music of this country" (or, "this national music")

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[101] 「形付衣裳は大和めき不宜付着用候儀可被召当候。」*Katachiki* 形付 refers to a style of resist-dyed decoration for garments today more commonly known as *bingata* 紅型.

[102] For example, a Lūchūan court communication instructs the members of the 1850 embassy to behave in a "Chinese manner" (唐風めき). "Edo dachi no toki oosewatashi …," Kamakura, 72-73. The genealogical record (家譜, J: *kafu*) of scholar-official Den Sūdō 傳崇道 (C: *Chuán Chóngdào*, also known as Ikehara Kōsei 池原厚清) explicitly discusses the introduction of "Ming Chinese music" and "Qing music" into the kingdom: 「太明年間中華之音楽伝来於本国…大清音楽教授于楽童子等」*Naha shishi shiryō hen*, vol. 1, no. 7, 553. And the *Gieisei nikki* regularly employs terms such as "Chinese spears" (唐長柄), "Chinese clothing" (唐支度), and "Chinese dance" (唐踊). "Gieisei nikki," 165, 173, 183, *passim*.

as having been "transmitted from China."[103] Indeed, a number of scholars today argue that these should be seen as cultural forms or elements naturalized, fully incorporated, into Lūchū's own court culture.[104] These processions, as performed both in Lūchū and by the embassies to Japan, were by no means intended as wholesale recreations of Ming ritual, nor as attempts to pass for being "Chinese." These were reflections of Lūchū's own culturally refined and civilized court culture, a court culture which synthesized practices of high Confucian civilization – as epitomized by the ritual norms of the Ming and Qing courts – into "native" Lūchūan traditions. As Liam Kelley has written of Vietnamese scholar-officials of the time, they "did not think that what we today call 'Chinese culture' was in any way alien or the possession of some other people. It was simply all that there was"[105] – that is, for those within the Confucian world, Ming or Qing court culture represented the one and only model of civilization. For those Vietnamese scholar-officials, as for their Lūchūan counterparts, to emulate Ming court culture was not necessarily about adopting "Chinese" ways of doing things; rather, it was about adopting correct, proper, civilized ways. Performing this in the course of the embassies to Edo was thus a way of enacting that civility, propriety, and refinement and demonstrating it to Japanese audiences.

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[103] 「当国楽…自中国伝受来」Higa Etsuko 比嘉悦子, "Ryūkyū ōfu ni okeru Chūgoku-kei no ongaku to uzagaku no onkyoku" 琉球王府における中国系の音楽と御座楽の音曲, *Geinō* 35 (1993), 17-18, citing *Ryūkyū-koku yuraiki* 琉球国由来記 (1713), vol. 4, item #24. Reprinted in *Ryūkyū-koku yuraiki* 琉球国由来記, ed. Hokama Shuzen 外間守善 and Hateruma Eikichi 波照間永吉 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1997), 120.

[104] Personal conversation with Yamada Kōsei 山田 浩世, 11/5/2016.; Higa, "Ryūkyū ōfu ni okeru Chūgoku-kei no ongaku," 17-23.;

[105] Kelley, 3.

Whether Japanese audiences indeed interpreted these ritual aesthetics and practices as indicative of civility, propriety, and refinement is unclear. Reactions varied widely, as they would among any mass of people responding to any event. The diary of Watanabe Zen'emon, a Yodo domain retainer in charge of overseeing the reception of both Lūchūan and Korean embassies in 1748 as they made their way up the Yodo River from Osaka to Fushimi (near Kyoto), suggests that for him and many others in Yodo the Lūchūan boat processions were quite successful in conveying that impression. Traveling on luxurious *gozabune* riverboats provided by prominent *daimyō*, the Lūchūans stood or sat on the decks of the ships, easily visible to those on the riverbanks, while playing *rujigaku* music and displaying the banners, ornamental weapons, and *uryansan* parasol also used in the street processions. Reflecting on these events in his diary, Watanabe writes that "the Lūchūans looked cleanly put-together, with elegant new clothing, and their accoutrements also quite beautiful, the pages especially beautiful. The luggage was also elegant in appearance. Their etiquette was correct and their behavior good."[106] He further indicates that many people in the Yodo area at that time, impressed by the Lūchūans' clean and put-together (きれい, *kirei*) appearance, said that if they were to be reborn, they would want to be reborn in Ryūkyū.[107]

There were surely also many who found the Lūchūans' appearance laughable or barbaric. It was for this reason that edicts regarding the behavior of paradegoers regularly

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[106] 「…琉球人は生付きれいにして、装束あたらしくりつはにて、そのうへ諸道具まで結構にして美成り、小童なとは別而うるわしきもの也、荷物とうもりつはしたる也、礼義たたしくさほう宜し…」 Watanabe Zen'emon, 117-119.

[107] Watanabe Zen'emon, 119.

included stipulations enjoining those observing the processions not to point and laugh at the foreigners.[108]

Whether early modern Japanese viewers understood these processions as displays of a distinctive Lūchūan culture or as part of a broader and undifferentiated "foreign" is also a complicated matter. Many widely-circulated publications of the time on Lūchū, such as the 1790 *Ryūkyūjin daigyōretsuki* ("Record of Ryūkyūans' Great Procession") and Morishima Chūryō's *Ryūkyū banashi* ("Ryūkyū Discussion"), as well as works on the "peoples of the world" such as Nishikawa Joken's 1720 illustrated volume *Bankoku jinbutsu zu* ("Images of Peoples of the Myriad Countries"), distinguished Lūchū, its people, and their culture from those of China, Korea, and elsewhere.[109] However, as Keiko Suzuki and Ronald Toby have detailed, different foreign cultures were often conflated in early modern Japanese popular discourse into a single image of the "Tōjin" or "foreigner."[110] Some efforts were made by the Tokugawa or Shimazu to differentiate the Lūchūan processions in people's minds from those of the Korean embassies, bolstering belief in Tokugawa legitimacy and prestige by encouraging an understanding that

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[108] See, for example, edicts from 1671, 1682, and 1710. Takayanagi and Ishii, eds., items 3008-3012, 1349-1351.

[109] Morishima Chūryō 森島中良, *Ryūkyū banashi* 琉球談 (Edo: Suwaraya Ichibee, 1790), University of Hawaiʻi Library Sakamaki-Hawley Collection, HW 495.; *Ryūkyūjin daigyōretsuki* 琉球人大行列記 (Kyoto and Osaka: Benshōdō, 1790), University of Hawaiʻi Library Sakamaki-Hawley Collection, HW 451.; Nishikawa Joken 西川如見, *Bankoku jinbutsu zu* 萬國人物圖 (Edo: Enbaiken, 1720), Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT. I address these and a number of other works in Seifman, "Pictures of an Island Kingdom: Depictions of Ryūkyū in Early Modern Japan" (MA thesis, University of Hawaiʻi at Mānoa, 2012).

[110] Keiko Suzuki, "The Making of Tōjin: Construction of the Other in Early Modern Japan," *Asian Folklore Studies* 66 (2007), 83-105.; Toby, *Sakoku to iu gaikō*, 199-230. While the term *tōjin* 唐人 might be most literally translated as "a person of Tang" or "a Chinese person," as Toby explains, *tō* or *kara* 唐 could also refer to the broader Sinic / Confucian world outside of Japan (i.e. including not only China, but also Korea, Lūchū, and Vietnam) or to the foreign more broadly. Toby, "Three Realms/Myriad Countries: An "Ethnography" of Other and the Re-bounding of Japan, 1550- 1750," in *Constructing Nationhood in Modern East Asia*, ed. Kai-wing Chow et al. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2001): 15-45.

multiple *different* kingdoms were sending embassies to pay homage to the shogun; Yokoyama Manabu suggests that such explicit efforts at differentiation can be seen, for example, in the use from 1710 onward of only tiger banners in Lūchūan processions and only dragon banners in Korean ones where both kingdoms' embassies had flown both types of banners previously.[111] Still, for the most part, it was the Lūchūans' foreignness that was most important to Shimazu and Tokugawa ends – regardless of whether finer cultural distinctions were widely understood.

Reading Processions

Nevertheless, it is important to consider the ways that these processions conveyed information iconographically, through the display of symbols with recognizable cultural meaning. Most if not all elements of the processions performed by Lūchūan embassies in the streets and waterways of early modern Japan were precisely those which accompanied the king in royal processional rituals within Lūchū, and each of those elements had its own semiotic significance within Ming, Qing, and/or Lūchūan traditions.

Vermillion and gold, displayed in the musicians' clothing, the princes' sedan chairs, the *uryansan* parasol and *waibuchi* staffs, and on ornamental weapons, were colors strongly associated with imperial power and prestige in the Ming and Qing Empires, and with royal

[111] Yokoyama, "Ryūkyū koku shisetsu tōjō gyōretsu emaki wo yomu," 178.; Yokoyama, "Gyōretsu o yomu (7)" 行列を読む, in Kurushima, ed., *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei*, 115. Both types of banners continued to be used in various domestic ceremonies in Korea and Lūchū, however. See Kim Han, 70. Both dragon and tiger banners can be seen in a handscroll painting of one of the 1671 embassy's processions in the collections of the University of Hawai'i Library; this is the only such handscroll painting of a 17th century Lūchūan embassy procession known to be extant. See *Ryūkyū shisha Kin ōji shusshi no gyōretsu*.

power and prestige in Lūchū and Joseon.[112] Royal motifs of dragons and phoenixes appearing on the lead envoy's sedan chair, along with the cranes – symbols of longevity – painted on the roof of the sedan chair, all held similar meanings in Japanese traditions and presumably would have been widely understood. Court robes and caps in the style of the Ming court reflected not only the kingdom's civility, cultural refinement, and adherence to the "correct" forms of ritual propriety (as epitomized by the Ming court) but also the legitimacy of the kingdom's sovereignty, granted to it by the Ming and Qing courts, and the kingdom's prestigious position among Ming/Qing tributaries, second only to Joseon.

The chest badges which were emblazoned on those Ming-style robes, known in Chinese as *bǔzi* 補子, though perhaps not understandable (and not necessarily even visible) to the great majority of Japanese onlookers, contained depictions which directly corresponded to Ming iconographies and indicated each Lūchūan official's honorary rank within the Ming court. A scroll formerly in the collection of Philipp Franz Siebold and detailing the musical instruments and other accoutrements of the missions shows that the vice envoy wore a badge of a golden pheasant 錦鶏 (C: *jǐnjī*). In Ming and Qing China, this was an indication of possession of the 2nd rank, the rank held by vice heads of courts and boards within the imperial government. All the other high- and middle-ranking officials on the mission to Edo wore badges of silver pheasants 白鷳 (C: *báixián*), marking them as officials of the 5th rank in the Ming hierarchy, equivalent to

112 Gail Taylor and Jun Zhou, *The Language of Color in China* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2019), 34-35.; Stewart Culin, "The Magic of Color," *The Brooklyn Museum Quarterly* 12, no. 2 (1925), 99-100.; Chan, 35n93.; Young Gull Kwon, "A Study on the Signification and Symbol of Red in Korea, China, Japan," *Proceedings of the Korean Society of Color Studies* (2003), 113-117.; Moon Kwang-Hee, "A Study of the Yellow Color Used in the Chinese and Korean Royal Robes," *Journal of Korean Traditional Costume* 1 (2002), 33-38.

deputy supervisors or assistant instructors in the imperial academies. The lead envoy, meanwhile, wore a chest badge depicting a *qílín* 麒麟 (J: *kirin*), a mythical creature marking him as above, or outside of, the regular scholar-official hierarchy. In the Ming court, badges depicting mythical creatures were limited to the nobility, including those bearing titles such as *gōng* 公 (often translated as "duke") and *hóu* 侯 ("marquis").[113] Those depicting *qílín* were worn by certain members of the imperial family and nobility, but were also granted to foreign kings.[114] To be clear, such chest badges were not indicative of rank within the Lūchūan court, where officials far more commonly wore Lūchūan-style court robes and where rank was indicated primarily by the color of one's *hachimachi* court cap. Rather, they reflected only an honorary rank granted to Lūchūan officials by the Ming court. That the Lūchūan lead envoys wore *qílín* chest badges was therefore not simply a sign of elite rank or exceptional status but may have more directly signified their identities as stand-ins for a king, within the Ming/Qing-centered hierarchy of "tributary" kings and courts.

The Lūchūan-style robes worn by most other members of the embassy in processions to & from sites associated with the Tokugawa house[115] – and by all members of the embassy on

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[113] *Ryūkyū gakki zu* 琉球楽器図, ink on paper (1796?), handscroll converted into an album, formerly collection of Philipp Franz von Siebold. British Library, call. no. OR 960, 25.; Beverley Jackson and David Hugus, *Ladder to the Clouds: Intrigue and Tradition in Chinese Rank* (Berkeley, CA: Ten Speed Press, 1999), 110, 133-134.; James Watt, "The Giraffe as the Mythical Qilin in Chinese Art: A Painting and a Rank Badge in the Metropolitan Museum," *Metropolitan Museum Journal* 43 (2008), 113.

[114] Robes bestowed by the Ming court upon Toyotomi Hideyoshi as part of his investiture as "king of Japan" in 1596 bear a chest badge of a *qílín*. Sudō, "'Ryūkūjin zagaku no zu,'" 244-245.; Elizabeth Lillehoj, "Ming Robes and Documents that Made Hideyoshi King of Japan," paper presented at Association for Asian Studies annual conference, Washington DC, 23 March 2018.

[115] The *rujigaku* musicians wore a style of cap and robe modeled after those of Qing court musicians. A handscroll depicting a procession of the 1671 embassy shows the musicians dressed in a more standard Lūchūan style of court robes and *hachimachi*. This was the first mission to incorporate Qing-style music alongside Ming-style pieces,

most other occasions – meanwhile helped to display Lūchū's cultural and political distinctiveness. Official Lūchūan court robes, known as *kuruchō* (黒朝, lit. "black court [robes]") were wrapped around the body much like the Japanese category of garment commonly known today as *kimono*, albeit with a somewhat different cut and a wider belt (J: *obi*, O: *ūbi*).[116] Colored *hachimachi* court caps indicated the wearers' positions within Lūchū's own system of court ranks, with some of the highest-ranking figures on horseback or in palanquins wearing purple caps while some of the lowest-ranking scholar-officials, accompanying on foot, wore red ones.[117] Elements such as the plaques carried before the royal prince explicitly announcing the embassy as a "congratulatory" or "gratitude embassy" from the "royal court of Chūzan" helped spectators understand what it was they were seeing; Ida Östenberg notes that plaques were used in a similar fashion in ancient Roman triumphal processions to identify prisoners and spoils of war from specific regions, so as to help onlookers appreciate the power, glory, and incredible geographical span of the Roman Empire which had conquered those territories, obtaining those prisoners and spoils.[118] As she writes, amidst an "abundance of diverse visual effects, certain processional arrangements provided the audience with the tools to identify and comprehend the seen."[119] As already mentioned, the decision to have the Lūchūan embassies

and it would appear that the costume which became standard for the *rujigaku* musicians in later missions had not yet been adopted at this time. *Ryūkyū shisha Kin ōji shusshi no gyōretsu*; Dana, "Bunken shiryō ni miru uzagaku," 8., citing Naha-shi Kikakubu Shishi Henshūshitsu, vol. 1, no. 3, 51.; Liao, 109.

[116] Talbot and Yonamine, eds., 112, 115.

[117] Lūchū adapted the Chinese practice of a nine-rank hierarchy, as Korea and Japan did. Purple caps were worn by officials of the Junior First, Senior Second, and Junior Second ranks, yellow caps by officials of the Third through Seventh ranks, and red caps by those of the Eighth and Ninth ranks.

[118] Östenberg, Ida, *Staging the World: Spoils, Captives, and Representations in the Roman Triumphal Procession* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 153, 263.

[119] Östenberg, "Titulis oppida capta leget: The role of the written placards in the Roman triumphal procession," *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome: Antiquité*, vol. 121, no. 2 (2009), 464.

fly only tiger banners and the Korean embassies only dragon banners from 1710 onward, when both had previously incorporated both types of banners, served a related function, aimed at ensuring that onlookers understood that Lūchū and Joseon were separate kingdoms and that it was multiple different foreign lands or peoples which dispatched embassies to pay homage to the power and centrality of the Tokugawa shogun.[120]

Prints, illustrated books, and the like contributed to this immensely as well, identifying for spectators the individuals and objects they were seeing within the procession, and some sense of their significance. While volumes such as Morishima Chūryō's *Ryūkyū banashi* and reprints of Chinese works such as *Zhōngshān chuán xìn lù* (J: *Chūzan denshin roku*, "Record of Transmitted Facts of Chūzan") and *Liúqiú-guó zhìlüè* (J: *Ryūkyū-koku shiryaku*, "Abbreviated Account of the Land of *Liúqiú*") described Lūchūan general history, geography, and culture in some detail, works such as the 1832 *Shinpan Ryūkyūjin gyōretsu ki* ("Record of the Ryūkyūans' Procession, New Printing") and the 1850 *Ryūkyū kaigo* ("Deciphering of Ryūkyū"), as well as single-sheet *kawaraban* with titles such as *Gomen Ryūkyūjin gyōretsu tsuke* ("Official Attachment of the Ryūkyūans' Procession") and *Ryūkyū Chūzanō raichō* ("The Coming to Our Court of the King of Ryūkyū Chūzan") focused on the processions, identifying for readers the individuals and accoutrements which streamed past.[121]

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[120] Yokoyama, "Ryūkyū koku shisetsu tōjō gyōretsu emaki wo yomu," 178.; Yokoyama, "Gyōretsu o yomu (7)," 115.
[121] Morishima.; Xú Bǎoguāng 徐葆光, *Zhōngshān chuán xìn lù* 中山伝信録 (1721; repr. Edo: Niyūsai, n.d.), 6 vols. University of Hawaiʻi Sakamaki-Hawley Collection, HW782(1-6); Zhōu Huáng 周煌, *Liúqiú-guó zhìlüè* 琉球国志略 (1757; repr. Edo: Tokugawa government 官版, 1831), 6 vols. University of Hawaiʻi Sakamaki-Hawley Collection, HW796(1-6); *Shinpan Ryūkyū gyōretsuki*.; Tomioka Shukō, *Ryūkyū kaigo*.; *Gomen Ryūkyūjin gyōretsu tsuke* 御免琉球人行列附 (Edo, 1832), ink on paper, *kawaraban*, Okinawa Prefectural Archives, T000152828.; *Ryūkyū Chūzanō*

The importance of these popular publications cannot be understated. While countless people witnessed Lūchūan embassy processions in cities and towns all along the missions' travel route, countless more did not. And yet they could "witness" or experience the processions indirectly, through illustrations and textual descriptions. As David Luebke writes regarding the advent of printing in 15th century Europe,

> the new media reinforced the participatory aspects of high political ritual by making its constitutive effects visible to an audience that was *not* physically present, but could now be reached through the previously unavailable vehicles of the printed word and the etched image.[122]

Further, books, prints, and paintings served to keep the memory or awareness of the Lūchū missions alive during the long stretches of years or decades in between missions. In short, the existence of such widespread publishing was not merely incidental to the function and impact of these rituals. Though most often produced for commercial purposes and not officially commissioned by the Tokugawa court, these publications served a vital role by allowing the processions to be "seen" by a far larger and wider audience, thus strengthening their discursive impact.[123]

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raichō zu 琉球中山王来朝図 (Kagoshima, 1832), ink on paper, *kawaraban*, Okinawa Prefectural Archives, T00015283B.

[122] Luebke, 30. European examples of what Luebke is referring to included similar publications seen in 17th c. Rome, informing readers about the coming of an ambassador's procession, along with a visual guide to his banners and carriages. John Hunt, "The Ceremonial Possession of the City: Ambassadors and their Carriages in Early Modern Rome," *Royal Studies Journal* 3, no. 2 (2016), 76. For more on widely-shared political awareness and virtual participation in "witnessing" (or being made aware of) "national" events through publishing, see Mary Elizabeth Berry, *Japan in Print* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); and Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities* (New York: Verso Books, 1983).

[123] For more on the importance and impact of popular publishing in constructing and conveying popular notions about Lūchū and Korea, and their relationships with the Tokugawa regime, see Toby, *Sakoku to iu gaikō*.; Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens."; and Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*.

While much of the specific historical, cultural, significance of these objects and visual motifs may have been lost on the average viewer (with or without these publications in hand), for those who witnessed the performance of Lūchūan processional ritual in person or heard about it second-hand, these processions nevertheless conveyed a general impression of the majesty and prestige of the Lūchūan royal house, the cultural distinctiveness of the kingdom and perhaps its civility and cultural refinement, as well as its "belonging" in some sense to the Shimazu house and loyalty to the Tokugawa.

The dragons, tigers, fringed banners, silk umbrellas, red & gold phoenix-topped sedan chairs, Ming court costume, and other accoutrements displayed in these processions had specific meanings and conveyed particular ideas within the specific cultural context of early modern East Asian court ceremony. Iconographic exploration of those meanings is vital for helping us to understand what 17th-19th century viewers and participants understood of their experiences of these processions – that is, the meanings they took from them.

Processions Move Us

While the particular costumes, objects, and music employed in the Lūchūan processions can be understood iconographically, as a complex of symbols referring to specific culturally-coded meanings, emotional impact (i.e., affect) also plays a fundamentally key role in ritual efficacy. These processions, after all, were not simply witnessed passively by those who happened to see them; they actively worked to attract attention, both through eye-catching visual elements such as bright colors, gilded objects which shined or glittered in the sunlight,

and the movement of banners and other objects, and through attention-grabbing music and sound, in order to convey a sense of Lūchūan prestige, civility, and foreignness.

Processions make their impact not only in the specific iconographies of their elements, but also in their organization, and in the visual and auditory experience of the procession overall. And it is through that sensory and emotional experience – experienced on an emotional level, and not only on the intellectual level of recognizing and understanding symbols – that processions, like many other forms of rituals, have perhaps their greatest effect. As Barbara Stollberg-Rilinger writes, "rituals not only make continuity and change – structure in general – symbolically visible, but they also tend to generate the associated feelings, such as feelings of belonging, obligation, [and] dignity."[124] They do so through their encompassing, engaging, effect. Ritual affects people emotionally, through visuals, sound, and movement, and wraps people up in that emotion. It brings them mentally and emotionally into the event, whether as participants or observers, such that the rest of the world falls away and their mind and senses are focused on the experience. Their attention is focused upon the symbolic aspects of the ritual, and they are moved by them; "heavily influenced by the emotions displayed by others around them," people walk away from such events with understandings or feelings instilled in them by the experience.[125] Ritual architects throughout time have understood this; David Kertzer cites a particular example from late 19th century Vienna in which the organizers of a May Day demonstration erected a viewing platform where protesters could stand and look out

[124] Stollberg-Rilinger, 13.
[125] Kertzer, 99-100.

upon the demonstration of which they were a part – and in doing so, deepen or strengthen the emotional experience of their participation in such an event.[126]

It is through the depth or strength of that emotional experience that ritual performances such as processions serve to not only give visible, tangible form to political or social identities and ideology, but serve to realize those political identities or ideologies – to make them real in the minds of both participants and onlookers. While words spoken or written may articulate relationships more specifically, and thus make them more legally or politically binding through the notion of written vow or contract, ritual performance produces the emotional experience essential to making those relationships real in people's hearts and minds.

Of course, this is not to say that all participants or observers would have the same reaction to an event and would take away the same feelings and understandings. Indeed, while Lūchūan, Kagoshima, and Tokugawa authorities may have intended for these processions to convey a sense of grandeur and cultured refinement, as well as a sense of Lūchū's "belonging" or loyalty to the Shimazu and Tokugawa, and while a great many observers may have taken away some understanding in that vein, the fact that for nearly every iteration of the Lūchūan embassies Tokugawa authorities repeatedly re-issued edicts compelling people to not point and laugh at the strange foreigners shows that the latter reaction was extremely common as well.[127]

[126] Kertzer, 10., citing George L. Mosse, *The Nationalization of the Masses*, New York: H. Fertig (1975), 168.
[127] See, for example, edicts from 1671, 1682, and 1710. Takayanagi and Ishii, eds., items 3008-3012, pp1349-1351.

Symbols are inevitably *ambiguous*; they mean different things to different people. As Kertzer suggests, however, this might be seen as a strength, or an advantage. As each viewer is able to gain their own meaning from an event, this strengthens the ability of an event to engage, affect, and be meaningful for all viewers, bringing them together in the shared experience, even if differences in the received meaning might simultaneously present cracks, or weaknesses, in the rhetorical impact.[128]

The Lūchūan and samurai officials involved in organizing the processions placed great importance on performing the processions only at the appropriate times and in the appropriate ways, in accordance with propriety and tradition, but they also recognized that the efficacy of the processions was in their being seen. The *Gieisei nikki* records that on 1832/10/26, the leaders of the mission were to have an audience with a prominent elite in Fushimi,[129] and though it was not standard to perform a procession on such an occasion, they saw, or heard, that many *daimyō* and other elites had gathered to see them, and so the Lūchūans performed a full street procession, with music.[130] This was presumably one of many occasions when the Lūchūans did so, in order to take advantage of an additional opportunity to be seen, and to display their cultural refinement.

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[128] Kertzer, 11, 128-129.

[129] Likely the lord of Kagoshima. Though the document only mentions an "audience ritual" 御目見御礼 and "inquiring after the health" 奉伺御機嫌 of that elite individual without identifying the individual, the mission processes to their own temporary lodgings 仮屋 and not to a "castle" 御城 or other mansion 屋敷. It is therefore likely that they were meeting with the Shimazu lord, and not the lord of Yodo domain (whose territory included Fushimi) or another individual.

[130] "Gieisei nikki," 148-149.; Tamai, "Chōsen tsūshinshi Ryūkyū shisetsu tsūkō to jōhō, settai, ōtai," 14-15.

Being Viewed by the Procession // Displaying "Japan"

The Lūchūans and their Japanese escorts were not the only ones on display during these processions. The crowds gathered along the parade route, along with the cleanliness, decoration, and arrangement of the streetscape otherwise can also be said to have been key parts of the ritual event.[131] Even as the gathered crowds saw the parading Lūchūans, the Lūchūans also saw those crowds and the urban scene surrounding them, building or reinforcing meanings within their minds as to who they were as Lūchūan scholar-officials and members of a formal embassy; what sort of place Japan was; and the nature or character of the relationship between the two lands.

Traveling across the Japanese archipelago and processing through the streets and waterways of numerous cities and towns, the Lūchūan embassies also saw / were shown / were made to see the cityscapes and landscapes of Japan more broadly. The Tokugawa court took care to plan Joseon envoys' route to Edo with the explicit aim of showing them impressive or beautiful vistas, and impressing upon them how clean, neat, organized, and civilized the cities & towns of the realm were.[132] The Lūchūans' route was quite similar, and was presumably planned with the same intentions in mind. Any individual member of a Lūchūan mission was unlikely to travel beyond Kagoshima more than once or twice in their lifetime; their experiences of Osaka, Edo, Mt. Fuji, the Inland Sea, and countless places in between on those one or two journeys would heavily impact or define their personal impressions of Japan. Furthermore,

[131] Michael Ashkenazi, *Matsuri: Festivals of a Japanese Town* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1993), 49.
[132] Lee, "Cultural Expressions of Tokugawa Japan and Chosŏn Korea," 148.; Arano, "Chōsen tsūshinshi no shūmatsu – Shin Yu-han Kaiyūroku ni yosete" 朝鮮通信使の終末--申維翰「海游録」によせて, *Rekishi hyōron* 歴史評論 355 (1979), 65.

since each Lūchūan embassy included scholar-officials who may have previously traveled to China, local, regional, and Tokugawa authorities were likely anxious to take steps to ensure that "Japan" compared favorably. This was therefore an important opportunity for the people of each town, the *daimyō* or other authorities in each region, and the Tokugawa court, to put on display for a foreign audience a Japan made up of beautiful landscapes, and clean, well-maintained towns filled with upright, well-behaved people.

Edicts were issued and reissued in preparation for each mission's journey, outlining the repairs and preparations that each town should perform, as discussed in the previous chapter, including repair and cleaning of roads, bridges, and harbors; rethatching of roofs; and the removal of unsightly objects from the main roads. These same edicts also regularly included items instructing observers that "there is to be no inappropriate behavior," and listing out that this included no pointing or laughing at the foreigners, among other matters of etiquette. Observers were not to watch the processions from upper stories of a house or shop unless the blinds were closed (so they could not be seen literally looking "down" upon these foreign elites and their samurai escort). They were also not to watch from bridges, intersections, or side-alleys, but only from along the streets. There was to be no fighting or loud arguing.[133] In theory, such edicts would help ensure that the various cities and towns made good impressions upon

[133] See, for example, edicts from 1671, 1682, and 1710. Takayanagi and Ishii, eds., items 3008-3012, pp1349-1351. Korean sources from as early as 1624 show explicit efforts by the Tokugawa government to enforce good behavior (e.g. no finger-pointing) during the coming of a Korean mission. The earliest extant record among Tokugawa government documents to this effect, however, is from 1655, as recorded in the *Tsūkō ichiran*. This 1655 document contains many of the standard elements seen repeated in numerous *fure* issued and reissued over the ensuing 200 years. Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 77-78, 152.; Toby, *Sakoku to iu gaikō*, 243-244.

visiting Lūchūan and Korean envoys. As Tokugawa court official Moriyama Takamori 森山孝盛 (1738-1815) wrote in the 1790s,

> When ambassadors arrive from the Chosŏn, the Ryukyus, or other countries, … They will return home with news that Japan is a lovely place, far beyond their expectations, and that it preserves a sense of restraint. Wandering through the *kubō*'s Castle and city, they will look at the mansions of the daimyo, and realise how, contrary to all they might have expected, our lands are the acme of decency. Surely that is how we ought to be reported!"[134]

Korean scholar-official Shin Yu-han seems to have been convinced; he wrote in 1719 that he was surprised and impressed by the cleanliness of the streets and how well-organized the crowds were in Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo, and commented on how "gorgeous" the crowds appeared in all three cities.[135]

Sadly, very little documentary evidence survives of the thoughts or impressions of Lūchūan members of Edo missions. The 1832 *Gieisei nikki* is the only surviving travel diary by a member of a mission to Edo, and it records mostly logistical matters, and nothing of personal attitudes or impressions. The only indications we have of Lūchūan impressions are surviving collections of poetry composed by members of the missions upon witnessing particularly famous or impressive sites, Mt. Fuji chief among them. A poem by Prince Yuntanza Chōkō 読谷山王子朝恒,[136] lead envoy of the 1764 mission, for example, compares the snows atop Mt. Fuji to white sands [of Lūchūan beaches].[137] Diaries by members of *sankin kōtai* and Korean

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[134] Timon Screech, *The Shogun's Painted Culture* (London: Reaktion Books, 2000), 116.
[135] Lee, "Cultural Expressions of Tokugawa Japan and Chosŏn Korea," 149, 152-153, 155, 162.
[136] Also known by the Chinese-style name Shàng Hé 尚和 (J: Shō Wa).
[137] William Fleming, "The World Beyond the Walls: Morishima Chūryō (1756-1810) and the Development of Late Edo Fiction" (PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 2011), 94-96.

missions comment far more extensively on scenes of natural beauty, castles, historical sites, cities and towns, and the like.[138] Shin Yu-han, for example, wrote

> Tomonoura belongs to the province of Bingo, and our temple lodge is called the Fukuzen temple ... The place is located beneath of the mountains in the coast. The building is wide, and folding screens are luxuriously created. It takes about six to seven ri from the mouth of a bay to the lodge. … The coastal area is mountainous and the bay is surrounded by the mountains facing the ocean. … Several kinds of trees such as pine, cedar, and citrus trees have grown in abundance, and their appearances reflect on the surface of the water. When every man reaches here, he would say that here is the best scenic place among all other locations.[139]

It is unfortunate that similarly detailed records of individual impressions no longer survive in the Lūchūan case, if they were ever produced.

Meanwhile, as for the Japanese paradegoers themselves, the missions attracted great interest and sizable crowds both in the major cities such as Edo, Osaka, and Kyoto, and in harbor and highway towns along the mission's route. Records from the *honjin* at Futagawa post-station indicate that on the occasions of several of the Lūchūan missions there were large crowds of people coming from neighboring villages as well to see the processions, and that the town became quite crowded as a result.[140] The crowds in Edo in 1832 were described by Matsura Seizan 松浦静山, lord of Saga domain (Hirado, r. 1775-1806), as producing an even

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[138] See, for example, Oka Tachū 岡太中, *Iyo Yoshida kyūki dai ichi jiku Oka Tachū ryochū tehikae* 伊予吉田旧記第一輯　岡太中旅中手控 (1860), excerpted in Ehime-ken Rekishi Bunka Hakubutsukan, 110-113.; Shin Yu-Han 申維翰, *Haeyurok* 海遊録 (1719), pub. *Kaiyūroku – Chōsen tsūshinshi no Nihon kikō* 海游録—朝鮮通信使の日本紀行, trans. Jae-eun Kang 姜在彦 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1974).

[139] Lee, "Cultural Expressions of Tokugawa Japan and Chosŏn Korea," 147-148, citing Shin Yu-han, *Haeyurok*, 1719/8/28.

[140] *Futagawa juku honjin shukuchō*, vol. 3, 486, 525.

greater spectacle than for Sannō Kanda Matsuri (one of Edo's largest annual festivals).[141] And Nagoya domain retainer Asahi Shigeaki 朝日重章 (1684-1718) writes that when he went out to see the embassy's arrival in 1710 at the docks near Atsuta Shrine in Nagoya, so many others were simultaneously pushing their way onto the top of the seawalls to get a peek that several were even accidentally pushed off the wall and into the bay.[142]

What did these crowd scenes look like? Odagiri Shunkō indicates that when the missions arrived in Nagoya in 1832, people began gathering in the very early hours of the morning to await the procession, and every house put up *chōchin* paper lanterns. Wooden beams or bamboo were used to form up viewing areas, and carpets & folding screens were put out in front of homes and storefronts. Those who were friends or acquaintances of the shopkeepers / homeowners joined them there while others, who had no such connections or invitation, watched from the temporarily-erected viewing areas, but were charged 32 *mon* for the

[141] Maehira, "Edo nobori no tabi to bohimei" 江戸上りの旅と墓碑銘, *Okinawa bunka kenkyū* 沖縄文化研究 21 (1995), 80.; Matsura Seizan 松浦静山, *Hoshin Ryūhei roku* 保辰琉聘録, in *Kasshi yawa zokuhen* 甲子夜話続編, eds. Nakamura Yukihiko 中村幸彦 and Nakano Mitsutoshi 中野三敏, vol. 7 (Tokyo: Heibonsha, 1981), 291. It is unclear whether commoners were permitted to gather in *buke* neighborhoods to view the processions, but the processions passed through commoner neighborhoods for a significant distance as well. Processions to Ueno Tōshōgū seem to have intentionally avoided major commercial areas such as Ginza and Nihonbashi, but the missions processed through these areas on the return from Ueno, and when traveling to visit the heads of the *Gosanke*, among others, providing a further opportunity for townspeople in these major commoner centers to witness Lūchūan processions. Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens," 429.; "Bunka sannen Ryūkyū shisetsu Edo tōjō kiroku" 文化三年琉球使節江戸登城記録 (1806), Reimeikan Museum, Kagoshima, excerpt transcribed in Fukuyama-shi Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan, 145.
[142] Asahi, vol. 11, 622.

privilege.[143] In Edo, the price was considerably higher, at 2 *shu* + 200 *mon*.[144] Meanwhile, peddlers walked up and down the streets, selling prints & books depicting and describing the missions, as well as sweets and other goods as they had been doing for some days or weeks prior to the mission's arrival.[145] Paradegoers used these books and prints to help them identify members or elements of the processions; particularly keen enthusiasts, who reveled in witnessing as many different *daimyō* processions as they could, "check[ing] off species as if building lifetime lists of sightings,"[146] would have taken these Lūchūan processions as a most exceptionally rare and precious sight to add to their mental collection.

Visibility is key to the impact or efficacy of most processional traditions, and routes were designed to ensure that the Lūchūan embassies would be seen by great numbers and varieties of people. Ronald Toby and Yokoyama Manabu have written extensively on how Korean and Lūchūan processions, viewed either in-person or via publications, were perceived or consumed by commoner audiences.[147] But these events were designed to be seen by samurai elites as well. The embassies' processional route through Edo took them not only through major commoner areas, but also past the mansions of some of the most powerful *kunimochi daimyō*, as an overt display of Shimazu power and prestige before these rival lords and their

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[143] Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 155.; Odagiri, *Ryūkyū gashi*, 6 *verso*. *Mon* 文 was a denomination of copper coinage; 32 *mon* may have been roughly the cost of two bowls of soba noodles. Stanley, xxii.

[144] Takizawa Bakin 滝沢馬琴, *Kyokutei Bakin nikki* 曲亭馬琴日記, ed. Shibata Mitsuhiko 柴田光彦, vol. 3, entry for Tenpō 3/int.11/8 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron Shinsha, 2009), 266. *Shu* 朱 was a denomination of gold coinage, equivalent to 1/16th of one gold *ryō* 両.

[145] Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 155.

[146] Berry, *Japan in Print*, 108.

[147] Toby, *Sakoku to iu gaikō*, esp. 247-274.; Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens."; Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, esp. 185-247, 319-374.

retainers.[148] Lūchūan processions through the castle-town of Kagoshima, similarly, paraded past the mansions of some of the most powerful Shimazu retainer families, reminding those retainers of the power of their lord.[149]

Illustrations such as those in Odagiri Shunkō's 1832 *Ryūkyū gashi* and a 1790 handscroll painting in the collection of the National Museum of Japanese History give a sense of how observers arranged themselves. Whether within the front rooms of homes or shops, or in temporarily-built wooden or bamboo viewing areas, observers often dressed in formal clothing, lined the floors with red carpets, hung curtains or banners, and placed folding screens behind them, demonstrating their own propriety and seeking to make a positive impression upon the visiting dignitaries, their neighbors, and the local authorities.

[148] Iwahana, 62. Beginning at the Shimazu mansion in the Shiba 芝 neighborhood of Edo, just south of the Tokugawa family temple Zōjō-ji 増上寺, the mission processed east to Shōgen-bashi 将監橋 (Shōgen Bridge), then north along the east side of the temple, passing through at least twelve *chō* 丁 (blocks, or neighborhoods) of commoner areas before reaching Shibaguchi-bashi 芝口橋 (today the site of Shinbashi 新橋). The mission did not cross the bridge at Shibaguchi, but turned left, traveling west along the side of the outer moats of the castle and passing through three more commoner *chō* before crossing into *buke* neighborhoods via Saiwai-bashi 幸橋. The procession then traveled a somewhat roundabout, less-than-direct route past numerous *daimyō* mansions as it made its way to the Soto-Sakuradamon 外桜田門 (Outer Sakurada Gate) of the castle, not entering but turning east, to pass through several other *buke* neighborhoods via the Hibiya Gate 日比谷御門, and the Tatsu-no-guchi 辰ノ口 (lit. "Dragon Entrance"), to finally formally enter the grounds of Edo castle via the Ōtemon 大手門. This route is recorded in "Gieisei nikki," 176.

[149] Iwahana, 65-66. Though the *Ryūkyū-kan* where the processions began (and ended, when coming down from the castle) was only a few blocks away from Kagoshima castle, processions took a slightly roundabout route, passing by the mansions of the Shimazu (branch family) lords of Miyanojō, the Ijūin family, and the Kimotsuki family, as well as a major storehouse and the "mansions of [various] officials" 「御役屋敷」 before entering the castle.

Fig. 2-13: Crowds watching the Lūchūan embassy pass through Nagoya in 1832, as illustrated in Odagiri, *Ryūkyū gashi*, 8 *recto* – 9 *verso*.

In the *Ryūkyū gashi* (Fig. 2-12), Odagiri Shunkō depicts countless people gathered in the front rooms of shops or houses to watch the Lūchūan embassy process through the main avenues of Nagoya in 1832. In some of these rooms, he illustrates curtains and folding screens set up by the shop/homeowners, enhancing the appearance of their viewing spaces. On the opposite side of the street, we see a crowd of people several rows deep standing and watching the procession from behind a gate or fence. Another spread in the same volume shows a large crowd, some six rows deep, and with more still arriving to join in, a mix of men, women, and

children, seated behind low horizontal bamboo barriers, in a large plaza.[150] This depiction may be exaggerated, but it nevertheless gives a general sense of the scene. A handscroll painting by Uwajima 宇和島 domain retainer Uetsuki Gyōkei 上月行敬 (d. 1861) depicting the streets of the Shibaguchi 芝口 neighborhood of Edo shortly after a Lūchūan embassy procession passed through in 1850 similarly shows people watching from behind bamboo fences.[151]

It was not only townspeople who gathered to see these processions. At least one figure with two swords in his belt – marking him as a samurai – is clearly visible amidst the crowds gathered behind the bamboo fences in Uetsuki Gyōkei's painting.[152] The title page of the 1832 *Shinpan Ryūkyūjin gyōretsu ki* also shows a group of men, women, and children gathered behind a low bamboo barricade to see the procession. Some sit on reed mats, while others stand behind them. At least one has brought a tobacco tray, or a tray of food and drink.[153] The 1790 procession handscroll held by the National Museum of Japanese History is one of the few to depict not only the procession itself, but also the observers. It shows a cluster of some 28 men and women, young and old, commoner and samurai, monks and laity, seated together atop reed mats on the side of the road alongside even a cat, a falcon, and a horse.[154] This is

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[150] Odagiri, *Ryūkyū gashi*, 6 *recto* – 7 *verso*.

[151] Uetsuki Gyōkei 上月行敬, *Ryūkyūjin ōrai suji nigiwai no zu* 琉球人往来筋賑之図 (1850), ink and colors on paper, handscroll, Kagoshima University Library, Tamazato bunko bangai no bu #5035.; Toyohashi-shi Futagawa-shuku Honjin Shiryōkan 豊橋市二川宿本陣資料館, *Ryūkyū shisetsu ten* 琉球使節展 (Toyohashi, Aichi: Toyohashi-shi Futagawa-shuku Honjin Shiryōkan, 2001), 88.

[152] Uetsuki, *Ryūkyūjin ōrai suji nigiwai no zu*.

[153] *Shinpan Ryūkyū gyōretsuki*, front cover. A copy of this volume is attached to the back of the Tōyō Bunko collection copy of *Ryūkyū gashi*. Call no. 三-H-a-ほ-29.

[154] *Ryūkyū shisetsu dōchū emaki* 琉球使節道中絵巻 (1790), ink and colors on paper, handscroll, Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, Sakura, Chiba, H-1602.

most likely a pictorial abbreviation or conflation, representing a number of different groups as if they were one, when in reality most people likely sat separately according to class and status to at least some extent. A number of court nobles, *daimyō*, and other elites are known to have witnessed the Lūchūan processions as well. Matsura Seizan wrote extensively about watching the Lūchūan processions in 1832.[155] Imperial Princess Shina-no-miya Tsuneko 品宮常子内親王 (1642-1702), daughter of Emperor Go-Mizunoo 後水尾天皇 (1596-1680, r. 1611-1629) and wife of top-ranking imperial court official Konoe Motohiro 近衛基熙 (1648-1722), recorded in her diary as well that on a number of occasions in the 1680s, she rented a house along one of the chief boulevards of Kyoto and stayed there overnight in order to gain a glimpse of passing Korean processions, shogunal emissaries, or the like.[156]

Much as the procession's "showing" and "being shown" was a product of a multi-layered process, so too was the display of the towns and townspeople. In each city and town the Lūchūan embassy processed through, individual townspeople, local officials such as the village headmen, and officials at various higher levels such as *daikan* and *daimyō* each had a stake in making sure that themselves, their homes, their town, their domain, and "Japan" as a whole made a good impression upon the visiting dignitaries. After all, as Toby points out, the full discursive impact of a procession was not only in it being seen, but also in each party

[155] Matsura, vol. 7, 291-361.; Matsura, vol. 8, 3-54.
[156] Cecilia Segawa Seigle, "Shinanomiya Tsuneko: Portrait of a Court Lady," in *The Human Tradition in Modern Japan*, ed. Anne Walthall (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 2002), 20. Sadly, the diary makes no explicit mention of the Lūchūan missions of 1671 or 1682. Shinanomiya Tsuneko 品宮常子内親王, *Mujōhōin-dono go-nikki* 无上法院殿御日記, manuscript copy, vols. 6, 18. University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute, 2073-179-36-6, -18.

involved – both those in the procession and those on the sidelines – seeing themselves and one another, and being seen, as well as showing themselves and being shown by others. Local, regional (e.g. domanial), and Tokugawa authorities enforced that in each town, streets would be cleaned, roofs and storefronts repaired, and so forth, and paradegoers prohibited from pointing, jeering, and spitting in order to display for the Lūchūans that Japan was a place of civility and civilization. Individual paradegoers contributed to this with the ways they decorated, dressed, and behaved as well.

Of course, this was not only a show for the parading Lūchūans, but for the townspeople as well. Spectators decorated their homes, dressed in their finest clothing, and (ostensibly) acted on their best behavior not only because they were asked (or ordered) to do so by local authorities, and in order to create a good impression for the foreign visitors, but also because of the social pressures of the knowledge that they were visible to their neighbors and to all others in attendance. These displays of personal wealth, taste, and civility were surely competitive in a sense, as individuals or households worked to establish, maintain, or bolster their civic reputations and prominence within local society, jostling for position relative to their fellow residents. At the same time, authorities likely viewed such performances of civility as contributing to the enactment or reinforcement of societal morality, as the social pressure of the occasion and of their visibility within it prompted them to model civility and propriety before the public gaze.

That said, however, while there is much reason to believe that people were inspired to present themselves as models of proper etiquette and taste, and while works such as the

Ryūkyū gashi depict them in such a fashion, there is also reason to believe that the occasion of a Lūchūan embassy's procession was a far more raucous scene. Diaries by Matsura Seizan, Asahi Shigeaki, and others describe large crowds, pushing and jockeying to get a good position to see the procession.[157] According to the diary of a local physician who observed the Lūchūans' riverboat procession along the Yodogawa in 1842,

> On the 11th day of the 10th month, the Lūchūans came to our realm, and arrived by ship at Satsuma's storehouses. On the morning of the 15th day of the same month, they boarded their ships and tonight, I hear they are staying at Hirakata. Crowds assembled to watch on both days. It was really something. Teaships, lighters,[158] all the way up to 30-*koku*-ships,[159] not even a single ship was available. It is said that since around the 8th month, these boats were all reserved. Many of the people who gathered to watch wore beautiful clothing in contradiction to the prohibitions. I hear that a great many people were apprehended. It was a great tumult.[160]

Hawkers shouted their wares, selling guides to the processions and other related materials in single-sheets and bound volumes; people brought food and drink and likely chatted, shouted, and enjoyed themselves otherwise in the festival-like atmosphere created by the event. Though some sources indicate that when *daimyō* processions were passing by spectators were

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[157] Watanabe Zen'emon, 103.

[158] *Cha-bune* 茶船 (lit. "tea ships") were a type of small, narrow, swift-moving riverboat, also known as *chokibune* 猪牙舟 (lit. "boar tusk ships"), which may have been used to serve tea directly to those on other boats on the river; however, the word "tea," as in "teahouse" (*chaya* 茶屋), is associated with the pleasure quarters, and in Edo, *chokibune* were the type of boat typically used to ferry customers to and from the Yoshiwara (the city's licensed red-light district). Michelle Damian, "Archaeology through Art: Japanese Vernacular Craft in Late Edo-period Woodblock Prints" (MA thesis, East Carolina University, 2010), 61.; The term I translate here as "lighters" is 上荷船, *uwani bune*, a small ship used to help offload cargo from larger ships.

[159] A *koku* was a measure of rice equal to roughly five bushels, or 220 lbs. This was the standard unit for assessing the agricultural yield of an area of land, for paying out samurai stipends, and for measuring the size of a ship by its cargo capacity. A 30 *koku* ship, a typical size for passenger ferries of the time, would therefore be roughly equivalent to a three-ton ship in modern parlance. Damian, 105-106.

[160] Yano Tarō 矢野太郎, *Ukiyo no arisama* 浮世の有様 (1842), pub. *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei* 日本庶民生活史料集成, ed. Tanigawa Ken'ichi 谷川健一, vol. 11 (Tokyo: San-ichi shobō, 1970), 664. Translation my own.

generally "hushed, a sign of respect and hospitality,"[161] in part due to the enforcement of explicit prohibitions on noise, one wonders to what extent this respectful quiet was observed in the case of the Lūchūan embassies. The repeated re-issuing of the prohibitions on pointing, jeering, and so forth might suggest that the crowds were not, in fact, all that quiet or respectful and needed to be told yet again how to behave.

To return to the procession itself, just as the townspeople observed and experienced themselves (and one another) as spectators (well-behaved or otherwise), the Lūchūans too saw, heard, and otherwise experienced themselves performing these processions. Performing in a parade or procession, seeing so many others around oneself dressed similarly and performing it along with oneself, can foster a strong sense of communal group identity, and can strengthen notions of particular national, ethnic, religious, or "group" identities otherwise. Sadly, few writings survive by members of the embassies to Edo describing their experiences; we are left to only surmise based on comparable cases. How might the experience of parading in such processions have felt for a member of a Lūchūan embassy? It is well-established among scholars today that Lūchūan scholar-officials (as well as their Korean counterparts) saw these embassies as opportunities to demonstrate their civilization and culture.[162] Though this official line surely hides more complex and mixed feelings on the parts of many individual scholar-officials, it is nevertheless easy to imagine that the experience of actually participating in such processions could have instilled a strong sense of pride and enjoyment in representing one's

[161] Vaporis, *Tour of Duty*, 83, 253n84.
[162] Smits, "Rethinking Ryukyu," 13, citing Watanabe Miki, *Kinsei Ryūkyū to Chū-Nichi kankei*, esp. 264; this sentiment is also evident in the 1849 missive to the heads of the 1850 embassy. "Edo dachi no toki oosewatashi …," Kamakura, 72-73.

court and culture. Incredible prestige was associated with being appointed to such a mission as well. Liam Kelley quotes 18th century Vietnamese scholar-official Nguyen Vinh as writing that

> The only literatus who can expand his capacity to the greatest degree, have his prestige praised at court, and his name honored for all ages in other lands is the envoy. … Only someone who harbors the proper linguistic skills can respond adeptly and act as circumstances dictate, always aware of what is most important.[163]

In other words, travel and serving as an envoy are essential to being a good administrator. One cannot govern at home without having traveled. For Lūchūan scholar-officials as well, such "travel appointments" or *tabiyaku* 旅役[164] positions on embassies to either China or Japan were highly prestigious. Providing crucial opportunities for officials to expand their knowledge of Chinese or Japanese language, customs, and politics, and to acquire experience otherwise which would prove beneficial in future administrative or policy positions, such appointments were often a prerequisite or precursor to an official's promotion to higher positions within the royal bureaucracy.[165]

Conclusion

Lūchūan embassies processed through multiple urban spaces, enacting a Lūchūan embassy procession ritual in which through music, costume, banners and other accoutrements, marching order and other ritual tools and acts they embodied and made manifest a Lūchūan identity as civilized, culturally refined scholar-aristocrats from a culturally and politically distinct

[163] Kelley, 59-60.
[164] This is both the Japanese and Okinawan reading of the term.
[165] Tinello, "The Ryukyuan Embassies to Edo," 178-179.

kingdom, imbued with sovereignty by the Ming and Qing courts, "belonging" in some sense within the banners of the Shimazu house, and traveling to Edo to pay respects to the Tokugawa shogun in recognition of his virtue and centrality.

The Lūchūans displayed themselves, their culture, and their status to Japanese onlookers. They were at the same time put on display in an important sense by the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses, who escorted the embassy, imposed certain guidelines for the Lūchūans' appearance, and otherwise framed the embassies to suit their own purposes. Lūchū and its embassies were also "displayed" to the Japanese public by independent writers, painters, and publishers, reinforcing these discourses while also advancing others. Japanese onlookers viewed these processions, but also displayed themselves and were simultaneously put on display in a sense by local, regional, and Tokugawa authorities, creating, conveying, and reinforcing notions of their own civility. The Lūchūans witnessed this, building impressions of Japanese culture and society and of their kingdom's status and identity relative to it.

The sounds of Lūchūan processional music contributed to the aura of majesty around the royal ambassador and the procession as a whole, as they also announced the embassy's presence, creating a ritual atmosphere and bringing sections of the town into it, beyond the spatial limits of the procession itself. Musicians, banners, and other elements of royal regalia accompanied members of the embassy as they spatially and emotionally led up to the ambassador in his grand sedan chair. Further members of the embassy, in vibrant court costume, impressive on horseback or in palanquins, and accompanied by further ritual accoutrements, then led down from the ambassador, maintaining excitement as the Lūchūan portion of the procession came to its conclusion.

Spectators “read” a vast array of visual and auditory elements as symbols, interpreting them intellectually based on prior knowledge, preconceptions, and the contents of printed guidebooks, gaining certain understandings of Lūchūan cultural and political status or identity. And they simultaneously were affected, or moved, by the music, lavish and colorful costumes and accoutrements, and glittering gilded items, wrapped up in a formal, auspicious ritual atmosphere that was simultaneously one of festival and celebration.

The embassies’ processions were instrumental in conveying to a broad Japanese public the ideas of Lūchūan cultural and political status and identity which would be ritually enacted or constituted in the ambassadors’ audiences with the Tokugawa shogun. They did so through a combination of visual, material, auditory, and performative elements speaking to onlookers in both intellectual (symbolic) and emotional modes, and a multi-faceted process of seeing / showing / being seen / being shown / being made to be shown / being made to be seen, bringing notions of the kingdom’s being, its culture, and its political relationships with the Shimazu and Tokugawa, to a manifest reality within popular collective discourse.

CHAPTER THREE: AUDIENCES

Ceremonial audiences with the *kubō* held within the Grand Audience Hall of Edo castle formed the core of the ritual incorporation of the kingdoms of Lūchū and Joseon (i.e. Korea) into the Tokugawa order. Through carefully orchestrated movements, utterances, and exchange of objects, all in accordance with notions of ritual propriety and precedent, envoys of the King of Lūchū reaffirmed their identities as representatives of a highly civilized, refined, foreign Confucian court, come to pay homage and tribute, and simultaneously identities as vassals to the head of the Shimazu household (and by extension to the *kubō*, head of the Tokugawa house) through a combination of overlapping sets of ritual practices and discourses.

The large and lavishly decorated Grand Audience Hall impressions of the shogun's majesty, legitimacy, and power, through both displays of symbolic motifs and its sheer size, overwhelmingly expensive décor, and the great number of Tokugawa retainers, officials, and others gathered at the shogun's orders to be present for the Lūchūan envoys' audiences with the shogun. The specific arrangement of retainers and officials within that space formed a symbolic model, or synecdoche, of the Tokugawa hierarchy as a whole, with the envoys' position in the lower level of the hall (and sometimes seated on a veranda outside of the hall) enacting their status relative to (or within) that hierarchy. The presentation of gifts, a key element in forging and maintaining socio-political relationships in a great many societies, including between individuals, households, and institutions among Japanese elites for centuries, reaffirmed the Shō/Shàng household's dedication to maintaining its traditional relationship with the Tokugawa house. The content of those gifts – a variety of local products of Lūchū including textiles, lacquerwares, and *aamui* liquor – was in accordance with traditions of

gift-giving fundamental to both *bushi* lord-vassal relationships and Confucian/"tributary" relations throughout East Asia for many centuries. By providing a shogun, king, or emperor with products unique to or emblematic of one's territory, one was not only giving generously of precious luxury items and showing one's willingness to do so; one was also contributing to impressions or discourses of the ruler's claims to centrality and authority, through demonstration of his access to, and possesson of, rare items from across the region. The observance of certain practices particular to the *bushi* in the ways in which swords and horses were presented among these gifts reinforced the royal house's ties to the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses not simply as a foreign "tributary" kingdom but as vassals within *bushi* socio-political logics as well. The envoys kowtowed to the shogun, embodying and enacting a subordinate or inferior status to his authority and centrality in the same fashion as – i.e. on par with – Lūchūan tributary envoys' acts of obeisance to the Ming or Qing emperor. The shogun witnessed these kowtows, passing his eyes over the envoys and in doing so ritually receiving them and accepting their acts of obeisance in the same fashion as he did the bows and gifts of his own retainers – and in so doing, ritually incorporating them within a hierarchy under his gaze. The performance of Lūchūan music before the shogun and his court functioned similarly to the material gifts, as a presentation of local culture, providing the shogun with access to, or possession of, something most rare in Japan outside of his castle. The shogun then bestowed gifts upon the envoys (and their king) in return, an act which reinforced his discursive role as the virtuous and civilized central authority to whom "tribute" was paid, but also as the pinnacle of a warrior hierarchy in which lords fulfilled their obligations to their retainers by providing them with seasonal clothing and other gracious gifts. And throughout these events, the

Shimazu lord acted as intermediary, presenting the Lūchūan envoys to the court and conveying formal messages between the envoys and Tokugawa court officials, thus reinforcing both the Lūchūans' foreignness and their position as entities within, or under the banners of, the Shimazu house. Through these various ritual acts and elements – possessing specific meanings within *bushi* or broader Confucian / East Asian traditions but also quite common in forging and maintaining relationships in societies throughout the world – the ritual relationships between the Shō/Shàng, Shimazu, and Tokugawa houses, and their cultural and political identities relative to one another, were ritually reconstituted, reaffirmed, reinforced, time and again over a period of some two hundred years.

As the Tokugawa court's relationships with the lords of the various domains, the kingdom of Joseon, and others were constituted and regularly reaffirmed through the same complex of ritual practices, comparison in the precise forms taken by the Lūchūan envoys' audiences and those of others also illuminates the status positions of each of these entities relative to one another, vis-à-vis Tokugawa hierarchies. Some of the highest-ranking *daimyō* and those with the closest ties to the Tokugawa house were received in audience in smaller, more exclusive spaces deeper within the castle – spaces where Lūchūan envoys and others of lesser status or lesser ties to the Tokugawa would never be permitted to venture. They were received in audience multiple times each month, numerous times each year, as part of a regular calendar of regular Tokugawa court ceremonial activities from which the Lūchūans – whether as foreigners, or as vassals to the Shimazu and thus not direct vassals to the Tokugawa house – were excluded. Most *daimyō*, further, were received only in large groups and not in separate ceremonies granted specifically to them. In these and other ways, the Lūchūan envoys were

inscribed into a hierarchical position beneath many of the most elite *daimyō*, and above many lesser *daimyō* or other officials, but also of a distinct, special status separate from a simple identity position within these hierarchies.

Lūchūan envoys sat further back in the Grand Audience Hall, farther from the shogun, than their Korean counterparts, a position constitutive of their lesser status. Their reception by the Tokugawa court was of a lesser character in other ways as well. Korean envoys also did not perform acts indicative of *bushi* fealty that Lūchūan envoys did, such as in presenting a sword to the shogun. Representatives of the Dutch East India Company, meanwhile, as mere commercial partners and not true diplomatic envoys, and as representatives of a non-Confucian and thus uncivilized "barbarian" people, did not even take part in a formal audience ceremony within the Grand Audience Hall at all, but rather were permitted to advance no farther than the verandas outside of the hall, where they were asked to perform entertainments for the shogun and his court, demonstrating their bizarre language and customs for the amusement of the court.[1] In these various ways, as in key aspects of the journey, reception, lodgings, and processions discussed in previous chapters, the Lūchūans were made to enact an ambiguous status, as foreign tributary kingdom lesser in status than Joseon but more formally recognized and engaged with than the Dutch, Chinese, or others; and simultaneously as prestigious, special but

[1] Anne Walthall, "Hiding the Shoguns: Secrecy and the Nature of Political Authority in Tokugawa Japan," in *The Culture of Secrecy in Japanese Religion,* eds. Bernhard Scheid and Mark Teeuwen (London: Routledge, 2006): 341-342.; As Toby notes, the "viewing" of the Dutch is generally referred to with terms such as *goran* 御覧 or *jōran* 上覧, much as when the *kubō* or others viewed martial arts demonstrations, Noh theatre, or other entertainments. Terms suggesting a formal audience, such as *omemie* 御目見得 or *ekken* 謁見, do not generally appear in reference to the Dutch. Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 190.

still subordinate vassals of the Shimazu house, received by the Tokugawa in a way few other *daimyō's* vassals were, and in grander fashion than many lesser Tokugawa retainers.

Ronald Toby and others have noted how these events drew discursive strength from their invocation of the (neo-)Confucian rhetoric of the Ming and Qing courts which regularly received tributary embassies from Joseon, Lūchū, and other kingdoms, and framed them as formal acknowledgements of the superiority and centrality of the Ming or Qing emperor as the Son of Heaven, axis between Heaven and Earth and center and source of all civilization.[2] In similar fashion, envoys from these faraway kingdoms were represented as having traveled long distances to come into the presence of the *kubō*, bowing deeply before him and presenting extensive gifts from their king along with formal letters declaring the king's continued dedication to the relationship between him and the head of the Tokugawa house. Toby emphasizes the significance of Ming/Qing rhetoric and practice as a model, writing, "the vocabulary and forms of international behavior on which Japan drew were those which constituted the experience of a Sinocentric international order dominant in East Asia during the Ming dynasty. This system has been termed 'the Chinese world order.'"[3] Marco Tinello, similarly, writes

> there can be no doubt [that] all the measures and regulations which the Tokugawa bakufu enacted in the 1630s and 1640s constituted an integral part of an attempt to redraw the traditional *ka-i* view of the world from a Japan-centered perspective. To claim a place at the center of the world, it was indeed necessary for Japan … to receive tribute from the barbarian states on its periphery.[4]

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[2] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*.; Toby, "Contesting the Centre."; Arano, *Kinsei Nihon to Higashi Ajia*, 3-65.; Arano, "The Formation of a Japanocentric World Order."; Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies to Edo," 6-8ff.
[3] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 170.
[4] Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies to Edo," 6.

The “*ka-i* view of the world” which Tinello refers to is the notion that the court or empire ruled over by the Son of Heaven (i.e. “China”) represents the sole model of “civilization” 華 (C: *huá*, J: *ka*), and that all others are “barbarians” or “uncivilized” peoples 夷 (C: *yí*, J: *i*). These “uncivilized” peoples on the peripheries were expected to send embassies and pay tribute in recognition of the emperor’s centrality and his civilizing virtue, and in return to be granted recognition and legitimacy, and the emperor’s benevolence and civilizing influence. This rhetoric and its associated practices, termed the “tribute system” and “Chinese world order” by John King Fairbank and others, had their roots in the Confucian classics and in the logics and practices of the imperial center’s relations with both the provinces and foreign lands since the Han Dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE) if not earlier.[5]

This worldview and its associated practices constituted the international standard in the region for centuries, and as Toby notes, it was quite natural for the Tokugawa court to have looked to this set of norms and attitudes. Indeed, as many have suggested, foreign relations governed by (neo-)Confucian political philosophy and Ming/Qing court practice represented the sole model of “civilization” in the region, and emulation of the so-called “tribute system” can therefore be seen less a choice of mimicking Chinese culture – the culture of a particular place or people – than it was an effort to behave in a correct, proper, civilized manner the only way in which East Asian courts knew how.[6] There is undoubtedly much truth to this notion. The

[5] John K. Fairbank and S.Y. Teng, “On the Ch’ing Tributary System,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 6:2 (1941): 135-246.; Fairbank, ed., *The Chinese World Order*.

[6] Kelley, 31, 92-93, 96.; JaHyun Kim Haboush, *The Confucian Kingship in Korea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 2-3, 25.

Lūchūan and Joseon royal courts emulated Ming practice in numerous ways, and many writings by Lūchūan, Korean, Japanese, and Vietnamese scholars or officials praise (neo)-Confucian ideology and ritual practices as the sole model of virtuous civilization.[7] As Toby has suggested, it may have been essential for the Tokugawa court to emulate the so-called "Chinese order" in order to construct a mode of conducting foreign relations which would be agreeable to the Lūchūan and Korean courts.[8]

However, what has gone unarticulated or at least unexplored in detail in works by Toby and others in English-language scholarship is the extent to which the Japan-centric or *kubō*-centered regional order bolstered by Lūchūan and Korean embassies to Edo in the 17th to 19th centuries differed markedly from the diplomatic ritual order of the Ming or Qing courts. Most members of samurai society did not subscribe to the idea that Ming/Qing practices represented the sole true model of correct civilized practices, and the Tokugawa court did not seek to transform Edo into a second Beijing through wholesale emulation of such practices. To the contrary, the Tokugawa court constructed its *kubō*-centered program of ritual diplomacy with its own samurai values and traditions of feudal relationships as the foundation. Rather than being a transposition of the ritual forms and practices of the Forbidden City ceremonies onto Edo, audiences with the *kubō* can be seen as a continuation and adaptation of the standard ways in which samurai houses had interacted with outsiders and with one another for centuries. Lūchūan and Korean envoys were received by Tokugawa *kubō* in audience

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[7] Kelley, 92-93.; *Ryūkyū-koku yuraiki* 琉球国由来記, vol. 9, item 1 (c. 1713), ed. Hokama Shuzen 外間守善 and Hateruma Eikichi 波照間永吉 (Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten, 1997), 168.
[8] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 170.

ceremonies which ritually incorporated their kings/kingdoms into a Tokugawa order in a decidedly different way from how they were incorporated into the Ming/Qing order, not simply as "tributary" foreign kingdoms but simultaneously in key respects as houses within a hierarchy of warrior houses bound to one another through interpersonal bonds of fealty.

Lūchūan envoys kowtowed to the *kubō* much as they did to the Ming or Qing emperor, or as samurai retainers would to their lords, and presented gifts of "local goods" which the Tokugawa court regarded as "tribute" but which at the same time matched types of goods typically exchanged among samurai. Envoys wore Ming-style court costume while surrounded by samurai lords and others in formal Japanese garments. Other members of the missions wore Lūchūan robes as they performed Lūchūan court music adapted from Ming and Qing traditions and from Lūchū's native *uta-sanshin* tradition. The *kubō* bestowed gifts upon the envoys much as he did upon the *daimyō* (and as the *daimyō* in turn bestowed upon their retainers), and much as the Ming and Qing emperors, similarly, bestowed upon Lūchūan tribute embassies. Envoys presented letters from their king which incorporated language from Ming/Qing, Lūchūan, and samurai political discourses, and they did so within an audience hall organized in emulation of Chinese/Confucian directional cosmologies and practices but built and decorated in a specifically Japanese fashion. The overlapping and combining of elements of Ming/Qing, Lūchūan, and samurai customs may have helped to strengthen the ritual and the relationship as it allowed the Tokugawa court to ritually reaffirm its relationships with Lūchū in multiple ways simultaneously.

However, there were also many elements of these Tokugawa audience ceremonies which derived more exclusively from samurai traditions and had no parallel in the customary

ritual practices of the so-called “tribute system.” As we will see, foreign envoys did not participate in regular court ceremonies in Edo as they did in Beijing, but rather were seen at the castle only in separate events organized specifically for receiving them. They did not have contact with envoys from other kingdoms as they did in Beijing and were not seated alongside martial officials in the formal audience ceremonies, opposite civil officials on the other side of the ritual space, but rather were seated in the center, with samurai officials – each of them embodying both civil and martial aspects – seated to both sides. Lūchūan envoys did not gather at Edo castle to provide a formal send-off when a Tokugawa *kubō* departed the castle, as they did for Ming and Qing emperors.[9] And they performed the music of their own court in formal audiences with the *kubō*, audiences which were devoid of any Japanese court music, unlike in Beijing where Ming/Qing court music was a central and essential element of nearly all court ritual. Considering the rituals through which the Lūchū-Shimazu-Tokugawa relationship was repeatedly reaffirmed within a broader context of interactions across the region incorporating feudal, tributary, and various other modes of relationships, it becomes clear that the fuller field of early modern East Asian foreign relations cannot be reduced to solely the tribute system model, though neither can that model be dismissed entirely.

[9] Ch’en, “Sino–Liu-Ch'iuan Relations in the Nineteenth Century,” 131.

Ritual Overview

During their time in Edo, each of the Lūchūan missions enjoyed two or three formal audiences in the Ōhiroma 大廣間, or Grand Audience Hall, of the Honmaru Palace, the central administrative, ceremonial, and residential building within the *kubō's* castle.[10] The first of these was a ceremony of "coming forth and being seen" (*shinken no gi* 進見の儀), during which the envoys exchanged formal greetings with the *kubō* and presented gifts to him both on behalf of their king, and from the envoys themselves, performing a number of obeisances (bows or *kowtows*) in the process. The second of the three audiences consisted of a ritual performance of music (*sōgaku no gi* 奏楽の儀) in which members of the Lūchūan mission performed a number of instrumental and vocal pieces from their own Lūchūan court music tradition. In the third and final audience, the leave-taking rite (*jiken no gi* 辞見の儀), the Lūchūan envoys received gifts from the *kubō*, a formal reply to the king's letter from the *rōjū*, and leave (i.e. permission) to return to Lūchū. In the 17th and early 18th centuries, each of these audiences took place several days after the previous one. However, from 1718 onwards, the latter two

[10] The Honmaru Palace (本丸御殿, *honmaru goten*, "main enceinte palace") contained the Tokugawa government's chief audience halls and meeting rooms, as well as the *kubō's* chief residential spaces and those of the women of his court (the *Ōoku* 大奥, often referred to as the "shogun's harem"). These were echoed in the smaller Nishinomaru Palace (西之丸御殿, *nishinomaru goten*, "western enceinte palace") nearby, where the *kubō's* heir had his residence and audience halls. The former site of the Honmaru Palace is today the Eastern Gardens of the Imperial Palace (皇居東御苑, *kōkyo higashi gyōen*), a public park consisting mainly of gravel paths and fields of grass, with nothing remaining (or rebuilt) of the Palace. The main closed-to-the-public structures of the current Imperial Palace, meanwhile, stand on the former site of the Nishinomaru palace.

events (the musical performance and leave-taking) were combined into a single audience, as a means of saving both time and money.[11]

Participation in these two or three audience ceremonies was the key purpose of Lūchū's sending embassies to Edo, and accordingly these were the most significant of the embassies' activities in the city. However, they were far from the embassies' only formal obligations. Prior to the audiences in the Honmaru Palace of Edo castle, the embassy's schedule was filled with rehearsals and other preparations, including planning meetings with the Shimazu lords and rehearsals of the audience ceremonies, the musical performances, and the ceremonial street processions (including horseback riding practice) both at the Shimazu mansions and at the castle.[12] In 1832, the envoys met with the Shimazu lords a total of four times before going up to the castle.[13] Following their audiences with the *kubō*, the envoys enjoyed audiences with the *kubō*'s wife and his heir, as well as with the *rōjū, wakadoshiyori*, and heads of the three Tokugawa collateral houses (*gosanke*), and made a formal visit to pay respects at either Nikkō 日光 or Ueno Tōshōgū 上野東照宮, shrines dedicated to the deified founder of Tokugawa hegemony.[14] They also presented and received a number of banquets at the Shimazu mansions, at which they either performed Lūchūan and Chinese music, dance, and theatre, or enjoyed performances of Japanese *hayashi* music, Noh, puppet theatre, *kemari* (kickball), horseback

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[11] Fukuyama-shi Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan, 66.; Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 120.
[12] Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 160-161, 177.; "Gieisei nikki," 169-173.; Itaya, "Kafu ni mirareru geinō shiryō 2: Edo nobori," 182. It was standard practice for *daimyō* as well to engage in rehearsals at Edo castle, in the actual audience hall that would be used, prior to their formal audiences. Yamamoto Hirofumi, *Sankin kōtai*, 186.
[13] Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 164.
[14] Three Lūchūan and three Korean missions in the 1630s-1650s traveled to the more major Tōshōgū at Nikkō, roughly 100 miles north of Edo, but from the 1670s onward, Lūchūan and Korean missions did not leave the city, and paid respects at Ueno instead.

riding, acrobatics, *kagura* dances, or other entertainments.[15] The Lūchūan missions typically departed for home in the 12th lunar month, after three or four weeks in wintry Edo.[16]

While all these events are of importance and bear further study, in the interests of length and of a focused study, this chapter focuses attention on the audiences in which the envoys participated in the Grand Audience Hall, the chief venues through which Tokugawa power and legitimacy, Shimazu prestige, and Lūchūan cultural identity and hierarchical status were enacted and the relationships between the three houses or courts regularly ritually reaffirmed. Exploration of the visual, material, sonic, and performative aspects of these ceremonies help us to understand just how these various elements functioned to contribute to the ritual enactment or reaffirmation of Lūchūan cultural and political status vis-à-vis the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses.

A series of documents associated with the Ii family 井伊家 (lords of Hikone domain 彦根) and held today at the Hikone Castle Museum describe the 1710 iteration of Lūchūan

[15] Banquets and entertainments included both "meals presented to" (膳ヲ献シ, *zen o kenji*) the Shimazu lord by the envoys, at which members of the embassy performed Luchuan and Chinese music, dance, and theatrical pieces, and "banquets received from" (宴ヲ賜フ, *utage o tamau*) the lord, which were accompanied by performances of Japanese entertainments. Itaya, "Kafu ni mirareru geinō shiryō 2: Edo nobori," 160-182.; Itaya, "Kinsei Ryukyu no tai-Satsuma kankei ni okeru geinō no yakuwari," 112, 114, 117. Where tribute envoys to Beijing were banqueted exclusively by various organs of the imperial court, Lūchūan envoys in Edo, belonging in a certain sense under the auspices or "banner" of the Shimazu house, enjoyed banquets and entertainments primarily within the Shimazu mansions. Only a limited number of banquets were provided to the envoys by the Tokugawa court.

[16] Though 18th and 19th century missions typically arrived in Edo in the 11th month and departed in the 12th, this standard schedule was not yet set in the earlier 17th century missions. These earlier missions often arrived in Edo closer to the middle of the year, anywhere between the 4th and 8th months. The 1649 mission's stay in Edo was atypically long, as aftershocks from an earthquake on 1649/6/20 continued through the 6th, 7th, and 8th months, forcing the Luchuans' audience to be delayed until the 9th month. Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 103.

envoys' audiences with the *kubō* in some detail,[17] while the *Tokugawa reiten roku*, an official Meiji period compilation of records pertaining to Tokugawa ceremony and ritual, does similarly for the 1714 and 1790 missions.[18] The protocols and procedures for the 1832 embassy's audiences are recorded in similar fashion in Kagoshima domain records.[19] Though similarly detailed descriptions are not available for all seventeen of the kingdom's formal embassies to Edo from 1644 to 1850, these accounts, particularly those from the 18th and 19th centuries, provide insights into a remarkably stable and consistent set of ritual practices, a tradition that largely transcended the vagaries of the politics of the moment, or the whims of individual political actors.

Reception

The ceremonial performance of identity and status began well before the envoys entered the audience hall, and indeed before they even entered the castle. As in the port towns and post-stations explored in Chapter One, the initial reception of the envoys into the castle was very much a matter of ceremony and protocol as well. As remains the case in international diplomacy today, "the warmth of a welcome [was] not the personal whim of the chief of

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[17] Gojima Kuniharu 五島邦治, "Hikone han no monjo ni miru Ryūkyū shisetsu no Edo nobori" 彦根藩の文書に見る琉球使節の江戸上り, in *Ryūkyū ōchō no bi* 琉球王朝の美, ed. Hikonejō Hakubutsukan 彦根城博物館 (Hikone, Shiga: Hikone-jō Hakubutsukan, 1993), 90-95.

[18] *Tokugawa reiten roku* 徳川禮典録, eds. Date Munenari 伊達宗城, Ikeda Mochimasa 池田茂政, and Matsudaira Shungaku 松平春嶽 (Tokyo, 1889; repr., Tokyo: Owari Tokugawa Reimeikai, 1942), vol. 3 (下巻), 307-339.

[19] *Ryūkyū kankei monjo* 琉球関係文書, vol 2., University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute, 島津家本-さⅡ-12-66, pp. 4 *verso* – 43 *recto*; transcribed and posted online by Yokoyama Yoshinori 横山伊徳 <http://www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/collaboration/ryukyu2.html> as pp. 124-199.; also, *Ryūkyūjin dome* 琉球人留 (1832), University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute, 4251-11.

protocol – but the theatrical dimension of high policy."[20] Each time Lūchūan envoys made their way to the castle for a formal audience, the manner in which they arrived and in which they were received and guided into the castle was determined by precedent and protocol, and contributed to the enactment or realization of their position within (or relative to) Tokugawa hierarchies.

The embassy journeyed up to the castle in a grand procession, as discussed in the previous chapter, and entered the castle via the Ōtemon 大手門, one of the main gates to the compound. The lead and deputy ambassadors left their palanquins, and the middle-ranking Lūchūan officials[21] their horses, at a designated dismounting point just before the Ōtemon. Those attendants carrying halberds, banners, and the like left them at the benches at the Ōtemon,[22] while those carrying *uryansan* parasols and placards carried them to the entrance foyer (*genkan* 玄関) of the Honmaru Palace.[23] While the twenty or so street musicians[24] remained at the benches by the Ōtemon, the Lead and Deputy envoys, along with "the *zànyíguān* and various officials below him,"[25] some 15 to 25 people in total, stepped up into the palace, where they were met by a pair of Ōmetsuke ("Grand Inspectors").[26]

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[20] Cohen, 147.

[21] The *Gieisei nikki*, among other primary source documents, refers to all those between the Vice Envoy and the young entertainers (*yuètóngzǐ*) in rank – incl. the Secretary, Master Musicians, *zànyíguān*, *shǐzàn*, and others typically mounted on horseback in procession – as *chūkan* 中官, or "middle officials." "Gieisei nikki," 115 *passim*.

[22] *Koshikake* 腰掛, likely a large covered space, somewhat akin to an outdoor or semi-outdoor waiting room.

[23] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, 3:307.

[24] In 1832, the street musicians numbered 21. "Gieisei nikki," 110.

[25] "Gieisei nikki," 177.

[26] Members of the Shimazu house seem to have entered the castle separately – both the *Gieisei nikki* and the *Ryūkyū kankei monjo* focus on the Lūchūans arriving and being met and guided into the castle, without mention of the Shimazu lord or others being with them at that time. A lower-ranking *daimyō*, Sengoku Hisatoshi 仙石久利

For this many officials to accompany the Lūchūan lead envoy in entering the castle was exceptional, compared to the far smaller entourages permitted to *daimyō* coming up to Edo castle on official business. Even top-ranking *daimyō* such as the lord of Kagoshima were restricted to bringing no more than six samurai retainers, one sandal-bearer, two *hasamibako* 挟箱 (luggage) carriers, and four palanquin carriers past the Ōtemon, and no retainers or attendants at all into the palace beyond the *genkan*.[27] In this way, the Lūchūan missions were welcomed as distinguished foreign embassies, and were set apart from *daimyō* or anyone else within regular samurai status hierarchies.

Still, their reception at Edo castle was never as grand as that for their Korean counterparts. Korean embassies brought a similar number of officials into the castle, but were regularly met farther out, at the castle gates, by a larger welcoming party, including the lord of Tsushima, two other *daimyō*,[28] an Ōmetsuke, and two temple elders. This welcoming party then escorted the Korean officials to the *genkan*, where four Magistrates of Temples & Shrines (*jisha bugyō* 寺社奉行) and two more Ōmetsuke were waiting to meet them.[29] The Lūchūan lead ambassador(s) later proceeded alone into the Grand Audience Hall for audience with the *kubō*,

(1820-1897), was met at the *genkan* not by *ōmetsuke*, but by *omote-bōzu* 表坊主, Buddhist monks who served in various logistical roles within the castle. This was perhaps a reflection of his lower status, and thus an indication of *higher* status on the part of the Lūchūans. For Sengoku Hisatoshi, see: Ogawa Kyōichi 小川恭一, "Shōgun omemie sahō" 将軍お目見え作法, *Tokyojin* 東京人 (1995/1), 83.

[27] Fukai Masaumi 深井雅海, *Edo-jō wo yomu* 江戸城をよむ (Tokyo: Harashobō, 1997), 18-19.

[28] These two additional *daimyō* were appointed temporarily by the Tokugawa court to serve as "hosts" overseeing the Korean envoys' accommodations and reception. Iwasaki Toshio 岩崎敏夫 et al., eds., *Sōma han seiki* 相馬藩世紀, vol. 2 (Tokyo: Yagi Shoten, 2002), 170.

[29] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 307, 367.

while the Joseon embassies were permitted to have three officials – the Lead Envoy (正使, K: *jeongsa*), Deputy Envoy (副使, K: *busa*), and Attendant or Secretary (從事官, *K: jongsagwan*), known collectively as the "three envoys" (三使, K: *samsa*, J: *sanshi*) – enter the Hall and receive audience with the *kubō.*[30] Thus, from the very moment the Lūchūans set foot within the castle gates, they were received in a manner which enacted their identity as a foreign embassy – permitted into the castle as a large group – but as one of lesser status than their Korean counterparts, with the Tokugawa court dispatching a smaller number of officials, who did not bother going out as far to meet the arriving envoys. The lord of Kagoshima, who typically went up to the castle earlier, also did not come out to meet the Lūchūan envoys at the gates or at the *genkan*, as the lord of Tsushima did for Korean envoys, but merely met them once they had already entered the palace building.

[30] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 184, 255.

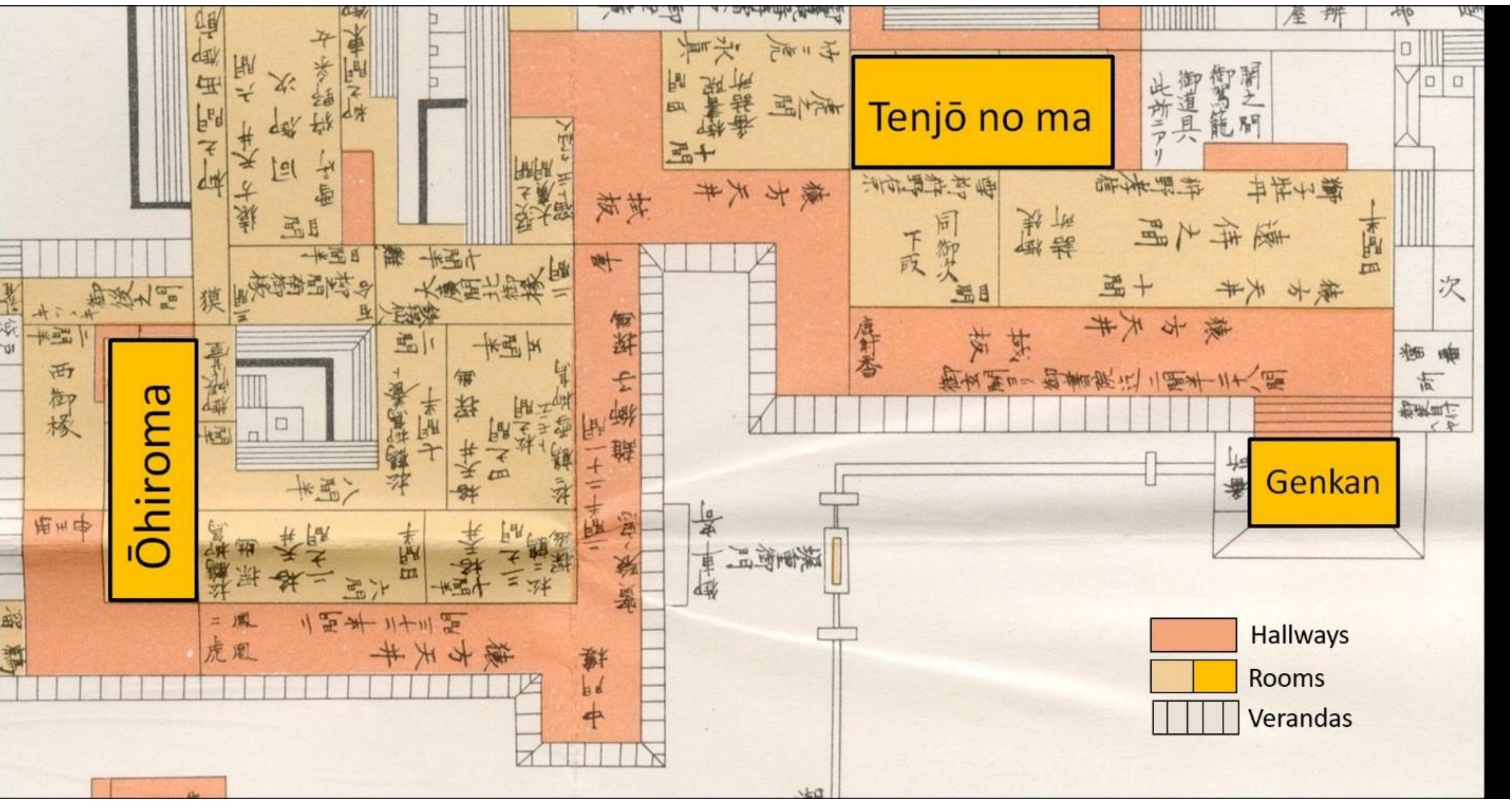

Fig. 3-1 - A portion of the *omote* 表 ("forward- "or "public-facing") portion of the Honmaru palace at Edo castle. Adapted from map included in Ono Kiyoshi, *Tokugawa shiryō seido*.

After being met at the *genkan*, the lead ambassadors of the Lūchūan embassy were led by the Ōmetsuke to the *Tenjō-no-ma* 殿上之間, a small waiting room where they were directed to seats in the lower of two sections of the room.[31] The remaining Lūchūan officials were seated in the adjoining room.[32] The lord of Kagoshima met the Lūchūan officials there, and sat with them briefly. When an embassy came up to the castle for its first formal audience, after arriving in the *Tenjō-no-ma*, the mission secretary then entered from the adjoining room, and passed the king's official letter (書翰, J: *shokan*) to a *sōjaban* 奏者番, a Tokugawa official who served as a master of ceremonies for audiences and certain other ceremonial events.[33] The envoys stood and bowed.[34] The Shimazu lord then stood and moved to just outside the *matsu-no-ma* 松之間 ("Hall of Pines"), also known as the *yon-no-ma* 四之間 ("fourth antechamber" of the Great Audience Hall), where he waited to be called upon.[35]

The *Tenjō-no-ma* was but one of many rooms in the Honmaru Palace to which guests were assigned, where they waited for their audiences with the *kubō* or engaged in meals or smaller ceremonies such as this presentation of the king's letter. *Daimyō* were assigned to these rooms depending on their rank, with elite *daimyō* families such as the Shimazu being

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[31] Known as 上段 (*jōdan*, "upper level") and 下段 (*gedan*, "lower level").

[32] The *Tenjō-no-ma tsugi-no-ma* 殿上之間次之間 (lit. the room next to, or next after, the Tenjō-no-ma). This arrangement can be seen visually in ritual diagrams in *Ryūkyūjin dome*.

[33] Many early modern European courts also maintained masters of ceremony, who maintained records of ritual protocol and precedent, and helped oversee the correct performance of court ceremonies. Janette Dillon, *The Language of Space in Court Performance, 1400-1625* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 80.

[34] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol 3, 307.

[35] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol 3, 307.

assigned to the Great Corridor (*Ōrōka* 大廊下), along with the six Tokugawa collateral houses (*gosanke* and *gosankyō*), while the Ii family of Hikone, also a powerful house, was assigned to the *Tamari-no-ma* 溜の間. A less powerful house might be assigned to the *Teikan-no-ma* 帝鑑の間 ("Hall of the Mirror of the Emperors"), as the Yanagisawa family of Yamatokōriyama domain was. The *Tenjō-no-ma* was not assigned to any *daimyō* family as their designated waiting room but was chiefly used for the reception of envoys from Lūchū, Joseon, and the Imperial Court at Kyoto. Like the Lūchūan envoys, Korean and Imperial envoys also sat in the lower section of the room, with formal communications and gifts from their king or emperor – by definition of higher status than his emissaries – being placed in the upper section for presentation.[36] The waiting room by the same name at the Kyoto Imperial Palace was reserved for *tenjōbito* 殿上人 – those of sufficient court rank, lineage, or special status otherwise to enjoy the privilege of frequenting the palace.[37] That the Lūchūan envoys were assigned to perform these ceremonies here, rather than alongside the Shimazu lord in the Great Corridor,

[36] Yamamoto Hirofumi 山本博文, *Edo jidai: shōgun bushi tachi no jitsuzō* 江戸時代：将軍・武士たちの実像 (Tokyo: Tokyo Shoseki, 2008), 70.

[37] The term, referring to people (人) permitted to step up (上) into the palace (殿) – traditional Japanese architecture having wooden floors elevated above the ground – can be contrasted with *jigenin* 地下人, those without that privilege, who were obliged to sit or stand "below" (下), on the ground (地). Ninomiya Shigeaki, "An Inquiry Concerning the Origin, Development, and Present Situation of the *Eta* in Relation to the History of Social Classes in Japan," *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, second series, vol. X (1933), 82.; David Bialock, *Eccentric Spaces, Hidden Histories: Narrative, Ritual, and Royal Authority from "The Chronicles of Japan" to "The Tale of the Heike"* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2007), 190.

was one way in which they were made to perform or fulfill their roles as envoys from a royal court (rather than as Shimazu vassals).[38]

The King's Letter – Presentation, Content, and Form of Diplomatic Correspondence

The practice of sending a letter from the king was a central element of Lūchū's relations with the Tokugawa court from the early decades of the 17th century. Like most aspects of the embassies' forms and practices, however, this exchange of letters did not become standardized until the end of that century. The first formal embassy to Edo, dispatched in 1644, presented the *kubō* with three such letters,[39] but beginning with the following mission in 1649, it became standard to send only one letter, addressed not to the *kubō* himself, but to the *rōjū*. A formal response letter from the *rōjū* was then given by Tokugawa officials to Shimazu retainers on some later day, to be eventually passed along to the envoys; by 1710, it became standard, however, for the formal response from the *rōjū* to be presented to the envoys as part of formal ceremonies at the castle.[40] The formulaic content of the letters also became largely standard from 1671 onward. As paraphrased by Miyagi Eishō, letters delivered by a congratulatory

[38] The practice of using the *tenjō-no-ma* as the waiting room for Korean and Lūchūan envoys may have stemmed from a simple practical/logistical cause, the simple efficiency of using this room for all Imperial, foreign, or otherwise special envoys, who lay outside the samurai hierarchies. However, Tomiyama Kazuyuki suggests a connection between the Lūchūan and Korean ambassadors, and Imperial envoys, as the Lūchūan missions are said to have been emulations or re-enactments of the rituals of submission of King Shō Nei in 1610, whose reception was based in turn on that of Korean envoys in 1607. Tomiyama, *Ryūkyū ōkoku no gaikō to ōken*, 118-119.
[39] One addressed to the Tairō (Chief Elder), and two to the *toshiyori* 年寄 (i.e. the *rōjū*), one offering congratulations on the birth of a shogunal heir, and one expressing gratitude for the Tokugawa court's recognition of a new king of Lūchū. This was the only mission to be dispatched (in part) for the birth of a shogunal heir.
[40] Fujii Jōji 藤井譲治, ed., *Edo bakufu nikki: Himeji Sakai-ke bon* 江戸幕府日記: 姫路酒井家本, vol. 23 (Tokyo: Yumani Shobō, 2004), 220.

mission conveyed roughly that “we have dispatched these envoys in order to express great congratulations [万々歳, J: *banbanzai*] on this celebratory occasion of shogunal succession,” while those delivered by gratitude missions conveyed, roughly, that “having received orders from the lord of Satsuma [confirming] the royal succession, we have dispatched these envoys in order to convey celebratory words.”[41] These letters were typically written in the Japanese language, in a Japanese epistolary format known as *sōrōbun* 候文, in a “running script” (行書, J: *gyōsho*) calligraphic style, as letters from the Lūchūan kings to the Shimazu lords or Ashikaga shoguns had been since at least the 1520s.[42] The one notable exception was the 1714 embassy, which delivered to the *rōjū* a formal royal letter which looked much more like a Chinese document, employing “regular script” (楷書, J: *kaisho*) calligraphy, classical Chinese phrasing, and other aspects of Chinese epistolary format or organization.[43] Toby and others have drawn attention to the complications resulting from this breach of precedent. In the end, however, the Tokugawa court did not insist upon Lūchū returning to adherence to the prior precedent of writing in a Japanese form (*wabun* 和文); rather, the *rōjū* conveyed to the Shimazu that Lūchū should be forgiven for its ignorance of Japanese practices, and should be instructed in the correct protocols, but that ultimately whether their future communications were in Chinese or

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[41] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 139-140.

[42] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 140. Thomas Nelson, “Japan in the Life of Early Ryukyu,” *Journal of Japanese Studies* 32, no. 2 (2006), 370-371. Letters exchanged between Lūchū and various Japanese interlocutors, including the Shimazu and Ashikaga houses, took various forms in the 15th century, but eventually came to adhere to a standard set of practices by the early 16th century. Asato, Dana, et al (eds.), 114-115.

[43] Asō, “Kinsei Ryūkyū shi gaisetsu: shiryō kara miru kinsei Ryūkyū” 近世琉球史概説：史料からみる近世琉球 (lecture, Hōsei University Institute for Okinawan Studies, Tokyo, June 16, 2017).

Japanese was up to Lūchū to decide.[44] This mirrors the treatment of the clothing and accoutrements employed in the street processions; though the Tokugawa and Shimazu courts issued edicts relating certain restrictions or general frameworks, ultimately the decision of how precisely to represent themselves was left up to the Lūchūan court.

Though this 1714 "document problem" (書翰問題, J: *shokan mondai*) is often discussed as an isolated incident, Asō Shin'ichi encourages that it should be seen within a broader context of developments within the Lūchūan court, as the court worked over the course of the 16th-19th centuries to adjust both internal court documents and diplomatic communications to changes in Chinese and Japanese practice, always with the intention of ensuring they were following "correct" "proper" practices and presenting themselves as a "land that observes propriety" (守禮之邦, J: *shurei no kuni*). It was with this in mind, for example, that Lūchūan scholar-officials regularly studied documentary practices in Satsuma, and adapted in the early decades of the 17th century to writing documents in *sōrōbun* rather than in the *kana*-heavy *wabun* forms their court had used previously, or the classical Chinese forms they used in communication with Beijing; at the same time, Lūchū adopted Satsuma practices of, for example, writing the addressees' names in lighter ink and the sender's name, among other items within the text, in darker ink.[45] Indeed, by the beginning of the 19th century, sources such as the *Satsuyū kikō* (a travel diary written by a Kumamoto domain retainer in 1801) indicated that "the official

[44] Joyce Ackroyd, *Told Round a Brushwood Fire: The Autobiography of Arai Hakuseki* (Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1995), 233-234.
[45] Asō, "Kinsei Ryūkyū shi gaisetsu – shiryō kara miru kinsei Ryūkyū."

documents of Ryūkyū are [like] those of Japan, both in the style of the characters, and the form of the text [or, writing style]."[46]

That the Lūchūan court was given a certain degree of freedom to prepare these formal letters as they saw fit, and that they chose to do so in a manner matching their own court practices – which, in turn, developed in tandem with efforts to ensure that the kingdom was observing "correct," "proper" practices of the Shimazu court shows once again the preeminence of importance placed upon precedent, propriety, and the kingdom's reputation as civilized in determining the forms these ritual acts would take. Like the incorporation of Ming-style court robes and Ming/Qing music in demonstrations of Lūchū's own court culture, the adoption of Satsuma epistolary standards can be said to be part of intentional efforts by the Lūchūan court to display its own distinctive court culture as one which was cultured, civilized, refined – one which epitomized "adherence to ritual propriety" (守礼, J: *shurei*).

These letters were, however, but one aspect of a much larger set of ceremonial interactions. While Toby and others have focused considerable attention on the significance of the phrasing, content, and form otherwise of these letters,[47] to emphasize the importance of the diplomatic language used in documents over that of spoken language and ritual action is to misleadingly apply modernist assumptions about international relations. As George Lord

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[46] 「琉球ノ証文手形ノ類、文字ト文体ハ日本ニ而」"Satsuyū kikō," 244.

[47] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 83-90.; Miyagi, "Shōtoku 4 nen no Edo nobori toki ni okita shokan mondai" 正徳4年の江戸上り時に起きた書翰問題, *Okinawa kokusai daigaku bungakubu kiyō shakai gakka hen* 沖縄国際大学文学部紀要 社会学科篇 9, no. 1 (1981): 1-6.; Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies to Edo," 77-80.; Tomiyama, "Edo bakufu gaikō to Ryūkyū" 江戸幕府外交と琉球, *Okinawa bunka* 沖縄文化 65 (1985): 31-38.

Macartney famously learned more than two hundred years ago when his attempts to establish regular Anglo-Chinese relations fell apart over his refusal to *kowtow*, in traditional East Asian diplomacy (as in European court culture only a few centuries earlier)[48] it was not solely or primarily the letter itself which was central to the conduct of diplomatic relations, but rather the fuller ritual performance of envoys' ceremonial interactions with a foreign court.[49] Indeed, not only in diplomacy but in everyday interactions as well,

> more important than "what" one says, "how" he or she says it demonstrates one's relative categorical position to the other along the dimensions of power relations, social distance, and affection. The true relationship of interactive parties is often revealed not by the content of conversations but by the physical or verbal manner of interactions.[50]

Though the Lūchūan and Korean kings' letters employed similar platitudes and ceremonial language, only the Korean king exchanged letters directly with the *kubō*. The Lūchūan king, considered by the Tokugawa to be of lesser status, roughly hierarchically equal not with the *kubō* but with his chief advisors, the *rōjū*, exchanged letters with the latter instead. This difference in status was made manifest textually in the letters themselves – with the Lūchūan letter being addressed to the *rōjū* rather than to the "King of Japan" or Taikun[51] – but also, and

[48] Stollberg-Rilinger, 18.; Luebke, 27-28.
[49] Michael Auslin, *Negotiating with Imperialism: The Unequal Treaties and the Culture of Japanese Diplomacy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2006), 12-13.
[50] Ikegami, 324.
[51] For much of the Edo period, the heads of the Hayashi family, chief Confucian advisors to the *kubō*, advised that diplomatic communications should refer to the *kubō* as *Taikun* 大君 (often translated as "Great Prince") in order to avoid, or actively divorce the *kubō* from, any implication of his recognition of the centrality or superiority of the Ming/Qing emperor, or any implication that the *kubō's* legitimacy derived from the Ming/Qing emperors. Arai Hakuseki successfully advocated a change to this practice, arguing that within Chinese and Korean understandings, the term "*Taikun*" did not hold the connotations they desired. In its place, he briefly implemented a return to the use of the title "King of Japan" (日本国王, J: *Nihon kokuō*), thus asserting the *kubō's* authority, legitimacy, and status as equivalent to the Kings of Korea and elsewhere. For more on this, see Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 83-90.

more starkly, in the location and character otherwise of the ritual presentation of their kings' letters.

In the Lūchūan case, the events in the *Tenjō-no-ma* described above constituted the full extent of ceremony surrounding the ritual presentation of the King of Lūchū's letter to the Tokugawa court. Once the *sōjaban* received the document in the reception room, he passed it to the *rōjū*, who kept it and presented the envoys with a formal reply some days later, again in the *Tenjō-no-ma* and not in the formal audience hall, after the end of their final audience in the castle. The Lūchūan king's letter made no other appearance in the envoys' ceremonial activities in the castle. This is a notable contrast from the case of Korean envoys, who presented their king's letter to the *kubō* in the Grand Audience Hall. After being seated in the *Tenjō-no-ma* and handing over their king's letter to Tokugawa officials, the Korean envoys were led to the veranda outside the lower level of the audience hall. Their letter was then passed from one official to another until it was finally placed on the most forward of the tatami mats in the middle level of the Hall, just below the *kubō's* seat. At the instruction of one of the Tokugawa officials, the Korean envoys bowed and then withdrew, returning later for the remainder of their audience.

The presentation of a king's letter in a smaller ceremony in both of these cases, separate from the fuller Lūchūan and Korean audiences with the *kubō*, parallels the ritual presentation of royal letters by tributary missions to the Qing court. Upon arrival in Beijing, Lūchūan envoys were summoned to the office of the Board of Rites (礼部, C: *lǐbù*), where the lead envoy, vice envoy, and secretary of the tributary mission formally presented their king's

letter[52] to the Board of Rites, as was standard practice for all foreign embassies to the Qing court.[53] The secretary of the Lūchūan mission first stepped forward in symbolic presentation of the letter (which was not yet physically handed over), and the seven Board officials present made some gesture of acknowledgement and symbolic reception of the letter. The three Lūchūan officials then knelt at the lower end of the hall (near the entrance), and the lead envoy handed the actual letter to an intermediate Qing official, who passed it to the Board of Rites high official presiding over the ceremony, who placed it on a special desk (表案, *piǎoàn*) set up specifically for that purpose. The three Lūchūan envoys then performed a full kowtow before withdrawing from the hall.[54]

Space

Following the presentation of the king's letter, the deputy envoy and other Lūchūan officials remained in the *Tenjō-no-ma*, while the lead envoy was led into the Grand Audience Hall, or Ōhiroma. The largest and grandest hall in the palace, the Ōhiroma was located near the front of the palace, close to the main entryway, in a section of the Honmaru Palace known as the *omote* 表. Like the guest rooms or shop spaces where a family might receive formal guests or customers, the *omote* was the front-facing, outward-facing, portion of the palace, where the

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[52] 表 (C: *piǎo*), a type of memorial to the throne.

[53] Ch'en, "Sino–Liu-Ch'iuan Relations in the Nineteenth Century," 128-129.; "Dai Shinkoku e Ryūkyūjin tsūyū no taitei kikiawase sōrō oboegaki" 大清国江琉球人通融之大抵聞合候覺書, in Kamakura, vol. 3, 95.; James Hevia, "'The Ultimate Gesture of Deference and Debasement': Kowtowing in China," *Past and Present*, supplement 4 (2009), 217.

[54] Ch'en, "Sino–Liu-Ch'iuan Relations in the Nineteenth Century," 128-129.

Tokugawa court put on its formal, “public,” “face,” so to speak, receiving official guests in a somewhat more impersonal manner, emphasizing the shogun as *kubō* – the embodiment of the government, or “public” authority. While imperial envoys, foreign envoys, middle- or lower-ranking members of the *kubō’s* court, and many others would only ever see the *omote* portions of the castle, where they were received in audience, banqueted, or otherwise brought in to engage in official business, those *daimyō* and others with closer personal ties to the Tokugawa family enjoyed the privilege of proceeding further, deeper, into the palace, to more “private”, personal chambers in the *nakaoku* 中奥 (lit. “middle interior”). In contrast to the formal and public character of *omote* space, the *oku* was a more personal, private, space, in which we might say the *kubō* more strongly embodied the identity of the head of the Tokugawa household, an individual with personal ties to other individuals and households. The innermost portions of the palace, the area known as the *ōoku* 大奥 (lit. “great interior”), included the *kubō’s* own bedrooms and living spaces, and were the most personal and private; they were accessible only by the *kubō*, his most direct male relatives, and the ladies of his court.

Nakaoku rooms such as the Shiroshoin 白書院 (“White Study”) and Kuroshoin 黒書院 (“Black Study”) doubled as official meeting rooms or audience halls and as the *kubō’s* personal, private, studies. For figures such as the heads of the Maeda, Shimazu, and Ii families (lords of Kaga, Satsuma, and Hikone domains respectively) to meet with the *kubō* in his private study, even if such meetings were often just as formalized and impersonal as those in the Ōhiroma, was an honor and privilege enjoyed only by those with particular ties to the *kubō*. These were also much smaller rooms, allowing more intimate proximity to the person of the *kubō* than that

enjoyed by almost anyone in the Ōhiroma. Being welcomed into this inner portion of the palace was in some ways a function of hierarchical status and rank, but it was also powerfully connected to discourses of trust and of personal ties – those *daimyō* welcomed into the *nakaoku* were not only simply those with the largest territories and wealth (such as the lords of Kaga and Satsuma), but they were also in many cases those most trusted by the *kubō*, because of direct familial ties, or particularly long traditions of service. A similar phenomenon plays out on a smaller scale in domestic settings around the world, where individuals or families might receive more formal guests in a sitting room or living room, allowing only friends and relatives deeper into the more private spaces of their homes. While the same may be true to one extent or another in palaces and official governmental residences around the world, this may have been particularly the case in the castles of the *kubō* and other samurai lords in early modern Japan. Family or household blurred or overlapped with "government" in the Tokugawa order – the household of a *daimyō*, or of the *kubō*, in certain meaningful ways *was* the state.[55]

Thus, the restriction of the Lūchūan envoys to the *omote* portion of the palace, and their reception in the Ōhiroma served to emphasize their metaphorical distance from the *kubō* in terms of personal ties of either familial connection or feudal favor, through physical distance from the more private, inner, portions of his palace. Whether as envoys from a foreign land, or as merely retainers to a retainer of the *kubō*, neither the Lūchūan envoys nor the kings they represented could claim such close personal ties with the *kubō* as would entitle them to audiences in the *kubō's* studies in the *nakaoku* – while the Shimazu lord and a number of other

[55] Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, 12-13.

daimyō enjoyed that privilege, none of their retainers did. As we will see, this personal distance was reflected again in the seating arrangements within the Ōhiroma.

Returning to the Ōhiroma itself, while places like the Diplomatic Reception Rooms of the U.S. Department of State are furnished in a lavish manner simply in order to provide foreign dignitaries with a reception worthy of their dignity, in accordance with international diplomatic etiquette,[56] the *kubō's* palace, and its Grand Audience Hall in particular, like palatial spaces and centers of power throughout much of the pre-modern and early modern world,[57] was designed to awe, to overwhelm, as a powerful display of Tokugawa wealth and strength. Further, while diplomatic spaces today are often carefully designed to symbolically reflect a notion of equality between equally sovereign states[58] – and elements as simple as the shape of the negotiating table continue to create significant diplomatic difficulties due to perceived infractions of this symbolic equality[59] – the Grand Audience Hall at Edo castle was built explicitly to enforce notions of inequality, impressing upon all present the emotional knowledge of their place in a hierarchy organized around the Tokugawa *kubō* at its pinnacle.

[56] Robert C. Williams and James H. Lide, "Diplomatic Reception in America: Private Interiors in Public Service," in Clement Conger, et. al., *Treasures of State: Fine and Decorative Arts in the Diplomatic Reception Rooms of the U.S. Department of State* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., 1991), 54-55.

[57] Watanabe Hiroshi, *A History of Japanese Political Thought*, 57.; Gülru Necipoğlu, "Framing the Gaze in Ottoman, Safavid, and Mughal Palaces," *Ars Orientalis* 23 (1993): 303-342.; Stacy Kamehiro, *The Arts of Kingship: Hawaiian Art and National Culture of the Kalākaua Era* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2009), 55-76.

[58] Sasson Sofer, *The Courtiers of Civilization: A Study of Diplomacy* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2013), 18, 28-29.; Hevia, *Cherishing men from afar : Qing guest ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995), 235.

[59] Kertzer, 104.

Fig. 3-2 - Model of the Ōhiroma at Edo-Tokyo Museum, Tokyo, showing the stepped construction of the audience hall as it would have appeared from the east side, looking west. The lower *dan* 下段 where Lūchūan envoys sat is to the left, and the *kubō's* seat in the upper *dan* 上段 to the right, from this perspective. Photo by the author.

The hall, some 92 tatami mats (roughly 152m^2) in area, was divided into three sections, or *dan* 段, each about 20 cm above the last in height.[60] The *kubō* typically sat in the highest of these sections, the *jōdan* 上段 ("upper level"), on a cushion atop a stack of tatami two or three mats thick,[61] while even the highest-ranking *daimyō* and Tokugawa officials – as well as Imperial, Korean, and Lūchūan envoys – were seated at the far end of the room, in the *gedan* 下段 ("lower level"). This arrangement allowed the *kubō* to literally sit above nearly everyone else in the hall. As William Coaldrake writes, "the psychological impact of the difference in levels would have been considerabl[e] … for daimyo [and for foreign envoys], kneeling and prostrating themselves before the figure of the shogun in the distance."[62] The significant

[60] Ono Kiyoshi 小野清, *Shiryō Tokugawa bakufu no seido* 史料徳川幕府の制度 (Tokyo: Jinbutsu Ōraisha, 1968), enclosed chart.; Naitō Akira gives the height differentials in traditional Japanese units of measurement, as about seven *sun* 寸 or 0.7 *shaku* 尺. Naitō Akira 内藤昌, "Man'en do gofushin Edo jō honmaru ōhiroma no sekkei ni tsuite" 万延度御普請江戸城本丸大広間の設計について, *Nihon kenchiku gakkai ronbun hōkokushū* 日本建築学会論文報告集 61 (1959), 137.

[61] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 308, 311, 317, 331, 336; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo* 琉球関係文書, vol. 2, 5 *recto*. (Labeled as p125 in online transcription by Yokoyama Yoshinori.)

[62] William Coaldrake, *Architecture and Authority in Japan* (London: Routledge, 1996), 149.

vertical and horizontal physical distance alone between a *daimyō* or foreign envoy and the *kubō* would have served as both a powerful symbol to be understood intellectually and an impactful element to be felt emotionally. This impressed upon both the guest himself and all others present a sense of the guest's metaphorical distance from the *kubō* both in terms of personal relationships and hierarchical status, as well as a sense of the *kubō's* distinctive power or importance, and his centrality. Only those of the highest rank or status were permitted to approach "most closely to the shogun, who sat at the center of the castle at the center of Edo at the political epicenter of the country."[63] As Janette Dillon writes regarding the English monarch, "protocols prescribing degrees of distance and other forms of deference affirm[ed] the monarch's apartness and specialness," and emphasized "the special vibrancy of the monarch's person."[64]

The sense of physical distance between the *kubō* and his guests was enhanced further by the gilded elements on the lacquered ceiling, which highlighted the lengthy ceiling battens, and by the arrangement of tatami mats perpendicular to the length of the hall, increasing the number of mats between the guest and the *kubō*.[65] A small but elaborately decorated coffered ceiling with fine filigree metalwork sat above the *kubō's* seat, further "heighten[ing] the perception of [his] importance."[66] While some may overlook or dismiss the design of a space as a matter of mere ornament or ostentation, architectural and design elements constituted vital forms of non-verbal communication, contributing significantly to the affective impact and

[63] Walthall, "Hiding the shoguns," 336.
[64] Dillon, 77.
[65] Coaldrake, 153.
[66] Coaldrake, 151.

efficacy of court ceremonies as enactments of power relations.[67] As Meiji period people's rights activist Ueki Emori (1857-1892) wrote,

> an institution such as the *bakufu* based its existence not on any inherent right to rule the realm … what it particularly emphasized, with the greatest exertion of its power, was to make the government appear as majestic as possible, so that the people would look up to it as something high and mighty, feeling it was something to which they could not possibly aspire, something truly grand, something vast and limitless in its power.[68]

Ueki was writing, of course, about the Tokugawa government's efforts to awe the people through processions and other publicly visible displays of wealth, power, and majesty, but the same notion applies to the more exclusive setting of the castle interiors, and to the Lūchūan envoys, *daimyō*, and others received there.

The *fusuma* (sliding doors) and other walls of the Grand Audience Hall were covered in gold foil, serving not only as a great show of wealth and power, but also the practical function of reflecting what natural light was let in, thereby contributing to lighting the room. A grand pine tree was painted on the far wall, atop this gold ground, appearing to provide a canopy over the *kubō*,[69] while the remainder of the screens were painted with a scheme featuring numerous other symbols of the strength, longevity, legitimacy, and virtue of the Tokugawa government, including bamboo, plum trees, cranes, tortoises, and additional pine trees, among other motifs.[70] These plants and animals were understood throughout East Asia as symbols of

[67] See William Roosen's discussion of non-verbal and "situational communication." Roosen, 452–76.
[68] Watanabe Hiroshi, *A History of Japanese Political Thought*, 57-58.
[69] Timon Screech, *Obtaining Images* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 2012), 39.
[70] Chino Kaori 千野香織, "Edojō shōhekiga no shitae" 江戸城障壁画の下絵, in *Shōgun no goten: Edojō shōhekiga no shitae* 将軍の御殿：江戸城障壁画の下絵, ed. Tokugawa Bijutsukan 徳川美術館 (Nagoya: Tokugawa Art Museum, 1988), 114.

strength and longevity – in this case, the strength and longevity of the Tokugawa government. The pine, both long-lived and evergreen, represented unchanging continuation, evoking impressions not only of the strength and longevity of Tokugawa rule into the future, but also of its strong connections to the past, to illustrious lineages, and a continuous history of rule, stretching back at least to Tokugawa Ieyasu (r. 1603-1605), and in some ways much further, as the successors of the Minamoto and Ashikaga shogunal governments of prior eras. As Timon Screech writes, "the long-living pine makes a continuum between past, present and future, *here*, which is what the elite wished for their regimes."[71] The pine was also associated with the *kami*, sacredness, and good fortune, and with aristocratic gentility and Confucian virtue.[72] Han Zhuo (act. 1095-1125), in a Song dynasty guide to painting, "liken[ed] pine trees to noblemen," writing that "they are the elders among trees. Erect in bearing, tall and superior, … their branches spread out and hang downward, and below they welcome the common trees. Their reception of inferiors with reverence is like the virtue of the gentleman."[73] William Coaldrake has further suggested that like the pine trees painted on every Noh stage, the pine trees which framed the *kubō* in his audience halls can be seen as enhancing the strength of the *kubō's* presence, focusing attention upon him as "the pivotal point of its visual framework – like an actor taking center stage."[74]

Bamboo was similarly seen as a symbol of both flexibility and strength as it resists pruning, and if bent will always spring back. Further, as stalks of bamboo are hollow, they were

[71] Screech, *Obtaining Images*, 39.
[72] Karen Gerhart, *The Eyes of Power: Art and Early Tokugawa Authority* (Honolulu: University of Hawaiʻi Press, 1999), 25-33.
[73] Gerhart, 29.
[74] Gerhart, 14, paraphrasing and citing Coaldrake, 156.

seen as symbols of the *kubō's* lack of ego or selfishness, while plum blossoms, which bloom in late winter, were seen as representing endurance even amidst difficult conditions, and continued vitality even in old age.[75] Cranes and tortoises, believed to live a thousand years and ten thousand years respectively, similarly served as symbols of longevity, while smaller birds perched quietly on the tree branches (rather than being in flight) were seen as a symbol of the peace and tranquility of the realm under Tokugawa rule.[76]

The visual program of symbols of Tokugawa power was not limited to those presenting a narrative of peaceful, enlightened, and stable rule. Other rooms within the palace, including perhaps the *Tenjō-no-ma* which served as the envoys' reception and waiting room, were decorated as the reception rooms at the *kubō's* palace at Nijō castle in Kyoto were, with images of tigers and falcons, symbols of the shogun's strength and martial prowess. As explanatory plaques at Nijō castle state, the "grandeur of these rooms and magnificent paintings of ferocious tigers were designed to impress the authority of the Tokugawa Shogun on the visitor," and to "intimidate visitors, as symbols of the [shogun's] power."[77]

Though the castle at Edo burned down several times over the course of the period, the rebuilding of the structures always included a faithful reconstruction of this same program of wall painting compositions, believed to have been designed originally in the 1650s by Kanō Tan'yū 狩野探幽 (1602-1674).[78] For an audience hall or sections of a palace to be rebuilt just as

[75] Screech, *Obtaining Images*, 39, 42.
[76] Screech, *Obtaining Images*, 36, 45.
[77] Explanatory plaques, Nijō castle, Kyoto. Seen July 2018.
[78] Chino, 114-115.

they had been before a disaster was quite typical around the world, as a means of retaining the ceremonial functions and affective impact of the previous design. The early 16th century reconstruction of sections of the Topkapı Palace in Ottoman Istanbul is an example of this. “Because the ceremonial requirements were fixed, the new building had to follow the layout of its predecessor closely;” one of the many ways in which this manifested was that a vestibule near the third gate of the palace was reconstructed so that the sultan could watch ambassadors and their gifts for him, from his window, as they paraded into the palace.[79]

Yet, we must also consider that while all these visual elements surely contributed to the affective experience and impact of the audience ceremony, few individuals who ever entered the Grand Audience Hall would have had opportunity to actually take it all in at length. Coaldrake writes of the comparable Grand Audience Hall at the *kubō's* Nijō palace in Kyoto that

> with eyes close to the floor, the distant daimyo would scarcely have been able to glimpse the figure of the shogun seated at the far end of the Jōdan no ma [upper level of the hall]. Today this effect is entirely lost on the modern visitor to Nijō Castle, standing, as is the practice, amongst the visiting crowds outside these chambers and merely looking in: this is an architecture of direct participation and its meaning is largely lost on the casual observer.[80]

While visiting a maintained or reconstructed historical site like Nijō castle today or looking at illustrations or models of Edo castle's Grand Audience Hall can certainly provide a valid sense of the space, we must also consider the quality of the lighting in the hall historically, and its potential effects upon the experience of those being received in audience. For formal audiences, the sliding doors at the entrance of the

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[79] Gülru Necipoğlu, *Architecture, Ceremonial, and Power: the Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries* (New York: The Architectural History Foundation, 1991), 99.
[80] Coaldrake, 149-150.

Ōhiroma at Nijō castle would have been closed, and the only light would have been what natural light filtered in through the white paper *shōji* screens and the open-work transoms above, as well as through the *tsuke-shoin*[81] to the side of the *tokonoma*.[82] Coaldrake writes that this would have created a very impactful psychological effect, lighting the *kubō* only dimly, and leaving him "mysteriously silhouetted."[83] He suggests that the Tokugawa court "thus displayed a shrewd understanding of behavioural psychology in the calculated use of light and dark for maximum dramatic effect," as people are by nature phototropic, moving towards or at least turning their attention towards areas of light.[84] Thus, by having what little light was in the room be brighter in the upper level, it directed people's attention to the *kubō*, and surrounded him in a certain effect of light and shadow, "to dramatize the persona of the shogun."[85] Records of Lūchūan audiences in the Ōhiroma of Edo castle do not explicitly state whether the sliding doors on the sides of the hall were opened, or how the room looked in terms of being well-lit or dim. However, a number of lords were seated on the western veranda, the Lūchūans' gifts were arranged on the southern veranda, and the king's gift horse was displayed in the garden just outside the hall. Perhaps it is therefore safe to assume that many of the sliding doors were left open, so as to make these figures and objects visible from within the hall, and to not physically separate or exclude them from the

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[81] 付書院, lit. "attached study." A nook with a desk and window.

[82] 床の間, an alcove where a painting or calligraphy scroll, flowers in a vase, and/or other items would be displayed in accordance with the season, and with the occasion otherwise.

[83] Coaldrake, 151.

[84] Coaldrake, 151.

[85] Coaldrake, 151.

ceremony. This would have let much more light into the room, light which would have reflected off the gold-foil backgrounds of those *fusuma* which were left closed, resulting in a rather different visual experience of the space from that described by Coaldrake.

Costume

The visual impact of the audience was not limited to the space itself, of course. The number of people present, where and how they sat, and what they wore were all vitally meaningful and impactful elements of the ceremony's affective (emotional and psychological) and symbolic (intellectual) effect. As a vital part of the embodiment or performance of a role, costume was taken very seriously, and dressing appropriately for the occasion, in accordance with one's status, was considered no less crucial to ritual propriety and proper etiquette than movement, speech, or physical position within a space. Both Lūchūan and Korean envoys to Edo wore Ming-style court costume for their audiences with the Tokugawa *kubō*, signaling both the civilized, refined, cultural character of their respective courts, and a privilege officially granted to them by the Ming and Qing courts.

As James Hevia has written of Qing court ceremonies, but as is equally relevant for the early modern Japanese case, "in such contexts clothing … [was] inseparable both from the person and from his or collectivity."[86] In other words, clothing was taken as indicative of the cultural character of the people the envoy represented. This was a common feature in diplomatic interactions in many other places and times as well; the New Kingdom (c. 1550-1070

[86] James Hevia, "Sovereignty and Subject: Constituting Relations of Power in Qing Guest Ritual," in *Body, Subject & Power in China*, ed. Angela Zito and Tani Barlow (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1994), 190.

BCE) Egyptian imposition upon Nubians and others that they dress in a foreign (non-Egyptian) manner representative of their own cultural (or "ethnic") identity for tribute ceremonies is but one example of this.[87] Whether for an ancient pharaoh or an early modern *kubō*, to emphasize the particular, distinct, cultural identities of tributary envoys, and their foreignness in general, contributed powerfully to the image and enactment of having numerous, different, foreign, lands being seen presenting tribute and obeisances. This was certainly the case in early modern Japan, where, as in many premodern societies, clothing, facial hair and hairstyle, and behavior or etiquette were taken as some of the most central elements of cultural identity, or what we might call today "ethnicity." As David Howell has explored, in the northernmost frontiers of samurai-controlled territory, individuals from indigenous Ainu communities were able to be recognized and accepted as "Japanese" (和人, J: *wajin*) if they shaved their beards, cut their hair a certain way, stopped eating meat, spoke Japanese, wore Japanese clothes, and otherwise behaved as a Japanese person should; a Japanese person, similarly, might be seen as having become Ainu, or no longer Japanese, if he adopted their clothing and customs.[88] Physical appearance was further associated not only with Japaneseness or foreignness; "people walking along the street could be classified according to their dress, hairstyle, and mannerisms, which signaled their official status, gender, occupation, and age group."[89] The clothing of the Lūchūan envoys was thus a vital element of their performance of Lūchūan identity, both for advancing

[87] Stuart Tyson Smith, "Colonial Gatherings: The Presentation of Inu in New Kingdom Egypt and the British Imperial Durbar, a Comparison," talk given in UCSB Department of Anthropology, Nov. 4, 2014.
[88] David Howell, "Ainu Ethnicity and the Boundaries of the Early Modern Japanese State," *Past & Present* 142 (1994): 69–93. See also Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Re-Inventing Japan: Time, Space, Nation* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 1998), 9-25ff.
[89] Ikegami, 324-325.

their own discursive purposes, and for Shimazu and Tokugawa desires to conduct the reception of ("tributary") envoys from a *foreign* kingdom.

As David Kang has written of Joseon officials, but as is equally applicable here, Korean and Lūchūan scholar-officials saw "their relationship to China as more than a political arrangement; it was a confirmation of their membership in Confucian civilization."[90] During the Ming dynasty, the kings of Lūchū, Joseon, and other polities in the region were bestowed Ming-style court robes as part of their investiture from the Son of Heaven. These robes, along with a royal seal and certain other items bestowed upon the kings as part of the tributary/investiture relationship, were key badges of office – marks of the king's legitimacy and sovereignty, as recognized and indeed granted by the Ming emperors.[91] At times, the Ming court also bestowed court robes upon the top retainers or officials of a tributary king.[92] These Ming-style robes continued to be worn by Lūchūan kings for investiture ceremonies and certain other special court ceremonies through the end of the kingdom in the 1870s, as their envoys did in embassies to Edo, displaying to the *kubō's* court their identities as individuals from a culturally refined, civilized, society, and their elite status as individuals (and representatives of a court) which had been formally granted the privilege of wearing such robes.

Though some scholarship has suggested that the use of Ming or Qing-style clothing was an imposition by the Shimazu, misrepresenting the Lūchūans as Chinese or as part of an

[90] Kang, "Hierarchy and Legitimacy in International Systems," 605.
[91] For more on the role of Ming investiture in bolstering the legitimacy and prestige of the kings of Lūchū, see Chan, especially pp23-49.
[92] Lillehoj, "Ming Robes and Documents That Made Hideyoshi King of Japan."

undifferentiated foreign in order to advance Shimazu and Tokugawa discursive purposes,[93] this was in fact a continuation of earlier established practice; Shimazu retainer Uwai Satokane records that Lūchūan officials wore "Chinese clothing" (唐衣, J: *tōi*) in audiences with Shimazu Yoshihisa in 1575, well before the era of post-1609 Shimazu dominance over the kingdom.[94] In keeping with this 16th century (or perhaps even earlier) tradition, King Shō Nei / Shàng Níng wore his Ming investiture robes when meeting with and being forced to perform acts of submission to Tokugawa Ieyasu and Hidetada in 1610. At that time, his wearing Ming-style robes perhaps took on extra meaning as a directed display of his sovereignty, as granted and recognized by the Son of Heaven, who less than two decades earlier had mobilized massive armies in defense of another loyal tributary.[95] His grandson, Prince Sashiki Shō Bun Chōeki (C: Shàng Wén) 佐敷王子尚文朝益, similarly wore Ming-style robes when leading an embassy to Kagoshima in 1634 to announce the investiture of the king by Ming envoys the previous year.[96] He was then pressed into leading a mission to Kyoto alongside his uncle Prince Kin Shō Sei Chōtei (C: Shàng Shèng) 金武王子尚盛朝貞 to pay respects to Tokugawa Iemitsu on the

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[93] Sakai, "The Ryukyu (Liu-Ch'iu) Islands as a Fief of Satsuma," 112-114.; Keiko Suzuki, "The Tale of Tōjin: Visualizing Others in Japanese Poplar Art from Edo to Early Meiji" (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin, Madison, 2006), 89-90.

[94] Uwai, 116. The term *tō* 唐 can be ambiguous, as it was used historically to refer either specifically to China or to a much more general and undifferentiated "foreign." (See: Keiko Suzuki, "The Making of Tōjin."; Toby, "Three Realms/Myriad Countries.") However, Uwai explicitly contrasts these "Chinese clothes" with "Ryūkyūan robes" (琉球支度) that the envoys changed into later, thus making it clear that *tōi* 唐衣 here does, in fact, refer to Chinese (i.e. Ming) clothing. Uwai, 116.

[95] In the 1590s, the Ming court dispatched tens of thousands of soldiers to help repel Toyotomi Hideyoshi's invasions of Korea. Akamine, 60, 63.

[96] King Shō Hō 尚豊王 (C: Shàng Fēng) (r. 1621-1641), known earlier in life as Prince Sashiki Chōshō 佐敷王子朝昌, was the eldest son of King Shō Nei. He succeeded his father as king in 1621 and received investiture from the Ming court in 1633. He was to be the last king of Lūchū to receive investiture from the Ming, rather than the Qing court. Prince Sashiki Chōeki (1614-1673) was his second son.

occasion of Iemitsu's succession to the position of *kubō*; Sashiki wore Ming-style robes for his audiences in both Kagoshima and Kyoto, emphasizing to the Shimazu and Tokugawa the king's investiture by the Ming/Qing Son of Heaven, and the political meaning that signified. [97] Later Lūchūan envoys throughout the remainder of the early modern period similarly wore Ming-style court costume whenever they met with the *kubō*, other members of the Tokugawa household or top-ranking Tokugawa officials such as the *rōjū* and *wakadoshiyori,* and when processing to and from such meetings, as well as on limited other occasions.[98]

Beyond simply being Ming court robes, the envoys' garments reflected their rank or status more specifically. Lūchūan lead envoys bore the rank and title of "royal prince" (王子, O: *wūji*, J: *ōji*) within their own court, and their dress reflected it. As discussed in the previous chapter, within the Ming court hierarchy, civil officials of various ranks wore embroidered squares known in Chinese as *bŭzi* 補子 on the front of their robes depicting a pair of birds symbolic of their rank, from cranes amongst the clouds at the highest ranks, to ground-pecking quails at the lowest ranks.[99] Though Lūchūan elites did not generally use such chest badges within their own court, the robes they wore on embassies to Edo displayed their honorary Ming court rank in that fashion. One Japanese illustration of Prince Tumigushiku 豊見城王子, the lead envoy on the 1832 mission to Edo, depicts him with a pair of white cranes clearly visible on

[97] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori*, 13.
[98] Though most scholarship on the Edo embassies indicates that it was only in events concerning the Tokugawa house that members of the embassy wore Ming-style robes, Iwahana Yuki indicates that members of the embassy also wore Ming-style robes on at least some occasions when processing up to Kagoshima castle and when meeting with the Shimazu lords. Iwahana, 63, 65.
[99] These embroidered patches are sometimes known as chest badges or mandarin squares. Ray Huang, *1587: A Year of No Significance* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1981), 54.

the chest of his robes,[100] while the illustrations in the 1796 *Ryūkyū gakki no zu* ("Illustrations of Ryūkyūan Musical Instruments") held by the British Library indicate that the prince's *bǔzi* was one of a *qílín*.[101] Whether Tokugawa officials were sufficiently knowledgeable of the intricacies of the Ming *bǔzi* hierarchy to recognize such cranes as a mark of the highest court rank (or the *qílín* as indicative of a princely status outside of the regular hierarchy of court ranks) is unclear. However, they shared with their Ming/Qing counterparts the notions of both the crane and the *qílín* as exceptionally long-lived, and auspicious.[102] Whether the full meaning was understood by the Tokugawa officials or not, the use of robes with such *bǔzi* nevertheless signals for us the importance in Lūchūan diplomatic traditions of displaying and asserting the high esteem in which their kingdom was held by the Ming court, such that a royal prince of Lūchū could claim such exceptionally high Ming court rank.

Lūchūan envoys to Beijing, meanwhile, though more explicitly recognized as members of the Qing court with a particular (honorary) court rank, did not wear Ming-style court robes. Rather, they were obliged to attend formal court ceremonies in the costume of their own courts – that is, in Lūchūan robes. As we saw in the previous chapter, these were long, single-piece robes tied with a sash at the waist, worn by Lūchūan officials for all formal occasions in their own court, and for the vast majority of occasions on embassies to Edo, excepting events in which they interacted with the Tokugawa court or household. The *Comprehensive Rites of the Great Qing* (大清通禮, C: *Dà qīng tōng lǐ*), an official Qing compilation of ritual protocols, states

[100] Fujiwara, 92.
[101] *Ryūkyū gakki zu*.
[102] Screech, *Obtaining Images*, 34, 36.; Watt, 111.

the standard ritual practice rather straightforwardly: "the foreign ambassador and his retinue are supposed to wear the dress of their court in audience situations."[103] The Qing court, like those of many other times and places, saw great ritual value in having the collection of foreign envoys appear foreign, distinct, and multiple – something much more easily accomplished if the envoys wear the costume of their own courts rather than robes marking them as Ming (or Qing) officials.[104] Satsuma Confucian scholar Akazaki Kaimon recorded a further explanation of the logic behind this practice, from interviews he conducted in Edo with Lūchūan officials Cài Bāngjǐn 蔡邦錦 (J: Sai Hōkin) and Zhèng Zhāngguān 鄭章観 (J: Tei Shōkan) who had served on embassies to Beijing.[105] As they reportedly told Akazaki, it was the King of Lūchū, and not anyone under him, not even his official representatives or envoys, who had been granted the privilege by the Imperial court of wearing those Ming-style robes, and so for anyone else to wear them would be an inappropriate assertion of a rank, status, or privilege they did not rightfully possess.[106] The Confucian notions of "rectification of names" (正名, C: *zhèngmíng*) and of ritual propriety more broadly likely can be said to underlie this practice as well – for Lūchūans to dress as Lūchūans, and not as Ming or Qing officials, may have simply been seen as more proper, more correct, and thus essential to contributing to the correct cosmic order. Indeed, when Vietnamese envoys attending a birthday celebration for the Qianlong Emperor dressed in Qing costume in 1790, they were roundly critiqued by at least one of their Korean

[103] Hevia, "Sovereignty and Subject," 189-190.
[104] See, for example, Stuart Tyson Smith's discussion of Nubian envoys to New Kingdom Egypt. Stuart Tyson Smith, *Wretched Kush: Ethnic Identities and Boundaries in Egypt's Nubian Empire* (London: Routledge, 2003), 171-173.
[105] Sai Hōkin and Tei Shōkan both traveled to Beijing as members of a tributary mission in 1791, and to Edo on the 1796 mission, where they were interviewed by Kaimon. Maehira, "Ryūkyū shisetsu no ikoku taiken," 63.
[106] Akazaki, 628.

Fig. 3-3 - A samurai figure in *hitatare*, as illustrated in the *Tokugawa seiseiroku*, 1889, vol. 2, 62.

counterparts, who described the Vietnamese envoys as lacking prudence and decency, and as sacrificing culture and tradition for the expediency of trying to appeal to the Manchu rulers.[107]

The Tokugawa and Shimazu did not mandate whether the Lūchūans were to wear Ming-style costume or Lūchūan costume, but left this decision up to the Lūchūans, provided they did not wear clothing which could be mistaken for Japanese.[108] For the Tokugawa and Shimazu, what was most important was that the Lūchūans appear foreign. Thus, in accordance with precedent and what was deemed to be in accordance with ritual propriety, the middle- and high-ranking members of each Edo embassy wore Ming-style court costume on certain occasions, and Lūchūan court garb on most others.

Every samurai lord, official, and other member of the *kubō's* court dressed appropriately for these audiences as well, wearing various styles of formal robes in accordance with their respective stations, and thus enacting a visual and physical embodied model of the Tokugawa order in the space of the audience hall. From 1710 onwards, the *kubō* himself wore *hitatare* 直

[107] Ge Zhaoguang, "Costume, Ceremonial, and the East Asian Order: What the Annamese King Wore When Congratulating the Emperor Qianlong in Jehol in 1790," *Frontiers of History in China* 7:1 (2012), 148-149. This 1790 tribute mission was one of the first for the leaders of the Tây Sơn rebellion, which overthrew the Lê Dynasty in 1788. The Tây Sơn dynasty would rule until 1802.
[108] Tomiyama, "Edo nobori kara Edo dachi e," 60.

垂 when presiding over the Lūchūan envoys' audiences with him.[109] This was a typical mode of Edo period ceremonial samurai costume, consisting of a wide-sleeved overrobe and long *nagabakama* 長袴 trousers, which would have trailed a meter or so behind the wearer. It was the standard uniform for the *kubō* to wear when receiving Imperial or Lūchūan envoys, as well as when receiving New Year's greetings from the assembled *daimyō*.[110] *Hitatare* was also worn on this and various occasions by members of the six Tokugawa collateral houses, the lords of Kaga and Satsuma, and others of third or fourth rank and above.[111] Lower-ranking lords wore kariginu 狩衣, a slightly less prestigious style of robes derived from Heian courtiers' hunting outfits, worn in the imperial court only in informal contexts. The remaining Tokugawa officials and others in attendance wore *ōmon* 大紋 (robes with the wearer's family crest emblazoned in a large size on them), *suō* 素袍 (simple ramie robes paired with hakama pleated skirts), or *hōi* 布衣, a style of plain, unlined and unpatterned, *kariginu*.[112] The fine details of hierarchical symbolism and historical shifts in usage of each of these types of garments is not of essential importance for us. However, we might note that while the highest-ranking lords wore very formal *hitatare* for the Lūchūans' primary audience, they joined lower-ranking lords in wearing the less formal *kariginu* to the Lūchūans' musical performance ceremony.[113]

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[109] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 105.; *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 308, 311, 331, 335.

[110] Takeuchi Makoto 竹内誠, ed., *Tokugawa bakufu jiten* 徳川幕府事典 (Tokyo: Tōkyōdō, 2003), 82.

[111] Ichioka Masakazu 市岡正一, *Tokugawa seiseiroku* 徳川盛世録 (Tokyo: Hakubunsha, 1889), vol. 1, University of Tokyo Historiographical Institute, 1057-40-1, 47.

[112] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 307, 331.

[113] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 311.

The fact that there was no difference in the *kubō's* dress whether receiving those from within the realm, or those from Lūchū, might be taken to suggest the relative unimportance, or low hierarchical position, of Lūchū, given that the *kubō* was not dressing in any particularly exceptional way to receive them.

Fig. 3 -4: A samurai official in *nōshi,* as depicted in the *Tokugawa seiseiroku*, vol. 2, 61.

When receiving Korean envoys, by contrast, the *kubō* wore a form of court costume known as *nōshi* 直衣.[114] Ieyasu also wore *nōshi* when receiving King Shō Nei in audience in 1610, perhaps simply taking the reception of Korean embassies as a model and emulating that, having not yet established any standard practice for receiving envoys or kings from Lūchū.[115] Alternatively, this choice may have been as a show of elevated respect granted to a king (in contrast to his envoys).[116] The *nōshi* ensemble emulated Heian period court dress, and involved a similar overrobe to the *hitatare*, but paired with *sashinuki* 指貫 trousers which were bloused rather than being pleated as standard *hakama* samurai trouser-skirts were. The *Tokugawa seiseiroku*, another early Meiji period account of Tokugawa court rituals and ceremonies, indicates that *nōshi* was worn by the *kubō* when paying

[114] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 367.
[115] Tomiyama, *Ryukyu ōkoku no gaikō to ōken*, 118-119.
[116] Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 44.

respects or obeisances (*hairei* 拝礼) to those other than the gods.[117] It is difficult to imagine the *kubō* bowing, let alone prostrating, to either the Korean envoys or to their king's letter – both representative stand-ins for the Joseon king himself, who the *kubō* would have considered beneath him, or at best an equal – and indeed the records make no mention of any such action. But the decision to have the *kubō* dress in *nōshi* may still have indicated an elevated level of respect compared to the *hitatare* worn for his audiences granted to the Lūchūan embassies. Further investigation is needed to determine what the choice of court costume might have actually meant for the shogunal elites and foreign envoys of that time, in terms of levels of formality, and cultural expression.

<u>Positions</u>

The positioning and movement of participants within the audience hall built upon these spatial and visual foundations to effect meaningful and impactful ritual experiences, and thus to construct political realities. The Honmaru Palace as a whole, and the Grand Audience Hall within it, were built in alignment with the cardinal directions, such that the *kubō* sat at the north end of the audience hall, facing south towards his retainers, vassals, and foreign guests. This was in keeping with the ancient Chinese tradition of having the Imperial Palace, and the Emperor (when on his throne) within it, face south. This practice derived in part from an association of the ruler with the North Star, which was seen as the ultimate northernmost point

[117] Ichioka, 47.

in the night sky, which acted as an unmoving axis while all the cosmos revolved around it; gazing south from the Pole Star, all would be within the ruler's gaze.[118]

In this key respect, the arrangement of figures in the *kubō's* audience hall resembled and evoked that of the emperors of China, suggesting the *kubō's* own identity as a center and source of civility and as a virtuous ruler. However, the ritual seating arrangements at Edo deviated from those at Beijing in key respects as well. Whereas the Son of Heaven in Beijing gazed south over the great plaza before the Hall of Supreme Harmony, surveying the ranks of civil officials lined up to the east, and those of military officials to the west, in Tokugawa Japan civil and martial officials were one and the same. Samurai officials, ostensibly embodying the ideals of both *bun* 文 (C: *wén*, civility, or letters) and *bu* 武 (C: *wǔ*, the martial), were arranged along both the east and west sides of the *kubō's* audience hall. And while foreign envoys nearly always stood to the west side of the imperial palace plaza in Beijing,[119] in Edo they were seated neither to the east or the west, but in the center of the hall.

[118] "One who governs through virtue may be compared to the pole star, which occupies its place while the host of other stars pay homage to it." *The Analects of Confucius* 2:1, quoted in William de Bary, "Confucius and the Analects," *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2013), 46. Traditional ancestral altars within Chinese homes also face south, with the implication being that the ancestors and deities enshrined on the altar occupy a superior position to the living family members who make offerings to them. Catherine Bell, "Perfomance," in *Critical Terms for Religious Studies*, ed. Mark C. Taylor (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998), 212.
[119] Hevia, "The Ultimate Gesture of Deference and Debasement," 216.

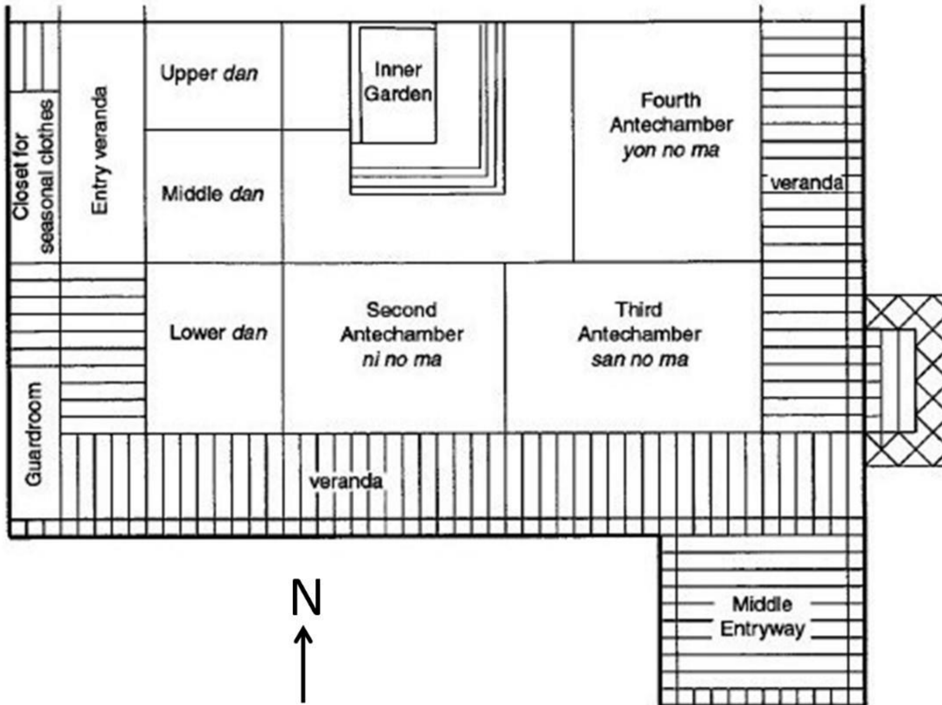

Fig. 3-5 - Layout of the Ōhiroma. From Walthall, "Hiding the Shoguns," 335.

For the first of his audiences with the *kubō*, the lead envoy of the Lūchūan embassy – either alone, or alongside one compatriot – was first led in the 1790 and 1832 iterations to a seat in the *ni-no-ma* 二之間 ("second antechamber") of the Grand Audience Hall, facing west toward the main sections of the hall. The lord of Satsuma similarly sat in the *ni-no-ma*, just outside the *fusuma* (sliding doors) leading into the lower level of the main hall.[120] Once the envoy(s) entered the hall, they sat in the lower level, facing north towards the *kubō,* who was

[120] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 332.; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 953 (p127 in Yokoyama Yoshinori's transcription). A diagram of the 1790 audience shows the Lūchūan envoy, Prince Jinōn (J: Ginowan), seated roughly in the very center of the *ni-no-ma*, four tatami up from the bottom, out of nine. The lord of Satsuma, who in 1790 was Shimazu Narinobu, is shown one tatami up (to the north), and at the far western edge of the room, at the wall separating the *ni-no-ma* from the lower level of the main section of the hall. "Ryūkyūjin orei sekizu" 琉球人御礼席図, *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, insert between pp. 338-339.

seated atop his high perch in the upper level at the northern end of the hall.[121] From that vantage point, the envoy(s) saw the *rōjū* lined up on their left, along the western side of the lower level of the hall, and the *wakadoshiyori* and certain other *daimyō* of Fourth Rank and above seated behind the *rōjū* (to the west), on a veranda just outside of the audience hall proper. In 1714, the lord of Satsuma sat across from the *rōjū* in this first audience, one mat up from the Lūchūan envoys and to the right, against the sliding screens on the eastern side of the lower level, though in later embassies he withdrew to the opposite side of those screens immediately after his own brief audience with the *kubō*. More *daimyō* and other members of the *kubō's* court occupied spaces in the *ni*- and *san-no-ma*, secondary and tertiary rooms extending off to the east from the lower section of the Audience Hall proper.[122] Their attendance contributed further to the impressive scene, impressing the foreign envoys with a sense of the power and authority of the *kubō*, by the size of his court.

This arrangement was largely repeated for the Lūchūans' second audience – the *sōgaku no gi*, or "ceremony of musical performance" – several days later, with the *rōjū, wakadoshiyori*, and certain other *daimyō* of the Fourth Rank and above sitting on the western side of the hall, some lower-ranking *daimyō* and officials behind them (farther to the west), and a great many others in the *ni-no-ma* and *san-no-ma* to the east of the main sections of the hall. The lord of Satsuma sat on the eastern side of the lower level of the hall, as he did for the first audience in 1714. The musicians and their instruments, meanwhile, were lined up on the veranda just

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[121] *Tokugawa reiten roku* vol. 3, 309.

[122] *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 956-957 (126-127). These other figures included heads of the castle guards and of other Tokugawa government offices, as well as court painters, poets, scholars, physicians, and the like in the *kubō's* service.

outside of the audience hall proper, to the south. The veranda was lined with tatami for the occasion, and the envoys sat to one side of the musicians and a little farther forward, at the threshold between the veranda and the lower level of the hall.[123] When the envoys journeyed up to the castle for a third audience in 1710 and 1714, this seating arrangement (minus the musicians) was repeated again.[124]

These gatherings and physical arrangements of people were not only performances or displays for the envoys, but for the members of the *kubō's* court as well. In each of these audiences, all those in attendance were seated in accordance with their status, essentially forming an embodied human diagram of their positions within the Tokugawa hierarchy by their presence, like figures on a chessboard. Each individual was able to see where others sat relative to him, and to physically (bodily) experience his position in space relative to these others. Even those off in the *ni-no-ma* and *san-no-ma* were not there merely to be seen, adding impact through their mere presence in numbers; as Anne Walthall writes, "although most of the daimyo and officials were seated off to the side where they could not see the shogun, they constituted an essential audience for this ceremony by watching the Koreans [or Lūchūans] parade back and forth."[125] To the extent possible from their varying vantage points, the members of the *kubō's* court saw the envoys, saw them received in a particular fashion, and

[123] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 311, 335.; "Ryūkyūjin ongaku okiki sekizu" 琉球人音楽御聴席図, diagram inserted between pp338-339.; *Ryūkyūjin dome*, 4th opening.; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 962 (144). Prior to being seated on the veranda, the envoys and musicians were given space in the nearby corridor and the Yanagi-no-ma ("Hall of Willows") to use as a green room, to prepare. Kagoshima retainers transported the instruments to this green room, and then to the veranda of the audience hall, where they would be played. "Gieisei nikki," 179.; Dana, "Bunken shiryō ni miru uzagaku," 9-12.
[124] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 316-318.
[125] Walthall, 344.

saw the role or position of the lord of Satsuma in these ceremonies, reinforcing for them embodied understandings of their own relative positions within the Tokugawa hierarchies. As William Coaldrake writes, "the Tokugawa had succeeded in setting each daimyo in his appropriate place, and place therefore became the definition of person."[126]

Audience ceremonies at the Imperial Palace in Beijing, as well as at the royal palaces in Sui and Seoul, functioned similarly, with the great majority of officials standing or seated in rows according to their rank. In Beijing, civil officials lined up on the eastern side of the courtyard, and martial officials along with tributary envoys on the western side. Depending on the ceremony, or on the stage within a ceremony, officials would either be arranged from highest- to lowest-ranking moving inwards toward the center of the courtyard, or outwards toward the edges, and would either face one another (to the east and west) or would all face north, towards the emperor.[127] Having all these officials, foreign envoys, and others arranged in the courtyard in such a fashion created a model of the cosmic and political order in miniature. Each individual was placed according to their familial, political, or geographic distance from the sacred imperial center, thus representing all the people – high and low, close and far, Qing and foreign – in rows or ranks of hierarchical closeness/distance. Further, the birds & creatures on the officials' *bǔzi* brought the hierarchy of the animal kingdom into the microcosmic model as well, with the loftiest creatures standing close to the Imperial center, and the lowliest ones standing at the peripheries.[128] The 12th-century philosopher Zhū Xī 朱熹, considered the

[126] Coaldrake, 157.
[127] Christian Jochim. "Imperial Audience Ceremonies of the Ch'ing Dynasty," *Bulletin: Society for the Study of Chinese Religions* (1979), 92-93.
[128] Jochim, 93.

founder of Neo-Confucianism, found such arrangements to be "beautiful," writing that "ritual is something which moves the hearts of those who see it,"[129] because of the way that clothing, posture, physical position in space, and other elements allow people to see (understand) one another's hierarchical or social position relative to everyone else involved.[130]

Each participant's dress, actions, and physical position within the Grand Audience Hall of Edo castle thus placed him discursively, mentally, and emotionally in status positions relative to the envoys, the *kubō*, and the other participants, impressing certain ideas about identity and hierarchy not only upon others seeing him, but upon himself as well. In this way, these audience ceremonies were a performance, a display, in which all involved were simultaneously performers and spectators. All in attendance contributed to others' experiences of the event, and in so doing played a part in constituting the audience ritual as a whole, by bowing the appropriate number of times at the appropriate moments, speaking ritually-determined phrases, and performing other ceremonial actions, or even simply by sitting in the correct location in the audience hall relative to others.

This was effective and meaningful, in large part, because all participants shared a belief that executing the ritual protocols correctly and properly in accordance with one's position, was paramount, and behaved accordingly. And because the consequences if they did not could be severe. One's hereditary status and appointed positions determined just about every aspect of one's formal behavior, from the clothes one wore and the rooms and corridors one did and did

[129] 「観感興起」
[130] Watanabe, "'Rei' 'Gobui' 'Miyabi,'" 168.

not use within the *kubō's* castle, to how deeply or in what manner one bowed before people of varying position relative to oneself. Tokugawa officials known as *metsuke* 目付 (often translated as "inspectors") were known to expel people from the castle if they failed to perform the correct etiquette.[131] Matters of protocol were, indeed, taken so seriously that on occasion they were even considered worth killing over, and losing one's own life as a result.[132]

This extended, of course, to the audience ceremony itself, in which the individuals present, their dress, and their physical positions within the hall, as well as nearly every word spoken or movement performed were strictly choreographed in accordance with protocol. "Counting paces and measuring the precise distance between those participating in the drama of court encounter was no trivial exercise but an expression of the social order, understood by all present, both participants and spectators."[133] Through their adherence to such protocols, each participant in the ceremonies not only displayed, but truly enacted their identities within multiple hierarchies, making them real. The Lūchūan envoys, in particular, embodied multiple identities – as royal princes of a certain rank within the Lūchūan court, but also as representatives of kings who held status positions in Shimazu, Tokugawa, and Ming/Qing hierarchies as well as within their own court. But any given samurai lord in attendance at these ceremonies would also have been seated according to his rank – e.g. as a *daimyō* of the Fourth Rank seated amongst other *daimyō* associated with the *Teikan-no-ma*, but as a more senior or

[131] Walthall, "Hiding the Shoguns," 336.

[132] See, for example, the famous case of the 47 Akō rōnin, whose lord, Asano Naganori 浅野長矩 (1667-1701), attacked protocol officer Kira Yoshinaka 吉良義央 (1641-1702), possibly because of grievances related to Yoshinaka's refusal (or failure) to fully inform Asano as to proper court protocol. Andrew Rankin, *Seppuku: A History of Samurai Suicide* (New York: Kodansha International, 2011), 124-125.

[133] Dillon, 82.

junior member of that group, sitting in front of or behind (or to the left or right of) certain other *daimyō*, even within that group, in that particular corner of the audience hall.

Furthermore, as each person in attendance sat, bowed, spoke (or was silent), and otherwise behaved in prescribed ways in accordance with their status and position, and witnessed themselves and all the other participants doing so, each participant embodied or enacted their identity within the social/political schema, and thus contributed to enacting, or constituting, that hierarchy as a whole. This phenomenon, of course, was not unique to Tokugawa Japan, but functioned much the same in formal audiences in Beijing, Sui, and Seoul, and indeed can be said to be a fundamental feature common to ritual contexts far beyond early modern East Asia as well. When the Holy Roman Emperor formally invested princes in their territory and position within the Empire, for example, a special scaffold was set up in a public square. Each prince entered with a large entourage on horseback. After representatives of each prince submitted formal requests for their princes' investiture, bowing three times to the Emperor and engaging in a very brief ritually prescribed verbal exchange, each prince then presented his banners to the emperor, kneeled, and swore an oath of fealty. The emperor then formally invested the prince in his lands, and the prince kissed the pommel of the emperor's sword, expressed gratitude, and then finally stood and withdrew.[134] The comparison to *daimyō* or Lūchūan embassies processing up to Edo castle, bowing before the *kubō*, expressing their fealty, and being confirmed in their authority and territory or otherwise formally recognized by the *kubō* in return, is obvious. Barbara Stollberg-Rillinger writes of the overall visual and

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[134] Stollberg-Rilinger, 15-16.

kinesthetic event constituted by these many princes and their emperor engaging in this ritual gathering, that the ritual made visible not only the power of the Emperor, but also of the Empire. As these many princes – symbolic proxies for their respective territories and all the people in them – came together to all perform the same ritual of submission, bowing before the Emperor and otherwise adhering to the ritual patterns and norms of the Empire and being seen doing so, they constituted a representation of the imperial order, and enacted and displayed to themselves, their fellow princes, the emperor, and all others present, their membership in, or submission to, it.[135]

In just the same manner, the Lūchūan envoys' ceremonial audiences with the *kubō* were not merely symbolic, or representative, of political identities and relationships external to the ceremony, but rather were events in which those identities and relationships were enacted, constituted – where they were brought into existence and made real.

The hierarchical status and number of *daimyō* and others present at these audiences is, accordingly, of significance as well, and prior to the missions settling into their mature forms at the beginning of the early 18th century, there was a considerable difference in the rank and number of lords & officials in attendance at audiences with Lūchūan and Korean envoys. A small and exclusive group of only the *rōjū* and *kunimochi* 国持 ("province-holder") *daimyō*, about two dozen lords in total, were in attendance for the Korean envoys' audience in 1682, while the Lūchūan envoy Prince Nagu (名護王子 J: *Nago ōji*) was met earlier that same year by

[135] Stollberg-Rilinger, 16.

a much larger group of lower-ranking *daimyō*, including all those then resident in Edo of Fourth Rank and *below*.[136] As Toby argues, "the status distinction between who was ordered to participate in the former and latter events provides an indication of the relative status of each [kingdom] in the world according to Tokugawa eyes."[137] For the Korean envoys to be received in company with such an elite and exclusive group might be seen as a sign of the Koreans also being recognized as possessing a rather elite status. However, it arguably also suggests that Tokugawa decision-makers, in some way or for some reason, did not think the Korean audiences important enough to bother making them an event attended by the entirety of the *kubō's* court. Conversely, the Lūchūans' audience seems to have been of lesser importance, as none of the highest-ranking officials were obliged to be in attendance, and yet, it was a major enough event that a great many others were to have their schedules disturbed by being called upon to fill the Grand Audience Hall for this special occasion.

From the 1710s onward, however, the differences between Lūchūan and Korean audiences in this respect became far less stark. Records of the Lūchūan mission of 1714 and the Korean mission of 1719 in the *Tokugawa reiten roku* indicate that a large group of members of the *kubō's* court, ranging from his highest-ranking officials and advisors down to physicians, court artists, and the like, were in attendance at both.[138] The only significant differences

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[136] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 184-185.
[137] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 184.
[138] More specifically, the records specify that members of the *rōjū, kunimochi daimyō*, and other *daimyō* of fourth rank and above were in attendance, along with *daimyō* and officials below the fourth rank, including members of the *kōke* 高家 and *daimyō* attached to the *kari-no-ma* 雁之間, all the way down to various officials, and physicians, court artists, scholars, and so forth bearing the honorary Buddhist titles *hōgan* 法眼 and *hōin* 法印. *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 308, 368-369. The *kōke* were *daimyō* who held hereditary positions as chiefs of protocol for Tokugawa court ceremonies. The *kari-no-ma*, or "Hall of Geese," was a waiting room in Edo castle associated with relatively low-ranking *fudai daimyō* of *shiromochi* 城持, or "castle-holding" status.

between those in attendance for those two occasions were the presence in the Korean case of two of the three heads of the *gosanke* Tokugawa branch families, several members of the Hayashi family, and two temple elders (*chōrō* 長老),[139] all of whom were absent five years earlier for the Lūchūan audience, and conversely, the presence of the *soba yōnin* 側用人 Manabe Akifusa 間部詮房 at the Lūchūan audience in 1714, on account of the *kubō* Tokugawa Ietsugu 徳川家継 (1709-1716) being underage at that time; Akifusa was absent from the Korean audience in 1719, by which time the much older Tokugawa Yoshimune 徳川吉宗 (1684-1751) had become *kubō*.[140] This wide range of attendees, from the *rōjū* and *kunimochi daimyō* all the way down to the *hōin* and *hōgan* lay monks, is seen too in records of the 1790 and 1832 Lūchūan missions.[141]

Having set the stage, let us now turn to the events of the audience ceremonies themselves. The primary audience began with the *sōjaban* announcing the lord of Satsuma, who entered the Grand Audience Hall and briefly took a spot in the middle level (*chūdan*) of the

[139] Following the Yanagawa Affair (柳川一件, *yanagawa ikken*), in which Tsushima retainers forged numerous diplomatic communications in the 1600s-1630s, for the remainder of the period the Tokugawa court entrusted Zen monks from Kyoto to oversee Tsushima's behavior in relations with Korea. These "temple elders," or *chōrō*, accompanied the Korean missions to Edo as well. Lewis, *Frontier Contact*, 22.
[140] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 308, 368. *Soba yōnin*, often translated as "chamberlain," was a high-ranking position serving as an intermediary between the *kubō* and the *rōjū*.
[141] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, "Ryūkyūjin orei sekizu", diagram insert between pp338-339.; Miyagi indicates that the *tozama daimyō* were not longer in attendance at Lūchūan audiences after 1714. Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 103. Indeed, they are not explicitly mentioned as a group in records of the 1790 or 1832 audiences. *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 331-332.; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 953 (pp126-127 in Yokoyama Yoshinori's transcription). It is unclear whether the same was the case in audiences granted to Korean embassies.

audience hall.[142] The *rōjū* conveyed to him ceremonial words of praise from the *kubō*, expressing roughly "you bringing along these Lūchūans on a long journey is the reason for my joy."[143] The Shimazu lord then withdrew to a position in the lower level of the hall. In 1710, 1714, and 1790, this took place before the Lūchūan envoys had been brought into the hall, and it was at that point, when the lord of Satsuma withdrew, that the *rōjū* told him to tell the Lūchūans, who had been seated just outside the hall, that they were to enter.[144] In 1832, by contrast, the Lūchūan envoys were already seated within the lower level of the hall when the lord of Satsuma was called forward, and formally told "that you have brought these Ryukyuan envoys with you on this long journey at this time is a great event."[145] The reasons for this shift in practices are unclear, but it is possible to speculate as to their significance. For the Shimazu lord to be greeted by the *kubō* separately as he was in the 1710s, prior to the Lūchūans' entry into the hall, would seem to make it a more personal audience – a distinct ceremony, however brief, in which the Shimazu lord alone was the focus of the *kubō's* attention and praise. By contrast, for the lord to receive this praise in front of the Lūchūan envoys as he did in 1832 would have been a source of pride and prestige in a different way, as a display – witnessed by the Lūchūans – of the Shimazu lord's special and prized relationship with the *kubō*. In both

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[142] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 309, 332.; also, "Ryūkyūjin orei sekizu."; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 953 (p127 in Yokoyama Yoshinori's transcription).

[143] 「琉球人遠路召し連れられ、喜悦の由」. Gojima, 91. Records of later audiences relate slightly different wording for these ceremonial phrases. The *Tokugawa reiten roku* record of the 1714 audience has 「琉球人遠路召連御機嫌」 (roughly, "that you have brought these Ryūkyūans on this long journey makes me glad.") *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol 3, 309. Both the *Tokugawa reiten roku* record of the 1790 audiences and that of the 1832 audiences in the *Ryūkyū kankei monjo* record the *rōjū's* statement as 「今度琉球之使者遠路召連太儀」 (roughly, "that you have brought these Ryukyuan envoys with you on this long journey at this time is a great event.") *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 953 (p127 in Yokoyama Yoshinori's transcription).

[144] Gojima, 91.; *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 309, 332.

[145] 「今度琉球ノ使者遠路召連太儀二被思召候段」. *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 953 (127).

cases, this brief ritual exchange between the *kubō* and the Shimazu lord served to "open" or begin a formal audience ceremony granted to the head of the Shimazu house which would only "close," as we will see, with the presentation of gifts to the *kubō* by several Shimazu House Elders (*karō*) at the very end of the ceremony. The entirety of the Lūchūan envoy's audience, bookended by these two acts, was thus incorporated within a ceremony pertaining to the Shimazu house, and the reaffirmation of that house's relationship with the *kubō*. In this very key way, even as the Lūchūans were being presented (and presenting themselves) as ambassadors of a foreign sovereign, they were simultaneously being presented by the Shimazu and received by the Tokugawa court as retainers of, or in some sense "belonging to," the Shimazu house. The Korean embassies were not framed in such a fashion – the head of the Sō house, who accompanied them to Edo, did not receive audience directly prior to that of the Korean envoys, and Sō retainers did not present swords to the *kubō* as part of those ceremonies.[146]

Following this brief ceremonial exchange between the *kubō* and the Shimazu lord which opened the event, the focus of the ceremony turned more explicitly to the Lūchūan envoy, who was either already seated in the hall or entered at this time at the direction of the lord of Satsuma, who had been so instructed, in turn, by the *rōjū*. Records of the 1710 and 1714 audiences indicate that a list of the king's gifts to the *kubō*, described in these records as a *kenjōbutsu mokuroku* 献上物目録, was then placed on a stand in the center of the lower level of the hall, followed by a separate piece of paper, a *tachi mokuroku* 太刀目録 or "list" of the

[146] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 352-382.

sword being presented by the king to the *kubō*, being placed by a *sōjaban* on a stand in the middle level of the hall.[147] Oddly, the accounts of the 1790 and 1832 audiences in the *Tokugawa reiten roku* and *Ryūkyū kankei monjo* make no mention of the first list of the king's various gifts, noting only the separate "list" for the sword. This is a curious omission, for while it highlights the distinctive importance of the sword, something I address later in this chapter, it would seem to suggest that the formal ceremonial presentation of the remainder of the king's gifts was no longer being performed as it was in 1710 and 1714.

Following this placement of the lists, the envoy, announced by the *sōjaban* as the "king of Chūzan," moved forward to the fourth mat up from the bottom of the lower level, and made nine obeisances toward the *kubō*, symbolically or ceremonially presenting the gifts arranged on the veranda just outside of the hall.[148] The fact that in this moment the envoy was explicitly announced by the *sōjaban* as the "king of Chūzan"[149] rather than as his envoy is perhaps the starkest indication in these ceremonial records that ritual participants were embodying and enacting political identities. Embodying that identity as the king himself or as his direct stand-in and not merely his representative, the envoy was able to occupy a particular physical position within the audience hall, relative to the various *daimyō* and others gathered there, and to enact the ritual reaffirmation of the king's relationship with the *kubō* through his obeisances, recalling

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147 On the fourth mat of seven, i.e. the center of the middle level, in 1714, and two mats further back in 1790 and 1832. Gojima, 91.; *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 309, 332.; "Ryūkyūjin orei sekizu."; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 954 (129).

148 The gift horse, when there was one, was of course not placed on the veranda, but was displayed in the garden just outside of the hall, held by officials from the *kubō's* stables. *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 309, 332.; "Ryūkyūjin orei sekizu" 「琉球人御礼席図」, insert between pp338-339.

149 「中山王は披露」*Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 309.; 「中山王と披露」 *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 332.; 「中山王ト披露」 *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 954 (129).

obeisances performed by the king's ancestors or their proxies to Tokugawa *kubō* in every generation since 1610.

Following the ritual presentation of gifts, the *sōjaban* then collected up and took away the lists, and the envoy withdrew to his previous seat. On those occasions when there was a second envoy (i.e. in 1710, 1714, and 1832), this was repeated with a second list or set of lists being placed and the second envoy performing nine obeisances before withdrawing.

Though many *daimyō* had their gift lists placed on the ceremonial stand by the *sōjaban* as the Lūchūans did, many placed the lists on the stands themselves. The location of this stand, of course, differed too depending on rank and other factors. Whereas the head of the Sō house, lord of Tsushima, placed his own sword list in the lower section of the hall and then bowed on the veranda, the head of the Kitsuregawa house 喜連川家, for example, had his sword list placed by the *sōjaban*.[150] The Sō lord was fairly high-ranking, with a *kokudaka* of 100,000 *koku*, and was one of only a handful of *daimyō* to claim an entire province as their domain and thus boast *kunimochi* ("province-holder") status; by contrast, the Kitsuregawa, though bearers of some special status as the direct descendant lineage of the Ashikaga shoguns, were lords of a small 10,000 *koku* domain.[151] For the Lūchūan envoys to have their sword list placed by a *sōjaban*, rather than being permitted to place it themselves, might therefore have been taken by others in attendance as an enactment of their low status, either overall or specifically as vassals of the Shimazu (and thus a step removed from Tokugawa retainer status); alternatively,

[150] *Edojō* 江戸城 (Tokyo: Gakushu Kenkyusha, 1995), 120-123, citing *Tokugawa jikki* 徳川実紀 and *Tokugawa reiten roku*.
[151] Ravina, *Land and Lordship*, 19.; Yamamoto, *Edo jidai*, 69.

it may instead have reflected their outsider or foreign status.[152] That the Lūchūan envoy, serving as proxy for his king, bowed at the fourth mat within the lower section of the hall, a comparatively more prestigious location significantly closer to the *kubō* than even the province-holding head of the Sō house is interesting as well, an indication of the kingdom's prestige or status within Tokugawa hierarchies even despite being simultaneously seen as subordinate to the Shimazu house.

In 1790 and 1832, the envoy's ceremonial presentation of a sword (on behalf of the king) to the *kubō* was immediately followed by the *rōjū* conveying to the lord of Satsuma, to convey to the envoy(s), the *kubō's* praise or appreciation for them to have come such a long way, much as was expressed to the lord of Satsuma earlier.[153] The Lūchūan envoy then withdrew to his original position, but then left his seat again and was announced by a *sōjaban* as he took a seat on the veranda just outside the audience hall to the south. The *Tokugawa reiten roku* records that in 1714 the *shinmotsuban* 進物番 (a Tokugawa official overseeing the management of gifts) then placed a list of the envoy's gifts to the *kubō* (i.e. gifts from the envoy himself, rather than from his king) on a stand on the verand. As in the previous case, records for the 1790 and 1832 missions make no mention of such a list. At the instruction of the *sōjaban*, the envoy then performed his own personal obeisances to the *kubō*, bowing three times. He and the lord of Satsuma then withdrew from the hall, with the envoy being led back to the

[152] The *Tokugawa reiten roku* account of the 1719 Korean embassy does not explicitly describe the placing or presentation of the list of the Korean king's gifts. Comparative analysis as to the significance of a *sōshaban* placing the Lūchūan king's gift list is therefore difficult. *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 367, 369.

[153] 「宜野湾儀遠境相越大儀」 *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 332.; 「豊見城沢岻儀遠路相越太儀」 *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 954 (129).

Tenjō-no-ma by two Ōmetsuke. Meanwhile, one or two Shimazu House Elders (家老, J: *karō*; high-ranking retainers of the lord of Satsuma) performed obeisances on that same southern veranda and ceremonially presented swords to the *kubō*.[154] This marked the end of the audience granted to the Shimazu house, which had begun with the Shimazu lord's personal audience with the *kubō*.

In offering these personal obeisances on the veranda, outside of the audience hall proper, the envoy enacted his status as a Lūchūan royal prince and court official – lower in rank than a king or a top-ranking *daimyō*, and not of sufficient rank to sit within the hall – as well as his status as a vassal to the Shimazu. The perceived and performed hierarchical status of the envoys was explicitly noted by shogunal Confucian advisor Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠 (1666-1728), who wrote in 1710 that the Lūchūan envoys were of equivalent rank to Shimazu House Elders (*karō*).[155] In the ceremonial musical performance several days later, the musicians would sit on that same veranda, albeit a little further south (farther from the *kubō*), a position appropriate for officials of lower rank than either the lead envoys (royal princes) or Shimazu House Elders.

Envoys from the king of Joseon consistently occupied higher-status positions than their Lūchūan counterparts, bowing at the seventh or eighth mat of the lower level on behalf of their king (that is, several mats closer to the *kubō* than the Lūchūan envoys ever advanced), and then withdrawing not to the veranda but to a position within the lower level of the hall to perform

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[154] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 309, 333.; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 954 (130).
[155] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 188, citing Ogyū Sorai 荻生徂徠, *Ryūkyū heishi ki* 琉球聘使記, 1710, manuscript. Sakamaki-Hawley Collection, University of Hawaiʻi Library. HW456, 457.

their own obeisances.[156] This was an even higher-status location than that of the lord of Tsushima, who accompanied the Korean embassies and performed his own obeisances on the veranda outside of the hall; though the role of the lords of Tsushima in bringing foreign embassies to Edo may appear to mirror that of the lords of Kagoshima, we see here again how their hierarchical relationship with the Koreans was in fact the reverse of that between the Shimazu and Lūchū.

Korean envoys also moved up into the middle level (*chūdan*) of the hall toward the end of their formal audiences, where they partook of a saucer of saké ceremonially offered by the *kubō*.[157] In this way and others, the king of Joseon was positioned as roughly equivalent to the heads of the *gosanke* Tokugawa branch families, who like the lords of Kaga, Fukui, and Tottori domains, among others, also shared a cup of saké with the *kubō* during their regular monthly audiences.[158] Lūchūan officials never entered the middle level of the hall, nor ever shared food or drink with the *kubō*, even ceremonially. The status differential between Joseon and Lūchū (within Tokugawa hierarchies) was further enacted in physical space in this way.

The ritual treatment of the Lūchūans as lesser in status than simply being envoys of a sovereign king is seen as well in the way in which they were formally granted leave at the end of their sojourns in Edo. Outside of the 1710 and 1714 embassies governed by Arai Hakuseki's ritual programs, most Lūchūan embassies were granted leave not by the *kubō* himself in a grand audience in the Ōhiroma, but by the *rōjū* in a smaller ceremony held in the *ni-no-ma*, a

[156] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 369.
[157] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 185-186.; *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 369-371.
[158] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 188.; Ono, 206.

secondary room extending from the main section of the hall.[159] A 1653 document known as *Ryūkyū raihei nikki shō* 琉球来聘日記抄 offers a potential reasoning for this, that as the Lūchūans were retainers of a retainer (i.e. of the Shimazu), they did not need to be formally granted leave by the *kubō*.[160] Later texts such as the diary of Watanabe Zen'emon similarly reflect an understanding of the Lūchūans as part of the Shimazu retainer band.[161] It was quite standard for most *daimyō* to receive their bestowals in similar fashion, in a lesser ceremony after their more formal audience was complete and the *kubō* had withdrawn from the hall.[162]

Arai Hakuseki altered this pattern and had the *kubō* grant a third audience to the Lūchūan envoys in 1710 and 1714. This emulation of the practice of the Ming/Qing Son of Heaven presiding in-person over his bestowal of gifts to tributary envoys – thus emphasizing, too, the tributary-like character of the embassies from Lūchūan and Joseon – was meant to contribute to Hakuseki's broader efforts of reshaping the *kubō's* ritual persona to better match his personal vision of a kingly Confucian ruler. Even in these two iterations of the embassies, however, the Lūchūan envoys received the formal list (*mokuroku*) of the bestowals and the formal reply by the *rōjū* to their king's letter in a smaller ceremony in the *Tenjō-no-ma* following their brief third audience with the *kubō*.[163]

These "leave-taking rites," or *jiken no gi*, which chiefly took place in the *ni-no-ma*, *san-no-ma*, and *yon-no-ma* antechambers to the east of the main sections of the hall, show how the

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[159] *Edo bakufu nikki*, vol. 14, 52-58.; vol. 23, 205-211.; Gojima, 91.; *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 316-318, 336-338.; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 147-154.
[160] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 136.
[161] Watanabe Zen'emon, 103.
[162] *Edojō*, 120-123.
[163] Gojima, 91.; *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 316-318, 336-338.; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 147-154.

ritual arrangement of bodies in space extended beyond the main sections of the Ōhiroma. Though in 1710 and 1714 these "leave-taking rites" involved a third formal audience with the *kubō* in the Ōhiroma, from 1718 onward, they were appended to the embassies' second audience, the "rite of musical performance." Rather than processing up to the castle a third time, on a separate day, the envoys instead simply withdrew from the audience hall, as did all others in attendance, and then returned shortly afterward. This appended ceremony took place in the *ni-no-ma*, or second antechamber, which extended east from the lower level of the main section of the audience hall. The *kubō* did not attend.[164] As in the earliest missions,[165] the *rōjū*

[164] The final leave-taking ceremony for tributary missions to Beijing similarly took place outside of the central plaza where the main audiences were held, and outside of the presence of the emperor. Officials from the Board of Rites 礼部 and Court of State Ceremony 鴻臚寺 presided over this ceremony, as the *rōjū* did in Edo. The envoys gathered at the Meridian Gate (午門, C: *Wǔmén*) of the palace, where bestowals from the emperor to their king, and to the envoys themselves, were piled upon a dais. The envoys, along with the Qing officials accompanying them, knelt before the dais and performed a full three-and-nine kowtow in the direction of the Tàihédiàn. They then formally received the bestowals, kowtowed towards the Tàihédiàn again, and withdrew. In the late Ming dynasty and throughout the Qing dynasty, these bestowals from the emperor consisted chiefly of Chinese silks and brocades, and an amount of silver ostensibly meant to pay for the return voyage. As with the Tokugawa *kubō's* bestowal of goods to be given to all members of the embassy, the Ming and Qing emperors similarly provided bestowals for all members of a Lūchūan embassy, down to even those Lūchūan officials who remained in Fuzhou and had not come to Beijing. Watanabe Miki, "Shikinjō (kokyū) to Ryūkyū shisetsu" 紫禁城（故宮）と琉球使節*,* in *Yomigaeru Ryūkyū ōkoku no kagayaki* 甦る琉球王国の輝き, ed. Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan 沖縄県立博物館・美術館 (Naha: Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan, 2008), 10. In the early Ming period, these bestowals often received ships, Chinese coins, paper money, formal court costumes, and other equipment vital to Lūchū's overseas trade activities. This practice was discontinued in the mid-15th century, however. In the early Qing, tribute missions received some twenty rolls of silks, satins, and brocades; from 1721 onward, bestowals of eighty rolls became standard. At the emperor's discretion, additional gifts were sometimes bestowed upon the embassies, including glasswares, lacquerwares, writing brushes, inkstones, porcelains, jades, or wooden tablets bearing the emperor's own calligraphy. Ten such tablets were bestowed upon the kingdom by Qing emperors; most if not all were hung in a special Gallery of Imperial Calligraphy 御書楼 at the royal palace at Sui. Ch'en, "Sino–Liu-Ch'iuan Relations in the Nineteenth Century," 70-74, 136.; "Daishinkoku e Ryūkyūjin tōshifure no taitei kikiawase sōrō oboegaki," in Kamakura, 96.

[165] In the leave-taking audience held on 1649/9/25, for example, the *rōjū* sat lined up along the north side of the Naka-no-ma ("central room"), facing south. Shimazu Tsunahisa, serving as proxy for his father, Shimazu Mitsuhisa, lord of Satsuma, who was ill, sat on the southern side, at the threshold between the Naka-no-ma and the Higashi-no-ma ("east room"), and the Lūchūan envoy, Prince Gushikawa, sat in the center of the Higashi-no-ma. Though the audience halls had different names and a somewhat different arrangement at this time, prior to the 1657 Meireki Fire, the positioning mirrors that which was (re)instituted after Hakuseki's time. *Edo bakufu nikki*, vol. 23,

and *wakadoshiyori* sat lined up along the northern side of this hall, a decidedly lesser position than that of the *kubō* in the upper level of the main hall, but still representative of the position of authority, as they sat in the north, facing south. The lord of Satsuma sat several mats to their south, a position recalling both his position to the south of the *kubō* in the main sections of the audience hall, and to the east of the lower level of that hall, just opposite the *rōjū*. When the Lūchūan envoys entered for this ceremonial bestowal of gifts and of leave (*oitoma*, 御暇) to return home, they did so bowing at the threshold between the *ni-no-ma* and *san-no-ma* (third antechamber), only advancing into the chamber afterwards, accompanying the lord of Satsuma. The *rōjū* then once again expressed the absent *kubō's* "joy" at the envoys being brought such a long way on this occasion and informed the envoys that the *kubō* was bestowing gifts of silver and textiles upon their king. The envoys and the lord of Satsuma bowed to the *rōjū* again and were then shown the gifts lined up in the adjacent room to the west (the lower level of the main audience hall). The envoys then withdrew to the *yon-no-ma* (fourth antechamber), before coming forward to the *ni-no-ma* again, where the *rōjū* informed them of the gifts the *kubō* was bestowing upon the envoys themselves. The envoys then bowed again and withdrew to the *yon-no-ma*. This process was then repeated one more time, as the envoys came forward, were informed about the gifts being bestowed upon the remaining members of the embassy, bowed to the *rōjū*, and then withdrew a final time.[166] In this way, the spatial dynamics of the ritual

205-206. The leave-taking audience granted to the 1644 embassy followed a similar pattern. *Edo bakufu nikki*, vol. 14, 50-58.

[166] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 336-337.; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 147-154.

audience were (re)enacted in a manner echoing that of the fuller audiences with the *kubō*, albeit on a smaller scale.

Action

Of course, it was not only the locations in which ritual participants performed certain actions that served to enact political realities or to construct and convey meaning, but also the actions themselves. Perhaps the most significant physical actions performed in these audiences were bows, or obeisances. While many aspects of these audience ceremonies resonated with elements evocative of both "tributary" and samurai discourses of relations, Lūchūan envoys *kowtowed* before the *kubō* in a manner evocative of Ming/Qing and Lūchūan court culture and decidedly distinct from samurai custom, enacting a cultural and hierarchical identity which reinforced their strong connections to Ming/Qing "high" "civilization" but also their foreignness and "tributary" relationship with the Tokugawa household.

Much has been written on the *kowtow* in Chinese ceremony, especially that of the Qing court.[167] Though not as all-consumingly central to Qing ritual as Western discourse has taken it to be for centuries,[168] this act of obeisance or submission nevertheless played a key role in not

[167] Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar*, esp. 157-158, 232-237.; Hevia, "Sovereignty and Subject," 181-200.; Kertzer, 87-88.; Hevia, "The Scandal of Inequality: Koutou as Signifier," *positions* 3:1 (1995): 97-118.; Hevia, "'The Ultimate Gesture of Deference and Debasement.'"; Hao Gao, "The "Inner Kowtow Controversy" During the Amherst Embassy to China, 1816–1817," *Diplomacy & Statecraft*, 27:4 (2016), 595-614.; Peter Kitson "Refusing to Kowtow: Romantic-period Representations of Asian Ceremonials from Macartney to Byron," in *Coleridge, Romanticism and the Orient: Cultural Negotiations*, ed. David Vallins, Kaz Oishi, and Seamus Perry (London: Bloomsbury Academic, 2013): 19-38.; E.H. Pritchard, "The Kowtow in the Macartney Embassy to China in 1793," *Far Eastern Quarterly* 2:2 (1943): 163-201.; Andrew Kipnis, *Producing Guanxi* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1997).; Kipnis, "(Re)inventing *Li*: *Koutou* and Subjectification in Rural Shandong," in Zito and Barlow, eds., 201-223.
[168] Hevia, "The Scandal of Inequality."; Hevia, "'The Ultimate Gesture."

only demonstrating or representing social/political hierarchy, but in enacting and reinforcing those political realities as well. As Watanabe Hiroshi has written, the *daimyō* bowed to the *kubō*, retainers bowed to the *daimyō*, and townsfolk bowed to the retainers. "The entire country was a vast chain of those who were bowed to and those who did the bowing."[169] The same was of course true within Lūchū and China as well. Officials across the island kingdom regularly reaffirmed their loyalty to the king through ritual, as the kings of Lūchū, Korea, and other polities did towards the Ming or Qing emperor in turn, along with officials across China. The very act of bowing, and doing so together with others, instills in members of any court or government – as well as in foreign envoys and other guests to the court – a sense of their position and role within that government's hierarchies, relative to the ruler, and to one another.[170] Attending modern recreations of ceremonies such as reenactment events held at Shuri Castle Park in Naha, Okinawa, the sense of hierarchy and of the enactment of a social order can be rather palpable.[171]

[169] Watanabe Hiroshi, *A History of Japanese Political Thought*, 59.
[170] Hevia, "Sovereignty and Subject," 193.; Huang, 46.
[171] Lūchūan court rituals celebrating the New Year and rituals of investiture for a new Lūchūan king are regularly reenacted at Shurijo Castle Park. I had the pleasure of attending such reenactments, respectively, in October 2016 and January 2017. It is difficult, if not impossible, to know how individual early modern scholar-officials felt about their participation in such rituals, and of course I hesitate to make too much of my own emotional impressions or reactions as someone from a very different cultural context. Still, scholars such as Adam Seligman have critiqued excessive focus on concerns of what the participants truly think or believe (i.e. whether they perform the rituals with "sincerity"), arguing rather that when individuals accede to participation in a ritual and act *as if* they were sincere, the ritual result – the social or political realities constructed or reinforced, or meaning made – is the same regardless of their internal attitudes. Adam Seligman, Robert Weller, et al., *Ritual and its Consequences: An Essay on the Limits of Sincerity* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008). Meanwhile, Bruce Kapferer, among others, have argued that ritual action actually affects participants emotionally, creating emotional realities and meaning and not simply being a representation or demonstration of such (sincere or insincere) attitudes. Bruce Kapferer, "Emotion and Feeling in Sinhalese Healing Rites," *Social Analysis* 1 (1979): 153-176. Thus, there is perhaps some validity to the notion that the very action itself of bowing to others and/or being bowed to creates emotional feelings of one's inferior or superior status relative to others within a hierarchy.

In Tokugawa Japan, as throughout the region, how deeply one bowed and the way in which one performed the act were key elements for generating such emotions and doing so correctly, reaffirming belief in the correct hierarchical relationships in the hearts and/or minds of both those bowing and those witnessing the act. Different contexts – including considerations of the hierarchical difference between the individual(s) bowing and those being bowed to – called for different types and depths of bows.[172] Eiko Ikegami describes the most standard early modern form of formal bowing as follows: "place both hands flat on the floor and bow until your nose almost touches your hands."[173] Such bows are frequently described in records from the time simply as *orei* 御礼 or *ichi rei* 一礼,[174] which we might translate as "bowing" or "bowing once." The character *rei* 礼, which elsewhere refers to "rites" or the concept of "ritual propriety," can also mean simply "to bow," i.e. to show ritual propriety or etiquette towards someone. On certain occasions, it was appropriate to perform a shallower and thus less formal bow known as *eshaku* 会釈, involving only a slight inclination of the body.

Lūchūan envoys and lords of Kagoshima exchanged such comparatively less formal bows with members of the *rōjū* several times as part of the ceremonies in which the envoys were formally granted leave to return to Lūchū.[175] Doing so enacted the envoys' status relationship with the *rōjū*, showing respect and gratitude but in a way concordant with the ceremonial

[172] Hevia, "The Scandal of Inequality," 109, 118n42.
[173] Ikegami, 332.
[174] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 336.; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 147, 150, 153, 156-157, 161.
[175] *Edo bakufu nikki*, vol. 14, 54-56.; vol. 23, 206-209.; *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 336.; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 131, 139, 147.

context and with the hierarchical status differential between the envoys and the *rōjū*, who were apparently considered not so high in status as to merit deeper bows.

The obeisances performed by Lūchūan envoys towards the *kubō*, however, are described in the *Tokugawa reiten roku* and *Ryūkyū kankei monjo* as "nine bows" or "nine obeisances," using the Japanese term *kyūhai* 九拝.[176] In Edo, as in ceremonies in Beijing and Sui, the Lūchūan officials would have bowed down three times, and during each bow touched their head to the ground three times, for a total of nine obeisances. Matsura Seizan explicitly identifies this *kyūhai* as being the same "three kneelings, nine knocks" (三跪九叩, C: *sānguì jiǔkòu*, J: *sanki kyūkō*) which Ryūkyūans performed before the Shimazu lord, and before the Son of Heaven (i.e. the emperor) of China.[177] This act is commonly referred to in English as the *kowtow* or *koutou*.

Though closely associated with Chinese imperial court ceremony in our collective imagination today, *kowtows* and other very similar forms of bowing or prostration were performed in court ceremonies throughout the East Asian region, as well as in religious and private/family rituals across numerous aspects of Chinese life.[178] Individuals across the Qing Empire regularly kowtowed to their ancestors, folk deities, elderly relatives, and local magistrates or other officials on a variety of occasions.[179] During New Year's celebrations at Sui

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[176] 「…於下段奉九拝、重而於板縁自分之御礼奉三拝…」Matsura, vol. 7, 311.; see also *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 309, 332-333.; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 129-130, 137-142, 174.
[177] 「礼に、三跪九叩は天子を拝することなるを、琉人は公方家と、薩摩侯と、唐国の天子と、同様なりと云」Matsura, vol. 7, 311.
[178] Hevia, "The Scandal of Inequality," 108-111.
[179] Hevia, "The Ultimate Gesture," 215.; Kipnis, "(Re)inventing *Li*."

castle, among other formal ceremonial occasions, the king of Lūchū bowed towards Heaven three times, each time touching his head to the ground three times, for a total of nine bows. A Lūchūan court official acting as master of ceremonies then called out in Chinese for all gathered to *kòutóu*, which they did, bowing nine times to their king.[180] Similarly, when envoys from the Ming or Qing court traveled to Lūchū to invest a new king, the king and all the gathered members of his court performed the kowtow to the envoys, as representative of kowtowing to the Ming or Qing emperor.[181] Representatives of the samurai lord of Tsushima domain, head of the Sō household, were obliged on various occasions to bow or prostrate themselves before a wooden plaque representing the King of Joseon, in performance of their lord's ritual obligations as a vassal to that king (while simultaneously vassal to the Tokugawa *kubō*).[182]

Importantly, however, *bushi* generally did not perform acts resembling the kowtow. When being granted a formal audience by one's lord, *bushi* were frequently obliged to perform what is known as *haifuku* 拝伏 or *heifuku* 平伏 (also, *hirafushi*), prostrating themselves by bending at the waist as far down – as horizontally – as possible, and remaining in that position, head down, until instructed to straighten and sit up. After noting that the Lūchūan envoys performed "nine" and "three obeisances," bowing before the *kubō* and the lord of Satsuma just as they did before the Son of Heaven (i.e. the emperor of China), Matsura Seizan draws an explicit contrast between this samurai practice of prostration and the *kowtow*, writing that

180 Tomiyama, "Ryukyu ōken e no ichi shiten" 琉球王権への一視点, *Bungei* 文芸 29:4 (1990): 264-268.
181 Ch'en, Ta-Tuan. "Investiture of Liu-Ch'iu Kings in the Ch'ing Period." in Fairbank, ed., 146-148.
182 Lee, "Chosŏn Korea as Sojunghwa," 307-308.; these Tsushima officials were not asked to kowtow in the Chinese fashion, however. Rather, they simply bowed four times from a seated position on the ground. Tashiro Kazui 田代和生, *Wakan: Sakoku jidai no Nihonjinmachi* 和館：鎖国時代の日本人町 (Tokyo: Bungei Shunshū, 2002), 128-129.

"Ryūkyū [formerly] practiced the obeisance of prostrating the entire body, the same as in our country; however, since sometime [in the past], even when in our country they perform it in the Chinese way."[183]

The diary of Shimazu retainer Uwai Kakken shows that in 1575 as well, Lūchūan envoys "bowed three times" (三拝, J: *sanpai*) before the Shimazu lord, as envoys in later generations did before the *kubō* towards the end of their audiences, when offering their own obeisances rather than those of their king. Though only a "single" or "partial" kowtow – being one kneeling and three "knocks" of the head rather than the full three and nine – this nevertheless was the behavior of foreign envoys and not the custom of samurai houses. From this we can see that much like the Ming-style costume worn by the envoys, the performance of *kowtows* (rather than samurai-style prostrations) before the *kubō* was similarly a continuation of established tradition, and not a new development imposed by the Shimazu or Tokugawa or selected by the Lūchūan court as part of active designing or shaping of the ceremonial protocols for politically strategic purposes.

Bowing deeply before one's lord and being seen doing so was a crucial and central element for affirming and constituting relationships between samurai, much as comparable actions were throughout the region. This was the key ritual action at the core of the feudal or Confucian order; *daimyō* were obliged to travel to Edo not to participate in political negotiations or discussions or to perform administrative work but first and foremost to bow

183 「琉球は全体一拝の礼にして、吾国と同じ。然るを何つの頃よりか、吾国に於てもかかる漢体になりしと。」Matsura, vol. 7, 311.

before the *kubō*, reaffirming their fealty and contributing to the enactment, the realization, of a world in which retainers regularly bowed before their lords. We recall again Lord Macartney's reception at the Qing court, where he expected the *kowtow* and all the rest to be "mere ceremony," something to be performed as part of customary etiquette prior to negotiating the terms of a new diplomatic or trade relationship, while for the Qing his *kowtow* was not preliminary or prefatory but was the very site of the ritual creation of the hierarchical relationship being established between the British king & kingdom and the Son of Heaven. For Lūchūan envoys to bow deeply before the *kubō* was the central act they had been obliged to travel to Edo to perform. In doing so as stand-ins for their king, they enacted in physical space and visible bodily action the loyal and hierarchical relationship between their king & kingdom and the Tokugawa order (with the Shimazu as vital intermediary). That they did so in a manner reflective of the practices of the Ming/Qing-centered world emphasized their membership in that world. This was something the Lūchūan envoys proudly embodied and displayed, but it also contributed to the ability of the Tokugawa to claim superiority or centrality not only relative to Lūchū as a kingdom in and of itself, but relative to Lūchū and Joseon as emblematic of that world order itself (or some portion of it) recognizing Tokugawa power.

Sight and Speech

As the term *shinken no gi* (進見之儀, lit. "rite of coming forward and seeing / being seen") suggests, and as I have touched upon already, the twin processes of seeing and being seen were key to the psychological and symbolic efficacy of these brief audiences, the

centerpieces of the ritual reaffirmation of the relationship between the Shō/Shàng and Tokugawa houses. It was vital that the envoys not only presented gifts and bowed or kowtowed before the *kubō*, but that they were seen doing so – and that they and all others in attendance witnessed the spatial, performative, and sartorial relationships between themselves and the other participants. Most *daimyō* audiences with the *kubō* were similarly brief and involved little or no verbal interaction, but rather consisted chiefly of the *daimyō* prostrating themselves before their lord and being seen doing so. These ceremonial meetings are frequently described in sources from the time as *omemie* 御目見え, or, roughly, "being seen by [or visible to] the honorable eye," i.e. that of the *kubō*. The *daimyō* enacted their loyalty and subordination to the *kubō* through embodied action, and the *kubō* witnessed this, and surveyed all those under his authority.[184]

The *kubō* saw those who came before him, but they did not see him. For the *kubō* to be directly seen or heard at all, without screens blocking him from view, was a privilege restricted to only an extremely few lords.[185] Keeping his appearance unseen and his voice unheard added to the sense of dignity and authority of the *kubō* by enhancing and maintaining a sense of social distance, as well as a sense of mystery.[186] This was especially important at times such as the occasion of the 1714 Lūchūan embassy, when the *kubō*, Tokugawa Ietsugu 徳川家継 (1709-

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[184] Watanabe Hiroshi, *A History of Japanese Political Thought*, 59.; Walthall, "Hiding the Shoguns," 337.; See also Okazaki Hironori 岡崎寛徳, "Bakufu girei no urajijō to Ii ke no taiō" 幕府儀礼の裏事情と井伊家の対応, in Asao, ed., 56-57.

[185] Walthall, "Hiding the Shoguns," 337. Exceptions included direct assistants to the *kubō*, such as his swordbearer 御太刀の役 and the *konando* 小納戸, young samurai aides who managed the *kubō's* personal effects and aspects of his personal appearance including hairstyle and shaving.

[186] Walthall, "Hiding the Shoguns," 337.

1716, r. 1713-1716), was merely a child, and yet needed to convey the same majesty and authority as if he were an adult.[187] Anne Walthall quotes a *hatamoto*[188] as expressing considerable fear or nervousness at the prospect of entering the presence of the *kubō*.

> While being guided to the [audience hall], I was really frightened. … I heard a repressive whisper, *shii, shii*. I don't know where the shogun was, I was just trying to make my bow as best I could. … When I heard that *shii, shii* sound, my throat constricted. I have no idea if the shogun was really there or not.[189]

As Foucault wrote of the conceptual notion of the Panopticon, "he who is subjected to a field of visibility, and who knows it, assumes responsibility for the constraints of power; he makes them play spontaneously upon himself; he inscribes in himself the power relation in which he simultaneously plays both roles; he becomes the principle of his own subjection."[190] It was not necessary for the *kubō* to be actually present for the ritual to have its intended affective impact. The visual, spatial, and sonic environment; the kinesthetic feeling of the ritual act; cultural or social understandings about the meaning and context of the ritual; and other factors combined to cause *daimyō* and other retainers, like the *hatamoto* quoted above, to imagine the *kubō's* presence, and to impose feelings of the unequal power relationship, nervousness, and so forth upon themselves.

The process of *omemie* – that is, of being seen or viewed by the *kubō* – also served to incorporate those being seen into Tokugawa hierarchies.[191] After the Lūchūan envoy(s)

[187] Walthall, "Hiding the Shoguns," 344.

[188] 旗本 ("bannerman"). A direct retainer to the *kubō* of lower rank than a *daimyō*.

[189] Walthall, "Hiding the shoguns," 340.

[190] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punishment* (New York: Vintage Books, 1995), 202-203.

[191] Though some (who?) have suggested that simply being seen in this way – being granted an audience – inscribed individuals or entities into an identity as Tokugawa vassals, Watanabe Hiroshi points to the example of Buddhist monks, outside of any *bushi* hierarchy, who also received audience with the *kubō*, as an indication that *omemie*

withdrew from the Ōhiroma at the end of a *shinken no gi*, the many lords and others gathered there for the event prostrated themselves before the *kubō*, who gazed out over them, recognizing their acts of submission and ritually reaffirming their incorporation under his authority as his vassals. While the Lūchūans certainly did perform obeisances, and were seen, and thus can be said to have been inscribed into the Tokugawa hierarchy as a loyal tributary or vassals, however, they were not included in these large group "audiences" in which the *kubō* surveyed all those under his authority. This stands in stark contrast to Lūchūan envoys' participation in court ceremonies in Beijing directly alongside Qing officials and envoys from other tributary kingdoms.

While in Beijing, tributary envoys participated in only a very few ceremonies in which they were the primary guests of honor. As touched upon above, shortly after their arrival in the city, the Lūchūan envoys formally presented the kingdom's tribute goods to the Board of Rites, in a ritual involving the placement of a formal list of the tribute goods, and the performance of obeisances. Outside of this, however, the vast majority of the Lūchūan envoys' official ritual obligations in Beijing concerned their participation in large court ceremonies at the Hall of Supreme Harmony (Tàihédiàn), such as New Year's celebrations and regular monthly audiences.[192] These were events regularly held in the court, in which the Lūchūans were merely

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was simply an opportunity for displaying or demonstrating shogunal authority, and did not necessarily in and of itself signify or create such political relationships. Watanabe Hiroshi, "'Rei' 'gobui' 'miyabi,'" 169.

[192] Lūchūan participation in New Year's ceremonies first became standard during the reign of the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1735-1796). Though it fell in and out of being standard practice over the remainder of the Qing period, it frequently did take place. Lūchūan participation in regular monthly audiences was standard throughout the period, however. Fukazawa Akito 深澤秋人, "Ryūkyū shisetsu no Pekin taizai kikan: Shinchō to no tsūkōki o chūshin ni" 琉球使節の北京滞在期間: 清朝との通交期を中心に, *Okinawa kokusai daigaku sōgō gakujutsu kenkyū kiyō* 沖縄国際大学総合学術研究紀要 8, no. 1 (2004), 66-70.

a handful of additional participants, alongside thousands of Qing officials and envoys from other tributary kingdoms. From the point of view of Qing court business, "audiences involving ambassadors from foreign countries were generally treated as part of [the emperor's] daily routine … appended to the business … of the everyday routine of the imperial court."[193] Lūchūan envoys also enjoyed a number of banquets in the Forbidden City and participated in numerous smaller ceremonies including ones in which they performed obeisances to the emperor at the gates to the imperial palace when ceremonially seeing him off on a journey or welcoming him back, again alongside a number of Qing officials and other foreign envoys. In 1801, Lūchūan envoys – alongside their counterparts from other tributary kingdoms, and numerous Qing officials – participated in no fewer than seven of these imperial arrival / departure "audiences."[194]

These activities, so central to the standard practices of the Ming/Qing reception of tributary envoys, had no parallel in Edo. There, Lūchūan envoys were separated out from the regular ceremonial calendar of life in the *kubō's* palace. *Daimyō* journeyed up to the castle three times a month for regular audiences, as well as participating in additional ceremonies celebrating New Year's and other seasonal occasions; Tokugawa household events such as birthdays, coming-of-age ceremonies, and succession ceremonies; and the reception of Imperial or other envoys. The Lūchūans were not in attendance for any of these events. They

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The regular monthly audiences were primarily ceremonial affairs which revolved around congratulating or praising the emperor and paying obeisance to him, and the emperor in turn bestowing honors upon the participants, though operational bureaucratic business of actual governance was sometimes appended onto these events. Jochim, 89.

[193] Hevia, "'The Ultimate Gesture of Deference and Debasement,'" 215-216.

[194] Fukazawa, 77.

did not sit amongst members of his court and did not present gifts or perform obeisances on those occasions when *daimyō* and certain others did. And while the Lūchūan envoys were certainly received and obliged to behave in a manner reflective of a particular hierarchical status relative to others in the Tokugawa hierarchy, they were never granted any formal titles or court rank, even in an honorary fashion. Thus, while the Lūchūan king or court were ritually inscribed into some defined relationship with the Tokugawa house, it was as outsiders; Lūchūan envoys were never ritually inscribed as members of the *kubō's* court as *daimyō* and certain others were.

By contrast, the kings of Lūchū were explicitly granted court rank by the Ming and Qing emperors, and their representatives were treated, in notable ways, as members of the court. Lūchūan kings were granted the Second Rank within the Qing court as part of their investiture, and in court ceremonies in the Forbidden Palace their representatives stood alongside officials of the Third Rank.[195] When the Qing emperor gazed out over the plaza in front of the Hall of Supreme Harmony (*Tàihédiàn*), surveying the great mass of officials and envoys who represented all those who "inclined towards civilization," all those who recognized the

[195] Akamine, *The Ryukyu Kingdom*, 128.; "Daishinkoku e Ryūkyūjin tōshifure no taitei kikiawase sōrō oboegaki," in Kamakura, vol. 3, 95. The king being considered to be of the Second Rank made him theoretically equivalent in rank to a county governor 郡王 (C: *jùnwáng*), a position often held by members of the imperial family at a slight remove from the line of succession, such as uncles, nephews, or cousins of imperial crown princes. Kamiya, *Ryūkyū to Chūgoku, Nihon*, 70.; Charles O. Hucker, "Ming Government," in *Cambridge History of China*, vol. 8, Ming Dynasty Part 2, eds. Denis Twitchett and Frederick W. Mote (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 27. That said, kings of tributary polities such as the king of Lūchū were understood to be of a category unto themselves; not ordinary imperial subjects, they were not truly of the same status as a regular civil official, nor bore the same responsibilities. Tomiyama, *Ryūkyū ōkoku no gaikō to ōken*, 25-26.

emperor's centrality, the Lūchūans were included amongst that massive group, and were thus symbolically incorporated within "all under Heaven" (天下, *tiānxià*).

The Tokugawa court's deviation in this respect from Qing practices is perhaps one of the starkest points of distinction showing the Tokugawa interest in inscribing Lūchū, Joseon, and others within its own structures of hierarchy, rather than truly emulating the so-called Sinocentric world order. Lūchū, Joseon, and other tributary kingdoms were incorporated into the Qing court and symbolically into the broader imperial realm or Qing world order alongside representatives of the various provinces, ministries, and offices of the Qing Empire. In Tokugawa Japan they were received in a manner which explicitly set them apart as outsiders, bearing some official status and relationship with the *kubō*, but one which merited formal audiences separate from any other group.

Hierarchical status and relationships were also reinforced in these ceremonies through speech. Who spoke and who did not in these audiences, who they spoke for and who they spoke to, who spoke with the *kubō* only through intermediaries, and who those intermediaries were, all contributed to the realization or constitution of political hierarchical realities. While *sōjaban*, in their function as masters of ceremonies, announced people and actions, and were sometimes the ones to instruct participants where to go and what to do next, only the *rōjū* (or figures of similar status, such as *soba yōnin* Manabe Akifusa in 1714) spoke for the *kubō*. All in attendance heard the *kubō's* "will" only via the *rōjū* – the lack of direct accessibility of the *kubō* enhancing the sense of his power and prestige – and most in attendance, including the lord of Satsuma and the Lūchūan envoys, did not speak at all.

The *shinken no gi* audience began with the Lūchūans being formally presented (*hirō* 披露) to the *kubō* by the lord of Satsuma, who then served as intermediary throughout the audience, with the *rōjū* conveying the *kubō's* commands to the lord of Satsuma, who then conveyed them to the Lūchūan envoys. For the *kubō* to speak only through the *rōjū* or other intermediaries was standard practice in audiences with all but the highest-ranking or most closely related individuals. For the Lūchūan envoys to interact with the *kubō* only through the Shimazu lord, via the *rōjū* in turn, added an additional layer of distance. Having the lord of Satsuma present the Lūchūan envoys and having all communication between Tokugawa officials and the envoys pass through him contributed to the sense for all in attendance that Lūchū "belonged to" or was positioned within the Shimazu house. Korean envoys, by contrast, were presented in their audiences with the *kubō* not by the lord of Tsushima but by a Tokugawa protocol officer known as a *kōke* 高家.[196] This highlighted the Korean envoys' position as not "belonging to" Tsushima or any other domain, but rather as engaging more directly with the Tokugawa government on a court-to-court basis. Further, when the lord of Satsuma was seated within the audience hall throughout the ceremony (as he was in 1714), he sat farther up in the hall than the Lūchūan envoys, while the lords of Tsushima, correspondingly, sat directly behind the Korean ambassadors, a clear visual/spatial indication of the stark difference between the Satsuma-Lūchū and Joseon-Tsushima relationships.[197]

[196] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, 3:369. *Kōke* were higher-ranking officials than the *sōjaban* who helped manage the Lūchūans' audience ceremonies but had lower hereditary stipends. Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 186.
[197] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 309, 369.

That said, while Korean envoys' interactions with the *kubō* were in a certain sense more direct – as they were announced by a Tokugawa official and not by the lord of Tsushima – their other verbal interactions with the *kubō* traveled through an additional intermediary: an interpreter provided by their own court.[198] This created additional cultural distance, enhancing the appearance of their foreignness, and thus the sense of their separation from being directly included within the Sō house, or any other Japanese socio-political entity, as the Lūchūans (in certain respects, to a certain extent) were. Though interpreters are visible in diagrams of the 1790 and 1832 Lūchūan audiences, they are not mentioned in the textual descriptions of the events in the *Tokugawa reiten roku* or *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, in which the *kubō's* words (or "will"; 意, J: *i*) and the *rōjū's* instructions are consistently described as being conveyed by the *rōjū* to the lord of Satsuma, to be conveyed to the envoy(s).[199] Tomiyama Kazuyuki writes that the inclusion of interpreters became standard from the 1790 mission onward, and that prior to that the audience ceremonies for some missions included interpreters and some did not.[200]

Japaneseness or foreignness was strongly correlated in early modern Japan with cultural practices, including language, and so the presence of an interpreter was an important ceremonial element contributing to the construction of the Lūchūans' appearance as foreigners. Yet, as Matsura Seizan, the lord of Hirado who was in attendance for the audiences in 1832, wrote in his diary, since both envoys understood everything well, the interpreter

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[198] Referred to as *jōjōkan* 上々官 (lit. "upper upper officials") in the *Tokugawa reiten roku* and elsewhere.; *Tokugawa reiten roku*, 3:352-396.
[199] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 309, 310, 317, 332.; "Ryūkyūjin orei sekizu"; *Ryūkyūjin dome*.
[200] Tomiyama, "Ryūkyū kotoba to Yamato kotoba o meguru gaikō to kōryū" 琉球言葉と大和言葉をめぐる外交と交流, *Okinawa bunka* 沖縄文化 50, no. 1 (2016), 46-47.

merely remained seated in his spot without providing any interpretation.[201] Even if interpreters were not truly needed from a linguistic point of view, they became a vital element of the performance of Lūchūan foreignness. Direct communication between the lord of Satsuma and the envoys, without an intermediary interpreter, would have weakened this impression of Lūchūan foreignness, suggesting instead to onlookers a sense of the Lūchūans' cultural or political closeness to Japan.

The presence of interpreters raises the question of what language was spoken to and by the envoys; though the envoys made no formal statements during the audiences, there was surely still some communication taking place. Lūchūan elites were well-educated in the Japanese language of the Edo court and the Chinese of the Beijing court, as well as in their native Sui-Naafa dialect of Okinawan.[202] They are said to have generally spoken to Kagoshima officials in this Edo dialect of Japanese, and to have understood it better than the Shimazu's own Kagoshima regional dialect,[203] though there were times that they reportedly spoke Okinawan in formal audiences at Kagoshima castle, presumably with someone interpreting for them, into Japanese.[204] Their counterparts who traveled to Beijing were escorted by interpreters throughout their journey, as well as in imperial audiences,[205] though it is unclear

[201] 「言わば、両使其外とも何ごとも能く分るゆえ、通辞は席に存るばかりにて、少しも通辞の用は無き体なりし」. Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 169, citing Matsura, vol. 7, 353.

[202] Akamine, *The Ryukyu Kingdom,* 102.; Tomiyama, "Ryūkyū kotoba to Yamato kotoba," 43, citing Dana Masayuki 田名真之, "Kinsei Ryūkyū no tsūji tachi: Chūgokugo, Chōsengo, Eigo soshite Nihongo" 近世琉球の通事たち：中国語・朝鮮語・英語そして日本語, in *Kinsei Ryūkyū no gaikokugo jijō* 近世琉球の外国語事情 (Naha: Kume Kokuteikai, 2014).

[203] Smits, *Visions of Ryūkyū*, 47.

[204] Tomiyama, "Ryūkyū kotoba to Yamato kotoba", 46-47.

[205] "Daishinkoku e Ryūkyūjin tōshifure no taitei kikiawase sōrō oboegaki," in Kamakura, vol. 3, 95.

whether in China there was a practical linguistic need for such interpreters, or only a political/symbolic one.

Gifts

Gift-giving plays a notable role in the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal relationships in many societies.[206] It is "of its very essence symbolic," Raymond Cohen writes, as it is "the investment of some minor artefact with significance in order to make a statement about a relationship."[207] This was certainly the case in early modern East Asia, as in countless other times and places. The exchange of gifts was central to the construction and continuation of ritual relationships among samurai and was seen as a way of performing one's official duties or service to one's lord, and of demonstrating one's loyalty.[208] For the Lūchūan embassies to Edo, too, the exchange of gifts played a key role in reaffirming in each iteration of the embassies the hierarchical relationship between the king of Lūchū and the *kubō*.[209] The exchange of gifts – or the presentation of "tribute goods" and the reciprocal receiving of "imperial bestowals" – was, of course, also a key element of Sinocentric tribute/investiture

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[206] Marcel Mauss, *The Gift* (1925), trans. W.D. Halls (New York: W.W. Norton, 1990); Alan Schrift, ed., *The Logic of the Gift: Toward an Ethic of Generosity* (New York: Routledge, 1997).; Irma Thoen, *Strategic Affection?: Gift Exchange in Seventeenth-Century Holland* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007).; Felicity Heal, *The Power of Gifts: Gift-Exchange in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).; Sakurai Eiji 桜井英治, *Zōyo no rekishigaku* 贈与の歴史学 (Tokyo: Chūō Kōron, 2011).

[207] Cohen, 222.

[208] Pitelka.; see also Okazaki, "Kyōho ki Ii ke no zōtō girei to bakusei, hansei" 享保期井伊家の贈答儀礼と幕政・藩政, in Asao (ed.), *Fudai daimyō Ii ke no girei*, 129.;

[209] Asō, "Kinsei chūkōki no zōyo girei ni miru Ryūkyū to Nihon: Ryūkyū kokuō, Satsuma hanshu, Edo bakufu no kankei o megutte" 近世中後期の贈与儀礼にみる琉球と日本: 琉球国王・薩摩藩主・江戸幕府将軍の関係をめぐって, *Nihonshi kenkyū* 日本史研究 578 (2010), 13n1.

ritual relationships. The presentation of goods or gifts by the Kingdom of Lūchū to the Tokugawa *kubō* may at first appear to recall both of these cultural discourses. However, while the Tokugawa court may have framed such gifts as “tribute,” consideration of the particular categories of gifts exchanged reveals stark concordance with the pattern of gift exchange between samurai elites, and significant differences from those exchanged in Ming/Qing “tributary” relationships.

In Beijing, Lūchūan envoys presented the emperor with “tribute” goods of sulfur, copper, and tin once every two years. On special occasions such as the accession of a new king in Lūchū or a new Qing emperor, or in gratitude for extraordinary imperial bestowals, they also presented the emperor with gifts of Lūchūan lacquerwares, textiles, and ceramics, as well as Japanese lacquerwares, ceramics, swords, spears, suits of armor, fans, and paintings.[210] Such presentations of local products (方物, C: *fāng wù*) were a key feature of the Chinese imperial court’s system of relations both with regions within the empire and with tributary states beyond those borders since at least the Han dynasty (206 BCE – 220 CE), if not earlier.[211] Local

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[210] Ch’en, “Sino–Liu-Ch'iuan Relations in the Nineteenth Century,” 65, 69-70. Some of these gifts, reflecting standard Japanese (non-Lūchūan) forms and styles, can be seen in an exhibit catalog of objects from the (Beijing) Palace Museum collection, exhibited at the Naha Citizens’ Gallery (那覇市民ギャラリー) in 2004. *Ryūkyū ōchō no hihō* 琉球王朝の秘宝, ed. Kaettekita Ryūkyū Ōchō no Hihōten Jitsugyō Iinkai 帰ってきた琉球王朝の秘宝展実行委員会 (Naha: Kaettekita Ryūkyū Ōchō no Hihōten Jitsugyō Iinkai, 2004), 67-73. In return for such gifts, on those special occasions, the emperor frequently bestowed upon the kingdom a variety of Chinese silks and brocades, adding jades, glassware, lacquerwares, porcelains or other ceramics, writing brushes, inkstones, fancy paper, furs, and/or other small keepsakes at his discretion, as well as poems or other phrases calligraphed in the emperor’s own hand, on paper or on wooden plaques which were often then hung in the palace at Sui. Ch’en, “Sino–Liu-Ch'iuan Relations in the Nineteenth Century,” 71-74.; “Daishinkoku e Ryūkyūjin tōshifure no taitei kikiawase sōrō oboegaki,” in Kamakura, 96. As part of the ceremonial tributary/investiture relationship, the emperor also bestowed upon the kingdom a new calendar every two years. Akamine, *The Ryukyu Kingdom*, 123.

[211] Yü Ying-Shih, “Han Foreign Relations,” in *The Cambridge History of China Volume 1: The Ch'in and Han Empires, 221 BC–AD 220*, ed. Denis Twitchett and Michael Loewe (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 381ff.; Fairbank, “A Preliminary Framework,” in Fairbank, ed., 7.

products were a prominent element of samurai gift-exchange customs as well, and the formal letters exchanged between the Lūchūan king and the *rōjū*, as well as other records of Tokugawa-Lūchū relations often make explicit mention of the "presentation of local goods."[212] Such presentations of "local goods," whether by provincial lords or by foreign kingdoms to an emperor, king, or *kubō*, enhanced the latter's prestige by providing them with privileged access to the finest and/or rarest products in the entire East Asian region. For an emperor, king, or *kubō* to possess and use diverse styles of textiles, lacquerwares, ceramics, and other luxury products from exotic foreign countries and from the four corners of his own domain – and to bestow such items upon others – was a sign of his cosmopolitanism and cultured taste. It signalled his reach, his access by virtue of his power (and of provincial and foreign rulers' recognition of that power) to these specialty goods which few others could hope to even see, let alone possess.[213] Further, the ruler's reception and use of such gifts signified the incorporation of those cultures into "all under Heaven," and thus "the inclusiveness of the imperial virtue, [i.e.] its capacity to encompass a universal diversity."[214]

[212] See, for example,「献上…方物」, as seen in the letters exchanged by the 1710 mission, transcribed in Fukuyama-shi Tomonoura Rekishi Minzoku Shiryōkan, 148-149.; The phrase 「献方物及私物」, denoting "local products" presented [as gifts from the king] and private gifts [from the envoys] appears, for example, in the *kafu* of Wakugawa *ueekata* Kunikane Shō Chōkyō 向姓 (490) 十二世朝喬, vice envoy on the 1764 mission. Itaya, "Kafu ni mirareru geinō shiryō 2: Edo nobori," 165.
[213] Pitelka, 19-31.; Ying-kit Chan writes of a similar phenomenon as the kings of Lūchū used the exotic and luxurious goods they received from China for displays of wealth and power. Chan, 36-49.
[214] Marshall Sahlins, "Cosmologies of Capitalism: The Trans-Pacific Sector of "The World System."" in *Culture/power/history: A reader in contemporary social theory*, ed. Nicholas B. Dirks, Geoff Eley, and Sherry B. Ortner (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994), 420.

Daimyō regularly presented the *kubō* with specialties of their domains on a variety of occasions, including annual seasonal festivals such as New Year's and *hassaku*,[215] in conjunction with the lord's regular "alternate attendance" upon the *kubō*, life or career occasions such as upon a *daimyō's* succession or his retirement, and a variety of other instances of formal expressions of congratulations or gratitude to the *kubō*.[216] Such gifts could include fish, sweets, textiles, horses, or myriad other types of goods of varieties or styles specific to the lord's territory.[217]

However, while the presentation of "local goods" was a prominent feature of both Ming/Qing and *bushi* practice, the gifts which the Lūchūan court presented to the Tokugawa *kubō* actually differed significantly, both in their content and in the ritual timing of their presentation, from the tribute goods presented to Ming and Qing emperors. While Lūchūan envoys did present Ming and Qing emperors with swords, lacquerwares, textiles, ceramics, *aamui* 泡盛 (a kind of distilled liquor, akin to Japanese *shōchū*), and other "local products" on special occasions (such as when sending a mission to express congratulations or gratitude in conjunction with imperial or royal succession), regular tribute missions to the Qing brought only tin, copper, and sulfur as tribute goods.[218] In other words, while swords, textiles, ceramics, and

[215] *Hassaku* 八朔, celebrated on 8/1 each year. Originally a harvest festival, under the Tokugawa this became a celebration of the anniversary of Tokugawa Ieyasu's first victorious entry into Edo on 1590/8/1. *Edojō*, 120-123.
[216] Yokoyama, "Ryūkyū koku shisetsu tōjō gyōretsu emaki wo yomu," 176.; Walthall, "Hiding the Shoguns," 339.; Fukai Masaumi, *Tōken to kaku tsuke* 刀剣と格付け (Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2018), 62-63.
[217] "Gojōshi yoriai tomechō" 御城使寄合留帳, section dated 1722/4/19, from the *Hikone han Ii ke monjo* 彦根藩井伊家文書 ("Documents of the Ii House of Hikone Domain"), transcribed in Asao, ed., *Fudai daimyō Ii ke no girei*, 132-134.
[218] Ch'en, "Sino–Liu-Ch'iuan Relations in the Nineteenth Century," 65-69.; Ikemiya, *Kumemura: rekishi to jinbutsu*, 130. The sulfur was from Iōtori-shima 硫黄鳥島, a tiny sulfur island controlled by the kingdom, while the copper

so forth were received as "gifts" by the Ming and Qing courts, it was chiefly only raw commodities that constituted the official "tribute goods."

Of course, the Tokugawa court could and did frame Lūchū's gifts of swords, horses, textiles, lacquerwares, and so forth as "tribute" nevertheless, contributing to their own discourses of Lūchū and Joseon as tributary kingdoms within a *kubō*-centered regional order, as Toby and others have argued. Still, Lūchūan missions to Edo were only dispatched on occasions of shogunal or royal succession – not on a regular cycle every two or five or ten years – and their gift exchange reflects this, paralleling if anything the gifts presented by the Lūchū Kingdom to the Qing emperors on special occasions, and not the standard categories of tribute goods. Further, while the rhetoric of tributary relations emphasized ritual relationships between entire kingdoms (or peoples) and the Son of Heaven as source and center of civilization, *bushi* customs emphasized the enactment of relationships of fealty or loyalty between individuals. Whereas gifts to the *kubō* were presented as part of the in-person ceremonial 'meeting' between envoys and the *kubō* (albeit symbolically, in the form of written lists, and through intermediaries), those to the emperor in Beijing were not presented to him at all during imperial audience ceremonies, even in a symbolic fashion. Rather, they were formally presented to officials of the Board of Rites, at a separate place and time.[219]

Lūchūan envoys did *not* present the shogun with large volumes of tin, copper, sulfur, or other raw materials. Rather, their gifts included a sword, a horse (in the case of congratulatory

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and tin came from Kagoshima (often partially or largely obtained through trade at Osaka). Akamine, *The Ryūkyū Kingdom*, 107-108.

[219] "Daishinkoku e Ryūkyūjin tōshifure no taitei kikiawase sōrō oboegaki," in Kamakura, 95.

missions), incense, and a number of distinctively Lūchūan products, including various types of textiles, lacquerwares, and *aamui*.[220] These categories of gifts – swords, horses, textiles, and liquor – are of particular significance. While both Lūchūan embassies and *daimyō* also often presented the *kubō* with miscellaneous additional items such as folding screens, stone figurines, Chinese craft objects, or even plants in the Lūchūan case, and fish, sweets, and other "local products" in the case of various *daimyō*, Yokoyama Manabu draws attention to these categories as the most key and standard types of gifts ceremonially exchanged between samurai and their lords when ritually constituting or reaffirming relationships between them.[221] Such exchanges were performed on occasions including annual seasonal festivals such as New Year's and *hassaku*, a retainer's periodic formal attendance upon their lord, life or career occasions such as upon a household head's succession or his retirement, and a variety of other occasions when expressing congratulations or gratitude to their lord .[222] When Matsudaira Yoshiatsu succeeded Tokugawa Muneharu as head of the Owari Tokugawa house, for example, in 1739, he presented to the *kubō* an antique sword by the 13th century smith Bizen Norinari, along with a ceremonial wooden lacquered sword, 100 pieces of silver, 50 bundles of cotton cloth, 20 rolls of *chirimen* 縮緬 (silk crepe), and two horses. His chief retainers then had an audience with the *kubō* as well, presenting decorative swords and textiles.[223] Similarly, a 1722

[220] From time to time, these gifts also included additional items, such as small statues, various types of incense, lanterns, and folding screens. Lists of the gifts presented by the embassies in 1649, 1710, 1714, and 1832 can be found, respectively, in: *Edo bakufu nikki*, vol. 23, 144.; Gojima, 93.; Tokugawa reiten roku, vol. 3, 324-325.; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 979.
[221] Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 423.
[222] Yokoyama, "Ryūkyū koku shisetsu tōjō gyōretsu emaki wo yomu," 176.; Walthall, "Hiding the Shoguns," 339.; Fukai Masaumi, *Tōken to kaku tsuke*, 62-63.
[223] Fukai Masaumi, *Tōken to kaku tsuke*, 73.

record from Hikone domain indicates that the lords of the domain, the successive heads of the Ii house, regularly presented the *kubō* with a sword and an amount of silver (in place of a horse, a practice I touch upon below) on New Year's and *hassaku*, and gave the same plus two hundred bundles of cotton cloth when enjoying audience with the *kubō* in conjunction with *sankin kōtai*. Though there are notable differences in the occasions on which gifts were presented, we can see that the types of goods given by the Lūchūans as gifts to the *kubō* closely matched those typical in samurai ritual gift-exchange.

By contrast, Korean embassies did not generally present the *kubō* with swords, horses, textiles, and liquor, but rather with a variety of items more exclusively representative of a pattern of offering "local products." These included Korean ginseng, cloth, skins or hides, honey, inkstones, brushes, and birds of prey to be used in hawking.[224] While *daimyō* certainly presented gifts such as these at times, it was always in addition to those gifts such as swords, horses, textiiles, and liquor which lay at the center of the customary reaffirmation of feudal/warrior relationships between samurai.

The embassies also presented additional gifts to, and received additional bestowals from, the *kubō's* wife and his heir, the heads of the *gosanke* Tokugawa branch families, the *rōjū* and *wakadoshiyori*, the embassy's hosts (innkeepers, lords of castle towns, etc.) along their journey, and the Shimazu lord and his most immediate relatives, reaffirming or maintaining those relationships as well. Such gift exchanges not only between lords, but between lords'

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[224] Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 445.

families, hosts along a journey, and others, were also standard elements of samurai customs regarding the maintenance of ritual relationships.

As with many aspects of the ritual acts performed by the Lūchūan embassies, the types of gifts presented to the *kubō*, as well as those "bestowed" by him upon the embassy in return, largely followed standard practices set in the 1644 mission.[225] At that time, the two envoys, on behalf of their king, presented *kubō* Tokugawa Iemitsu with two swords; a horse plus 50 pieces of silver in place of a second horse; 180 *tan* 反[226] of various kinds of banana-fiber cloth 芭蕉布 (O: *baasaa jin*, J: *bashōfu*); 100 *hiki* 疋[227] of Taiheifu hemp cloth;[228] considerable lengths of silk crepe, Chinese textiles, and cotton; 50 bundles of two types of incense and 43 boxes of another three types of incense; 15 jugs of *aamui*; twenty lacquerware trays; three lacquerware incense boxes; and some miscellaneous items including Chinese-style artificial flowers and two cycad (J: *sotetsu* 蘇鉄) plants.[229] The envoys presented the *kubō* with additional amounts of textiles, incense, and *aamui* on their own behalfs. In return, the *kubō* bestowed upon the king 500 pieces of silver and 500 bundles of cotton cloth,[230] and granted the lead envoy 300 pieces of silver and 20 items of seasonal clothing (時服, J: *jifuku*), the second envoy 200 pieces of silver and 10 items of seasonal clothing, and another 300 pieces of silver to be divided up amongst

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[225] Kido, 65n2.

[226] A measure of length. Katrien Hendrickx translates this simply as "bolts." Katrien Hendrickx, *The Origins of Banana-fibre Cloth in the Ryukyus, Japan* (Leuven, Belgium: Leuven University Press, 2007), 22.

[227] Another measure of length, perhaps equivalent to two *tan*. Hendrickx translates this as "double bolts." Hendrickx, 22.

[228] 太平布. A type of hemp cloth from the Myaaku (J: Miyako) Islands.

[229] Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 427.

[230] 銀 500 枚・綿 500 把

the remaining members of the embassy.[231] Every later embassy followed a strongly similar set of ritual gift-giving practices, presenting the *kubō* on behalf of their king with a sword, a horse or 50 pieces of silver as *badai*,[232] 150 *tan* of banana-fiber cloth,[233] 100 *hiki* of Taiheifu hemp cloth, 100 bundles of Kumejima cotton, some tens of bundles of several other types of textiles, some amount of various types of incense, five or ten jugs of *aamui*, and several items of lacquerwares.[234] Occasionally additional miscellaneous items such as small stone figurines or gold-backed folding screens were also presented.[235] In return, every embassy from 1644 onward received from the *kubō* 500 pieces of silver and 500 bundles of cotton cloth for the king,[236] 200 pieces of silver and 10 items of seasonal clothing for the lead envoy, 300 pieces of silver to be divided up among the other members of the mission, and three pieces of seasonal clothing for each of the musicians.[237]

This was far from being the first time a Lūchūan embassy had presented gifts to samurai elites, however. While it is important to recognize the significance of the 1644 embassy as the first one to be consciously organized as the first in a long series of later missions, the types or categories of gifts exchanged in 1644 were largely based on practices that had already been

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231 Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 439.
232 For reasons which are unclear, the 1832 embassy presented only 30 pieces of silver as *badai*. Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 426.
233 With the exceptions of the remaining 17th century embassies, which presented only 60-100 *tan*. Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 427.
234 Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 426-427.; Gojima, 93.; *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 324-325, 333-334.
235 *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 979.; Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 426-427
236 Supplemented by five sets of folding screens in 1649, and by amounts of gold brocade (金襴, *kinran*), red and white *habutae* 羽二重 silks, and Hachijōshima cloth in 1710 and 1714. Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 438-439.
237 Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 438-439.

customary for decades, if not over a century. Gifts presented by the kingdom to the Ashikaga shoguns and others in the 15th-16th centuries included various forms of figured and patterned silk from China, pottery and *aamui* liquor from Lūchū, and incense and other exotic products from Southeast Asia.[238] In 1610, King Shō Nei presented 400 *hiki* of various types of textiles to *kubō* Tokugawa Hidetada, and 100 *hiki* of silk or satin damask (緞子, J: *donsu*), 100 pieces of silver, two swords, a horse, and 100 *kin* of thread to Hidetada's heir Tokugawa Iemitsu.[239] As we can see, the types of gifts presented by the kingdom to the Tokugawa *kubō* became more strongly standardized from 1644 onward, but even from the beginning followed a general pattern of silver, pottery, textiles, swords, and sometimes a horse. This was by no means a tradition invented whole-cloth by the Tokugawa court, nor adapted directly from Ming customs, but rather was a continuation of earlier practices. These gift-giving practices serve as further evidence that although Lūchū's status in the region had changed since 1609 (and especially from 1644 or 1710 onward, once the embassies became standard practice), its ritual relationship with the Shimazu and the Tokugawa continued to a great extent to be articulated in the same ways the kingdom's relationship with samurai elites (and the relationships between samurai elites and one another) had been for at least a century, if not longer.

[238] These textiles included the various types of figured or patterned silk and satin damask known in Japanese as *rinzu* 綸子, *donsu* 緞子, and *jusu* 繻子, the same types of lavish materials worn by Lūchūan officials in procession on the 17th-19th century missions to Edo. Asato, Dana, et al, eds., 115.
[239] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 107. The king similarly presented the retired *kubō* Tokugawa Ieyasu, at an earlier audience in Sunpu, with 100 *hiki* of silk or satin damask, 120 *jin* 尋 of wool or felt (羅紗, J: *rasa*), 100 *hiki* of banana fiber cloth (O: *basaa nunu*), and 200 *hiki* of Taiheifu, as well as some amount of silver, and a sword. Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū-koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 44.

As we have seen, these gifts were presented to the *kubō* symbolically, through the ritual presentation of a piece of paper bearing a list of the gifts. The actual bolts of cloth, lacquerwares, and other gifts were arrayed on the veranda just outside the audience hall and were not physically taken in hand or presented by hand by the envoys. In fact, gifts were never physically given directly to or from the *kubō* during any Tokugawa ceremony, even through intermediaries such as the *rōjū*. More typically, when the *kubō* received *daimyō* in audience, the intermediaries simply gave or received gifts on his behalf, if the actual physical gifts changed hands during the ceremony at all. The *kubō's* actual receiving and handling of such gifts took place only beforehand or afterwards, in a more private chamber, hidden from view; some gifts were never directly received by the *kubō* at all.[240] The same was the case in the reception of the Lūchūan envoys. As Anne Walthall explains, "this method of giving accentuated both the *kubō*'s largesse and the gulf between him and his [guests]."[241]

This practice of ceremonially presenting lists rather than the gifts themselves was customary in *daimyō* audiences with the *kubō* as well, though symbolic stand-ins for the actual gifts were also sometimes presented. Indeed, *daimyō* frequently did not present the *kubō* with actual swords at all, but rather offered up the symbolic gift of black-lacquered wooden swords;

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[240] Fresh foods, for example, were not directly received and handled by the *kubō*, but were instead sent to the palace kitchens. Cecilia Segawa Seigle, "Tokugawa Tsunayoshi and the Formation of Edo Castle Rituals of Giving," in *Mediated by Gifts: Politics and Society in Japan, 1350-1850*, ed. Martha Chaiklin (Leiden: Brill, 2016), 159.; Segawa Seigle, "Gift Exchanges in Edo Castle" (unpublished manuscript, August 1, 2012), 19, https://repository.upenn.edu/ealc/6/.

[241] Walthall, "Hiding the Shoguns," 339.

in some cases, real swords and such ceremonial objects, described in various sources as *tsukuri tachi* 作り太刀, were presented together.[242]

In the case of the Lūchūan embassies, the sections of the *Tokugawa reiten roku* and *Ryūkyū kankei monjo* describing the step-by-step actions taken in these audience ceremonies make mention only of a "sword list," and not of the presentation of any actual sword, whether steel, wooden, or otherwise, during the course of the audience ceremony itself.[243] Illustrations in the *Tokugawa reiten roku* explicitly depict a sword, however, perhaps suggesting that an actual sword – or, at least, a ceremonial lacquered wooden one – was presented, and not solely a list.[244] We have already seen the use of ornamental wooden weapons (rather than functional metal ones) which were lacquered, painted, and gilded to contribute to the spectacle of the embassies' street processions. The Tokugawa and Shimazu carefully controlled the import and export of viable weapons into and out of Lūchū, and any real weapons presented by the kingdom would have had to be inspected or otherwise prepared by Kagoshima. The swords and spears presented by the kingdom to the Qing emperors were made of soft iron, not true steel, and were merely polished up to make them look good, thus suggesting the possibility that some form of symbolic swords – rather than true, functional, steel ones – may have been presented in Edo as well. Still, the *Ryūkyū kankei monjo* lists "one sword" (御太刀　一腰, *o-tachi hitokoshi*) among the gifts given by the kings of Chūzan to the *kubō* in 1832, and "one false sword each"

[242] Ono, 198-199.; Fukai, *Tōken to kaku tsuke*, 113-114.; Ogawa, 83.
[243] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 309, 332.; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 129-130, 137-138, 140-141.
[244] "Ryūkyūjin orei sekizu." insert, in *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3.

(作り御太刀　一腰宛, *tsukuri o-tachi hitokoshi zutsu*) among the gifts given to the *kubō's* heir and to the head of the Kishū or Owari Tokugawa house that year.[245] This would seem to suggest that the swords given to the *kubō* were real steel blades, a potentially remarkable thing in light of cost-saving measures implemented by the Tokugawa government in 1722 which drastically reduced the number of occasions when *daimyō* were expected to present real swords to the *kubō*.[246]

Following those 1722 edicts aimed at economizing the practice of ritual gift exchanges, only the most elite *daimyō* continued to present real swords on a regular basis (e.g. in conjunction with their own succession). Though lords were still expected to present real swords on "exceptionally special occasions,"[247] for the most part, in terms of swords presented on a regular basis, the practice all but disappeared among the vast majority of *daimyō*, and the flow of ceremonial lacquered swords came to dominate.[248] If the kingdom continued to present the *kubō* with real blades even after these 1722 reforms, as the *Ryūkyū kankei monjo* would seem to suggest, it would be a further mark of the kingdom's elite or exceptional status, as one of the few entities which still did so.

[245] *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 175-179. This document indicates the false swords were presented to the *Daifu-sama* 内府様 and *Dainagon-sama* 大納言様. The former title was regularly held by shogunal heirs, while the latter was held by the heads of the Kishū and Owari branch houses (two of the *gosanke*). At that time, in 1832, the head of the Kishū household was Tokugawa Nariyuki 徳川斉順 (1801-1846), a younger son of the *kubō*, Tokugawa Ienari.
[246] Fukai, *Tōken to kaku tsuke*, 112-113.
[247] 「格別重い祝儀御礼事があるとき」, as quoted in Fukai, *Tōken to kaku tsuke*, 112-113.
[248] Specifically, it was chiefly, the *gosanke*, *tamari-tsume*, and *kunimochi daimyō* who continued to present real swords. Fukai, *Tōken to kaku tsuke*, 113, 147.

Regardless of whether a true steel sword was given, however, or only a symbolic ornamental one, Mori Yoshikazu writes that the ceremonial presentation of a sword was the single most important element in the ritual performance of samurai relationships, and among the gifts exchanged in such relationships.[249] Its distinctive importance in the Lūchūans' audiences is seen in the fact that the presentations of swords from the king and from the envoys themselves were distinct steps within the audience ritual, separate from the ceremonial presentation of all other gifts. This seems to have been standard in *daimyō* audiences with the *kubō* as well; in the aforementioned 1739 audience enjoyed by Matsudaira Yoshiatsu, he too presented a list of his other gifts first (including a false sword), and then as a distinct, separate step in the ritual, presented a real sword to the *kubō* in gratitude for the *kubō's* formal recognition of his succession to headship of the Owari Tokugawa house.[250] The distinctive significance of the sword among the gifts presented is further indicated in diagrams of the Lūchūans' 1790 audiences, which incorporate an explicit illustration of the sword but represent all other items and individuals merely by circles, triangles, and rectangles.[251]

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[249] Mori Yoshikazu 母利美和, "Buke girei to tachi" 武家儀礼と太刀, *Gekkan bunkazai* 月刊文化財 311 (Aug 1989), 35, 37.
[250] Fukai, *Tōken to kaku tsuke*, 75-76.
[251] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, "Ryūkyūjin orei sekizu," insert.

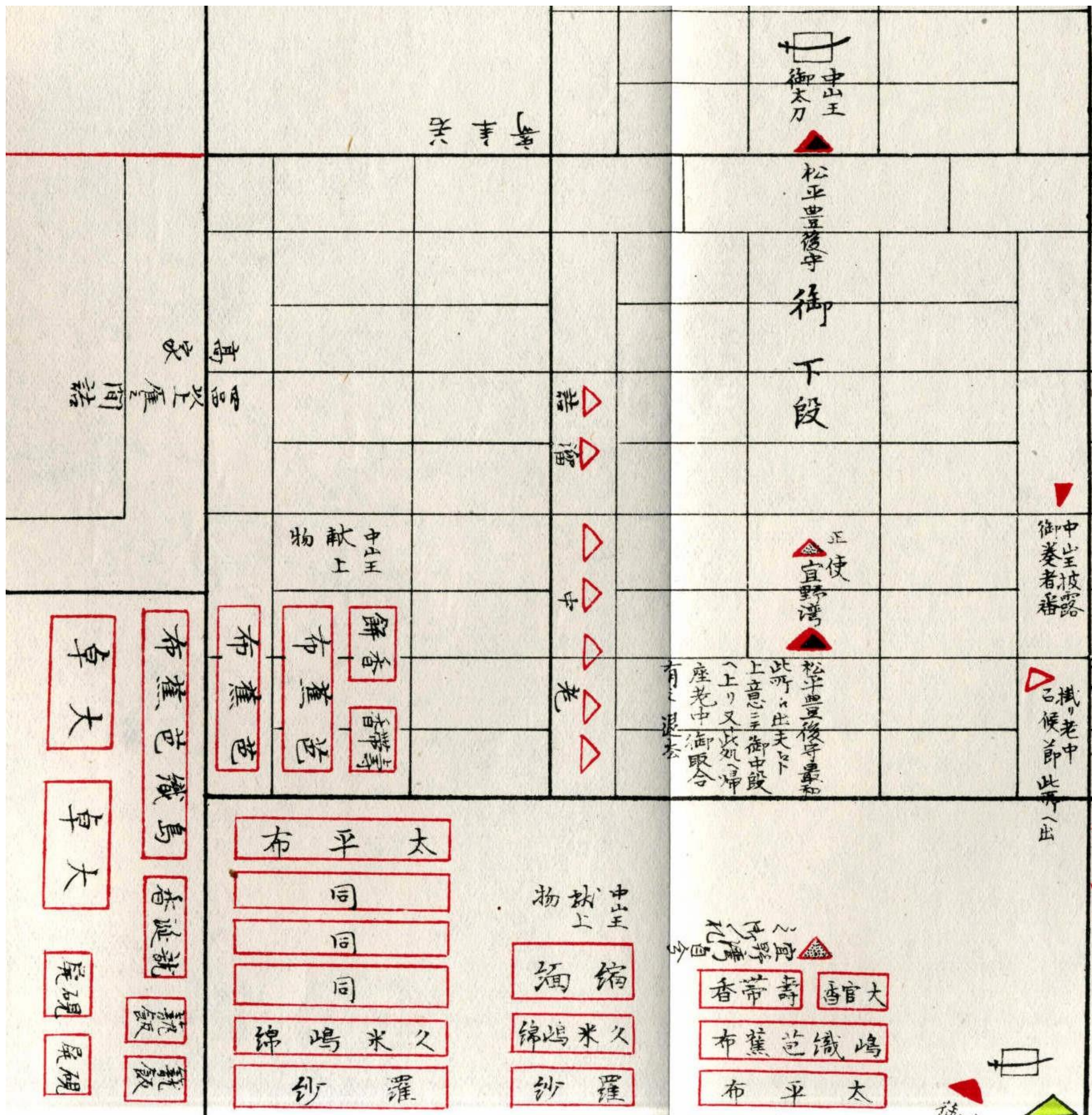

Fig. 3-6: Diagram of Lūchūan lead envoy Prince Jinon's (J: Ginowan) first audience with the *kubō* in 1790, as depicted in an insert in the *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3 (detail). Note the king's sword placed for presentation in the middle section of the hall (中段), Prince Jinon's position in the lower section (御下段), and the various other gifts from the king (red rectangles) arranged on the verandas outside of the Grand Audience Hall proper.

Within Tokugawa symbolic discourses, the presentation of a sword served in particular as "a token of … submission to the shogun."[252] *Daimyō* regularly presented swords to the *kubō* when being recognized as the new head of their house and reaffirmed in their fief, as well as on regular monthly and seasonal occasions; each *daimyō's* retainers did similarly.[253] That the presentation of a sword held such connotations of feudal ties within a Tokugawa/samurai hierarchy is suggested further by the fact that envoys from Joseon did not present swords to the *kubō* as their Lūchūan counterparts did. This can be seen as a significant element of the ritual reaffirmation of the king of Lūchū's position as vassal of the lord of Kagoshima, while the king of Joseon was never inscribed into any such subordinate feudal position within Tokugawa hierarchies.

Still, scholars such as Mori Yoshikazu and Asō Shin'ichi suggest that the significance of gift-giving of swords is not so simple or obvious. The presentation of swords by Lūchūan envoys may have constituted a performance of fealty within a feudal/samurai ritual mode, but while swords were regularly exchanged as gifts between samurai as far back as the late 12th or early 13th century, by the 15th century this was a standard practice among the court aristocracy (*kuge* 公家) as well.[254] The Tokugawa *kubō* also regularly presented a sword and a horse to the Imperial Court;[255] while these gifts could be seen as "token[s] of … submission" to the emperor,

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[252] Walthall, "Hiding the Shoguns," 344. The presentation of swords (as well as horses, bows, arrows, quivers, and saddles) to the shogun by his retainers goes back to the Kamakura period. Mori, 31.

[253] Segawa Seigle, "Gift Exchanges in Edo Castle," 20-21.; Ono, 198-199, 204, 259-260.; Asao, ed., 57.; Mori, 34.; Fukai, *Tōken to kaku tsuke*.

[254] Usami Kosumo 宇佐美こすも, "Chūsei kuge nikki ni okeru 'ken' 'tachi' hyōki" 中世公家日記における『剣』『太刀』表記, *Nihon rekishi* 日本歴史 824 (Jan 2017), 139-141.

[255] Mori, 32.

it signals that the presentation of swords had meanings and ritual functions outside of only feudal/warrior discourses of interpersonal relationships. Swords were also a standard gift or tribute item given by the Lūchūan court to Ming and Qing emperors. Between 1425 and 1500, Ryukyu presented more than 1,340 swords to the Ming court.[256] Gift-exchanges were also a customary practice between houses or courts of ostensibly equal status, expressing or enacting non-hierarchical and reciprocal friendliness or respect; Asō Shin'ichi suggests that in the first two decades or so after the Shimazu invasion of Lūchū, the pattern of gift exchanges between the Shō and Shimazu houses resembles less the formal performance of an unequal (hierarchical) lord-vassal relationship than it does a pattern of social courtesy between friendly houses or courts.[257] Most if not all of the swords exchanged between the Shō and Shimazu at that time were Japanese blades, some of which the kingdom had acquired in previous gift exchanges. One of the swords presented by King Shō Nei to shogunal heir Tokugawa Iemitsu in 1610, for example, is known to have been by the Japanese swordsmith Nagamitsu.[258] These Japanese swords could not be seen as a "local product" of Lūchū, but rather may be said to have been an instance of Lūchūan performance of the typical samurai practice of presenting one another with famous swords (by famous swordsmiths, or with some notable history or provenance).[259] The Lūchūan presentation of a sword to the *kubō* may therefore have

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[256] Tokugawa Yoshinobu, "Ryukyu and the Art of Lacquer," *Okinawa bijutsu zenshū* 沖縄美術全集, ed. Okinawa Bijutsu Zenshū Kankō Iinkai 沖縄美術全集刊行委員会, vol. 2 (Naha: Okinawa Taimusu, 1989), iv.

[257] Asō, "Kinsei chūkōki no zōyo girei," 3.

[258] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori*, 107. Osafune Nagamitsu 長船長光 was a late 13th to early 14th century swordsmith based in Bizen province (modern-day Okayama prefecture). A number of surviving swords forged by him have been designated National Treasures or Important Cultural Properties.

[259] Mori, 32-34, 36.; Fukai, *Tōken to kaku tsuke*. Most swords used in such early modern ceremonial exchanges between lords and retainers were antique swords with their own unique names and prestigious provenances, forged prior to the period of Tokugawa, though some were so-called "new swords" (*shintō* 新刀), forged in the

resonated with multiple different meanings simultaneously. Still, its significance as one of the key categories of gifts presented by samurai reaffirming their relationship with their lord, something performed only by Lūchūan and not Korean envoys, and performed as a distinct ritual act separate from the presentation of other gifts, should not be overlooked.

The presentation of a horse to the *kubō* by congratulatory Lūchūan embassies similarly can be said to have evoked resonances of Chinese and Lūchūan "tributary" traditions but to have also had very particular significance for inscribing Lūchū's political status vis-à-vis the *kubō* in the rhetorical symbolisms of samurai relationships. Horses had been among the chief tribute goods presented by Lūchū to the Ming emperors for centuries before the Qing court eliminated them from the list of Lūchūan tribute goods.[260] As we have seen, they were also a standard and key type of gift presented by *daimyō* to the *kubō*, alongside swords, textiles, and liquor.[261] In both China and Japan since ancient times, as well as in many other societies elsewhere in the world, "gifts of horses served the double purpose of increasing the military preparedness of the recipient … while ritually affirming relationships of dominance," that is, of subordination or of inferior/superior relationships.[262] The horses presented by the kingdom as gifts or tribute were also often local breeds, making them "local goods." Those presented by Lūchū to Ming emperors and Tokugawa *kubō* were often either breeds from southern islands such as Dunan (J: Yonaguni) and Myaaku (J: Miyako), or from Satsuma.[263] Many regions of Japan were famous for

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Tokugawa period. Mori, 35-36. Sadly, the age, style, maker, and provenance of swords presented by the Lūchūan embassies to the Tokugawa are unclear.

[260] Umezaki Harumitsu 梅崎晴光, *Kieta Ryūkyū keiba* 消えた琉球競馬 (Naha: Borderink, 2012), 82-84.

[261] Mori, 31.; Fukai, *Tōken to kaku tsuke*, 73, 112-113.; Yokoyama, *Ryūkyū koku shisetsu torai no kenkyū*, 423.

[262] Pitelka, 67-68.

[263] Conversation with Asō Shin'ichi, 25 Jan 2017.

their horses, and *daimyō* presentation of such horses to the *kubō*, like that of any local goods, allowed the *daimyō* to show off with pride and share with his lord examples of the great things his territory produced, while allowing the *kubō* to "accumulate" a "spectacular" collection of objects symbolically representing his lordship over a large realm full of diverse local specialties.[264]

Horses were only presented to the *kubō* by Lūchūan embassies dispatched in conjunction with expressions of congratulation on his succession, however; embassies which traveled to Edo to express gratitude for the *kubō's* recognition of a new king of Lūchū presented him with ten pieces of silver in place of the horse. Such gifts were known in Japanese as *badai* 馬代 ("in place of a horse") or *badaigin* 馬代銀 ("silver in place of a horse"), specifically identifying that set of silver pieces as symbolic of the gift of a horse. This was a central and standard element of early modern samurai gift-giving practices; while samurai retainers regularly presented their lords with horses on certain occasions, perhaps just as frequently, they presented them with *badai*.[265] The fact that Lūchūan gratitude missions (*onshashi*) gave a gift of *badai* to the *kubō* as *daimyō* also did on various occasions is another vital and significant element of the ways in which the kingdom or its ruling house was incorporated into the Tokugawa order not as a tributary entity but as something akin to a vassal house within *bushi* hierarchies.

[264] Pitelka, 19-31.
[265] Mori, 31.

Bestowals

In the final audience ceremony in which each embassy participated, the *rōjū* (acting on behalf of the *kubō*) bestowed upon the king, the envoys, and other members of the mission sizable amounts of silver, textiles, and seasonal clothing as reciprocation for the embassy's gifts to the *kubō*. To be specific, as we have already seen, the bestowals from the *kubō* typically included 500 pieces of silver and 500 rolls of cotton cloth for the Lūchūan king, 200 pieces of silver and ten items of seasonal clothing for the lead envoy, 300 pieces of silver to be divided amongst the remaining members of the mission, and three items of seasonal clothing for each of the musicians who performed in the *sōgaku no gi* ("rite of musical performance").[266] Though the "seasonal clothing" bestowed upon the 1644 embassy is described in the *Edo bakufu nikki* in simple terms as including *awase* 袷 (lined kimono, for winter), *hitoemono* 単衣物 (unlined kimono, for summer), and *katabira* 帷子 (summer kimono), in 1832 the garments granted to the envoys included *noshime* 熨斗目 (formal ceremonial robes) as well as garments in several types of figured and patterned satin.[267] Mizuno Katsuzane, lord of Yūki domain, is recorded as saying that the seasonal clothing bestowed upon the envoys at that time was quite excellent,

[266] One "piece" of silver is my translation for 銀一枚; one piece seems to have been equivalent to one *ryō* 両 or ten *monme* 匁. These amounts were standard at least as early as 1649. *Edo bakufu nikki*, 207-209.; *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 337.; *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 147-152 (964-966).

[267] Lead envoy Prince Tumigushiki received two *noshime*, two items of figured gauze or gossamer (紗綾, *saaya*), two items of figured satin (綸子, *rinzu*), another of satin (繻子, *shusu*), another of multi-colored satin damask (繻珍, *shuchin*), and two items described as "white on both sides" (白両面). Deputy envoy Takushi *ueekata* received one *noshime*, one item of figured gauze or gossamer, one of satin, one described as being of "flowery" satin (花々や繻子, *hanahanaya shusu*), and one "white on both sides." *Ryūkyū kankei monjo*, vol. 2, 149-150.

decorated in five-colored (or multi-colored) designs, and very eye-catching, and that they were far higher in quality than the gifts which the envoys presented to the *kubō*.[268]

The Confucian notion of "giving much and receiving little" (厚往薄來, C: *hòuwǎng báolái*) as a show of the ruler's magnanimity, and of his wealth and the self-sufficiency of his realm, was common to both Tokugawa and Ming/Qing practices, as it was throughout the region.[269] Emperors of the Ming & Qing empires and Tokugawa shoguns alike regularly bestowed upon embassies, retainers, and others gifts greater in value than what they received as gifts or "tribute." In the case of tributary embassies to the Qing court, these bestowals typically took the form of a variety of Chinese silks and brocades, as well as an amount of silver to help cover the costs of the return journey. The emperor added at his discretion jades, glassware, lacquerwares, porcelains or other ceramics, writing brushes, inkstones, fancy paper, furs, and/or other small keepsakes, as well as poems or other phrases calligraphed in the emperor's own hand, on paper or on wooden plaques which were often then hung in the palace at Sui,[270] and the *kubō* from time to time did similarly, granting additional bestowals to the embassies. Though framed in the rhetoric of the time as a show of magnanimity and benevolence on the part of the *kubō* (or of the Ming or Qing emperor), scholars of ritual studies have pointed out that while gift-giving "seems an act of generosity … what we are really doing … is establishing a tacit relationship of power in which the recipient becomes indebted to

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[268] *Edo bakufu nikki*, vol. 14, 56-57.; Sudō, "Michigaku no zu," 18.
[269] Schottenhammer, 180-181.
[270] Ch'en, "Sino–Liu-Ch'iuan Relations in the Nineteenth Century," 71-74.; "Daishinkoku e Ryūkyūjin tōshifure no taitei kikiawase sōrō oboegaki," Kamakura, 96.

the gift-giver."[271] These reciprocal gifts, or bestowals, were demonstrations of power or superiority, and acts which contributed to the ritual bonds of the relationship between the Tokugawa house (or Ming/Qing Imperial Court) and the royal court of Lūchū.

While there are obvious parallels between the Ming/Qing and Tokugawa practices of "gracious bestowals," however, there are significant differences to be noted in the character or connotation of these bestowals, when considered within cultural context. The bestowal of items of calligraphy written directly by the hand of the Son of Heaven was intimately interconnected with rhetoric regarding "civilization." For the royal court to be able to display examples of imperial calligraphy in their throne room and over the gates to the castle reinforced notions of the kingdom's membership in Confucian civilization and of the Son of Heaven's formal recognition and legitimation of Lūchūan sovereignty.[272]

The *kubō's* gifts, by contrast, did not so much evoke a rhetoric of a civilizational order as they did one of feudal hierarchies and warrior loyalties. The granting of silver and seasonal clothing to Lūchūan embassies paralleled the regular customary bestowal by the *kubō* of the same upon the *daimyō*, and by the *daimyō* upon their retainers.[273] Such gifts reinforced the notion of Lūchūan membership within *bushi* hierarchies as retainers who were clothed and otherwise supported and provided for by their lord, in recognition of and in return for their loyal service. The reaffirmation of this relationship was then put on public display as the

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[271] Barry Stephenson, *Ritual: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 94.
[272] Chan, 32.
[273] *Edojō*, 120-123.

musicians wore this newly-bestowed clothing in the embassy's procession down from the castle.[274]

Music

Performances of Lūchūan court music before the *kubō* and his court stand out as a particularly distinct element of the traditional Lūchū-Tokugawa ritual relationship, having no direct parallel in Korean or *daimyō* interactions with the Tokugawa court, nor in tributary missions to the Ming or Qing empires. Perhaps the only music ever performed in formal audience ceremonies within the Honmaru Palace,[275] these Lūchūan performances took place as the chief activity of each embassy's second audience, a ceremony known as the *sōgaku no gi*, or "rite of musical performance," typically held several days after the embassy's first formal audience.

Music was an essential part of court ritual in China since ancient times. As the Book of Rites (禮記, C: *Lǐjì*), one of the Confucian classics, states, "the relation between music and ritual is … that of a dynamic process. Music is found in ritual, and ritual is found in music. Each gives

[274] Sudō, "'Ryūkyūjin michigaku no zu,'" 18.; "Gieisei nikki," 198.
[275] Formal viewings of entertainments such as Noh and of the "bizarre" cultural practices of the Dutch (including music) also took place in the Honmaru Palace, but these can be categorized as "viewings" (*jōran* 上覧 or *goran* 御覧) of entertainments, not as formal audience ceremonies (*omemie* お目見得). Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 190.; Thomas Looser, *Visioning Eternity: aesthetics, politics and history in the early modern Noh theater* (Ithaca, NY: East Asia Center, Cornell University, 2008), 228-233.

birth to and is born of the other."[276] Nevertheless, despite the centrality of music in Chinese, Korean, and Lūchūan court ritual, and the fundamental place of (Neo-)Confucianism in Tokugawa political culture, it seems that music was only ever played in the Tokugawa court for entertainments, and not during official court ceremonies, with this one exception. For reasons which are unclear, Joseon embassies to Edo did not bring musicians for performances within Edo castle as the Lūchūans did. Alongside the exclusion of Lūchūan, Joseon, and other foreign envoys from the regular calendar of regular court ceremonies and from participation directly alongside or amongst regular members of the shogun's court in being ritually incorporated into the Tokugawa court or realm as discussed earlier, this absence of music in regular Tokugawa court ceremonies marks another significant deviation in Tokugawa ritual practice from what was considered an essential element of proper ritual throughout the rest of the Confucian region.

The audience began with the *kubō* taking his place at the far end of the audience hall and all present prostrating before him. The *sōjaban* then instructed the *yuèzhèng* (head of the ensemble) to indicate to the musicians to come forward and take up their instruments.[277] The program consisted chiefly of a genre of music known in Okinawan as *uzagaku* 御座楽, which might be translated as "seated music," in contrast to the "street music" (路次楽, O: *rujigaku*) which members of the embassy performed in procession. Consisting of Ming and Qing songs

[276] Pratt, "Art in the Service of Absolutism: Music at the Courts of Louis XIV and the Kangxi Emperor," *The Seventeenth Century* 7, no. 1 (1992), 84, citing Kenneth DeWoskin, *A Song for One or Two: Music and the Concept of Art in Early China*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Center for Chinese Studies (1982), 92.
[277] "Gieisei nikki," 179.

and instrumental pieces from folk, popular, theatrical, and Imperial court banquet music traditions and played on Chinese instruments, *uzagaku* was the primary musical genre performed at formal court ceremonies in Lūchū.[278] Ten of these pieces were usually performed in the *sōgaku no gi*, followed by a specific Lūchūan song, or *ryūka* 琉歌,[279] known as *kajadifū bushi* かぎやで風節.[280] This song was accompanied by musicians on the Okinawan *sanshin* 三線[281] and marked the end of the program. The Lūchūan envoys and musicians then withdrew, after which the lord of Satsuma advanced to the middle level of the hall and prostrated before the *kubō* before withdrawing from the hall. As in the *shinken no gi*, the *kubō* then granted an audience to the remaining samurai lords, retainers, and officials gathered in the hall, gazing out over them as they prostrated before him. All then withdrew from the hall, marking the completion of the ceremony.[282] Following the performance, the *Tokugawa reiten roku* account of the 1714 audiences indicates that the Lūchūans were led back to the *Tenjō-no-ma*, where they were provided a ceremonial banquet, while the other members of their party and Shimazu samurai retainers were banqueted in other rooms.[283]

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[278] Wang Yaohua 王耀華, "'Edo nobori shiryō' chū no 5 kyoku no genryū o saguru" 「江戸上り史料」中の 5 曲の源流を探る, in *Uzagaku no fukugen ni mukete*, 57-58.; Higa, "Uzagaku: The Vanished Tradition of Ryukyuan Court Music," 3, 22.; Kaneshiro Atsumi 金城厚, "Ryūkyū no gaikō girei ni okeru gakki ensō no imi" 琉球の外交儀礼における楽器演奏の意味, Musa ムーサ 14 (2013), 54-54, 59.

[279] J: *ryūka*; O: *ryūka* or *rūka/lūka*.

[280] The titles of the pieces performed are well-documented in a number of sources from the period. For a compiled list, see Higa, "Uzagaku no kashi ni tsuite" 御座楽の歌詞について, in *Uzagaku: uzagaku fukugen kenkyūkai chōsa hōkokusho,* 31-33. Though the first half of the title of *Kajadifū-bushi* is written with *kana* characters that would be read *kagiyade* in standard Japanese, these same *kana* are read as *kajadi* in Okinawan.

[281] A three-stringed snakeskin plucked string instrument, related to the Chinese *sanxian*, and from which the Japanese *shamisen* developed.

[282] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol. 3, 315, 336.; "Gieisei nikki," 179-180.

[283] *Tokugawa reiten roku*, vol 3, 315.

Odd though these performances of Lūchūan court music may have been in contrast to the absence of music from other formal Tokugawa court ceremonies, however, they represent a direct continuation or adaptation of the practices of earlier Lūchūan embassies to Japan. Shimazu retainer Uwai Satokane records that Shimazu Iehisa's audience with Lūchūan envoys on 1575/4/10 included a performance by a group of young Lūchūan musicians seated on a veranda just outside of the audience hall.[284] Ikemiya Masaharu suggests that this was likely Chinese-style court music, and that performing seated music (i.e. *uzagaku*) in this manner in official court costume was a standard pattern for Lūchūan diplomatic ritual interactions.[285] Though the first two embassies to Edo (in 1644 and 1649), as well as the 1634 embassy to Kyoto, did not include any formal performances of Lūchūan music before the shogun,[286] performances of *uzagaku* before Tokugawa Hidetada, Tokugawa Iemitsu, and Emperor Go-Mizunoo (r. 1611-1629) in 1626,[287] before Hidetada and/or Iemitsu in 1630,[288] and before Retired Emperor Go-Mizunoo in 1636,[289] signal the continuation of a tradition of *uzagaku* performances before Japanese rulers stretching back to at least 1575. *Uzagaku* was first

[284] Uwai, 116.
[285] Ikemiya, *Kumemura*, 129.
[286] Dana, "Bunken shiryō ni miru uzagaku," 7.
[287] Kido, 53.; Tomiyama and Takara, 85.
[288] Yamauchi Seihin 山内盛彬, *Ryūkyū no ongaku geinō shi* 琉球の音楽芸能史 (Tokyo: Minzoku Geinō Zenshū Kankōkai, 1959), 180.; Kido, 52.
[289] Hōrin Jōshō 鳳林承章, *Kakumeiki* 隔冥記 (1635-1668), entry dated Kan'ei 13 (1636)/11/24, repub. Akamatsu Toshihide 赤松俊秀, ed., *Kakumeiki* 隔冥記, vol. 1 (Kyoto: Rokuon-ji, 1958), 38.

performed as part of a formal Edo embassy[290] in 1653, and became a standard element of the embassies from that time forward.[291]

This presentation of Lūchūan court music was not simply a form of entertainment but was treated with great importance by all sides as a result of the centrality of performance in both early modern Japanese and Lūchūan conceptions of diplomacy. The importance of music in classical Confucian political philosophy and culture cannot be overstated. As Joseph Lam writes, "in Confucian China, music was not only a counterpart of ritual but also a means of governance and self-cultivation, and as such, music was an integral part of intellectual and practical concerns of the elite."[292] The same was true in Joseon and Lūchū. The Book of Rites states that the musical scales and modes derive from the cosmic or Heavenly source of all civilization, that proper ritual music contains "the same harmony as between Heaven and Earth" and that "the greatest ritual [is that which possesses] the same rhythm as between Heaven and Earth."[293] Thus, the quality of a court's music – its accordance with the supposed rhythms of Heaven and Earth – was believed to both guide and be guided by, and therefore be a direct reflection of, that court's virtue or upright civilization (or conversely, its corruption or barbarity).[294] The Lūchūan embassies' *uzagaku* performances before the *kubō* and his men

[290] That is, one of the seventeen embassies from 1644 onward that were explicitly planned to be part of an ongoing regular pattern of dispatching embassies, in contrast to those prior to 1644 which were dispatched only individually without a plan that another embassy would necessarily take place at any specific point in the future. See: Kido.
[291] A chart of the pieces performed and instruments employed in each embassy from 1653 to 1850 can be found in *Uzagaku: uzagaku fukugen kenkyukai chōsa kenkyū hōkokusho*, pp31-33.
[292] Joseph Lam, "Ming Music and Music History," *Ming Studies* 1997, no. 1 (1997), 30-31
[293] Smith, "Ritual in Ch'ing Culture," 291.
[294] Pratt, "Art in the Service of Absolutism," 85.

were therefore a vitally important demonstration of the harmony, virtue, and civilization of their court and kingdom.

This functioned on an individual level as well. As music was considered one of the four skills of the cultured Confucian gentleman,[295] the Lūchūan scholar-aristocrats' demonstrations of their familiarity and skill in Ming/Qing musical traditions were intended by the Lūchūans not merely as impressive artistic displays, but as a fundamental sign of their civility and refinement as Confucian scholar-gentlemen. The various prefaces and postscripts in the 1768 *Gishi gakufu* 魏氏楽譜, the first major Japanese popular publication to discuss Ming music, express a keen belief in these very notions. Japanese Confucian scholar Seki Nanrai 関南頼 (d. 1780s) wrote in his introduction to the volume that Ming music represented the culmination of the refinement of the Tang tradition, and in the postscript, Confucian scholar Miyazaki Inpo 宮崎筠圃 (1717-1774) wrote that "ceremonial music" was "a regulator [of good government and daily life]," and that Ming music (as recorded in the *Gishi gakufu*) was civilized, refined, harmonious music in the Confucian sense.[296]

For the Lūchūans, these performances were therefore important demonstrations of their mastery of high, refined, Ming and Qing dynasty music and of their incorporation of that music into the formal "ritual music" (礼楽, J: *reigaku*) of the Lūchūan court, as well as

[295] Along with calligraphy/poetry, painting, and games of strategy or skill (e.g. wéiqí, i.e. the game of *go*).
[296] Gi Shimei 魏子明, et al., *Gishi gakufu* 魏氏楽譜 (Kyoto: Geikōdō 芸香堂, 1768), University of Tokyo Kokugo Kenkyūshitsu, call no. 4K 8.; Britten Dean, "Mr. Gi's Music Book: An Annotated Translation of Gi Shimei's Gi-shi gakufu," *Monumenta Nipponica* 37:3 (1982), 325n27, 330. Addition in square brackets is Dean's. Seki and Miyazaki signed their contributions under the pen-names Seki Seibi 関世美 and Miya Ki 宮奇, respectively.

demonstrations of the cultural refinement of the musicians themselves as Confucian gentleman-scholars. The great importance to the Sui court of these musical performances is seen in the fact that after becoming chief royal advisor, or *shisshi* 摂政 (J: *sessei*), in 1666, Haneji Chōshū 羽地朝秀[297] implemented new policies to promote the arts, and "Chinese music" in particular, explicitly in order to help ensure that relations with Satsuma remained smooth and harmonious.[298] Further evidence of this view can be seen in a set of instructions from the court to the heads of the 1850 mission, which indicates that "[music] is the number one adornment of our mission," and that therefore "[the musicians] must thoroughly, intensively, master the tuning/temperament, phrasing, and rhythm."[299] Members of the mission practiced intensively for these musical performances for months prior to their departure from Lūchū, as well as along the journey, such as when aboard ship traveling from Kagoshima to Osaka, or upriver from Osaka to Fushimi.[300]

The Tokugawa and Shimazu houses took these events to be of great importance as well. They were organized as formal audience ceremonies and incorporated much of the same visual, material, and spatial marks of formality as the primary audiences. The *kubō* and all other samurai officials in attendance wore the same formal ceremonial garb (礼服, J: *reifuku*) as for

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[297] Also known as Shō Shōken 向象賢 (C: Xiàng Xiàngxián), 1617-1675. Served as *shisshi* 1666-1673.

[298] Liao, 102.; Okinawa-ken Okinawa Shiryō Henshūshitsu 沖縄県沖縄資料編集室, eds., *Shuri ōfu shioki* 首里王府仕置, zen-kindai vol. 1 (Naha: Okinawa-ken Kyōiku Iinkai, 1981), 24.

[299] 「尤江戸立第一之粧二候得共能々音律節度相究熟錬仕候様可被加下知事。」"Edo dachi no toki oose watashi narabi ni ōtō no jōjō no utsushi" 江戸立之時仰渡并応答之条々之写, transcribed in Kamakura, vol. 3, 72.

[300] Itaya, "Kafu ni mirareru geinō shiryō 2: Edo nobori," 171, 174.; Shinshū Ōsaka Shishi Hensan Iinkai, vol. 6, 563-564.

the Lūchūans' first audience, a reflection of the importance or seriousness of this musical performance as an official part of ritual diplomacy.[301]

Arai Hakuseki in particular asserted the ritual importance of music, writing that "proper, refined music [has] the capacity to mold human beings from within," making them moral and upright, and otherwise contributing to their performance of proper behavior in accordance with the cosmic order; therefore, he believed, "it was the ceremonial music of the royal [i.e. imperial] court that should serve as model and standard."[302] It was for that reason that he not only encouraged or supported the Lūchūan performance of ritual music, but also worked to replace Noh, which he saw as "vulgar and barbarous" (perhaps because of its character as a samurai-patronized art derived originally from rural folk traditions) with *gagaku* 雅楽, the formal ritual music of the imperial court in Kyoto, as the chief form of performing arts for the *kubō's* court.[303] *Gagaku*, he believed, was a more proper, refined, form of music, and a better model or moral influence for those who should hear it. Hakuseki arranged for the Korean embassy of 1711 to be welcomed in Edo castle with a *gagaku* performance, a demonstration of Japanese civility and refinement serving discursive purposes not unlike the Lūchūans' performances; he is said to have "asserted with some pride to the envoys that this [*gagaku*

[301] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 121-122.
[302] Watanabe Hiroshi, *A History of Japanese Political Thought*, 148-149.
[303] Watanabe Hiroshi, *A History of Japanese Political Thought*, 148-149. While Japanese *gagaku* was based on the ritual court music of the Tang court, and was thus closely associated with Confucian notions of "correct" Heavenly tones and rhythms, Noh was born out of rural folk traditions, and was patronized more strongly or more prominently by the samurai (warrior) class than by imperial court. On the rural folk origins of Noh, see Benito Ortolani, "Shamanism in the Origins of the Nō Theatre," *Asian Theatre Journal* 1, no. 2 (1984): 166-190.; Jin'ichi Konishi, *A History of Japanese Literature, Volume 3: The High Middle Ages* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 528.; Ortolani, *The Japanese Theatre: From Shamanistic Ritual to Contemporary Pluralism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 90.

performance] recalled ‘the rites and music of the Three Dynasties’ of ancient China.”[304] Imperial court nobles, and as might be expected, imperial court musicians (*gagaku* specialists) in particular, also saw the proper and correct performance of ritual music as intimately interconnected with societal and political harmony. When in 1636 Retired Emperor Go-Mizunoo expressed appreciation of a Lūchūan musical performance and ordered his court musicians to learn this Ming-style Lūchūan music, many members of his court reportedly balked at the idea, calling the foreign music lewd or debauched, and saying that adopting such music would be an error which would destroy the country.[305] That the imperial courtiers expressed fears that this “would destroy the country” shows how seriously they took such matters, and the strength of their belief in the correlation between court music and the harmony of both the court and the realm.

As the giving of local goods as tribute gifts was such a central part of the tributary tradition throughout the region, a performance of local (Lūchūan) music might also have been welcomed (or demanded) by the Tokugawa court as an offering of “local products.” Itaya Tōru describes Lūchūan music and dance performed for the Shimazu in Kagoshima as “offered up” or “presented” using the term *kenzu* 献ず, the most standard term seen in documents from the time describing the presentation of gifts of local goods to a lord, *kubō*, or other high-ranking superior.[306] Tributary missions to Beijing from Joseon, Vietnam, Burma, and elsewhere often

[304] Watanabe Hiroshi, *A History of Japanese Political Thought*, 148-149.
[305] 「日本の伶人習琉球楽、此中習了、漸奏之者也。為　勅命、習楽云々。有道之臣在傍、攢眉曰、夷狄之楽、非桑間濮上、而何乎、今習淫聲之楽、非好事、為朝之訛哉。」 Hōrin Jōshō, *Kakumeiki*, 38.
[306] Itaya, “Kinsei Ryukyu no tai-Satsuma kankei ni okeru geinō no yakuwari,” 113.; Yamamoto Hirofumi, *Sankin kōtai*, 180-181.

"offered up" music to the Qing court as well, though it is unclear if tributary missions from Lūchū ever did.[307]

As with a great many of the embassies' activities and ritual obligations, formal musical performances in Edo varied considerably over the course of the 17th century missions before finally settling into a regular, standard form. By 1710, they constituted a set of customary practices which Arai Hakuseki would further shape into a set standard ritual form. From 1714 onward, the *sōgaku no gi* always featured the same five instrumental pieces, and the same single Lūchūan song at the end of the program,[308] though the Ming and Qing songs performed in between varied somewhat.[309] While most other aspects of the envoys' ceremonial audiences and processional performances became rather standardized in a single set form (albeit with *some* variation), many aspects of the *uzagaku* performances continued to develop, achieving a more firmly set form only with the 1764 mission.[310] Importantly, these changes in the musical program from one embassy to the next reflect the development over time of Lūchūan court music traditions themselves. The *uzagaku* performed before the shogun and his court in Edo was consistently a demonstration of Lūchūan court music as performed in Lūchū – changes in

[307] Keith Pratt, "Change and Continuity in Qing Court Music," 98.
[308] The program opened with three Chinese instrumental pieces entitled *wàn niánchūn* 万年春, *hè shèngmíng* 賀聖明, and *yuè qīngcháo* 楽清朝. After several Ming and Qing songs, the musicians played two more instrumental pieces, *fènghuáng yín* 鳳凰吟 and *qìng huáng dōu* 慶皇都. These latter pieces were Ming courtly banquet pieces ostensibly "requested" (所望, *shomō*) or "ordered" (台命, *daimei*) by the *kubō* as an "encore," but became standard elements of the program from 1714 on. The final Lūchūan song was always *kajadifū bushi* かぎやで風節. Higa, "Uzagaku no kasha ni tsuite," 30-31; Liao, 87-89.
[309] Higa, "Uzagaku no kasha ni tsuite," 30-31
[310] Liao, 107.

the *uzagaku* program from one embassy to the next should not be seen as directed changes to diplomatic practices for specifically political purposes.[311]

These developments included an increase in the prominence of plucked and bowed string instruments such as the *sānxiàn*, *pìpa*, and *tíqín*, as well as hammered dulcimers and zithers such as the *yangqin* and *tízhēng* over the course of the early and mid-18th century, up until 1764, creating a fuller or richer visual and auditory experience.[312] Kaneshiro Atsumi suggests this reflects an effort to elevate or improve the music.[313] However, at the same time, some songs performed with a fuller ensemble in the early 18th century began to be accompanied by only *sānxiàn* and *pípa* from 1764 through the last embassies.[314] Whether this reflects a decline in the importance placed on the music by the Lūchūan court, a shift in aesthetic style toward greater appreciation of simplicity, or a financial need to economize, is unclear.

In the Edo embassies, a group of scholar-aristocrats of *peechin* rank known as *yuèshī* ("music masters"), led the ensemble, playing the *suǒnà* and singing the Chinese lyrics, while the remainder of the musicians were the teenaged *yuètóngzǐ*, all of *satunushi* rank.[315] Each of the *yuètóngzǐ* specialized in certain classes of instruments, with some for example playing string instruments such as *sānxiàn* and *pípa* and others playing several types of flutes. Since each

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[311] Dana, "Bunken shiryō ni miru uzagaku," 7.

[312] Kaneshiro uses the term *enshutsu ryoku* 演出力, meaning roughly "production power" or "production strength." Kaneshiro Atsumi 金城厚, "Gakudōji, gakushi, kagakushi - uzagaku o tsutaeta hitobito" 楽童子・楽師・歌楽師－御座楽を伝えた人々, in *Uzagaku no fukugen ni mukete*, 74.

[313] Kaneshiro, "Gakudōji," 74.

[314] Higa, "Uzagaku no kashi ni tsuite," 30-31.

[315] Kaneshiro, "Gakudōji," 76-77.

piece called for different instruments, which individuals were onstage changed for each piece; each member of the ensemble only performed for a portion of the program. The *uzagaku* pieces performed included a mixture of Ming and Qing dynasty songs and instrumental pieces. The instrumental pieces were played on a combination of *suǒnà* and transverse flutes[316] accompanied by several types of drums, gongs, bells, and clappers,[317] while the songs were accompanied by various combinations of Chinese plucked and bowed string instruments.[318] The instrumentation for the songs also included dulcimer, bowed zither, bamboo clappers, and/or flutes at times, but never included percussion.[319]

Sadly, we cannot know just how this *uzagaku* music sounded. The *uzagaku* tradition was passed down within the Lūchūan scholar-aristocracy chiefly by oral transmission without being recorded in a written notation, and it died out – the line of transmission was broken – in the early 20th century, following the fall of the kingdom.[320] However, while Kaneshiro suggests that

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[316] Records of these performances refer to the transverse flutes by a number of different terms, including 横笛 (C: *héngdí*, J: *yokofue*), 横簫 (C: *héng xiāo*), and 管 (C: *guǎn*, J: *kan*). These were likely very similar in design to the *fansō* flute still used today in native Lūchūan music. Many of these pieces derived from the Ming/Qing court tradition known as *gǔchuī yuè* 鼓吹楽 (lit. "drum and blown [instrument] music"), which was closely related to both Ming/Qing processional music and Lūchūan *rujigaku*. Kaneshiro, "Ryūkyū no gaikō girei," 55, 58.

[317] Including gongs (銅鑼, C: *tóngluó*), small gongs (小銅鑼, C: *xiǎo tóngluó*), hand-held gongs (金羅, C: *jīnluó*), wooden or bamboo clappers (両班, C: *liǎng bān* and 三班, C: *sānbān*), and cymbals (新心, C: *xīnxīn*).

[318] Including two types of lutes (*pípa* 琵琶 and *yuèqín* 月琴), the three-stringed *sānxiàn* 三線 or 三絃 (from which the Okinawan *sanshin* and Japanese *shamisen* developed), two- and four-stringed versions (*èrxiàn* 二線 and *sìxiàn* 四線, respectively), and the longer, larger, *chángxiàn* 長線, as well as bowed instruments variously referred to as *tíqín* 提琴 or *huqin* 胡琴. All of these instruments, though built to adhere to Chinese forms, were likely produced by Lūchūan makers. Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 130.

[319] Kaneshiro, "Ryūkyū no gaikō girei," 54. Listings of the instruments, performers, pieces performed, and often the lyrics as well, can be found in the *Tokugawa reiten roku* vol. 3, 312-314, *Ryūkyū kankei monjo* vol. 2, 984-989, *Ryūkyū sōgaku zu* 琉球奏楽図 (1796), ink and colors on paper, handscroll converted into an album, British Library, London, OR 961, as well as in *Uzagaku no fukugen ni mukete*, 30-51.

[320] *Yomigaeru Ryūkyū geinō Edo nobori* よみがえる琉球芸能江戸上り, directed by Hongō Yoshiaki 本郷義明 (Naha: Cinema Okinawa, 2011), DVD; Dana, "Bunken shiryō ni miru uzagaku," 4.

these pieces, many of them borrowed from Chinese regional theater forms or other popular sources, were likely somewhat fun and interesting, he also writes that the aim was not to simply produce beautiful music, but rather that these musical performances were acts with particular ritual meaning.[321] As formal ceremonial music of the Lūchūan royal court, *uzagaku* was presumably performed in such a way as to be solemn, austere, and weighty.[322] As Joseph Lam writes of the formal ritual music of the Ming court, “being the sonic component of complex and solemn ceremonials that connect humans with the supernatural, the music is austere – it is not performed to entertain the audience or to show the musicians’ skills.”[323]

The instruments, lyrics, musical pieces, tuning, and performing style employed in *uzagaku* were all derived from Ming and Qing models, with the explicit intention of hewing as closely as possible to the “correct,” “proper” music of Confucian high civilization. In fact, the official genealogical record (*kafu* 家譜) of Lūchūan scholar-official Ikehara Kōsei 池原厚清 (also known by the Chinese-style name Chuán Chóngdào 傳崇道) relates that by the 1660s, many in the court were concerned that the correct ways of playing and singing the Ming-style music they had been using at court, based on that first transmitted to Lūchū in the 1390s, had been lost, or had become confused or contaminated over centuries of oral transmission from master to student; this seems to have been a real crisis for the court, and led them to request that members of the 1663 Qing investiture mission instruct members of the court in Qing music, in

[321] Kaneshiro, “Ryūkyū no gaikō girei,” 53.
[322] Kaneshiro, “Ryūkyū no gaikō girei,” 55.; Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 130-131, Higa, "Uzagaku: The Vanished Tradition of Ryukyuan Court Music,” 3, 22.
[323] Lam, 25.

order to restore Lūchū's adherence to proper, correct, forms.[324] The fact that this was Qing music, and not that of the Ming court, complicates our understandings of Lūchūan reverence for the Ming (and not the "barbarian" Manchu Qing) as the model of true civilization. Nevertheless, it reflects the deep commitment of the court to adhering as closely as possible to what they considered to be the central models of correct, civilized, ritual practice.

The instruments themselves were most likely produced in Lūchū, though replicating Chinese instruments in form, design, and sound, if not in decoration. Most were decorated extensively in vermillion or black lacquer and gold, with mother-of-pearl inlays and other decorative features displaying images of dragons, phoenixes, flowers, butterflies, and other motifs.[325] They were made chiefly of Chinese and Southeast Asian woods, such as cassia wood (*senna siamea*, J: 鉄刀木, *tagayasan*) and *luohan* pine (犬槙, J: *inumaki*; 羅漢松, C: *luóhàn song*), which were much less used in Japan.[326] Though perhaps not visually evident, the fact that the instruments were made of "exotic" woods might still be said to have contributed (if only subtly) to the exotic (non-Japanese) identity being performed by the Lūchūan musicians.

Still, even though nearly the entire program consisted of *uzagaku* pieces derived directly from Ming and Qing musical traditions, and played on Chinese instruments, we must be careful to remember that as with the use of Ming-style costume and of various other Ming- and Qing-

[324] Liao, 109-110, citing *Naha shishi* 那覇市史, vol. 7, 552-553.

[325] Tokugawa Yoshinobu 徳川義宣 and Robin Thompson, catalog entries, in *Okinawa bijutsu zenshū* 沖縄美術全集, vol. 5, ed. Okinawa Bijutsu Zenshū Kankō Iinkai 沖縄美術全集刊行委員会 (Naha: Okinawa Taimusu, 1989), 344-348.

[326] Kaiyō Hakurankai Kinen Kōen Kanri Zaidan 海洋博覧会記念公園管理財団, eds. *Shurijō ni tamashii o!* 首里城に魂を! (Naha: Kaiyō Hakurankai Kinen Kōen Kanri Zaidan, 2012), 41-45.

style objects and practices, the Lūchūans' intention does not appear to have been to masquerade as Chinese, but rather to demonstrate their own court music, and through that court music to illustrate the character of Lūchū's court culture more broadly. None of the musicians wore Ming-style clothing for these performances, but rather dressed in Lūchūan robes. And they ended the program with a song from the uniquely Lūchūan *uta-sanshin* tradition, helping to mark the performance as a whole as a program of "Lūchūan music," including both pieces regularly performed in formal Sui court ceremonies and in banquets or entertainments. Indeed, it does not seem that *uzagaku* was necessarily seen by the Lūchūans as a foreign (that is, Chinese) musical form, but rather as an element of their own Lūchūan court culture. As the *Ryūkyū koku yuraiki* 琉球国由来記, an official record of the kingdom's history, culture, geography, and government compiled by the court in 1713 describes it, "the music of this country … was transmitted from China … [and] because it is played seated, it is called *zagaku*."[327] While the phrase *tōkokugaku* 当国楽 is perhaps best translated as "the music of this country," as I have done here, Miyagi Eishō indicates that *uzagaku* was also often referred to as "national music" (国楽, J: *kokugaku*) or "national arts" (国技, J: *kokugi*).[328]

The fact that *uzagaku* was the formal "ritual music" of the Lūchūan court, even though it derived largely from entertainment genres of Chinese music, further points to the notion that for the Lūchūans, this was not a performance of Chinese theatrical or folk music, so much as it was a performance of a formal Lūchūan court music tradition that reflected mastery of the

[327] Higa, "Ryūkyū ōfu ni okeru Chūgoku kei no ongaku," 17.
[328] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 120.

proper and correct cultural forms of the civilizational center. The lyrics of many of these songs spoke of the beauty of the seasons, the lives of common people, romance, or a yearning for one's hometown or home country.[329] In those places where the original Ming/Qing court pieces contained lyrics in praise of the emperor, they were often adapted to instead speak of the king of Lūchū and the greatness of the kingdom;[330] this illustrates one way in which the Lūchūans adapted the "proper" "civilized" music of the Ming court to become the music of their own court – domesticating or naturalizing it, such that it was no longer a foreign borrowing, but now a "native" part of Lūchūan court culture.

The inclusion of *ryūka* in the musical performances further contributed to the framing of these performances as demonstrations of Lūchūan (and not simply Chinese) court culture. It shows a Lūchūan interest in demonstrating that their court culture does not only include mastery of the "proper" "civilized" music of the Ming and Qing dynasties, but also distinctive, beautiful, worthwhile musical traditions of their own. The particular *ryūka* invariably performed at these Edo castle audiences was *kajadifū bushi*, a celebratory and auspicious piece which is today perhaps the most standard and representative item in the classical repertoire.[331] Today, it is regularly performed as the first piece in a program of classical Okinawan music and dance, in order to invoke auspiciousness for the remainder of the program. While the discourse

[329] Kaneshiro, "Ryūkyū no gaikō girei," 55.
[330] Conversation with Higa Etsuko, 23 Nov 2016.
[331] Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 125.; Higa, "Uzagaku no kasha ni tsuite," 32. While numerous textual records of the music performed in Edo castle list lyrics consistent with this poem (and with the lyrics to *kajadifū bushi* as performed today), Ikemiya Masaharu reminds us that there are no guarantees that the melody, tempo, or style of playing at that time was the same as is traditional today. Ikemiya, "Kagiyadefū bushi to kakusei ō" かぎやで風節と郭聖王, in *Ryūkyū Chūgoku kōryūshi kenkyū* 琉球・中国交流史研究, ed. Uezato Ken'ichi 上里賢一 (Nishihara, Okinawa: Ryukyu Daigaku Hōmongakubu, 2002), 29.

surrounding “classical Ryūkyūan music” (琉球古典音楽, J: *Ryūkyū koten ongaku*)[332] today emphasizes the *uta-sanshin* tradition as the music of the royal court, during the time of the kingdom, *uta-sanshin* songs were not performed as part of formal court ceremonies. *Uzagaku* and other Chinese-derived musical forms served as the ritual music accompanying formal ceremonies, and *uta-sanshin* was performed only at court banquets, receptions, and in other entertainment contexts.[333] This casts the performance in Edo castle of a set of *uzagaku* pieces followed by a single *uta-sanshin ryūka* into a certain relief, as a formal ceremonial performance of Lūchūan court music, followed by a brief entertainment “outside of the formal program” 用意外 (J: *yōigai*).[334]

Of course, while the Lūchūan court may have intended this performance of *uzagaku* and *ryūka* to convey particular meanings, through the careful choice of musical pieces, costume, and instrumental ensemble, the Shimazu and Tokugawa courts had their own intentions and rhetorical frameworks of meanings for these performances. Further, there was never any guarantee that the musicians’ Japanese audience would interpret the visual and sonic symbols in the same way as the Lūchūans’ intentions, to arrive at the same meanings as these things held within the Lūchūan cultural context. While a number of those in attendance, including the *kubō’s* Confucian advisors and certain *daimyō*, would have been quite familiar with Ming or

[332] Or, “classical Okinawan music” (沖縄古典音楽, J: *Okinawa koten ongaku*).

[333] Kaneshiro, “Ryūkyū no gaikō girei,” 59.

[334] Kaneshiro, “Ryūkyū no gaikō girei,” 59.

Qing music and/or Confucian writings and philosophies regarding the connections between ritual music, civilization, and cosmic or societal harmony, a great many were not.

Several *kubō*, such as Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (r. 1680-1709), avidly pursued interests in "Chinese Studies" (漢学, *kangaku*), studying Chinese prose and poetry, literary/classical and vernacular language, tea and other social/cultural activities, and the Confucian classics;[335] it seems likely that some exposure to Ming or Qing music would have been included in their Sinophile activities. Several successive heads of the Sakai household, lords of Himeji domain in western Japan, are known to have been particularly engaged in practicing and enjoying Ming music. Sakai Tadazumi 酒井忠恭 (r. 1749-1772), the first head of the Sakai house to be lord of Himeji, invited Ming music expert Gi Shimei 魏子明 to Himeji to train some of his retainers in the performance of Ming music, and had Ming-style instruments and costumes made for them. Sakai Tadahiro 酒井忠道 (r. 1790-1814) and his successors continued this tradition, hosting frequent performances of Ming music at their mansions in Edo.[336] Further, the official genealogy of Lūchūan scholar-official Cài Bāngjǐn 蔡邦錦 (J: Sai Hōkin) indicates that while in Edo on the 1796 embassy, he briefly gave *uzagaku* lessons to *Rangaku* ("Dutch Studies") scholar Ōtsuki Gentaku 大槻玄沢 (1757-1827);[337] though such lessons were by no means a prominent

[335] Marius Jansen, *China in the Tokugawa World* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992), 56-57.; Benjamin Elman, "Sinophiles and Sinophobes in Tokugawa Japan," *East Asian Science, Technology and Society: an International Journal* 2 (2008), 105.

[336] Nakao Yukari 中尾友香梨, "Nihon ni okeru Mingaku no juyō" 日本における明楽の受容, in *Reigaku bunka* 礼楽文化, ed. Kojima Yasunori 小島康敬 (Tokyo: Perikan-sha, 2013), 348-349.

[337] Itaya, "Kafu ni mirareru geinō shiryō 2: Edo nobori," 172, from the *kafu* of Sai Hōkin 蔡姓 (2088) 十四世邦錦.

aspect of the Lūchūan embassies, Gentaku was presumably not the only example of someone who received such musical instruction from embassy members. Finally, the Shimazu lords, of course, were familiar with the sight and sound of Lūchūan *uzagaku*, and presumably with the meanings and significance intended by the Lūchūan court.[338] Lūchūan officials frequently performed *uzagaku* within Shimazu mansions in Kagoshima or Edo, after all, on particular occasions, and often trained Shimazu retainers in its performance as well. Following the *uzagaku* performance at Edo castle in 1764, lord Shimazu Shigehide 島津重豪 (1745-1833) indicated to his retainer Kodama Hayanojō 児玉早之丞 that the music this year was to his liking, and that this brought him joy, as in past years it was not so excellent, an indication of his familiarity with the form.[339]

These figures may have been the exceptions, however. Many others in the *kubō's* court, though they presumably had some strong sense of Confucian teachings regarding "proper" "correct" music, seem to have held rather different attitudes regarding the music, or simply were unfamiliar with it. Naturally, many conceived of Japanese court music, whether it be *gagaku* or some other genre, as being the most "correct" and "proper" forms, and this foreign, Chinese or Lūchūan style of music as being uncivilized or otherwise improper or incorrect.

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[338] Watanabe Miki, "Nihon no naka no Kumemura jin" 日本のなかの久米村人 in *Kuninda: Ryūkyū to Chūgoku no kakehashi* 久米村・琉球と中国の架け橋, ed. Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan 沖縄県立博物館・美術館 (Naha: Okinawa Kenritsu Hakubutsukan Bijutsukan, 2014), 50.; Itaya, "Kafu ni mirareru geinō shiryō 2: Edo nobori."; Itaya, "Kafu ni mirareru geinō shiryō 3: Satsuma jōkoku" 家譜にみられる芸能資料３：薩摩上国, *Mūsa* ムーサ 10 (2009): 81-94.; Liao, 104.

[339] 「太守公遣児玉早之丞下諭今年奏楽好於往年不勝喜悦之意。」Itaya, "Kafu ni mirareru geinō shiryō 2: Edo nobori," 166, quoting the *kafu* of Mǎ Liànggōng 馬姓 (1667) 九世亮功.

Hitomi Chikudō 人見竹洞 (1638-1696), a Confucian scholar in service to the Tokugawa court, wrote of the 1682 musical performance that the Lūchūan music was “too rustic,” or “backwater,” while Matsura Seizan wrote a century and a half later, in 1832, that the Lūchūan music was lacking in any elements of elegance or refinement.[340] Seizan’s grandson wrote of that same performance that

> no elegant sound could be heard in this music … the rhythm [or beat/meter] was strange … the sound was like a barbarian [i.e. Dutch] music box [or organ] and cannot be thought to be proper music. There were officials present who were trying to hide that they were laughing. … In short, this was not the music of proper elegance; it was perhaps related to the vulgar comedic songs of brothels in Japan.[341]

In writing that this was not “proper music” (正楽, *seigaku*), Seizan’s grandson likely did not mean that the Lūchūan music was not music at all, but rather that it was not “proper” or “correct” court music as he understood it.

Though the lyrics to both the Okinawan- and Chinese-language songs seem to have been widely known (and are recorded in numerous contemporary Japanese documents), there were widespread misunderstandings as to the themes and meanings

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340 「其国楽太鄙不足聞之」. Hitomi Chikudō 人見竹洞, *Jinjutsu Ryūkyū haichōki* 壬戌琉球拝朝記 (Edo, 1682); 「彼楽優美なることなく」. Matsura Seizan 松浦静山, *Hoshin Ryūheiroku* 保振琉聘録 (Edo, 1832); both quoted in Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori,* 257.

341 「その音楽は雅音の楽には聞えず、その翕奏の場はおかしい拍子で酒宴の席なら思わず踊り出るような声節であり、連和の音は蛮制のオルゴールに似ていて正楽とは思えず、執政の者の中にも笑いを忍んでいるものもいた。…要するに正雅の楽ではなく、日本の俗の妓遊俳戯のそれと伯仲したものであろう。」Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori*, 257-258. Seizan does not name the grandson in his diary, but he most likely was referring to Matsura Terasu 松浦曜 (1812-1858), the only one of his grandsons old enough to have conceivably been present.

of the lyrics. The lyrics to *kajadifū bushi* are taken from a *ryūka*, a short poem in an 8-8-8-6 mora[342] form related to the Japanese *waka* and *haiku* which follow patterns of 7 and 5 mora. Roughly translated, the words of the poem express: "the happiness of today, to what might I compare it? To a budding flower meeting a drop of dew." In the Lūchūan tradition, this was (and remains) a song of happiness and auspiciousness, celebrating the joyful occasion. However, popular publications such as Morishima Chūryō's 1790 *Ryūkyū banashi* 琉球談 and Takizawa Bakin's *Chinsetsu yumihari tsuki* 椿説弓張月 (published serially 1807-18011), likely drawing in part upon *Ryūkyū heishi ki* 琉球聘使記, a firsthand account of the 1710 mission by Confucian scholar Ogyū Sorai, explain the song to be one of sadness and mourning.[343] Though these were commercial publications, works like *Ryūkyū banashi* and *Chinsetsu yumihari tsuki* were extremely influential in informing the Japanese popular conception of "Ryūkyū" at that time, and it seems likely (or at the very least, feasible) that these reflect the (mis)conceptions of most members of the *kubō's* court as well.

However, while the attitudes or knowledge of the various different members of the *kubō's* court ran the gamut from the well-informed to the misinformed, the appreciative to the repulsed, the musical performances continued regardless of such attitudes, from one mission to the next, following much the same program. Whether the *kubō*, *rōjū*, and other top Tokugawa decision-makers had the same intentions or ideas in mind as the Lūchūan court is unclear – and

[342] A phonological unit of sound and timing, akin to a syllable, though technically different.
[343] Yano Teruo 矢野輝雄, *Okinawa geinō shiwa* 沖縄芸能史話 (Ginowan: Yōjusha, 1993), 16-17.

unlikely – but this style of music, and this program of pieces, seems to have satisfied the desires of all of the major parties involved – Lūchū, Shimazu, and Tokugawa. Otherwise this program of *uzagaku* and *ryūka* would not have been repeated as consistently as it was.[344] Taking this as a particularly emblematic example, perhaps we might say the same of much of the other choices made in the design or execution of these embassies – that while the Tokugawa, Shimazu, and Lūchūan courts may have held different understandings, attitudes, or intentions regarding the symbolic and ritual meanings of the choice of costume, processional music, language of the formal letters, types of gifts, or other aspects of the missions' ritual performances, nevertheless those practices were settled upon, and continued. Even acknowledging changes imposed by Arai Hakuseki and reverted afterwards, and various other shifts and changes over time, the embassies' ritual activities were for the most part rather consistent over time – the result, surely, of some considerable degree of agreement or acceptance on all sides.

Thus, the formal ritual performance of Lūchūan court music, much of it closely adapted from Ming and Qing traditions, was simultaneously a demonstration for the Lūchūans of their court's high culture, and for the Tokugawa an offering of "local color" or "local products" as "tribute." Such performances benefited the Shimazu as so many other aspects of the missions did, displaying Satsuma's command of Lūchūan foreignness, as the lord of Satsuma sat in a particular position well in front of the musicians for this audience. And that same foreignness meanwhile was used by many other members of the *kubō's* court to reinforce their own notions of cultural superiority or Self, as they took the Lūchūan music – largely if not entirely

[344] My thanks to Luke Roberts for helping me see this.

because of its foreignness, its strangeness, to their ears – to be “backward,” “vulgar,” lacking in elegance or harmoniousness.

Conclusion

The audiences with the *kubō* were the chief stated purpose of the Lūchūan embassies’ journeys to Edo. In meeting with the *kubō*, exchanging ritual greetings, obeisances, and gifts, delivering a formal letter from their king and receiving a formal written reply, the Lūchūan envoys regularly reaffirmed their kingdom’s relationship with the Tokugawa house through ritual action performed in accordance with precedents and traditions of Lūchūan-Japanese ritual relations stretching back to even before the 1609 Shimazu invasion.

In these audiences, Lūchūan envoys embodied several overlapping hierarchical roles. While some aspects of the audience ceremony ritually inscribed the Lūchūans into a position as loyal vassals of the Shimazu household, others constituted or confirmed their identity as representatives of a distinct and foreign kingdom, recognized and invested by the Ming and Qing courts and possessing of a highly refined, civilized, court culture. The various obeisances, gifts, and formal words exchanged helped constitute the kingdom’s ambiguous or dual position, as both a loyal vassal of the Shimazu (and by extension the Tokugawa), within samurai hierarchies of status and authority, and as a foreign kingdom which sent envoys, decked out in exotic clothing, to pay “tribute” to the *kubō* in recognition of his cultural superiority and centrality.

In their capacities as representatives of their king, the Lūchūan envoys sat well within the lower section of the *kubō's* audience hall (rather than on the threshold, or on the veranda), a position above or at least equivalent to that of all but the highest-ranking *daimyō*, and wore robes indicative of prestigious ranks in the Ming court. They were granted the use of the same waiting room in the Honmaru palace as that used by Imperial envoys, and were treated to considerable banquets, though in all of these respects the treatment of Lūchū's envoys clearly shows the island kingdom was regarded as lower in status or importance than the Kingdom of Joseon Korea, the only other foreign court with which the Tokugawa house maintained formal relations.

Yet Lūchū was also displayed as a vassal state under the lordship of the Shimazu house. Its envoys were received by the shogun as part of audiences granted to the Shimazu lord, which began with an exchange of formal greetings between the shogun and the lord of Kagoshima and ended with obeisances and presentation of gifts from his vassals. Between those two events, Lūchūan envoys presented swords to the *kubō* as formal gifts from their king, as King Shō Nei / Shàng Níng had done in 1610. Envoys also offered additional gifts and obeisances on behalf of themselves on the veranda of the audience hall alongside (other) Shimazu House Elders. These acts, which Korean envoys did not perform, constituted a renewal of oaths of fealty on behalf of their king.

Each of these two positionings, as foreign kingdom and as vassal sub-domain, served valuable discursive purposes for the Tokugawa and Shimazu households, and the two existed side by side; for Lūchū to be both tributary and vassal was seen not as contradictory, but rather

as complementary. As Toby and others have shown, the construction of conceptions of Lūchū as a great foreign kingdom, subordinated under Kagoshima, contributed significantly to constructions of Shimazu and Tokugawa power.[345] However, the precise character of that foreignness was of little concern to Shimazu or Tokugawa leaders, and in accordance with precedent and propriety, Lūchūan envoys were permitted to enact that foreignness as they saw fit. Lūchūan envoys thus, adhering to precedent and propriety within their own court traditions, embodied and demonstrated the ceremonial customs of their own court, in terms of costume, music, and behavior. Through these demonstrations, envoys endeavored to emphasize their cultural distinctiveness, refinement and cultured education, and membership in the 'world' of Confucian civilization, and in so doing to assert the sovereignty, legitimacy, and prestige of their kingdom, as invested and recognized by the emperors of Ming and Qing.

This was done within Edo castle audience ceremonies which borrowed to a certain extent from Ming and Qing rhetoric and practices, but which resembled more than anything the *kubō's* audiences with various *daimyō*. Though held at separate dates and times from audiences for the *daimyō*, these were not truly a new type or style of ceremony devised specifically to suit the political needs or desires of a new Tokugawa politics regarding the reception of Lūchūan or Korean envoys, let alone devised in explicit emulation of Ming/Qing practices regarding the ritual reception of tributary envoys. While the Tokugawa court (especially during the time of shogunal advisor Arai Hakuseki) showed great interest in the structure and content of Ming/Qing court rituals, sending numerous inquiries to the Lūchū court on the subject, these

[345] Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, 72-76.; Kamiya, *Ryūkyū to Chūgoku/Nihon*, 62.

records suggest that their knowledge was rather incomplete;[346] it would appear that the Tokugawa court could not have reproduced Ming or Qing court ritual in their fullness even if it had so desired. Rather, the audience rituals in which the Lūchūan envoys participated were in important ways simply versions of the standard Tokugawa audience ritual, incorporating the king or kingdom of Lūchū into the Tokugawa order through a ritual language well-established, widely understood, and widely felt to be meaningful within *bushi* traditions.

[346] "Hōei shichi nen tora jūichi gatsu Ryūkyū Chūzanō shisha Edo e sanpu no jū kōgi yori otoi jō mune Shimazu Tatewaki yori kakidashi sōrō hikae" 宝永七年寅十一月琉球中山王使者江戸江参府之従 公儀依御問条旨島津帯刀より書出候扣, transcribed in Kamakura, 73-76.

CONCLUSION

For over two hundred years, from 1644 until 1850, the rulers of the Okinawan kingdom of Lūchū dispatched regular embassies to the court of the Tokugawa *kubō* in Edo. Both along the journey and in Edo, these embassies engaged in ritual interactions that served to enact their status and identity as representatives of a foreign sovereign and simultaneously as loyal vassals within a *bushi* order. Escorted by large numbers of samurai in service to the Shimazu lord, who displayed the envoys (and by implication the kingdom) as his possessions, the embassies at the same time used these events as opportunities to demonstrate to Japanese elites and masses their distinctive and refined court culture which incorporated mastery of “correct” Confucian practices in accordance with the model set by the Ming court, and sovereignty as granted by the Ming and Qing courts.

Whatever terms we may use to describe the Shō/Shàng house’s relationships with the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses and its cultural and political position in the Tokugawa world – characterizing the kingdom they ruled, for example, as a sovereign foreign kingdom that at the same time “belonged to” or was in some sense a part of the Shimazu house – it was through the acts of ritual diplomacy performed by these embassies that this identity and political position was enacted. The Shō/Shàng was a royal ruling house that sent embassies to the Tokugawa court, like the rulers of the Korean kingdom of Joseon did, and unlike the rulers of any other foreign kingdom. They were a house whose envoys were escorted, displayed, and presented by the lords of Kagoshima. They were a house whose envoys wore certain styles of clothing and paraded in a certain fashion to a certain style of music. The Shō/Shàng were kings who exchanged formal communications with the *rōjū* and not directly with the *kubō*. They were

a house whose envoys did not prostrate themselves before the *kubō* in the fashion of samurai retainers but kowtowed before him as their envoys to Beijing did before the Son of Heaven. They were a house who via their envoys presented swords, horses (and sometimes proxy silver), textiles, and liquor to the *kubō* much as *daimyō* and other samurai vassals did, but whose gifts were of distinctively Lūchūan types and styles. They were a house who sent much the same types of gifts to the Ming/Qing emperors in Beijing but only on special occasions, presenting those emperors with "tribute" in the form of a very different set of goods – tin, sulfur, and copper. They were a house that maintained court traditions which were decidedly foreign to Japanese customs – traditions which incorporated many elements of the ostensibly correct, proper, court culture of high Ming/Qing Confucian civilization while still following Lūchū's own indigenous traditions of kingly ceremony – and demonstrated this to Japanese audiences through costume, music, and numerous other visual, sonic, material, and performative aspects of the embassies they dispatched. These facts, taken in aggregate, defined the status and character of the Lūchūan royal house (and by extension, the court and the kingdom) in ways which no single term or phrase could accurately encompass.

The cultural and political identities of the Shimazu and Tokugawa houses were ritually constituted and repeatedly reaffirmed through these events as well. In escorting Lūchūan embassies to Edo and presenting them before the *kubō*, successive Shimazu family lords of Kagoshima enacted their identities as lords over Lūchū and at the same time as loyal and dutiful vassals to the Tokugawa. In receiving such embassies in a particular fashion, including in their "gracious bestowal" of gifts to the envoys, the successive heads of the Tokugawa house enacted identities as gracious and benevolent lords, the supreme warrior rulers at the top of a

hierarchy of samurai warriors, and as a center of civilization and authority to whom even foreign kingdoms sent embassies in tribute.

Though the Tokugawa regime, importantly, did borrow from Ming/Qing neo-Confucian emperor-centric “tributary” rhetoric in framing the Lūchūan and Korean missions, established traditions of samurai interactions with one another and with Lūchū as well as Lūchū’s internal court customs played a far more prominent role in determining the ritual forms employed in the Edo embassies. Lūchūan embassies to the court of the Ashikaga shoguns in the 15th century, cultural and ritual aspects of *daimyō* relations with one another in the 16th century, Lūchūan embassies to Kagoshima towards the end of that century, King Shō Nei/Shàng Níng’s forced journey to Sunpu and Edo as a captive in 1610, and *ad hoc* Lūchūan embassies to Kyoto in the 1620s-1630s, along with the parallel development of Joseon’s embassies to Edo, set the stage for a pattern of ritual interaction that remained remarkably stable – albeit with some notable exceptions – throughout nearly the entire early modern period. Each time a new *kubō* took power in Edo or a new king in Sui, the Shimazu escorted Lūchūan envoys to Edo to reaffirm the kingdom’s relationship with the Tokugawa regime. Performing processions; presenting communications, swords, horses (or silver), and other gifts; performing kowtows; and receiving formal communications and “bestowals” from the *kubō*, all while wearing standard costumes, playing standard music, sitting in standard seating arrangements, and so forth, the envoys and their samurai interlocutors consistently produced and reproduced a single (if multivalent), stable, consistent diplomatic relationship.

Considering not only the Tokugawa court’s incorporation of elements of Ming/Qing rhetoric into the ritual practices of its own *bushi* tradition, but also Lūchū's acquiescence to and

participation in those *bushi* practices as well as Lūchū's own incorporation of elements of Ming and Qing political/cosmological rhetoric and ritual practice into a distinctively Lūchūan court culture, helps us to begin seeing the "world" of early modern East Asian foreign relations, so to speak, as something with a layered and diverse complexity that went beyond the so-called "tribute system" or "Chinese world order" alone. The example of the Lūchūan embassies to Edo reveals the cultural complexity of both Lūchūan and samurai practice, incorporating elements from multiple traditions into rituals which functioned to enact and regularly reaffirm relationships, status, and cultural identity in ways which were meaningful and thus ritually efficacious for multiple parties. These rituals created a continuity and stability of these political relationships which survived through the end of the early modern period.

Numerous internal challenges and foreign threats coincided in the 1850s to 1860s, presenting greater challenges to the Tokugawa regime than perhaps ever since its initial establishment and, as Tinello explores in detail, leading to future Lūchūan embassies being delayed and eventually canceled.[1] One prominent contributing factor was the increasing frequency with which Western ships began to call at both Japanese and Lūchūan ports seeking resupply or trade in the 1840s-50s, and presenting a challenge to long-standing policies of maritime restrictions. These various encounters and perhaps in particular the visits of US Navy Commodore Matthew Perry to both Lūchū and Japan in 1853-1854 made the Tokugawa, Shimazu, and Lūchūan courts nervous about the visibility of the Lūchūan embassies and the potential that Western knowledge of the true character of Shimazu/Japanese "control" of

[1] Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies…".

Lūchū would disturb the careful balance of those relations, leading to Beijing severing tributary ties and Japan being forced to either annex the Ryūkyūs more fully or potentially lose them to Western imperialism.[2] As external threats loomed, Kagoshima and several other domains began expanding and modernizing their military strength, at first in support of Tokugawa desires for strengthened coastal defenses, but eventually in support of domanial resistance against Tokugawa authority. A loss of confidence in Tokugawa capabilities and approaches to addressing the foreign threat, among other complicating factors, contributed to the rise of factions within Kagoshima and several other domains which eventually agitated for outright rebellion against the Tokugawa regime. Meanwhile, a major earthquake rocked Edo in the 10th month of 1855; an embassy dispatched that year to congratulate shogun Tokugawa Iesada 徳川家定 (r. 1853-1858) on his succession, which had already arrived in Kagoshima, was canceled and returned to Lūchū with the intention that a new embassy would be organized in 1858.[3] The death of both Iesada and the lord of Kagoshima, Shimazu Nariakira 島津斉彬, in the 7th month of 1858, however, led to this new mission similarly returning to Lūchū.[4] A new mission, now aimed at congratulating Iesada's successor, Tokugawa Iemochi 徳川家茂 (r. 1858-1866), on becoming *kubō*, was scheduled for 1862. Factionalism and violence had grown in the intervening time, however, and after the assassination on 1860/3/3 of the shogun's chief advisor, Ii Naosuke 井伊直弼 (1815-1860), by figures suspected to have been associated with

[2] Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies," 18-19, 171-172.
[3] Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies," 96, 252-253.
[4] Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies," 246, 257.

Kagoshima, Nariakira's successor Shimazu Tadayoshi 島津忠義 (r. 1858-1871) hesitated to travel to Edo for fear of being physically attacked or killed by pro-Tokugawa factions.[5] Ultimately, any further embassy to Edo was called off; in the end, no Lūchūan embassy traveled to the court of the Tokugawa shoguns after 1850.

Key for our purposes is that even amidst these turbulent political times, the planning of these 1850s-1860s embassies continued entirely in accordance with precedent and tradition; communications between the Kagoshima domain government and Lūchūan officials based at the Ryūkyū-kan detailing plans for these ill-fated embassies and their activities in Kagoshima show that they were dispatched with the same costumes, banners, accoutrements, and gifts as in previous iterations, with intentions of engaging in the same ceremonial activities in the same fashion as before.[6]

The fall of the Tokugawa regime and the establishment of a new modern Japanese nation-state brought with it the abolition of the confederated or decentralized arrangement of *daimyō* domains. Most if not all *daimyō* were incorporated into a new aristocracy based on European models and were obliged to relocate to Tokyo.[7] They retained a degree of wealth, power, and prestige and took seats in the newly established legislature (the Imperial Diet) as members of the House of Peers (貴族院, J: *Kizoku-in*); the *daimyō* were obliged, however, to "return" their domains to the emperor, disavowing any claim to authority over those

[5] Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies," 303-304.
[6] "Edo dachi ni tsuki oose watashi dome," 4-46.
[7] This new aristocracy was known as the *kazoku* 華族 (roughly, "flowery families").

territories. The Shimazu retained considerable wealth and, having played a key role in pushing for the fall of the Tokugawa, held considerable political power in the new government. They no longer held any claims to the territory of Kagoshima, however, nor to Lūchū. Tinello argues that

> [despite] the transition from the feudal Tokugawa regime to the pro-modernization Meiji government, there was not any significant political change with respect to the past within the Ryukyu kingdom at that time. … the Shuri government … dispatch[ed] an embassy in honor of the new Meiji emperor, as it had been sending missions in honor of the new Tokugawa shogun in the past. In other words, for Shuri the political changes in Japan concerned the mere replacement of the Tokugawa bakufu by the new Meiji government.[8]

This embassy was dispatched in 1872, and though it traveled much of the way to Tokyo (renamed from Edo in 1868) by steamship, it is described as being undertaken "in the same way that respects had usually been paid" in the past.[9] In the previous year, a group of Myaaku Islanders returning from paying tribute in Sui had been blown off course, becoming castaway or shipwrecked on the southern tip of Taiwan, where 54 out of the 69 men were killed in a violent encounter with the Paiwan people, one of the aboriginal peoples of the region.[10] This came amidst Japan's entry into a modern international order based on European attitudes and norms, an order which called for Japan to either more explicitly claim peripheral territories such as the Ryūkyūs, Tsushima, and Ezo or else risk losing them to imperial powers.[11]

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[8] Tinello, "The termination of the Ryukyuan embassies," 394.
[9] Hideaki Uemura, "The colonial annexation of Okinawa and the logic of international law: the formation of an 'indigenous people' in East Asia," *Japanese Studies* 23, no. 2 (2003), 112.
[10] Another three men drowned. The twelve survivors were returned to Myaaku by Chinese ships. Uemura,
[11] Jordan Walker, "Archipelagic Ambiguities: The Demarcation of Modern Japan, 1868-1879," *Island Studies Journal* 10, no. 2 (2015): 197-222. Indeed, when in the wake of this 1871 Taiwan incident the Qing court disavowed responsibility for the aborigines' actions on account of the lack of effective Qing control over those parts of Taiwan, American officials advised the Japanese emperor that under international law this meant that those portions of Taiwan were *terra nullius* – claimed by no power – and were thus free for the [Japanese] taking. Walker, 214.

There were likely those within the Lūchūan court who believed that by sending an embassy to Tokyo in the same fashion as had been dispatched to Edo in the past, Lūchū could establish with the new imperial government a relationship just like that it had with the Tokugawa regime (albeit now without the Shimazu intermediaries), and that by doing so, Lūchū could retain its autonomy. This was not to be, however. Following their arrival in Tokyo, the heads of the 1872 embassy, Prince Ie Chōchoku 伊江王子朝直 (1818-1896)[12] and Giwan *ueekata* Chōhō 宜湾朝保 (1823-1876),[13] were informed that the Japanese government was unilaterally declaring Lūchū to no longer be a "kingdom" (王国, J: *ōkoku*), but rather a domain: *Ryūkyū han* (琉球藩). King Shō Tai was to no longer be regarded as "king of a country" (国王, J: *kokuō*), but rather as "king of the domain" (藩王, J: *han'ō*), a term never applied to any other figure historically.[14] This unusual situation of being the only domain within a Japan where all other domains had previously been abolished came to an end seven years later, in 1879, when the Meiji government completed its annexation of the Ryūkyūs. The former territory of the kingdom was declared Okinawa prefecture and was placed under the authority of a series of

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[12] Uncle to King Shō Tai. Also known as Ie Chōchū 伊江朝忠 and by the Chinese-style name Shō Ken / Shàng Jiàn 尚健.

[13] Also known by the Chinese-style name Shō Yūkō / Xiàng Yǒuhéng 向有恒.

[14] Akamine, *The Ryukyu Kingdom*,143-144.; Smits, *Visions of Ryūkyū*, 144-145. As Luke Roberts has pointed out, "*han*" 藩 became the standard term for Tokugawa period domains only in the Meiji period, as they were being abolished. Prior to that, a variety of other terms, including *ryō* 領 and *ryōbun* 領分 ("territory"), *shiryō* 私領 ("private/personal territory"), and when described internally *kuni* 国 and *kokka* 国家 ("country" or "state), were more commonly used to refer to domains. Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, 11. Even after the term "*han*" came into standard usage, the lords of the domains were typically referred to as *hanshu* 藩主 ("lord" or "master" of the domain), and never as *han'ō* 藩王.

governors from mainland Japan. Shō Tai, stripped of his title as "domain king," was granted the title of "Marquis" (侯爵, J: *kōshaku*) and was obliged to take up residence in Tokyo alongside the heads of the former *daimyō* houses and other members of the new European-style peerage.[15] Sui castle became an Imperial Japanese Army garrison,[16] and though the Confucian scholar-aristocracy was permitted to retain its hierarchies and hereditary privileges for a time (until c. 1903), they were eventually absorbed into the regular Japanese citizenry.[17] The Shō family began to adopt the "modern" practices and lifestyle of the *kazoku* aristocracy, discarding the trappings of Lūchūan royalty all the more so after the former king's death in 1901.[18] Much of Lūchūan court ceremony fell into disuse, and the tradition of *uzagaku*, passed down from teacher to student without written notation, died out entirely.[19] The funeral of Shō Tai's son, (former crown prince) Marquis Shō Ten 尚典 (b. 1864) in 1920 marked the final time that Lūchūan court ceremony was performed in an official royal family context.[20]

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In 1945, the island of Okinawa became the site of Imperial Japan's last stand; in a desperate attempt to prevent an Allied land invasion of "mainland" Japan, the Japanese

[15] Smits, *Visions of Ryuky*¸145-146.
[16] Tze May Loo, *Heritage Politics: Shuri Castle and Okinawa's Incorporation into Modern Japan, 1879–2000* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2014), 43.
[17] For more on this policy of "preserving old customs" (旧慣温存, J: *kyūkan onzon*), see Smits, *Visions of Ryūkyū*, 147-148. Unlike members of the samurai class, Lūchūan aristocrats were never absorbed into the *shizoku* or *kazoku* aristocratic classes of Meiji elite society. Gregory Smits, "Jahana Noboru: Okinawan Activist and Scholar," in *The Human Tradition in Modern Japan*, ed. Anne Walthall (Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, Inc., 2002), 102.
[18] Kerr, 453.
[19] "Yomigaeru Ryūkyū geinō Edo nobori"; Dana, 4.
[20] Explanatory plaques on-site at Tamaudun 玉陵 royal mausoleum, Shuri, Okinawa.

military worked to make the Battle of Okinawa as bloody, as hard-fought, as possible. In the end, the battle proved to be one of the bloodiest in all of World War II. As much as one-quarter or even one-third of the Okinawan civilian population lost their lives.[21] And those who survived lost their homes and much more, as most of the island was ravaged by naval shelling and land fighting, with countless homes, businesses, villages, and sites of cultural, religious, and historical importance being destroyed.[22] Countless historical documents, artifacts, and treasures of the royal court were lost in the process as well; the Shō family residence in Tokyo which had housed additional documents and treasures was also destroyed in the firebombings suffered by that city.[23] Once the war was over, Allied Occupation forces seized large swaths of the land to build military bases; the Occupation government[24] oversaw several programs to promote Ryūkyūan culture as part of efforts to distance Ryūkyū from an increasingly democratic and prosperous post-war Japan, in the hopes of maintaining the occupation indefinitely and forestalling popular pushes for reversion to Japanese governance.[25] Okinawa was ultimately rejoined to Japan, however, in 1972; the late 1970s then saw Okinawa join in a

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[21] Ōta Masahide, "Introduction: The Battle of Okinawa," in *Descent into Hell: Civilian Memories of the Battle of Okinawa*, ed. Mark Ealey and Alastair McLauchlan (Portland, ME: Merwin Asia, 2014), xv-xix.; Gavan McCormack and Satoko Oka Norimatsu, *Resistant Islands: Okinawa Confronts Japan and the United States*, Second Edition (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), 6, 16-23.

[22] Gerald Figal, *Beachheads: War, Peace, and Tourism in Postwar Okinawa* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2012), 25-26.

[23] Maehira Bōkei, "On the Treasures of the Shō Royal Family Missing since the Battle of Okinawa," *Okinawa shiryō henshū kiyō* 沖縄史料編集紀要 41 (2018), 23-30.; Fuji Takayasu, "Provenance of Okinawan Artifacts in the United States," *American View* (Winter 2008). https://japan2.usembassy.gov/e/p/2008/tp-20080123-04.html.

[24] United States Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands (USCAR).

[25] Tze May Loo, "Preservation as Power: Cultural Heritage and USCAR's Government of Okinawa" (presentation at Association for Asian Studies annual conference, Washington DC, 23 March 2018).

global "renaissance" of indigenous cultures, as Okinawans, Hawaiians, Native Americans, and others led resurgences in pride and interest in their respective cultures.[26]

It was not until 1995 that Sui castle, destroyed in 1945 and made the site of a university in the intervening time, was reconstructed as a historical and tourist site. In conjunction with the reconstruction of the castle, extensive efforts were made to research and reconstruct early modern royal court rituals which had been performed there. With the help of music historians and luthiers from China and Taiwan, and in consultation of some of the only surviving examples of *uzagaku* instruments – held in former *daimyō* and Tokugawa branch family collections – a team of scholars from the Okinawa Prefectural University of the Arts were able to reconstruct some semblance of what these court traditions may have looked and sounded like.[27]

Today, reenactments of New Year's celebrations, Qing investiture ceremonies, and royal street processions are performed as the centerpieces of annual events both at the castle and elsewhere in Naha City. In 2011, the team from Okinawa Prefectural University of the Arts brought some of these rituals and *rujigaku* and *uzagaku* musical performances on tour to Tokyo, performing them there as well, in the spirit of the Edo embassies.[28] Constructions and performances of Ryūkyūan prestige, civilization, and cultural distinctiveness thus continue – or,

[26] Matt Gillan, "Imagining Okinawa: Japanese pop musicians and Okinawan music," *Perfect Beat* 10, no. 2 (2009): 177-195.
[27] Uzagaku Fukugen Kenkyūkai, eds., *Uzagaku: uzagaku fukugen kenkyūkai chōsa hōkokusho*.; Uzagaku Fukugen Ensō Kenkyūkai, eds. *Uzagaku no fukugen ni mukete*.; Uzagaku Fukugen Ensō Kenkyūkai, *Maboroshi no Ryūkyū ōfu kyūteigaku uzagaku*.
[28] "Yomigaeru Ryūkyū geinō Edo nobori."

have been revived – today, albeit in a new context of tourism and of indigenous or minority cultural pride and revival.[29]

Though we must be careful to be cognizant of the biases of our perspectives, even so one can hardly help but be moved by these events. The sense of hierarchy is palpable as row upon row of reenactors dressed as court officials kowtow to one playing the role of the king, as is the sense of power and prestige as the figure of the king emerges from Shuri castle to gaze out upon all the officials gathered in the plaza. The costumes, *uzagaku* and *rujigaku* music, banners, and other accoutrements contribute very much to a cultural atmosphere suffused with the distinctive and highly cultivated culture of the Lūchūan royal court. Attending such events, it is not at all difficult to imagine the emotional impact of the historical diplomatic ritual events upon participants and onlookers, and to understand how parading and being paraded, bowing and being bowed to, seeing and being seen, and exchanging gifts and ritualized words and actions functioned to create or to reinforce profound feelings of hierarchy and identity.

[29] Figal, 129-171.; Loo, *Heritage Politics*, 149-190.

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