

Chapter 12

Incorporating Foreigners within the Status System of Satsuma: The Preservation of Korean, Ryukyuan, and Amamian Otherness in Kagoshima*

Rebekah Clements

Satsuma domain in southern Kyushu had one of the most elaborate and tightly-regulated systems of social organization in Tokugawa Japan. Satsuma was furthermore unique among the domains of the Tokugawa period because it could claim control over foreign territories and people groups, having conquered the kingdom of Ryukyu in 1609, acquiring control over the Amami Islands in the process, and because it maintained communities of Korean potters within its territories, who had been captured during the Imjin War of 1592–1598. The following pages examine the ways in which foreigners were incorporated into the status system of Satsuma between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries. I examine the question of whether the domain adopted policies of assimilation or acculturation for these people groups, and consider what factors drove these choices. Recent work on Naeshirogawa 苗代川, Satsuma's village of potters descended from Korean captives taken during the Imjin War, has shown the diverse ways in which the domain sought to preserve their identity, and to use that identity for its own local political ends.¹ There is also a large body of work on the Ryukyuan embassies to Edo, which were escorted by Satsuma following the domain's invasion of the Ryukyuan Kingdom.² Like the Naeshirogawans in Satsuma, these embassies were required to maintain a suitably foreign appearance in Edo, and were used by both the Tokugawa Shogunate and Satsuma domain to make statements about power and rulership.³ Likewise, within the kingdom of Ryukyu, Ryukyuanes were prohibited by Satsuma from wearing Japanese dress and there is evidence that people from the Amami Archipelago, which came under Satsuma rule following the 1609 invasion of Ryukyu, were also pro-

* Acknowledgements: the author would like to thank Patrick Beillevaire and Travis Seifman for their advice and generous assistance with acquiring the necessary materials for researching this topic. This project has received funding from the European Research Council (ERC) under the European Union's Horizon 2020 research and innovation programme (grant agreement No 758347).

¹ Watanabe, "Naze Satsuma han"; Clements, "Daimyo Processions."

² Yokoyama *Ryūkyūkoku shisetsu*; Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha*; Kurushima, *Egakareta gyōretsu*; Kurushima *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei*; Toby, "Carnival of the Aliens."

³ Seifman, "Performing 'Lūchū'."

hibited from wearing Japanese clothing and from adopting Japanese names. Research to date on the preservation of Ryukyuan and Amamian customs by Satsuma has understood these regulations as part of Satsuma and the shogunate's attempts to preserve Ryukyuan trade with China by maintaining the fiction that Ryukyu was not subject to Japanese oversight, particularly when Ming and Qing representatives were visiting the kingdom.⁴ However, as I will show, the rules about dress also applied to Ryukyuan and Amamians when they were in Satsuma itself, away from the eyes of Chinese representatives.

This chapter thus adds to the traditional understanding of Satsuma's Ryukyu and Amami dress regulations by considering the treatment of Ryukyuan and Amamian islanders in comparison with the Naeshirogawa "Koreans," paying particular attention to the way all three people groups were required to present visually for the local gaze while in Satsuma itself. A picture emerges in which, in addition to considerations relating to Chinese trade and Edo-facing politics, Satsuma authorities used the preservation of foreign identity markers such as dress, names, and hairstyles as a means of fixing social status within the local domain system of control. In the case of foreigners, this preservation of identity markers served to display the regional power and influence of Satsuma's ruling family of daimyo, the Shimazu, within Satsuma to a local audience, casting the Shimazu's castle town of Kagoshima as an entrepot at the heart of Satsuma's "maritime nation" (*kaiyō kokka*), a term coined by modern historian Tokunaga Kazunobu.⁵

The main sources I examine are regulations issued by Satsuma domain between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, supplemented by eyewitness accounts where available. After introducing the differing ways in which Satsuma formally regulated foreign individuals and territories under its control, I look at what evidence there is for the ways in which the domain preserved elements of their identity. Lastly, I consider the changing ways in which some foreigners were incorporated into the New Year's festivities at Kagoshima Castle (Tsurumarujō) as members of the Shimazu world order. The focus of analysis is on official regulations – a body of positive law detailing how, in theory if not in practice, foreigners were incorporated into Satsuma's system of social organization, how the domain strove to incorporate them, and why. We have less information on the lived experience of foreigner status in Satsuma – how these regulations actually operated – in practice, although some eyewitness accounts exist and I make some tentative conclusions in this direction.

⁴ Kamiya, *Bakuhansei kokka*, pp. 223–41; Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu*, pp. 18–19.

⁵ Tokunaga, *Kaiyō kokka Satsuma*.

1. Status and Identity in Tokugawa Japan

Most scholars agree that, rather than subscribe to a monolithic conception of “Japaneseness,” Tokugawa-period Japanese understood their identities within the polity in terms of social status (*mibun*).⁶ The early modern status system (*mibunsei*) originated in the national unification of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries and was a product of measures implemented by Oda Nobunaga and Toyotomi Hideyoshi, which the Tokugawa shoguns then built upon. Policies including the separation of samurai and peasantry (*heinō bunri*), land surveys (*kenchō*), and the compilation of registers of religious affiliation (*shūmon aratamechō*) all contributed to this process. During the seventeenth century the shogunate and domains institutionalized other social groups as legal statuses, including the court nobility, the Buddhist clergy, and outcastes.⁷

The primary legal means for fixing an individual’s place in Satsuma society was the religious affiliation registration system, which took place as part of Japan’s nationwide ban on Christianity that required people to be registered at their local Buddhist temple.⁸ In the case of Satsuma, the domain’s civil administrators were entrusted with the registrations, which were particularly detailed as a result. Between 1635 and 1824 these registrations took place irregularly in Satsuma, every three to twelve years, and after 1824 official registrations were conducted every five years. Information about the social background and religious affiliation of every man, woman, and child in the domain entered into the registers and people thus registered were issued with an identification tag (*tefuda*), which they were required to wear at all times. The document containing the regulations that governed this registration process, the *Shūmon tefuda aratame jōmoku* 宗門手札改条目 (Regulations for the Investigation of Religious Sects and Identification Tags), also contained detailed information about obligations and prerogatives affixing to particular social statuses and was updated and reissued numerous times throughout the Tokugawa period. The extent to which the detailed regulations of the *Shūmon tefuda aratame jōmoku* were enforced is not entirely clear, however in his seminal study, Robert Sakai notes several reasons why there was most likely a significant degree of correlation between the regulations and social reality. He points to both Satsuma’s exceptionally large bureaucratic apparatus, which penetrated to the lowest social unit of the village, the *kadowari* system of corporate responsibility through household collectives based on land allocation, and to the elaborate provisions within

⁶ Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, p. 4.

⁷ Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, p. 32. For a discussion of research on status in Tokugawa Japan, see Howland, “Samurai Status, Class, and Bureaucracy.”

⁸ Hur, *Social Order in Tokugawa Japan: Buddhism, Anti-Christianity, and the Danka System*.

the regulations themselves for checking their enforcement.⁹

Supplementing the *Shūmon tefuda aratame jōmoku*, were summary ordinances and *ad hoc* edicts. The most comprehensive extant collections of these in the case of Satsuma are *Retchō seido* 列朝制度 (Regulations of Successive Regimes) and *Rekidai seido* 歴代制度 (Regulations of Successive Eras).¹⁰ The contents of these works largely overlaps as they stem from a common manuscript ancestor; however, *Retchō seido* is considered the more authoritative version due to the earlier date of its compilation.¹¹ As well as containing orders regulating the dress and appearance of Satsuma's foreign communities, these collections also include protocol documents that attest to the involvement of foreigners in the New Year's ceremonies at the daimyo of Satsuma's main strong holding, Kagoshima's Tsurumaru Castle.

2. "Foreigners" under Satsuma Control

Although the Tokugawa polity had defined geographical boundaries, the distinction between domestic and foreign was not marked by identification with the nation state as in the modern period.¹² Rather, distinctions were often made on the basis of the Chinese concept of civilized versus barbarian cultures, using markers of education such as classical Chinese literacy.¹³ In addition, visual symbols of civilization, such as clothing, hairstyles, and language, distinguished the subjects of the Tokugawa state from other people groups, particularly those on the periphery of Tokugawa power – what David Howell has called the "geography of status."¹⁴ Such was the case with the Koreans, Ryukyans and Amamians under Satsuma control. As will be discussed below, at various points in history, all three groups were forbidden from using Japanese names, from wearing Japanese clothes, and from adopting Japanese hairstyles.

I have used the term "Japanese" here, but the concepts of domestic and foreign were also more porous during the period than their modern equivalents suggest. The term *kuni*, now meaning "country" or "nation," was used to describe what would now be understood as a country, but at the time could also refer to one of the great domains (*han*).¹⁵ Thus, the terminology for de-

⁹ Sakai, "An Introductory Analysis," p. 7. On the *kadowari* system see, Nakamura, *Satsuma minshū shihai*, pp. 90–102.

¹⁰ *Retchō seido* is reprinted in HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol.1, and *Rekidai seido* in SHS vols.1–5.

¹¹ Haraguchi, "Kaidai"; Andō, "Kaidai."

¹² Yonemoto, *Mapping Early Modern Japan*; Batten, *To the Ends*, pp. 42–48.

¹³ Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, pp. 170–71; Nakai, "The Naturalization of Confucianism."

¹⁴ Howell, *Geographies of Identity*, pp. 3–4.

¹⁵ Roberts, *Performing the Great Peace*, p. 6 and pp. 13–15; Ravina, *Land and Lordship*, pp. 12–14.

noting someone as foreign in the modern sense overlapped with terminology for describing someone from another domain or territory. For example, the term *Ikokugata* (lit. “office for foreign countries”) was one of the names given to the Satsuma domain office responsible for receiving foreign ships, and to which Satsuma’s Chinese language interpreters (*tōtsūji*) belonged; however, in Satsuma’s *Shūmon tefuda aratame jōmoku*, *takokusha* referred not to foreigners in the modern sense, but to individuals from other domains who were present in Satsuma at the time of the registrations (perhaps “outsiders” is a better translation).¹⁶ In other regulations, Ryukyuan were clearly prohibited from adopting “Japanese dress” (*Nihon shitaku* or *Nihonjitaku*) and “Japanese names” (*Nihonmei*); however, when restricting the clothing and names that could be used by Amamians, Satsuma prohibited the use of clothing and names from “this region” (*kono chihō*), which could refer to either Japan, or to Satsuma domain and it is not entirely clear whether a distinction was intended to be kept between Amami and “Japanese” customs or Amami and Satsuma customs, or whether that particular distinction (Japanese versus Satsuma) mattered.¹⁷ Thus, while broadly speaking, there was a distinction between “domestic” and “foreign” or “domestic” and “outsiders” in the Satsuma documents, further research is needed into the ways in which the various terms were used and how their use may have changed over time.

Another point to note is that although I consider the similar ways in which Satsuma domain treated Ryukyuan, Amamian, and Naeshirogawan “foreigners,” their situations were in other respects quite different. Satsuma regulated the appearance of Ryukyuan and Amamians at home in their archipelagos as well as when they were present in Satsuma on a temporary basis, including the officials living at the Ryukyuan residence in Kagoshima, as well as students from Ryukyu and the Amami Archipelago who were staying there in order to study medicine. In contrast, the Naeshirogawans lived permanently in a village within Satsuma domain itself and were descendants of Koreans who had been taken to Satsuma during the Imjin War and settled there to work as potters. The documentary evidence examined in this chapter is scattered across nearly three centuries and during this time Satsuma’s “Koreans” (or Chōsenjin) went from being war captives born on the peninsula to first, second, and eventually third generation settlers in Japan—hardly “foreigners” in any unproblematic sense of the word. However, unlike other groups of Koreans who were settled elsewhere in Japan as a result of the Imjin War and who eventually integrated into local society, the identity of Satsuma’s Korean descendants remained linked to their homeland, due in large part to

¹⁶ Tokunaga, *Satsuma han taigai kōshōshi*, p. 415; *Shūmon tefuda aratame jōmoku*, Kaei 5 (1852), p. 237.

¹⁷ KZ, *Kōhen* vol. 4, 1855, Hōei 1 (1704).8.20, p. 818; HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 1, 805, Genroku 12 (1699), p. 411.

regulations promulgated by the domain in order to preserve their language, names, dress, and family groups as “people of Korean lineage” (*Chōsen sujime no mono*).¹⁸ Thus, the official treatment of Satsuma’s “Koreans” had some similarities with the domain’s treatment of Ryukyuan and Amami islanders, who were prohibited from wearing Japanese dress and hairstyles, and were forbidden from adopting Japanese names. As I will show, other similarities may be found in the ways in which Naeshirogawan and Ryukyuan representatives were incorporated into the New Year’s festivities that were held in Kagoshima, as representatives of their respective communities and members of the Shimazu world order.

3. Korean Potter Communities

Numerous pre-modern sources from Satsuma describe the arrival of Korean potters during the Imjin War, although none are contemporaneous with the war itself.¹⁹ These sources usually give the Koreans’ year of arrival as Keichō 3 (1598), but a handful describe it as having been either two years earlier in 1596 or one year later in 1599, perhaps indicating that they came in two or more waves.²⁰ Here, I follow the account contained in the annual records (*nenpu*) compiled by the potter community themselves, which have been shown to be accurate in other respects.²¹ These annual records describe how, in 1598, during the closing months of the war that followed Toyotomi Hideyoshi’s death, several groups of Koreans—around forty men, women, and children in total—were taken to Satsuma by the retreating armies of the Shimazu. They were initially settled in several locations throughout the domain, where they founded pottery kilns. Most were eventually moved to an area in Ijūin District 伊集院, which was named Naeshirogawa, and a small contingent remained in the Kagoshima castle town district of Tateno 堅野, where they worked in the domain kiln. In the decades that followed, these two settlements of Koreans in Satsuma produced Naeshirogawa ware (*Naeshirogawa yaki*), which consisted of items for everyday use, and Tateno ware (*Tateno yaki*), which consisted of elite ware for Shimazu use.²² The Koreans in Tateno were moved to Naeshirogawa in the 1660s and incorpo-

¹⁸ *Sennen Chōsen yori meshiwatasare tomechō*, p. 119. The seminal study on Imjin War captives is Naitō, *Bunroku keichō no eki*.

¹⁹ For a discussion, see Fukaminato, “Satsumayaki o meguru.”

²⁰ Naitō, *Bunroku keichō no eki*, pp. 212–13.

²¹ *Sennen Chōsen yori meshiwatasare tomechō*, and its variant manuscripts, known as *Naeshirogawa yuraiki*. See Clements, “Daimyo Processions.”

²² Tazawa and Koyama, *Satsumayaki no kenkyū*, pp. 161–94 and pp. 103–49. Check Kurushima, Suda, and Cho, *Satsuma, Chōsen tōkōmura*.”

rated into the Naeshirogawa community.²³ In 1704, another community was established in Kasanohara 笠之原 in Kanoya District 鹿屋 by people who moved from Naeshirogawa as part of domain efforts to develop new land on the Kasanohara Plateau (*Kasanohara daichi*).²⁴ This community of Korean descendants also produced ceramics, known as Kasanbai or Kasanpai ware (*Kasanbai yaki* or *Kasanpai yaki*), following the pronunciation of “Kasanohara” in the Satsuma dialect.²⁵ Thus, by the first decade of the eighteenth century there were two main “Korean” communities in Satsuma: Naeshirogawa and Kasanohara.

These Koreans and their descendants were directly incorporated into Satsuma’s *tefuda* registration system and their core rights and obligations were set out in the various *Shūmon tefuda aratame jōmoku* regulations across the centuries. The *Retchō seido* contains one copy of this text from 1717 and one from 1754, plus a record of the population figures from the survey of 1706, which groups population numbers under the various status categories that would have been contained in the version of the regulations in use that year. A further version of the regulations, dating from 1852 survives in the collection of the University of Hawai‘i. The results of the 1706 survey list “Men and Women of Naeshirogawa in Ijūin” and “Men and Women of Kasanohara in Kanoya, who moved from Naeshirogawa” as status categories.²⁶ Kasanohara is not mentioned in the surviving copy of the *tefuda* regulations dating from 1717, but the Naeshirogawa community is delineated as a status category with corresponding rights and obligations.²⁷ In the 1754 and 1852 copies, both the Kasanohara and Naeshirogawa communities appear as status categories.²⁸

Among the *tefuda* regulations that preserved the foreignness of the Korean descendants in Satsuma, there were rules governing marriage conventions for the Naeshirogawa and Kasanohara communities. They were “strictly forbidden... to leave for other areas by marriage,” however “daughters of peasants, fishermen, rural townsmen and others” were permitted to marry into”

²³ Tokunaga, *Kaiyō kokka*, pp. 243–44.

²⁴ Tazawa and Koyama, *Satsumayaki no kenkyū*, pp. 195–200; Kirino, “Kasanohara ni okeru hanshi.”

²⁵ Tazawa and Koyama, *Satsumayaki no kenkyū*, p. 198. Satsuma readings of Sinitic characters, including place names and official titles, were often different to other parts of Japan during the Tokugawa period. In this chapter, unless otherwise noted, I give standard modern Japanese readings.

²⁶ 伊集院苗代川者男女 and 鹿屋笠之原苗代川移者男女. HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 1, 333, Hōei 4 (1707).11.30 (reporting the results of the 1706 *tefuda* survey), p. 183.

²⁷ KZT vol. 3, 798, Kyōhō 2 (1717).3.11, pp. 306–07.

²⁸ HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 2, 2857, Hōreki 8 (1754), pp. 347–48 and *Shūmon tefuda aratame jōmoku*, Kaei 5 (1852), pp. 199–200. See also HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 1, 2053, undated, p. 947.

the Korean communities.²⁹ These rules had the effect of preserving these two Korean communities in Satsuma; however, the rules do not appear to have been motivated only by a desire to preserve the foreign identity of the inhabitants. This is because other communities, which were not comprised of people descended from foreigners, were also subject to similar marriage restrictions, as Satsuma operated a population control policy by way of marriage and adoption restrictions for commoners of similar economic functions and responsibilities to ensure that agricultural, mining, pottery communities maintained adequate population levels.³⁰

In addition to the *tefuda* regulations, the Naeshirogawa annual records attest that from time to time the domain issued particular ordinances affecting the Koreans. In 1695, the Naeshirogawa villagers were prohibited from using Japanese personal names, and any who had a Japanese name were ordered to change it to a Korean one.³¹ The Naeshirogawa annual records report that this occurred when then daimyo Shimazu Tsunataka 島津綱貴 (1650–1704) visited the village on his way to Edo in order to fulfil his obligations under the shogunate's alternate attendance (*sankin kōtai*) system.³² Tsunataka reportedly commented that “The names Tarō and Jirō don’t suit people of Korean lineage,” and ordered that they change their names to “names from their country of origin” (*honkoku no na*).³³ This was further strengthened by later *tefuda* regulations which, although they did not explicitly prohibit the use of Japanese first names, reported in the 1717 and 1852 editions of the regulations that there were certain Korean “clan names” (*shi*) that were specified as being for the Naeshirogawa communities.³⁴ The 1852 copy of the regulations adds the clarification that these clan names were to be “recorded in each case with one character written above the personal name,” a practice that was permitted “because these are characters which they had in their home country.”³⁵ In other words, via a combination of *ad hoc* orders and *tefuda* regulations, the Korean descendants in Naeshirogawa and Kasanohara were forced to retain Korean first names and clan names (of one character rather than the usual two or more of Japanese second names), that marked them out as different from their Japanese neighbours.

²⁹ Haraguchi et al., *The Status System*, pp. 88–89; KZT vol. 3, 798, Kyōhō 2 (1717).3.11, pp. 306–07.

³⁰ Haraguchi et al., *The Status System*, pp. 22–27.

³¹ *Sennen Chōsen yori meshiwatasare tomechō*, p. 119.

³² Clements, “Alternate Attendance.”

³³ 朝鮮筋目之者太郎次郎之名風俗二不相応。 *Sennen Chōsen yori meshiwatasare tomechō*, p. 119.

³⁴ KZT vol. 3, 798, Kyōhō 2 (1717).3.11, p. 306; *Shūmon tefuda aratame jōmoku*, Kaei 5 (1852), p. 199.

³⁵ Haraguchi et al., *The Status System*, p. 88.

There are, however, no surviving regulations concerning the clothing and appearance of the Naeshirogawans, unlike those that exist for Ryukyuan and Amamians discussed below. Despite this, it seems that the Naeshirogawans often wore Korean clothing and hairstyles. Tachibana Nankei 橘南谿 (1754–1806) visited the village in 1795 and recorded in his *Saiyūki* 西遊記 (Travels in the West, 1795) that in daily life they all wore Korean clothing and spoke the Korean language (*ifuku gengo mo minna Chōsenjin ni te*), and that on ceremonial occasions (*reigi no toki*) they wore more elaborate types of Korean clothing.³⁶ By the time a merchant named Takagi Zensuke 高木善助 (d.1854) visited Naeshirogawa in 1828, the wearing of Korean clothing was limited to formal occasions. Zensuke visited Satsuma several times between 1828 and 1839, recording his impressions in *Satsuyō ōhen kiji* 薩陽往返記事 (Back and Forth to the Capital of Satsuma). Of the Naeshirogawans, he wrote:

Their custom is to tie their hair in a topknot and they wear Japanese style clothing. However, when they attend New Year ceremonies in the castle town and when the daimyo procession or an important official is passing through [their village] they always wear the Chosŏn clothing handed down to them from their ancestors, plait their hair in various ways with horses tails in a style called “*mankin*”,³⁷ and wear kerchiefs on their heads that look like courtier’s hats.³⁸

The wording of Zensuke’s description of Naeshirogawa ceremonial attire is very similar to Nankei’s and suggests that by the 1820s the villagers reserved Korean clothing only for ceremonial occasions and were not prohibited from wearing Japanese/Satsuma attire in everyday life. However, a document from the Naeshirogawan community, dating from 1777, suggests there was compulsion in everyday life when it came to clothing and speech:

According to the will of the daimyo, the people from Naeshirogawa and Kasanohara should from henceforth wear Korean clothing and speak Korean in their daily lives. The young people should tie their hair up in the Korean style during the seasonal festivals.³⁹

³⁶ Tachibana, *Saiyūki*, p. 321 and p. 324.

³⁷ This may refer to *manggŏn* 網巾, which was a woven horse-hair band that Koreans used to tie around their topknots during the Chosŏn period.

³⁸ 風俗惣髪を頂にて束ねたり。衣類は日本風なれど、年始の禮に城下へ出る節、または太守御通行の節、重役方往來の節は、必ず先祖傳來の朝鮮服を着し、マンキンとて、馬尾をさまざまに織て、形もいろいろ頭巾の如く立烏帽子の如くなるを、冠り出るなり。Takagi, *Satsuyō ōhen kiji*, p. 617.

³⁹ 殿様思召を以、苗代川并笠之原者共迄、以来之儀は、男女共朝鮮衣服に相調、言葉等迄、平日相用、若き者共之儀は、節句日には朝鮮之髪を結び様にていたすと被仰出候。Watanabe, “Naze Satsuma han,” p. 11.

Thus, although official regulations relating to Naeshirogawa clothing and speech have not yet come to light, there is evidence to suggest that they were required to preserve these foreign customs, at least during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

4. Ryukyuans

There has been a large body of work dedicated to understanding the complex nature of the Satsuma-Ryukyu relationship post 1609 when the Ryukyuan king, Shō Nei 尚寧 (Ch. Shang Ning, r. 1587–1620), became a vassal of the Shimazu following Shimazu Tadatsune's 島津忠恒 (1576–1638) invasion.⁴⁰ Much of this research has focused on Satsuma and the Tokugawa shogunate's "Policy of Concealment" (*inpei seisaku*) that followed the closing of official trade with Ming China and the subsequent need to conceal Japanese control of Ryukyu in order to maintain access to Ryukyu's Chinese trade as the kingdom remained a vassal of the Ming (and later the Qing). After Satsuma's invasion, the Ryukyuan king was taken to Japan and forced to swear loyalty to the Shimazu, and to perform ritual acts of submission before the retired former shogun, Tokugawa Ieyasu (1543–1616) and his successor, Tokugawa Hidetada (1579–1632). The king and most members of his court returned to Ryukyu in 1611. Shō Nei was permitted to keep his throne and his kingdom, and to continue tributary relations with the Ming court.⁴¹

Although Satsuma's main interests in Ryukyu lay in control of trade, the domain also sought to establish some degree of administrative control over the kingdom and to use Ryukyu to its advantage on the Tokugawa political stage.⁴² Between 1611 and 1613 surveys of cultivated lands in Okinawa, Miyako and Yaeyama islands were carried out, which recorded their size in *kokudaka*, the Japanese measure of taxable land, and formally established the status of the local farmers as peasants by recording them as such in the surveys. The first *tefuda* surveys for Ryukyu were carried out in 1636, and thereafter conducted every six to nine years.⁴³ However, governance of the islands was not outlined in the *Shūmon tefuda aratame jōmoku*, and the *tefuda* surveys in Ryukyu functioned mainly as a population census or an early form of the *koseki* (household registration) system that was later implemented by the Meiji Government in 1871, and which continues, with some modifications, into the modern period.⁴⁴ Instead, Satsuma issued rules and

⁴⁰ Smits, *Maritime Ryukyu*, pp. 205–23; Kuroshima, *Ryūkyū ōkoku*, pp. 159–71.

⁴¹ Seifman, "Performing 'Lūchū'," pp. 13–14.

⁴² Kamiya, *Bakuhansai kokka*, pp. 154–207; Seifman, "Performing 'Lūchū'."

⁴³ Dana, "Jiritsu e no mosaku," p. 179.

⁴⁴ Higa, "Ryūkyū ni okeru jinkō suii no chiikisei ni tsuite," p. 20. Citing Okuno, *Okinawa no jinji hōseishi*, p. 152 and Kinjō, "Kinsei Ryūkyū ni okeru koseki seido no ittan," p. 489.

proclamations relating to the governance of Ryukyu and rules regulating the behaviour of its inhabitants when they were in Satsuma.⁴⁵

Initially, the Shimazu sought to remove opposition to their rule by promoting a policy of assimilation, ordering in 1613 that the customs of Ryukyu were not to differ from that of Japan. The domain also purged Ryukyuan officials whom they considered to be unsympathetic to Satsuma and promoted those with knowledge of Japan.⁴⁶ However, this policy was reversed shortly afterwards in 1616. In this year, Satsuma issued orders prohibiting Ryukyuan from adopting certain Japanese customs, and in 1617 additional regulations forbade Ryukyuan to wear Japanese hair or clothing styles and in general to act like “Japanese” (*Nihonjin*).⁴⁷ This change is usually attributed to the failure of the shogunate trade negotiations with the Ming dynasty in 1616, which meant that Ryukyu became an essential conduit for indirect trade with China, and made it necessary to avoid giving Chinese envoys the impression that Ryukyu was Japanese territory. This rule was restated in 1704, presumably due to non-compliance:

If there are any who adopt Japanese names or wear Japanese attire, this should be strictly forbidden.⁴⁸

In addition to regulations concerning matters in the kingdom of Ryukyu itself, Ryukyu also played a role on the Edo political stage. Between 1634 and 1850, the Ryukyuan were required to send periodic embassies to Edo as part of the kingdom’s incorporation in the Tokugawa world order. Research has focused on the meaning of Ryukyuan embassies *en route* to Edo and in the shogun’s capital.⁴⁹ The Ryukyuan representatives wore Ming and Ryukyuan dress, reflecting the importance of Chinese court practice within Ryukyuan processional ceremony as well as Ryukyu’s role in the shogunate’s “carnival of the aliens,” that also included Korean and Dutch embassies.⁵⁰ Travis Seifman has shown how the embassies, which took place under Shimazu

Koseki were compiled in Japan as early as the six century, but fell out of use during the Heian period (794–1185). See Mori, “The Development of the Modern *Koseki*.”

⁴⁵ A large, though not exhaustive collection, is contained in HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 1, pp. 380–401.

⁴⁶ Kamiya, *Bakuhansei kokka*, pp. 27–29; Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu*, p. 19.

⁴⁷ Smits, *Visions of Ryukyu*, p. 19; Satō, “Satsuma no naka no ikoku,” p. 24.

⁴⁸ 日本名を付日本支度仕候者、かたく可為停止事。KZ, *Kōhen* vol. 4, 1855, Hōei 1 (1704).8.20, p. 818.

⁴⁹ Yokoyama, *Ryūkyūkoku shisetsu*; Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha*; Kurushima, *Egakareta gyōretsu*; Kurushima, *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei*; Toby, “Carnival of the Aliens”; Toby, *State and Diplomacy*, pp. 53–109.

⁵⁰ Hishikawa, Shimota and Shinzato, *Okinawa*, pp. 36–39; Miyagi, *Ryūkyū shisha*, pp. 65–68; Seifman, “Performing ‘Lūchū’,” p. 176.

escort, were essential to discourses of both Shimazu and Tokugawa power:

The apparent foreignness of the Lūchūan embassies... allowed the Shimazu to boast its unique position as the only daimyo house to claim a foreign king or kingdom among its vassals.... And it allowed the Tokugawa to claim that even foreign lands were spontaneously inspired to dispatch embassies to pay respects to the *kubō* [i.e. the shogun] in recognition of Tokugawa power and virtue.⁵¹

The meaning and implementation of Ryukyuan embassies in Satsuma's castle town of Kagoshima, on the other hand, have received less scholarly attention.⁵² A residence was established for Shō Nei in Kagoshima after his defeat in 1609. Later, an official residence for Ryukyuan representatives was set up, the earliest mention of which is to a Ryūkyū kariya 琉球仮屋 (Ryukyu Visitors' Residence) in 1636, and this later became the Ryūkyū kan 琉球館 (Ryukyu House) in 1784 when Shimazu Shigehide changed the name as part of his efforts to foreignize the Ryukyuan in Kagoshima, discussed below.⁵³ There has been little research to date on the rules governing the visual markers of identity required or voluntarily adopted by the Ryukyuan officials in Kagoshima, particularly for the period prior to Shigehide's rule. Doyen of Ryukyuan studies, Ikemiya Masaharu, writes that as with trips to Edo, Ryukyuan ambassadors wore Chinese and Ryukyuan attire when parading into Kagoshima castle, and the norms changed over time in response to varying geopolitical conditions. Initially, the custom was for Ming dress. In 1645, however, only one year after the Qing Dynasty came to power and issued the law commanding the wearing of the queue, the Ryukyuan court adopted Ryukyuan dress. The Ryukyuan ambassadors continued to wear Ming dress while in Kagoshima but from 1691 the ambassador to Satsuma wore Ryukyuan attire. In 1725 they reverted to wearing Ming dress while in Satsuma.⁵⁴ However, it is unclear whether specific regulations issued by Satsuma enforced these customs, whether they were an extension of the rules prohibiting the wearing of Japanese attire, or whether Ryukyu voluntarily chose to adopt their local semiotics of court dress, which traditionally included elements from Ming and Ryukyuan clothing and accessories.⁵⁵

We do, however, have evidence that at least one group of Ryukyuan in Kagoshima had their appearance controlled by the domain to avoid them

⁵¹ Seifman, "Performing 'Lūchū'," pp. 170–71.

⁵² See Itaya, "Kinsei Ryūkyū no tai Satsuma kankei" and Itaya, "Kinsei Ryūkyū ni okeru ōji."

⁵³ Tokunaga, *Satsuma han taigai kōshōshi*, pp. 5–6. On the probable locations of the different buildings used for these purposes, see Satō, "Satsuma no naka no ikoku," pp. 20–22.

⁵⁴ Ikemiya, "Mō Kiryū," pp. 37–38.

⁵⁵ Seifman, "Performing 'Lūchū,'" p. 176.

being confused with locals. The Ryukyuan embassies were accompanied by students who came to Satsuma in order to study medicine and the arts.⁵⁶ Daimyo Shimazu Shigehide 島津重豪 (1745–1833) issued specific regulations for Ryukyuan doctors, which prohibited them from shaving their heads like Japanese doctors did. As noted above, Ryukyuan doctors were already prohibited from wearing Japanese attire, but Ryukyuan doctors traditionally shaved their heads and thus were not technically in breach of this regulation because the shaved head, although the same as Japanese doctors, was consistent with Ryukyuan customs. Fukase argues that Shigehide's prohibition of head shaving was part of other efforts he made to increase the foreign impression given by the Ryukyuan in Kagoshima, which also included changing the name of the Ryukyuan residence from "Ryūkyū kariya" to "Ryūkyū kan" in imitation of the Rankan and the Tōkan, respectively the compounds for Dutch and Chinese foreigners in Nagasaki, and requiring that that ships bearing Ryukyuan ambassadors were not to be Japanese style boats.⁵⁷

5. The Amami Islands

Although the bulk of domain regulations and the greatest concern for preserving foreignness was reserved for Ryukyu, Satsuma had similar concerns for the Amami Islands, part of what is now known as the Northern Ryukyus or the Satsunan Islands (*Satsunan shotō*). These islands lie northeast of Ryukyu, between modern day Okinawa and Kyushu. The major chains within this group are the Ōsumi, the Tokara, and the Amami archipelagos.⁵⁸ The Ōsumi Islands (including, Tanegashima and Yakushima), had been administratively part of Satsuma domain's Ōsumi Province since before the Tokugawa period. The Tokara Archipelago (known as Shichitō 七島 in Satsuma documents from the period) had been divided between Satsuma and Ryukyu during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, with administrative authority ceded to Satsuma after Satsuma's annexation of Ryukyu territory and it became part of Kawanabe District (*Kawanabe gun* 川辺郡).⁵⁹ The Amami Islands (*Michi no shima* 道之島 in Satsuma documents), on the other hand had belonged to Ryukyu, but came under Satsuma's authority in 1609, although the process by which Satsuma exerted control was gradual.⁶⁰ Amami was subject to *tefuda* population surveys but Satsuma's *Shūmon tefuda aratame jōmoku*

⁵⁶ Fukase, "Kinsei Nichiryū tsūkō," p. 48.

⁵⁷ Fukase, "Satsuma han no Ryūkyū seisaku," p. 289. This was also the name used for the Ryukyuan residence in Fuzhou.

⁵⁸ Matsushita and Shimono, *Kagoshima no minato*.

⁵⁹ Akamine, *The Ryukyu Kingdom*, pp. 38–39; Kamiya, *Bakuhansei kokka*, pp. 125–35 and pp. 228–29.

⁶⁰ Akamine, pp. 1–3.

regulations did not fix status categories for Amami, and the islands were instead governed by legislation issued separately by Satsuma, starting with the *Ōshima okime jōjō* 大島置目条々 (The Ōshima Legal Articles) in 1623, which was followed by other regulations on an ad hoc basis, and the *Ōshima kibochō* 大島規模帳 (Ōshima Record of Model Precedents) in 1728.⁶¹

Satsuma's regulations for the inhabitants of the Amami islands required them to preserve their foreign appearance and customs, which had been part of the Ryukyuan cultural sphere and under Ryukyuan administrative authority for over a century.⁶² The earliest extant collection of rules for Amami, the *Ōshima okime jōjō* of 1623, did not do so.⁶³ However, in 1699, *ad hoc* regulations issued for the inhabitants of Kikaijima 喜界島, one of the Amami islands, prohibited them from adopting Japanese first names and any persons who were using Japanese first names were ordered to change them:

The Amami islanders are to maintain their islander appearance and are to have names appropriate to where they come from. Many have names like “something *tarō*” or “something *hei*” and this should not be the case. So that they cannot be mistaken for someone from this region [Satsuma or Japan] or from Tokara, the Amami Islanders are to adopt names appropriate to people from the Amami Islands. Anyone who has given him or herself a misleading name is ordered to remedy this immediately by changing their name, posthaste.⁶⁴

This source is dated the eighteenth day of the ninth month, year of the rabbit. However, the documents in this section date from the Genroku period, meaning the year of the rabbit would correspond to either 1699 or 1711.⁶⁵ In its wording, this regulation is strikingly similar to rules for Naeshirogawa reported in the village's records for 1695 and thus it seems likely that the regulation was issued for Kikaijima at around the same time, that is, in 1699 rather than later in 1711. The *Nihon rekishi chimei taikei* (Japanese Dictionary of Historical Place Names) also interprets this document as dating from 1699.⁶⁶

⁶¹ Minowa, “Kyōhō jūshannen,” p. 104.

⁶² Tokunaga, *Kaiyō kokka*, p. 76; Kamiya, *Bakuhansei kokka*, p. 232.

⁶³ HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 1, 836, Genna 9 (1623), pp. 428–29. However, on the accuracy of this text see Ishigami, “Genna kyūnen,” p. 140.

⁶⁴ 道之嶋人之儀は島人相応之姿にて、名も附来候通ニ可有之候処、何十郎何兵衛などと、名付候ものも有之由、不可然候、惣て此地方・七嶋人之名ニ不紛様ニ、道之嶋相応之名を付可申候、紛數名付候て罷在もの共、急度相改之、早速名替可被申付候事。HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 1, 805, Genroku 12 (1699), p. 411. A similar regulation was issued for Naeshirogawa in 1695, and so it seems likely that the regulation issued for Kikaijima occurred in 1699.

⁶⁵ Kamiya, *Bakuhansei kokka*, pp. 33–34.

⁶⁶ *Kagoshima-ken no chimei*, “Kikaijima” 喜界島.

These regulations also prohibited the wearing of Japanese hairstyles:

The Amamians are forbidden to adopt the *sakayaki* (shaved pate) hairstyle or to shave their heads after reaching adulthood after the manner of this region and the Tokara islands.⁶⁷

These regulations indicate that Tokara islanders were permitted to maintain an appearance like the Japanese, and this will be discussed in more detail below. The *Oshima kibochō*, issued for Amami in 1728, continued the ban on adopting Japanese customs.⁶⁸

When it came to the question of Amami islanders present in Kagoshima, as with Ryukyans, doctors were a particular concern. The regulations issued for Kikaijima in 1699 stated that:

The aforementioned islanders, if they receive permission to spend time in Satsuma for training—be it medical or otherwise—treatment, or other reasons, they should not maintain an appearance like people from the mainland.⁶⁹

Regulations issued in 1735 again prohibited people from the Amami Islands who came and stayed in Kagoshima for the purpose of medical training from adopting “the same clothes and same shaved head as Kagoshima doctors”⁷⁰. They were ordered to practice medicine “looking like islanders”⁷¹ and any who had shaved their heads were ordered to “immediately regrow their hair and adopt island dress”⁷². They were also prohibited from remaining in Kagoshima for an extended period of time, and the permitted number of years was fixed at seven.⁷³

6. Regional Power and Social Control

The above analysis is based primarily upon the regulations that have survived

⁶⁷ 道之嶋人事、此地方七嶋のごとく、月代、並成人已後剃髪仕儀、可為停止事。HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 1, 805, Genroku 12 (1699), p. 411.

⁶⁸ Minowa, “Kyōhō jūsanzen,” p. 78.

⁶⁹ 右嶋人、或医道其外稽古、或病気養生にて、此外ニも、御当地へ差越候義免許之面々、御当地人姿、普て仕間敷事。HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 1, 805, Genroku 12 (1699), p. 412.

⁷⁰ 致剃髪置、衣類等かごしま医師同前にて。

⁷¹ 嶋人之姿にて。

⁷² 早速髪を立、嶋支度ニ可申付候。

⁷³ HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 1, 825, Kyōhō 20 (1735).2.16, p. 421. The year is given as the year of the rabbit, which the editors of the *Rekidai seido* surmise was Kyōhō 20 (SHS, vol. 2, 857, Kyōhō 20 (1735).2.16, p. 26). On the relationship between the variant manuscripts, *Rekidai seido* and *Retchō seido* see p. [TBC upon copy editing] above.

in the most authoritative collection of Satsuma laws and protocol, the *Retchō seido*, supplemented by eyewitness accounts. The picture that emerges is one in which the identities of Naeshirogawa “Koreans”, Ryukyuans, and Amamians were preserved by Satsuma, not only when they might be seen by Ming or Qing representatives or when travelling to Edo, as noted by previous scholars, but also in Satsuma itself and particularly within the castle town of Kagoshima, the seat of Shimazu power. This survey has not uncovered similar rules for other groups of people who might potentially have been regarded as foreign during Satsuma’s early modern period: Chinese interpreters, Ōsumi Islanders, and Tokara Islanders, for example. If the surviving materials are representative of historical realities, then this suggests that the visual appearance of these three groups was less of a concern to Satsuma authorities than the appearance of individuals from Naeshirogawa, Ryukyu, and Amami. A possible reason for this is the fact that the latter three people groups had come under Satsuma control as a result of recent military campaigns, and therefore their presence served as a reminder of the power of the Shimazu family in Satsuma’s local region beyond domain borders.

The Naeshirogawans had been captured during the Imjin War. Ultimately, that conflict was a military defeat for Satsuma. However, the domain sought to recast the Imjin campaign in a better light during the seventeenth century by commissioning soldiers’ memoirs, which glorified the exploits of Shimazu troops.⁷⁴ During the same period, the daimyo of Satsuma began regularly visiting the village of Naeshirogawa, institutionalizing the regular public performance of submission to the daimyo’s authority on the part of the Naeshirogawans through the exchange of gifts and the performance of Korean songs and dances. These actions have been shown to have been part of efforts to shore up Shimazu power and to impress locals from Satsuma with the domain’s ability to bring in foreign captives and the economic benefits of their ceramic industry.⁷⁵

Likewise, Satsuma had invaded the kingdom of Ryukyu in 1609 and this campaign was a military success, unlike the Imjin War. Considerable scholarly attention has been paid to the process by which Ryukyu became a foreign vassal of Satsuma and the shogunate, and the ways in which this reinforced Shimazu and shogunate power. Scholars have paid less attention to the Amami islands. This archipelago came under the control of Satsuma after 1609 (albeit gradually) and was no longer administered by the Ryukyuan government. From 1624 onwards, the Amami islands were included in the land from which the domain government of Satsuma collected taxes (*kurai-*

⁷⁴ Murai, “Post-War domain source material.”

⁷⁵ Clements, “Alternate Attendance.”

richi).⁷⁶ However, when dealing with the Shogunate, Satsuma continued to refer to Amami (*Michi no shima*) as part of Ryukyu, maintaining the fiction that the islands were foreign territory until the end of the Tokugawa period.⁷⁷ The domain thus took pains to maintain the appearance of foreign status of this captured territory.

In contrast to Korean, Ryukyuan, and Amamian lands, Chinese territory had never been invaded by Satsuma, and the Ōsumi islands had been part of Shimazu holdings for centuries. This may explain the apparent lack of official concern with foreignizing the dress and appearance of Chinese interpreters and Ōsumi islanders in Satsuma. However, the status of the Tokara Islands is slightly more complicated since control of this archipelago had been divided between Satsuma, which controlled the northern half, and Ryukyu, which had authority over the southern half, during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Administrative authority for the southern islands was ceded to Satsuma after Satsuma's annexation of Ryukyu territory and Tokara became part of the domain's Kawanabe District.⁷⁸ Thus, while the southern parts of the Tokara island chain could be regarded as recently captured territory, the northern parts were not. Tomiyama Kazuyuki argues that the Tokara's ambiguous status allowed it to serve as a convenient cushion zone between Japan and China to allow trade, with Japanese officials posing as Tokara islanders in order to meet Chinese representatives in Ryukyu.⁷⁹ It certainly seems likely that the archipelago's ambiguous status and its incorporation into Kawanabe District may explain the lack of official regulations discovered thus far preserving a distinction between Tokara Islander appearance and that of mainlanders, but further research is needed.

Looking beyond the question of foreignization and its role as a visible reminder of Satsuma conquests in the region and the trading reach of the Shimazu family, the regulation of appearance and names of Naeshirogawan, Amamian, and Ryukyuan individuals may also be understood as part of Satsuma's status system, which served as an instrument of social control within the domain. The Naeshirogawans and the branch group of former Naeshirogawans in Kasanohara resided permanently in Satsuma, and were permanently incorporated as status categories into the domain's *tefuda* regulations. These regulations controlled the behaviour of these Korean descen-

⁷⁶ Matsushita, *Kinsei Amami*, pp. 38–48. Tax revenue obtained from *kurairichi* was used by the daimyo for his household expenses and for general administrative expenses, including the payment of periodic stipends to samurai who had been assigned minor functions. See Sakai, "The Consolidation of Power," p. 134.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁷⁸ Akamine, *The Ryukyu Kingdom*, pp. 38–39; Kamiya, *Bakuhansei kokka*, pp. 125–35 and pp. 228–29.

⁷⁹ Tomiyama, "Kyokō to jitsuzō." See Kamiya, *Bakuhansei kokka*, pp. 228–37.

dants in ways that preserved their foreign identity, such as in the prohibition of extramural marriage. However, such rules were not unique to Naeshirogawa/Kasanohara as Satsuma operated a system of marriage restrictions for commoners. This system matched people of similar economic functions and responsibilities in order to preserve sufficient levels of population within functional villages that included mining, fishing, and, in the case of Naeshirogawa and Kasanohara, ceramic production. Restrictions on marriage also reinforced status distinctions between the many different classes of Satsuma samurai.⁸⁰ The Naeshirogawa and Kasanohara marriage restrictions may thus be understood, not only as a means to preserve their foreign identity, but as part of Satsuma's system of social control that served the domain's economic ends by preserving their ceramic industry.

As in other parts of Japan, clothing was likewise a marker of social status and the regulation of clothing was part of Satsuma's status system. A lengthy section of the *Retchō seido* is devoted to regulating the clothing of high-ranking samurai, particularly during their ceremonial interactions with the daimyo.⁸¹ Clothes served as a marker of status, fixing an individual's position within Satsuma society, and the rules for Naeshirogawan, Ryukyuan, and Amamian individuals also functioned in this respect. Movements in and out of the Ryukyuan residence in Kagoshima were strictly controlled, and individuals wearing Ryukyuan dress would have been more easily watched due to the visual distinction between them and locals.⁸² In the case of doctors studying medicine in Kagoshima, who would have been one of the groups with the greatest freedoms, requiring them to grow their hair could have worked as a means of preventing them from going undercover and posing as locals by changing their clothing.

Concluding Remarks: Foreigners in Public Ceremony in Satsuma

The two strands of meaning—regional power and social control—that attached to Satsuma's requirements for people from Naeshirogawa, Ryukyu, and Amami to wear foreign dress were displayed on particular public occasions. I have previously examined the ways in which Naeshirogawa "Koreans" were incorporated into the official activities of the daimyo as they traversed their domain *en route* to Edo in fulfilment of their alternate attendance requirements.⁸³ Here I briefly touch upon the New Year's formalities

⁸⁰ Sakai, "An Introductory Analysis," pp. 18 and pp. 22–27.

⁸¹ HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 2, pp. 49–74.

⁸² Fukase, "Kinsei Nichiryū tsūkō," pp. 48–49.

⁸³ Clements, "Daimyo Processions."

in Tsurumaru Castle in Kagoshima, the seat of Shimazu power. At this important festival, representatives from the upper echelons of Satsuma's samurai class were required to present themselves in descending order of status before the daimyo to offer formal greetings, gifts and other ritual signs of loyalty. There is evidence that Naeshirogawan and Ryukyuan representatives were also present on these occasions, incorporating these foreigners publicly into the ritual performance of status and the Satsuma world order.⁸⁴

The earliest record of the Ryukyuan offering New Year's gifts in Satsuma comes from 1611. On this occasion, Ryukyuan representatives offered gifts on the sixteenth day of the first month alongside Shimazu retainers, reinforcing the Ryukyuan king's new status as a vassal of Satsuma.⁸⁵ According to an undated entry in the *Retchō seido*, most likely from the Kyōhō (1716–1736) or Tenmei periods (1781–1789), Ryukyuan representatives were required to take part in the New Year's greetings on the sixth day of the first month.⁸⁶ Another record exists for 1722, which requires the Ryukyuan to offer their greetings on the sixteenth day.⁸⁷ The Naeshirogawans are not mentioned in these records, but as discussed above, Tachibana Nankei and Takagi Zensuke who visited Satsuma in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, reported that the Naeshirogawans took part in New Year's ceremonies in Kagoshima wearing Korean dress. Nankei merely uses the expression "ceremonial occasions" (*reigi no toki*), but Zensuke is more specific: "Go into the castle town for New Year's ceremonies" (*nenshi no reini jōka e izuru*).⁸⁸

Another piece of evidence that there may have been Naeshirogawan involvement in the New Year's ceremonies in Kagoshima is that both of the aforementioned New Year's records contained in *Retchō seido* mention representatives from the mining villages (*kinzan chōnin*), who were required to present themselves at the castle on the same day that the Ryukyuan were offering New Year's greetings. Naeshirogawa and the mining communities were both types of functional villages within Satsuma's system of social organization, defined side by side as status categories in the *tefuda* regulations and subject to similar restrictions, including extramural marriage. It is therefore conceivable, though not certain, that the Naeshirogawans may have been present on the same days at the mining villagers, and the Ryukyuan representatives.

⁸⁴ The Ryukyuan were also present at the Eighth Month (*hassaku* 八朔) festivities when prayers were offered for a safe harvest and gifts given to the daimyo as a sign of loyalty. E.g. HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 2, p. 187.

⁸⁵ KZ, *Kōhen* vol. 4, Keichō 16 (1611)1.16, p. 320.

⁸⁶ HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 2, 2400, undated, p. 167. According to the variant manuscript of this text, the *Rekidai seido*, these particular protocol documents date from either the Kyōhō or Tenmei periods (SHS vol. 3, p. 190).

⁸⁷ HPS 8, *Kagoshima han*, vol. 2, 2423, Kyōhō 6 (1721) 12.30, p. 180.

⁸⁸ 年始の禮に城下へ出る。Watanabe, "Naze Satsuma han," p. 10.

Like the daimyo visits to Naeshirogawa and their public exchange of gifts between lord and Naeshirogawan vassals, the New Year's rituals were a public occasion on which the status system of Satsuma was performed. It was a chance to enact the Shimazu world order, with various status groups appearing in the castle town to offer gifts and greetings to their lord. Satsuma's military campaigns in Chosŏn Korea and Ryukyu had brought the Naeshirogawa potters, with their lucrative ceramic industry, and the Ryukyuan and Amami islands with their lucrative China trade, under Shimazu control. Together with the Ryukyuan residence and its foreign inhabitants in Kagoshima, the New Year's festivities would have offered residents of the castle town a regular visual reminder of economically profitable achievements made possible by Shimazu military power. The preservation of visual markers of foreign identity within the Naeshirogawan, Ryukyuan, and Amamian communities in Satsuma was key to enacting this display and fixing these foreign individuals within the Satsuma status system of social control.

Satsuma's highly disciplined social order, framed by the various *Shūmon tefuda aratame jōmoku*, had implications beyond the seventeenth to eighteenth centuries. While Satsuma's social organization was broadly similar to other domains during the Tokugawa period, the fact that the domain administrators—rather than temples as was the case in other domains—were responsible for registering individuals, meant that the regulations governing social control in Satsuma were more detailed and contained some notable differences from the registration practices of other domains. Scholars have noted that Satsuma's status system allowed for a much higher percentage of warriors than in other domains and have debated the implications of this for the Meiji Revolution (1868).⁸⁹ Satsuma's status system has also been credited as one of the sources of the strength and purpose displayed by leaders of the domain during the Restoration movement, since Satsuma's rural samurai (*gōshi*) were more thoroughly subordinated to authority than in other domains.⁹⁰ The formal status of the Naeshirogawa potter community discussed in this chapter is another example of the unique operation of Satsuma's system of social organization. Other domains in south-western Japan also brought back potters from Chosŏn Korea during the Imjin War, but unlike the case of "Koreans" in Satsuma who are still present in Naeshirogawa today, Koreans captives in other domains did not survive as separate communities beyond the early decades of the seventeenth century.⁹¹ Satsuma's detailed status regulations played a large part in this difference.

⁸⁹ Jansen, "The Meiji Restoration," pp. 325–326.

⁹⁰ Sakai, "An Introductory Analysis," p. 3; Beasley, "Politics and the Samurai Class Structure in Satsuma," pp. 55–56.

⁹¹ Naitō, *Bunroku keichō eki ni okeru hironin no kenkyū*.

Bibliography

Primary Sources

Abbreviations

- KZ Kagoshima-ken Ishin Shiryō Hensanjo 鹿児島県維新史料編さん所, ed. *Kyūki zatsuroku kōhen* 旧記雑録後編. 10 vols. Kagoshima-ken, 1978–1987.
- KZT Kagoshima-ken Ishin Shiryō Hensanjo 鹿児島県維新史料編さん所, ed. *Kyūki zatsuroku tsuiroku* 旧記雑録追録. 8 vols. Kagoshima-ken, 1971–1978.
- HPS *Hanpōshū* 藩法集. 12 vols. Sōbunsha, 1958–1975.
- SHS Kagoshima-ken Ishin Shiryō Hensanjo 鹿児島県維新史料編さん所, ed. *Satsuma han hōrei shiryōshū* 薩摩藩法令史料集. 8 vols. Kagoshima-ken, 2004.

- Haraguchi, Torao, Robert K. Sakai, Mitsugu Sakihara, Kazuko Yamada and Masato Matsui, eds. *The Status System and Social Organization of Satsuma: A Translation of the Shūmon Tefuda Aratame Jōmoku*. University of Tokyo Press, 1975.
- Shūmon tefuda aratame jōmoku* 宗門手札改条目, Kaei 5 (1852). In Haraguchi, Sakai, Sakihara, Yamada, and Matsui, *The Status System and Social Organization of Satsuma: A Translation of the Shūmon Tefuda Aratame Jōmoku*, pp. 156–257.
- Tachibana Nankei 橘南谿. *Saiyūki zokuhen* 西遊記続編 (1795). In vol.20 of *Zoku teikoku bunko* 続帝国文庫, pp. 271–342. Hakubunkan, 1902.
- Takagi Zensuke 高木善助. *Satsuyō ōhen kiji* 薩陽往返記事 (manuscript, 1828–1839). In vol.2 of *Nihon shomin seikatsu shiryō shūsei* 日本庶民生活史料集成, pp. 609–703. San'ichi Shobō, 1969.

Secondary Sources

- Andō Tamotsu 安藤保. “Kaidai” 解題. In SHS vol. 1, pp. 1–15, Kagoshima-ken, 2004.
- Batten, Bruce. *To the Ends of Japan: Premodern Frontiers, Boundaries, and Interactions*. Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press, 2003.
- Beasley, W.G. “Politics and the Samurai Class Structure in Satsuma, 1858–1868.” *Modern Asian Studies* 1:1 (1967), pp. 47–57.
- Clements, Rebekah. “Alternate Attendance Parades in the Japanese Domain of Satsuma, Seventeenth to Eighteenth Centuries: Pottery, Power and

- Foreign Spectacle.” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 32 (2022), pp. 135–58.
- Clements, Rebekah. “Daimyo Processions and Satsuma’s Korean Village: A Note on the Reliability of Local History Materials.” *Japan Review* 35 (2021), pp. 219–30.
- Dana Masayuki 田名真之. “Jiritsu e no mosaku” 自立への模索. In *Ryūkyū Okinawashi no sekai* 琉球沖縄史の世界, ed. Tomiyama Kazuyuki 富見山和行, pp. 167–95. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2003.
- Fukaminato Kyōko 深港恭子. “Satsumayaki o meguru Naeshirogawa kankei monjo ni tsuite” 薩摩焼をめぐる苗代川関係文書について. *Reimeikan chōsa kenkyū hōkoku* 黎明館 調査研究報告 13 (2000), pp. 101–33.
- Fukase Kōichirō 深瀬公一朗. “Kinsei Nichiryū tsūkō kankei ni okeru Kagoshima Ryūkyūkan” 近世日琉通交関係における鹿児島琉球館. *Waseda Daigaku Daigakuin bungaku kenkyū kiyō* 早稲田大学大学院文学研究科紀要 4:48 (2002), pp. 45–56.
- Fukase Kōichirō. “Satsuma han no Ryūkyū seisaku to ikoku ryōnai: Shimazu Shigehide ki ni okeru Ryūkyū no shisha hakken o chūshin ni” 薩摩藩の琉球政策と「異国」「領内」—島津重豪期における琉球の使節派遣を中心に—. *Waseda Daigaku Sōgō Jinbunkagaku Kenkyū Sentā zasshi* 早稲田大学総合人文科学研究センター研究誌 (WASEDA RILAS JOURNAL) 9 (2021), 288–90.
- Haraguchi Torao 原口虎雄. “Kaidai” 解題. In HPS 8. *Kagoshima han*, vol. 1, pp. 3–8, 1969.
- Hidemura Senzō 秀村選三 ed. *Satsuma han no kōzō to tenkai* 薩摩藩の構造と展開. Fukuoka: Nishinihon Bunkakyōkai, 1976.
- Howell, David. *Geographies of Identity in Nineteenth-Century Japan*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005.
- Howland, Douglas R. “Samurai Status, Class, and Bureaucracy: A Historical-geographical Essay.” *Journal of Asian Studies* 60:2 (2001), pp. 353–80.
- Ikemiya Masaharu 池宮正治. “Mō Kiryū (Shikina Seimei) Omoidegusa: honkoku to chūshaku” 毛起竜（識名盛命）『思出草』：翻刻と注釈. *Nihon tōyō bunka ronshū* 日本東洋文化論集 8 (2007), pp. 37–150.
- Ishigami Eiichi 石上英一. “Genna kyūnen Ōshima okime no shohon no saikentō” 元和九年大嶋置目の諸本の再検討. *Reimeikan chōsa kenkyū hōkoku* 黎明館調査研究報告 19 (2006), pp. 129–57.
- Itaya Tōru 板谷徹. “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* 25 (2009), pp. 111–18.

- Itaya Tōru 板谷徹. “Kinsei Ryūkyū ni okeru ōji shisha to gozen shinjō: geinō jōen no ba o meguru ichikōsatsu” 近世琉球における王子使者と御膳進上一芸能上演の場をめぐる一考察. *Engeki eizō gaku* 演劇映像学 4 (2011), pp. 141–62.
- Jansen, Marius B. “The Meiji Restoration.” In vol. 5 of *The Cambridge History of Japan, The Nineteenth Century*, ed. Marius B. Jansen. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989, pp. 308–66.
- Kagoshima kenshi* 鹿児島県史. 8 vols. Kagoshima: Kagoshima Prefecture, 1980.
- Kagoshima-ken no chimei* 鹿児島県の地名. Vol. 47 of *Nihon Rekishi chimei taikai* 日本歴史地名体系. Heibonsha, 1998.
- Kamiya Nobuyuki 紙屋敦之. *Bakuhansei kokka no Ryūkyū shihai* 幕藩制国家の琉球支配. Azekura Shobō, 1990.
- Kirino Toshihiko 桐野利彦. “Kasanohara ni okeru hanshi kaiatsu shinden” 笠野原における藩士開発新田. In Hidemura 1976, pp.160–214.
- Kuroshima Satoru 黒島敏. *Ryūkyū ōkoku to Sengoku daimyō* 琉球王国と戦国大名. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2016.
- Kurushima Hiroshi 久留島浩ed. *Egakareta gyōretsu: bushi, ikoku, sairei* 描かれた行列：武士・異国・祭礼. Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 2015.
- Kurushima Hiroshi ed. *Gyōretsu ni miru kinsei* 行列にみる近世. Sakura: Kokuritsu Rekishi Minzoku Hakubutsukan, 2012.
- Kurushima Hiroshi, Suda Tsutomu 須田努, and Cho Kyondaru 趙景達, eds. *Satsuma, Chōsen tōkōmura no yonhyakunen* 薩摩・朝鮮陶工村の四百年. Iwanami Shoten, 2014.
- Matsushita Shirō 松下志郎 and Shimono Toshimi 下野敏見. *Kagoshima no minato to Satsunan shotō* 鹿児島の湊と薩南諸島. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 2002.
- Matsushita Shirō. *Kinsei Amami no shihai to shakai* 近世奄美の支配と社会. Daiichi Shobō 1983.
- Minowa Masaru 箕輪優. “Kyōhō jūsannen Ōshima kibochō ni kansuru kōsatsu: Satsuma han no Amami shotō shihai ni tsuite” 享保十三年「大島規模帳」に関する考察：薩摩藩の奄美諸島支配について. *Jōmin bunka* 常民文化 39 (2016), pp.106–70.
- Miyagi Eishō 宮城栄昌. *Ryūkyū shisha no Edo nobori* 琉球使者の江戸上り. Daiichi Shobō, 1982.
- Mori, Kenji. “The Development of the Modern *Koseki*.” In *Japan’s Household Registration System and Citizenship: Koseki, Identification and Documentation*, ed. David Chapman and Karl Jakob Krogness, pp. 59–76. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York : Routledge, 2014.

- Murai, Shōsuke. “Post-War Domain Source Material on Hideyoshi’s Invasion of Korea: The Wartime Memoirs of Shimazu Soldiers.” In James B. Lewis, ed. *The East Asian War, 1592–1598: International Relations, Violence, and Memory*, pp. 109–19. Abingdon, Oxon ; New York : Routledge, 2015.
- Naitō Shunpo 内藤雋輔. *Bunroku keichō no eki ni okeru hironin no kenkyū* 文禄・慶長役における被擄人の研究. Tōkyō Daigaku Shuppankai, 1976.
- Nakai, Kate Wildman. “The Naturalization of Confucianism in Tokugawa Japan: The Problem of Sinocentrism.” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 40:1 (1980), pp. 157–99.
- Nakamura Akizō 中村明蔵. *Satsuma minshū shihai no kōzō: Gendai minshū ishiki no kisō o saguru* 薩摩民衆支配の構造—現代民衆意識の基層を探る. Kagoshima: Nanpō Shinsha, 2000.
- Ravina, Mark. *Land and Lordship in Early Modern Japan*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1999.
- Roberts, Luke. *Performing the Great Peace: Political Space and Open Secrets in Tokugawa Japan*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2012.
- Sakai, Robert. “An Introductory Analysis.” In Haraguchi, Sakai, Sakihara, Yamada, and Matsui, *The Status System and Social Organization of Satsuma: A Translation of the Shūmon Tefuda Aratame Jōmoku*, pp. 3–42. University of Tokyo Press, 1975.
- Sakai, Robert. “The Consolidation of Power in Satsuma-han.” In *Studies in the Institutional History of Early Modern Japan*, ed. John W. Hall and Marius Jansen, pp. 131–40. Princeton University Press, 1968.
- Satō Hiroyuki 佐藤宏之. “*Satsuma no naka no ikoku: Enshutsusareta Ryūkyūkan* ” 薩摩のなかの「異国」—演出された「琉球館」—. *Chizu jōhō* 地図情報 38:2 (2018), pp. 20–24.
- Seifman, Travis. “Performing ‘Lūchū’: Identity Performance and Foreign Relations in Early Modern Japan.” PhD dissertation, University of California Santa Barbara, 2019.
- Smits, Gregory. *Maritime Ryukyu, 1050–1650*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 2018.
- Smits, Gregory. *Visions of Ryukyu: Identity and Ideology in Early-Modern Thought and Politics*. Honolulu: University of Hawai’i Press, 1999.
- Tazawa Kingo 田沢金吾 and Koyama Fujio 小山富士夫. *Satsumayaki no kenkyū* 薩摩焼の研究. Tōyō Tōji Kenkyūjo, 1941.
- Toby, Ronald. “Carnival of the Aliens: Korean Embassies in Edo-Period Art and Popular Culture.” *Monumenta Nipponica* 41:4 (1986), pp. 415–56.

- Toby, Ronald. *State and Diplomacy in Early Modern Japan: Asia in the Development of the Tokugawa Bakufu*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Tokunaga Kazunobu 徳永和喜. *Kaiyō kokka Satsuma* 海洋国家薩摩. Kagoshima: Nanpō Shinsha, 2005.
- Tokunaga Kazunobu. *Satsuma han taigai kōshōshi no kenkyū* 薩摩藩対外交渉史の研究. Fukuoka: Kyūshū Daigaku Shuppankai, 2005.
- Tomiyama Kazuyuki 豊見山和行. “Kyokō to jitsuzō no sakusō suru shima Tokara: Kinsei Ryūkyū ni okeru Tokara no rekishiteki yakuwari” 虚構と実像の錯綜する島=トカラ—近世琉球におけるトカラの歴史的役割—. In *Ryūkyū to Nihon hondo no sen'i chiiki toshite no Tokara Rettō no rekishiteki ichizuke o meguru sōgōteki kenkyū* 琉球と日本本土の遷移地域としてのトカラ列島の歴史的な位置づけをめぐる総合的研究, pp. 33–40. Naha: Takara Kurayoshi, 2009.
- Watanabe Yoshirō 渡辺芳郎. “Naze Satsuma han wa Naeshirogawa ni Chōsen fūzoku o nokoshita no ka” なぜ薩摩藩は苗代川に朝鮮習俗を残したのか. *Kadai shigaku* 鹿大史学 52 (2005), pp. 9–18.
- Yokoyama Manabu 横山学. *Ryūkyūkoku shisetsu torai no kenkyū* 琉球国使節渡来の研究. Yoshikawa Kōbunkan, 1987.
- Yonemoto, Marcia. *Mapping Early Modern Japan: Space, Place, and Culture in the Tokugawa Period, 1603–1868*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003.