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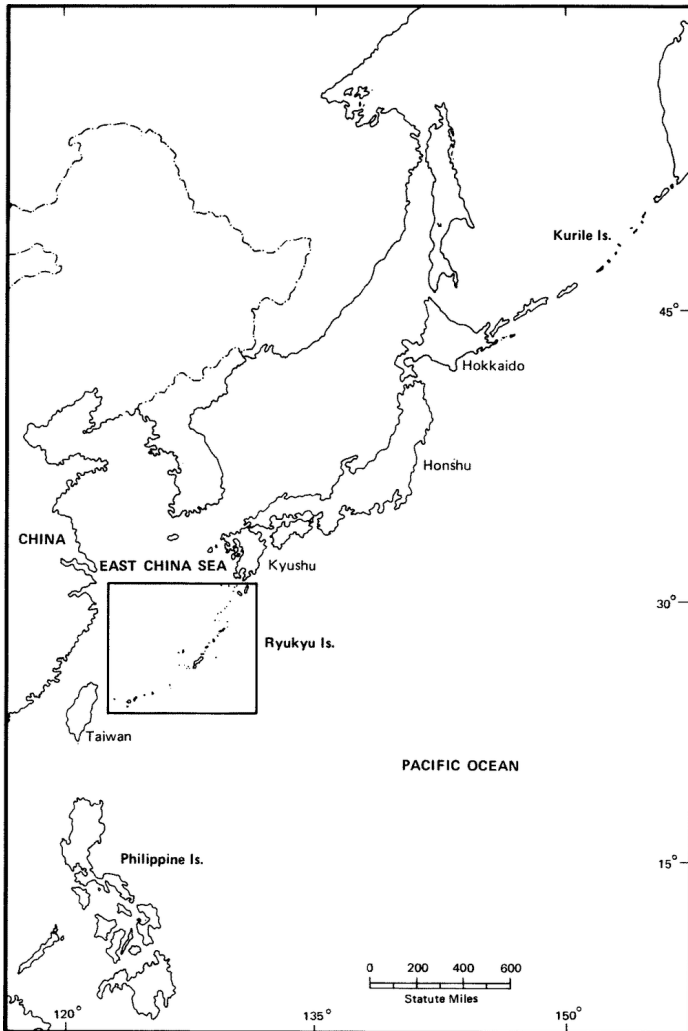


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Map 1 The Ryukyus, Asia, and the Pacific

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BACKGROUND

This study is a discussion of the culture history as seen from archaeology of the Ryukyu Islands, which form the geographical boundary between the East China Sea and the Pacific Ocean, extending from South Japan to Taiwan. The Ryukyus constitute an important yet poorly known link in the island chain flanking East Asia, and their culture history is of interest to scholars concerned with Taiwan, China, and Southeast Asia as well as Japan. The scope in time with which we are concerned is a broad one, from the third millennium B.C. to about 1700 A.D., when the Ryukyus lost much of their political and cultural independence, falling under the shadow of Japan.

The purpose of this study is to present a synthesis of the archaeological materials from the Ryukyus in the form of a chronology consisting of sites and phases. The two terminal areas in the Ryukyu chain, southern Kyushu and eastern Taiwan, have also been taken into account in order to suggest important relationships of the culture of the Ryukyus to the cultures of the surrounding areas.

Archaeological exploration in the area began more than fifty years ago with investigations in Yaeyama (Takamiya 1961:2). These were followed by excavations of a small group of sites in Okinawa and Amami, the most important being Omonawa, Sachihijah (Shimada 1932), Ogidō (Matsumura 1921), Iha (Ōyama 1911, 1922), and Gusukudake (Komaki 1927). These are briefly summarized by Ichirō Yawata in a special issue of *Minzokugaku Kenkyu* (1952) and by Shinjun Tawada of the Commission for the Protection of Cultural Assets of the Ryukyu Islands (Tawada 1961). Neither summary attempted to relate the Ryukyuan materials to those of the surrounding areas or to

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explore the complicated historical period Kokubu and Kaneko (1964) and Takamiya (1964) have also presented survey papers on the prehistoric and historic periods of Ryukyuan culture.

Since 1950, at least twenty sites and other general aspects of the prehistory, including burials and stone monuments, have been extensively explored. The mass of data derived from these investigations, much of which has been published in the last few years, has not been digested in the local literature. Despite the impressive amount of excavation and publication, the details of many of the assemblages remain comparatively unknown even to the specialists of adjacent areas, partly because of the limited circulation of the reports and partly because of the language barriers. For this reason, many details concerning the sites and types have been included in the various chapters of this study.

As well as a digest of these important data, I have included, from my own excavations, information not usually found in the local reports—carbon dates, quantitative shell analysis, and a tentative classification of historical trade ceramics. These aspects of archaeological method will, it is hoped, be absorbed into the local scene, fostering a trend toward more precise chronological studies and ecological reconstructions.

A problem worthy of more attention is the relationship of the Ryukyus to Taiwan. Some of the scholars working in the Ryukyus have expert knowledge concerning the archaeology of Taiwan, and several of them have carried out fieldwork on that island. However, much of the information used in comparative studies with the Ryukyus comes from Taiwan's west coast, which is separated from the coast opposite the Ryukyus by one of the highest mountain ranges in East Asia, and the cultures on the two coasts of Taiwan are by no means identical. To assess and to expand the meager published material on the east coast, I have made two field trips to the area, in 1963 and 1965.

Thus far, little attention has been focused on the relation of the Ryukyuan finds to specific archaeological materials in Kyushu. One reason for this may be the unsettled question of whether or not the Ryukyus were occupied before the pottery-making, shellfish-collecting peoples whose remains date back to at least 1500 B.C. (Meighan 1964:13). Even if demonstrably earlier materials are eventually found, clear ceramic connections between Okinawa and Kyushu are evident from the time of Middle Jōmon in southern Kyushu.

The intent of this publication is to present new data (the sites which are mentioned for the first time can be checked in Table 1), to propose concrete ways of relating phases of

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Ryukyuan culture to phases in Taiwan and Kyushu, to present a more detailed framework for examining trade ceramics than has before been presented for the Ryukyus, and to suggest the use of ecological as well as historical data in discussing the evolution of culture in the Ryukyus. The chief means of accomplishing these ends is through the establishment of a firm archaeological chronology.

STRATEGY

For the following discussion, the area can be divided into smaller units based on topographical features. In the same manner as did previous field workers in the Ryukyus (Kaneko 1963:113-115; Kokubu and Kaneko 1964:120), I divide the small islands into three groups—the Satsunan Islands, Amami and Okinawa and their dependent islets, and the Sakishima Islands. Adding to these eastern Taiwan and southern Kyushu, there are five sub-areas, each with a local sequence formed by the succession and overlapping of pottery types, which are small enough units to allow a relatively precise chronological ordering of the sites. The comparison of the sequences, the aligning of contemporary types and sites, and the construction of the absolute area chronology are presented in Chapter 8. The sites which I selected and the nature of the information from each are included in Table 1. In the center column of the table, *exc* means that the site was excavated in distinction from *s.c.*, which indicates that a surface collection was made. The second column from the right indicates whether or not and at what time I studied the collection.

On the basis of a ceramic typology comprising locally-made pottery and imported trade porcelain and stoneware, it is possible to form relative chronologies for southern Kyushu and three areas of the Ryukyus.

The types in this study are historical types (Rouse 1960:318) based on selected procedural modes concerning the shape, rim treatment, interior finishing, decoration, and in some cases the nature of the glaze. The descriptions include diagnostic modes and other modes, often concerning the interior or the shape, which are useful in visualizing the kinds of ceramics involved but which may not be diagnostic. No statistical procedures have been used in any step of the formation of types, nor have systematic tabulations of clustering been made in most cases.

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In the case of southern Kyushu, a classification of local pottery has been in existence for many years. The diagnostic modes usually include the shape and the techniques and motifs of decoration. After the establishment of a type from a distinctive, newly excavated assemblage, subsequent finds from other assemblages are classified according to how closely they approximate the type sherds, and regional varieties may be established. Whole sites are usually characterized by the majority type and are placed chronologically in a firmly established order of types. The chronological usefulness of the types is demonstrated in Chapter 2. Since I have done no actual excavation in Kyushu, I have decided to use the types as they have traditionally been presented, making a few changes that have for the most part been suggested by other archaeologists working in the area, as in the case of the merging of the Ichiki, Nampukuji, and Izumi Types (Kidder 1957:90).

The types for Okinawa and Taiwan were formulated by sorting the actual artifacts or by grouping similar kinds of artifacts from their published descriptions. The types were first established on the basis of a few diagnostic modes, such as rectilinear incision or completely plain surfaces, using the largest and best documented collections from the literature in the case of Amami and Okinawa and using the artifacts themselves in the case of Sakishima and Taiwan. Modes which were constantly mentioned in the literature were also checked, for these allow more detailed comparisons with collections not available for actual typing. As with all types, variations from site to site were encountered, but it was decided to "lump" rather than "split," and to work, for this initial study, with a limited number of broad types.

In summary, the strategy by which I proceeded in this study consists of several steps.

1. The first step was the assembling of the material. Published sources were gathered, and excavated specimens were prepared, sorted, classified, and tabulated. During my fieldwork, I emphasized extensive sampling rather than an intensive exploration of any one site.

2. From the gathered data, ceramic types were formulated, and the sites were arranged according to the occurrence of types.

3. From the sites thus ordered, archaeological phases (see pp. 118-127) were abstracted. The traits distinguishing these phases include the ceramic types as well as aspects of sub-

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sistence. They show the major cultural patterns in the history of the Ryukyus as these patterns can be reconstructed from the evidence at hand. The comparison of phases involves a discussion of the relationship between cultural groups based on the common characteristics of similar sites and thought to represent living patterns of social groups, rather than the pursuit of a particular trait (for instance, roof-shaped tombs) independent of its bearers. This sort of comparison emphasizes a total pattern and ethnic groups rather than individual exotic customs. In Japanese archaeology as it is practiced in Okinawa and Kyushu, the next step in integration beyond sites and types is whole cultures rather than phases. This fact, coupled with the lack of quantification of data, tends to produce static reconstructions with the course of change usually attributed to historic contacts, influences, or "radiations" (Kokubu and Kaneko 1964:22). The sub-unit which I have chosen, the phase, allows the archaeologist to isolate temporal and spatial variations in finer detail.

TABLE 1 Table of sites

Island	Site	Excavation or Surface Collection*	Museum Collection Studied by Pearson	Publication Consulted by Pearson
Kyushu	Chiran	Kawaguchi, exc.		Kawaguchi 1960
	Ibusuki	Hamada, exc.		Hamada 1921
	Ishizaka	Kawaguchi <i>et al.</i> , exc.		Kawaguchi 1963a
	Izumi	Shimada, Hamada, Kawaguchi, exc.		Shimada and Hamada 1921; Kawaguchi 1957d, 1963d
	Kasuga	Kawaguchi, exc.		Kawaguchi 1963c
	Kusano	Mitomo, exc.		Mitomo 1955
	Miyajima			Kobayashi 1939:14-15

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	Nagano	Kawaguchi, exc.		Kawaguchi 1957a
	Ōbara	Kawaguchi, exc.		Kawaguchi 1963b
	Ōwata	Kokubu <i>et al.</i> , exc.		Kokubu <i>et al.</i> , 1963
	Todoroki	Hamada <i>et al.</i> , exc.; Matsumoto <i>et al.</i> , exc.		Hamada <i>et al.</i> , 1920; Matsumoto 1962
	Wadamae	Kawaguchi, exc.		Kawaguchi 1959
	Watase	Kokubu, exc.		Kokubu 1963a
	Yoshida			Kidder 1957: 84
Tane	Hirota	Kokubu, Morizono, Kawaguchi <i>et al.</i> , exc.	Tenri University, May 1963	Asano 1960: 192; Kokubu 1959, 1960d; Kokubu and Kaneko 1964; Kokubu and Morizono 1958; Morizono 1963b; Nagai 1966; Kaneko 1964.
	Nishinoomote (Moto-jō)	Morizono, exc.		Morizono 1964; Kidder 1957: 83
Yaku	Issō	Mori, Morizono, exc.		Mori 1955; Morizono 1963a
Kuchinoerabu	Shirogadaira	Kokubu, exc.		Kokubu 1963b

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	Yumuke	Mitomo, exc.	Mitomo 1963a
Takara	Ōbama	Ishige, s.c.	University of Kyoto, May 1963
Amami	Igirisuzaka Ushuku	Ishige, s.c. Kokubu, Kawaguchi, exc.	Kagoshima, Gyoku Ryū High School, April 1963
	Asani	Pearson, exc.	Kokubu <i>et</i> <i>al.</i> 1956 Kyugakkai Rengo 1959
Okinoerabu	Sumiyoshi	Kawaguchi, exc.	Kagoshima, Gyoku Ryū High School, April 1963
Tokuno	Omonawa No. 2	Kokubu, Kawaguchi <i>et al.</i> , exc.	Kokubu 1957
	Component 1 Omonawa No. 2	"	"
	Component 2		Kokubu 1956, 1960a; Kyugakkai Rengo 1959
	Omonawa No. 3 (Kaneku Site)	"	"
	Omonawa No. 4	"	"
Okinawa	Aguni	Nitta, Pearson, exc.	Nitta 1961
	Akajanga	Takamiya, exc.	Takamiya 1960
	Attabarū	Takamiya, exc.	Meighan 1964

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Chiarabaru	Tawada, exc.	Tawada <i>et al.</i> 1962
Garabi Go	Pearson, exc.	
Gusukudake	Komaki, exc.	Komaki 1927
Ie Jima	Tokunaga, exc.	Tokunaga 1936; Kaneko and Kokubu 1964
Iha	Ōyama, exc.	Ōyama 1911, 1922
Kadena	Nitta and Takemoto, exc.	Nitta and Takemoto 1960
Kanegusuku	Takamiya, exc.	Takamiya 1961
Katsuren	Takamiya, exc.	Ryukyu Seifu Bunkazai Hogo Iin Kai 1965
Kina	Pearson, s.c.	
Kogachi	Pearson, s.c.	
Komesu	Kokubu, exc.	Kokubu 1957
Noguni	Bird, Eckholm, Takamiya, exc.	American Museum of Nat. Hist., April 1966
Ogidō	Matsumura, exc.	University of Tokyo, April 1963 Matsumura 1920
Ōyama	Kagawa and Tawada, exc.	Kagawa and Tawada 1959
Sachihijah	Shimada <i>et al.</i> , exc.	Shimada 1932

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	ShimashiyamaKokubu, exc.	Ryukyu Museum, May 1963	Kokubu 1960c
	Tsuboya		Yanagi 1942
	Tsuken	Takemoto, exc.	Takemoto 1961
	Urasoe	Pearson, exc.	Itō and Kamakura 1937; Okawa 1962
	Yabuchi	Kaneko and Kokubu, exc.	Kaneko and Kokubu 1962
	Yaejima	Pearson, exc.	
Miyako	Hisamatsu	Inamura, exc.	Kaneko 1963; Inamura 1962
Iriomote	Funaura	Pearson, exc.	
	Nakama No. 1	Takiguchi <i>et al.</i> , exc.	Ōtomi HighTakiguchi School, 1960 Feb. 1963 Waseda University, April 1963
	Nakama No. 2	Takiguchi <i>et al.</i> , exc.	Takiguchi 1960
	Ku'ura	Pearson, exc.	
	Pinishi	Takiguchi <i>et al.</i> , exc.	Waseda April 1963
Ishigaki	Yambaru	Takiguchi <i>et al.</i> , exc.	Takiguchi 1960 Takiguchi 1960
	Kanda	Pearson, exc.	
	Ishisuku	Pearson, exc.	
	Kudo	Pearson, s.c.	

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Hatoma	Nakamori	Takamiya, exc.	Takamiya and Meighan 1959
Hateruma	Shimotabaru	Kanaseki, Kokubu <i>et</i> <i>al.</i> , exc.	Kanaseki 1963; Takiguchi 1960
	Atanoshi	Pearson, exc.	
	Misuku	Pearson, exc.	
Yonaguni	Shimanaka	Kaneko, Pearson, s.c.	Kokubu and Kaneko 1962: 93
	Hinai	Kaneko, Pearson, s.c.	Kaneko 1963: 135
Taiwan (east)	Peinan	Pearson, s.c.	Shih and Sung 1953
		Kanaseki and Kokubu, exc.	Kanaseki and Kokubu 1957
	P'ing Lin	Pearson, s.c.	Shih and Sung 1953
	O Luan Pi	Pearson s.c.; Utsurikawa, exc.; Sung, exc.	Utsurikawa 1936; Sung 1967; Kano 1952: 187 Kano 1952: 187
	T'ai Yuan	Pearson, exc.	
	Hualien Park	Kokubu and Kanaseki, exc. Pearson, s.c.	Shih and Sung 1953; Solheim 1960
	Chung Yung	Pearson, s.c	Shih and Sung 1953

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	Tung Ho	Shih and Sung, Pearson s.c.	Shih and Sung 1953
Lü Tao	You Tze Hu	Kano, exc.	Kano 1952: 407
Lan Yü	Imourud	Kano, exc.	Kano 1952: 84

*exc. = excavation

s.c. = surface collection

4. Through the comparison of phases from one area, certain continuities and discontinuities, both historical and ecological, make it possible to point up the major trends in the evolution of island cultures. Comparison of the early phases of Kyushu and the northern and central Ryukyus suggests that in the initial colonization from Kyushu sampling error or the founder theory principle may have been responsible for major changes between contiguous phases.

A diversity of scattered cultures within an ecologically homogeneous area may be accounted for on the basis of historical factors. However, even before the cultures are subjected to different historical influences, the effect of sampling error—which operates because of the smallness of the colonizing groups—may be felt. Certain features of the parent culture are lost because the individuals who have learned them are not included in the founding group. This kind of sampling error operating between parent cultures and their colonies, has been termed the founder theory principle (Rappaport and Vayda 1964; see pp. 132-134).

I became interested in the application of the founder theory to the culture history of the Ryukyus when I encountered the reports on the Ushuku Site in Amami which stated that Kyushu Ichiki Type pottery was found in the bottom layers of the site, establishing with certainty that cultural transmission between the two areas had occurred. A check of the pottery present on sites from southern Kyushu to Amami showed a reduction in the range of types found and the appearance in Amami of new, slightly different types (Table 42). It should be noted that the use of this theory does not commit one to stating that all of the population of the Ryukyus came from southern Kyushu but rather that extensive contacts took place. It seems likely that the greater part of the population of the Ryukyus, particularly from Okinawa to the north, is from southern Kyushu.

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5. A brief external comparison in the final chapter shows the rather isolated position of the Ryukyus in East and Southeast Asia. This isolation lasted until the 13th century, when the islands were gradually integrated into the Chinese commercial system.