

РОССИЙСКАЯ АКАДЕМИЯ НАУК
ИНСТИТУТ ВОСТОЧНЫХ РУКОПИСЕЙ
МИНИСТЕРСТВО КУЛЬТУРЫ РФ
РОССИЙСКИЙ ИНСТИТУТ КУЛЬТУРОЛОГИИ

НИКОЛАЙ НЕВСКИЙ: ЖИЗНЬ И НАСЛЕДИЕ

Сборник статей

Филологический факультет
Санкт-Петербургского государственного университета
Санкт-Петербург
2013

ББК 81.2Яп+63.3(5Яп)
Н40

*Издание
выполнено при поддержке
Японского фонда*

JAPAN FOUNDATION 
国際交流基金

Составление
и ответственное редактирование
Е. С. Бакшеев, В. В. Щепкин

Н40 Николай Невский: жизнь и наследие: сборник статей / сост. и отв. ред. Е. С. Бакшеев и В. В. Щепкин; Ин-т восточных рукописей РАН, Российский ин-т культурологии. — СПб. : Филологический факультет СПбГУ, 2013. — 292 с., ил.

ISBN 978-5-8465-1255-9

В сборник вошли статьи отечественных и зарубежных ученых, основанные на докладах, представленных в рамках «Невских чтений» — международного симпозиума в честь 120-летия со дня рождения выдающегося российского востоковеда Николая Александровича Невского (1892–1937). Проблематика статей определена разносторонним характером исследований, которым посвятил себя ученый: мифология, синто, айноведение, язык и культура Рюкю, тангуоведение и др.

ББК 81.2Яп+63.3(5Яп)

ISBN 978-5-8465-1255-9

© Институт восточных рукописей
Российской академии наук, 2013
© Российский институт культурологии
Министерства культуры РФ, 2013
© С. В. Лебединский, оформление, 2013

ИСТОРИЯ И КУЛЬТУРА РЮКЮ

R. Caroli

TRAVELS OF A NATIONAL TREASURE. THE RECORDS OF THE RYUKYUAN ROYAL FAMILY SHŌ (RYŪKYŪ KOKUŌ SHŌ KE KANKEI SHIRYŌ)

In 1992 Okinawan newspapers announced that the City of Naha would be trusted with monuments of great value. They included Tama Udun 玉陵, the royal mausoleum of the Ryūkyū Kingdom which was built at the beginning of the 16th century and was designated an UNESCO World Heritage Site in 2000; the wall and gate of Sōgenji 崇元寺, a Buddhist temple erected at the end of the 15th century, which is included in the list of the Important Cultural Properties of Japan; and the royal garden of Shikinaen 識名園, which was constructed in 1799 in the southern part of the Shuri Castle by combining Japanese, Chinese, and Ryukyuan elements, and is designated as a Special Place of Scenic Beauty¹.

Three years later, other historical assets were bequeathed to Naha; they consisted of precious artworks, ritual objects, and historical documents dating back hundreds of years and belonging to the second Shō dynasty of the Ryūkyū Kingdom (1470–1879). From 1998 until 2002, the Agency of Cultural Affairs made an inventory of these assets, enlisting 85 items of art and crafts (articles of clothing, headdress, lacquers, furniture, etc.), and 1166 documents (including construction plans and registers of funeral items) in the Records of the Ryukyuan royal family Shō (*Ryūkyū kokuō Shō ke kankei shiryō* 琉球国王尚家関係資料)². In 2006 they were designated a National Treasure (*kokuhō* 国宝) in the category of historical materials (*rekishi shiryō* 歴史資料)³. The value of these documents

¹ Ryūkyū shinpō. 28 December 1992.

² Ibidem. 23 March 2002 and 1 March 2003.

³ Ibidem. 19 March 2006; Okinawa taimusu. 20 March 2006. Between 2004 and 2008, the records have been reproduced as microfilm under a project led by Professor Tomiyama Kazuyuki, University of the Ryukyus. See *Tomiyama Kazuyuki* 豊見山和行. Ryūkyū kokuōke — Shōke monjo no sōgōteki kenkyū 琉球国王家・尚家文書の総合的研究

is inestimable both for the history of the Ryūkyū, particularly for its relationship with China and Japan.

The author of these generous donations was Shō Hiroshi 尚裕 (1918–1997), the twenty-second descendant of the Shō family and the great-grandson of the last king Shō Tai 尚泰 (1843–1901)⁴. The Records were transferred from Tokyo to Okinawa and are now conserved at the Naha City Historical Museum (Naha shi rekishi hakubutsukan 那覇市歴史博物館).

Actually, for many decades they were stored in the Shō residence in Tokyo, where Shō Tai was required to move since the demise of the kingdom in 1879. He was the last monarch to ascend to the Ryukyuan throne in 1848 and to receive investiture as king from the Chinese emperor. Indeed, like other East Asian countries, Ryūkyū maintained a tributary relationship with China for about five centuries; even after the Satsuma invasion of 1609, when the Japanese feudal domain took control of its diplomatic and economic affairs, the kingdom remained a tributary state to China. When the Meiji government claimed its rights on Ryūkyū, Beijing reacted by filing strong complaints with Tokyo; but neither Chinese protests nor Ryūkyū's opposition were able to prevent Japan from asserting its sovereignty on the southern islands. Japan's interference in Ryūkyū internal affairs started in 1872, when the kingdom was transformed into a Japanese domain (*han*) and king Shō Tai was appointed "chief of the Ryūkyū domain" (Ryūkyū *han* 'ō 琉球藩王). Seven years later, when the Ryūkyū domain was abolished and the Okinawa prefecture was established, Shō Tai was required to go to Tokyo. He was allowed to return to Okinawa only once (1884–85) and he lived in Tokyo until his demise, in 1901.

Rather than illustrating the contents of the Records of the Ryukyuan royal family, the purpose of this paper is to reconstruct their story since the end of the kingdom when, after being preserved in the Shuri Castle for centuries, they were moved from the castle to the nearby residence of the crown prince, namely Nakagusuku Udun 中城御殿. Later, a part of them was taken from Okinawa to Tokyo, where they withstood adversities and could finally be brought back again to Okinawa in recent times.

(The royal family of Ryūkyū kingdom. A comprehensive research relating the Records of the Shō family). Nishihara, 2008.

⁴ Shō Tai was the second son of king Sho Iku 省育 (reign 1835–1847), but the premature death of his elder brother made him crown prince.

From Shuri Castle to Nakagusuku Udon

The relocation of the royal archives from the Shuri Castle to the residence of the crown prince is linked to the final act of *Ryūkyū shobun* 琉球処分, namely the measures imposed by the Meiji government in order to incorporate Ryūkyū into Japan, when the Ryūkyū kingdom was finally abolished and the former king left Okinawa in 1879.

Since 1872, Shō Tai had been required to visit the capital and pay his respects to Emperor Mutsuhito on several occasions, but he had always declined the request by adducing ill health. Yet he could not ignore the directives issued by Meiji government seven years later, which were announced to the Ryukyuan authorities on March 27 by Matsuda Michiyuki 松田道之 (1839–1882), who was escorted by dozens of Interior Ministry officers, 160 military police and 400 soldiers⁵. The former king was ordered to depart to Tokyo and was given time until the end of March to give up Shuri castle. In the evening of March 29, escorted by a retinue of hundreds attendants, Shō Tai passed through the side gate Kyūkeimon 久慶門, leaving the castle in the hands of Japanese troops. A long procession followed him to the residence of Nakagusuku Udon, where the Shō family's assets and former royal government official records were relocated⁶. He spent about two months there, during which the Meiji government urged him time and again to leave for Tokyo, assuring that he would be escorted by medical staff to take care of his health⁷. When threatened with the use of the force, he finally resolved to leave⁸.

⁵ Former governor of Shiga prefecture, Matsuda was named shobunkan 琉球処分官 (Disposition officer) by Emperor Meiji in 1875. He showed a great ability to solve the 'Ryukyuan problem', which had become a thorny issue for the Tokyo government, and was later defined as one of the greatest diplomats in the first Meiji period. Cfr. *Kiyama Takeharu* 木山竹治, *Matsuda Michiyuki* 松田道之. *Tottoriken kyōikukai*, 1925. P. 38. The four orders signed by the head of the Great Council of State (Daijōkan 太政官) Sanjō Sanetomi, were transmitted on 27th March to prince Nakijin (younger brother of Shō Tai) given that the former King's ill health prevented from receiving Matsuda. *Higashionna Kanjun* 東恩納寛惇. Shō Tai kō jitsuroku 尚泰侯実録 (Veritable record of marquis Shō Tai), in *Higashionna Kanjun zenshū* 東恩納寛惇全集 2 (Collected works of Higashionna Kanjun. Vol. 2). Daiichi shobō, Tokyo, 1978. P. 413–414.

⁶ *Ibidem*. P. 418–419 e 505.

⁷ *Ibidem*. P. 421.

⁸ *Ibidem*. P. 424. According to Kishaba Chōken 喜舎場朝賢 (1840–1916), a close adviser of the former king, "Shō Tai himself made the decision [to depart] rather than receive the insult of being compelled [by force]". Quoted in *Kawabata Megumu* 川畑恵, "Ryūkyūhan'ō no jokyō no imi" 琉球藩王尚泰の上京の意味 (The significance of Shō Tai's visit to the capital),

On May 19, he gave orders to prepare his departure, and on May 27 he left Nakagusuku Udun for Shuri. Here he boarded a ship together with a doctor, a large group of former courtiers, and his second son Shō In 尚寅 (1866–1905), who was 13⁹. Once in Tokyo, he could meet his elder son Shō Ten 尚典 (1864–1920), prince of Nakagusuku and namely the crown prince, who had left Okinawa about one month earlier in order to present a petition to the Meiji government, asking for a delay of his father's departure because of his illness¹⁰. On June 17th, Shō Tai and his two sons were admitted to the imperial presence. On that occasion, he was bestowed with the third rank of the Japanese peerage by Emperor Meiji and received a residence in Tokyo from him. Besides, he and his two sons were ordered to reside permanently in Tokyo.

Probably, when Shō Tai left Okinawa in the spring of 1879, he did not imagine that he would be prohibited to go back again to his native land. Indeed, the directives of the Meiji government that were transmitted to Ryukyuan authorities in March 1879 required Shō Tai to visit Tokyo, without mentioning permanent residence¹¹. Besides, the Meiji government seemed not to have considered at that time the hypothesis that the former king should have to live permanently in Tokyo.¹² Rather, this decision was likely taken only when the government found itself in the “unexpected” situation of welcoming both Shō Tai and his two direct heirs.¹³

in Shoryōbu kiyō 書陵部紀要 (Bulletin, study on the Japanese culture in relation to the Imperial Family and Court), 1998. Vol. 50. N. 5. P. 61.

⁹ *Higashionna*. Shō Tai kō jitsuroku, cit. P. 424–425.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*. P. 422 e 506.

¹¹ For the text of these documents see *ibidem*. P. 414–416.

¹² According to some scholars, the Meiji government decided that Tokyo should become the place of Shō Tai's permanent residence before the establishment of Okinawa Prefecture, but did not transmit the order considering the reactions it might have caused among local people. Yet, some sources of the period indicate that Meiji leaders did not seem to consider this possibility even after the Shō family moved to Nakagusuku Udun. Cfr. *Kawabata*. Ryūkyūhan'ō no jokyō no imi, cit. P. 59; *Kishaba Kazutaka* 喜舎場一隆. Ryūkyū Shōshi no subete 琉球・尚氏のすべて (*Ryūkyū* and the Shō family), Shinjinbutsu ōraisha. Tokyo, 2000. P. 167–168.

¹³ When Matsuda informed Itō Hirobumi that Shō Tai and his second son would leave, he defined the news as “unexpected fate” (*igai no un* 以外ノ運). An analogous surprise (*jitsu ni igai no koto* 実ニ意外ノ事 or “a very unexpected fact”) was expressed in other parts of the correspondence between Matsuda and Itō. *Matsuda Michiyuki* 松田道之 (ed.). Ryūkyū shobun 琉球処分 (The Disposition of Ryūkyū) // Meiji bunka shiryō sōsho 明治文化史料叢書. Vol. 4 (Gaikōhen, 5). Kazamashobō, Tōkyō, 1987. P. 295–298. For the political implications of Shō Tai's decision to leave, cfr. *Kawabata*. Ryūkyūhan'ō no jokyō no imi, cit. P. 61–62; *Higa Chōshin* 比嘉朝進. Shurijō ōchoki 首里城王朝紀 (Chronicle of Shuri royal dynasty). Fudokisha, Naha, 1989. P. 220; *Ozaki Saburō* 尾崎三良. Ozaki Saburō jijo ryakuden. 尾崎

The fact that Shō Tai did not probably consider his departure as a definitive separation from Okinawa might explain why, when he left for Tokyo, he did not bring with him the royal family's assets, the former government official records as well as the crown treasure, which remained instead in Nakagusuku Udun. After his departure, the only male heir of the Shō family remaining there was his fourth son Jun 順 (1873–1945), since the third son was dead when he was only two years old.¹⁴

We have scant evidence about the life of the former Ryukyuan king after he moved to Tokyo in 1879. Some scholars assert that he perceived his life in the capital as a kind of forced exile. He was also said to be very retiring in Tokyo, where he dedicated himself to reading, composing poems and caring for the education of his numerous children.¹⁵ Information about the residence that he received from the emperor is fragmentary too. We know that it was near the imperial palace and located in Kōjimachi, Fujimimachi 2 chome, 8 ban-chi 麴町富士見町二丁目八番地. It was almost 2000 *tsubo*, that is about 6500 square metres.¹⁶

The Shō family residence in Kōjimachi is mentioned by people who visited it or lived there. For example, the karate master Kyan Chōtoku 喜屋武朝徳 (1870–1945) stayed there for about eight years. He was the son of Kyan Chōfu *ueekata* 喜屋武親方朝扶, a royal government official who took part in the missions sent by Shō Tai to Tokyo, and in 1879 followed him to the capital bringing his children along.¹⁷ In his “Reminiscence of karate” written in 1942, Chōtoku remembered the period when he stayed at the Shō family residence and studied Chinese classics at the Nishōgakko 二松學校 in Fujimimachi. He was required to practise karate in the garden with his father even when it was snowing, while everybody else coming from Okinawa seemed to freeze to death in wintertime. Nevertheless, during his eight years in Tokyo he never caught a cold, and he could spend a happy youth in the capital. He also remembered that after a short time he was there, the former head of Naha police station,

三良自叙略伝 (A Biographical sketch of Ozaki Saburō). Chūkōbunko, Tokyo, 1979. Vol. 1. P. 352; *Itō Takashi, Ozaki Harumori* (eds.) 伊藤隆, 尾崎春盛. Ozaki Saburōnikki 尾崎三良日記 (The diary of Ozaki Saburō). Chūōkōronsha, Tokyo, 1991. Vol. 1. P. 204.

¹⁴ *Higashionna*. Shō Tai kō jitsuroku, cit. P. 483.

¹⁵ Cfr. *Higashionna*. Shō Tai kō jitsuroku, cit. P. 448–449; Okinawa daiyakkajiten 沖縄大百科事典 (Encyclopaedia of Okinawa). Vol. 2. Okinawa Taimususha. 1983. P. 424–425; Okinawa ken kyōkuiinkai (ed.) 沖縄県教育委員会. Okinawa kenshi 沖縄県史 (History of Okinawa Prefecture). Bekkan-Okinawa kinseijiten 別館・沖縄近代史辞典 (Supplement: Historical dictionary of modern Okinawa). Naha, 1977. P. 321–22.

¹⁶ *Higashionna*. Shō Tai kō jitsuroku, cit. P. 429.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*. P. 331–332; *Kawabata*. Ryūkyūhan'ō no jokyō no imi, cit. P. 56.

Hiyagon Kō 比屋根安昂, came to live in the Shō family residence together with his father, and that they used to recall old stories, even if they seemed to have become just dreams of the past.¹⁸

The residence of the last king in Kōjimachi was also a place for meetings of young Okinawans living in Tokyo. Indeed, in November 1886 the *Yūshinsha* 勇進社 (The dauntless association) was created; the following year it was renamed *Okinawa gakuseikai* 沖縄学生会 (The association of Okinawan students) and later, in 1890, *Okinawa shonenka i* 沖縄青年会 (The society of young Okinawans). The temporary office of the society was established in the residence of the Shō family in Kojmachi, where the meetings of the association were held too¹⁹.

Shō Tai died on 19 August 1901, leaving the title of marquis and a hereditary seat in the House of Peers to his elder son Ten. He was buried in the royal mausoleum of Tama Udun in accordance with traditional Ryukyuan royal funerary rites and the members of his wide household in Tokyo were in mourning for two years. Nevertheless, the demise of the last monarch of the Ryūkyū marked a discontinuity with the past and afterwards in the residence in Kōjimachi the traditional Ryukyuan costume, ceremony and court language gradually fell into disuse²⁰.

From Okinawa to Tokyo

Among the members of the *Okinawa shonenkai* attending the meeting of the association in the residence in Kōjimachi there was Kamiyama Seiryō 神山政良 (1882–1978), whose father was a retainer of Shō Ten and who would have attended the elder son of Shō Ten, Shō Shō 尚昌 (1888–1923), on his journey to Oxford (1911–1915)²¹. We also find two persons who would have become among the most distinguished scholars

¹⁸ *Kyan Chōtoku* 喜屋武朝徳. Karate no omoide 空手の思い出 (Reminiscence of karate, 1942) // Shidō no kanwebsite, http://www.shidoukan.com/kyan/post_21.html; *Ikkisuishaikki*. Shorinji-ryu karatedo, kata no keishō to shinjitsu 一器水瀉一器・少林寺流空手道・型の継承と真実 (*Ikkisuishaikki*. The karate style of the Shaolin Monastery, succession and truth of the model) edited by Okuno Otohiko 奥野乙比古 // <http://shao.sakura.ne.jp/shaolin02.htm> (both retrieved on 21 December, 2012).

¹⁹ *Namimatsu Nobuhisa* 並松信久. Higaonna (Higashionna) Kanjun to Okinawa shigaku no hatten 東恩納寛惇と沖縄史学の展開 (Higaonna Kanjun and the development of Okinawa historical study) // *Kyōto sangyō daigaku ronshū*. Jinbun kagaku keiretsu 京都産業大学論集. 人文科学系列. N. 43. 2011. P. 22–23.

²⁰ *Kerr G. H.* Okinawa. The History of an Island People. Charles E. Tuttle. Boston–Rutland; Vermont–Tokyo, 2000. P. 452–453.

²¹ *Namimatsu*. Higaonna Kanjun to Okinawa shigaku no hatten, cit. P. 23, 28; *Konsaisu Nihonjinmei jiten* コンサイス日本人名事典, (Concise dictionary of Japanese name). Sansēidō, Tōkyō, 1990. P. 125.

of Okinawan studies, namely Higashionna Kanjun 東恩納寛惇 (1882–1963) and Iha Fuyū 伊波普猷 (1876–1947).

While studying at the Imperial University of Tokyo between 1905 and 1908, Higashionna himself was a houseboy at the Kōjimachi residence attending the adopted son-in-law of Shō Tai who had married the Shō Tai's elder daughter²². Even after his graduation, he continued to visit the mansion for many years, and he had the opportunity to follow closely the vicissitudes of the Shō family. In some of his works, he mentions the valuable historical records housed in Kōjimachi's villa since the times when he was a student²³. Other precious materials were added in 1910 when Higashionna, who was commissioned to compile a biographical work on the last Ryukyuan king and was named editor in chief, required that the former king-related documents stored in Nakagusuku Udon be moved to Tokyo²⁴. According to Professor Dana Masayuki, the items sent to Tokyo were about one-third of the 723 formal documents running to 2963 volumes that were preserved at that time in Nagakusuku Udon²⁵.

Indeed, Higashionna worked on the documents housed in the Shō family archives in Tokyo for several years. The final work was published in 1924 with the title of *Shō Tai kōjitsuroku* (Veritable record of marquis Shō Tai), where the author addresses Shō Tai by using the title that he had received in May 1885, after coming back from his last visit to Okinawa. The *Jitsuroku* compiled by Higashionna still remains the only work entirely dedicated to the last Ryukyuan king²⁶.

The Shō family treasure in Tokyo was further enriched by the acquisition of items coming from the former mansion of Ryūkyū *han* in Tokyo, in the nearby Mochinozaka 檜木坂, which had been granted to the domain between 1872 and 1879, while other precious articles (including crown

²² Born in 1868 with the name of Majirugani 真鶴金, in 1887 she married Goeku Asatada (Chōi) 護得久朝惟 (1868–1923), who had followed Shō Tai to Tokyo in 1879. *Higashionna. Shō Tai kōjitsuroku*, cit. P. 302, 318, 424, 514.

²³ *Namimatsu Cfr.* Higaonna Kanjun to Okinawa shigaku no hatten, cit. P. 27.

²⁴ *Sonohara Ken* 園原謙. Purezensu toshite no Ryūkyū プレゼンスとしての琉球産漆芸科について (The Presence of Ryukyu Lacquer-ware) // Okinawa kenritsu hakubutsukan bijutsukan, Hakubutsukankiyō 沖縄県立博物館・美術館, 博物館紀要 (The Bulletin of Okinawa Prefectural Museum&Art Museum). N. 5. 2012. P. 100.

²⁵ *Dana Masayuki* 田名真之. Shōkemonjo 尚家文書 (The Shō family Archives) // Okinawa kenritsu hakubutsukan-Ryūkyū shinposha (hen). Shōkekeishō — Ryūkyū ōchō bunkaisan 尚家継承琉球王朝文化遺産. Ryūkyū Shinpōsha. Naha, 1993. P. 67, 112.

²⁶ In this work, starting with the birth of Shō Tai in 1843, the events are arranged chronologically and presented in an impersonal form. It mainly deals with the period of *Ryūkyū shobun* and, apart from his visit to Okinawa in 1884–1885 and his demise in 1901, the period when the former king lived in Tokyo is scantily described.

caps and Chinese coats with apron-like train) were made on the occasion of the wedding of Shō Shō in 1916 or brought from Okinawa when he announced the birth of his first child, who was a daughter born in 1917²⁷. In 1929, red Chinese costumes, headdress, swords, snake-shin *sanshin* (*shamisen*), leather belts covered in black lacquer and decorated with jewels and stones housed in the Shō family residence in Tokyo were displayed in an exhibition held at the Tokyo Museum, together with items coming from the family treasures of other Japanese aristocrats²⁸.

It is worthy of mention that during the devastating battle of Okinawa, nearly all heirloom items retained in Nakagusuku Udun were destroyed when the palace burned to the ground or, more probably, carried off by U.S. military personnel after the Battle. Actually, in the midst of the fighting, employees of the palace hid them in a gutter on the palace grounds, but when the war ended and they went back there, they found that the antiquities were missing from the place where they had been hidden. Only a manuscript of *Omoro soshi* was later discovered in the United States, and returned to Okinawa in 1953; «the whereabouts of dozens of other pieces, however — including crowns, royal portraits, and lacquer ware — remain unknown»²⁹.

If this loss symbolises the tragedy and ruin that the war inflicted on the islands, the part of the Shō family legacy which was instead relocated from Nakagusuku Udun to Tokyo was saved from complete ruin. Still, the assets retained in Tokyo were threatened at least twice.

The first time was when the Great Kanto Earthquake devastated the region of the capital in September 1923, also ruining the residence in Kōjimachi. Fortunately, the archives were not deeply damaged. This was the second adversity that hit the Shō family in 1923. In fact on June 19, Shō Shō had died from appendicitis after coming back home from a travel in China at the age of 35. He had been the twenty-first head of the family for only three years, since the demise of his father Ten, who perished on 20 September 1920 in Shuri.

Shō Ten was the last crown prince in the Ryūkyū kingdom and the last of the family to be entombed at the royal mausoleum of Tama Udun. Shō Shō was instead the first head of the family to be buried in Tokyo, at the Shinryōin 津梁院, in the district of Taito. With his demise, his elder son Shō Hiroshi 尚裕 (1918–1997), who was only five years old, became the

²⁷ *Sonohara*. Purezensutoshite no Ryūkyū, cit. P. 100.

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Fuji Takayasu*. Provenance of Okinawan Artefacts in the United States // American View. Winter 2008 in <http://amview.japan.usembassy.gov/e/amview-e20080123-04.html> (retrieved on 21 December, 2012).

new head of the family and inherited the title of marquis as well as the responsibility to preserve and maintain the valuable cultural and historical assets of his family.

After the earthquake, the family left the residence in Kōjimachi. On its ground a junior high school was built in 1924, which is now the Tokyo metropolitan Kudan senior high school (Tōkyōtoritsu Kudan kōtōgakkō 九段高等学校). An inscription on the stone-wall surrounding the school attests that it was the place where the last king of Ryūkyū once lived, while the stone wall surrounding the lower part of the school is what remains of his former residence.

The Shō family moved from Kōjimachi to Nanpeidai 南平台, in the southwest area of Shibuya district. On that occasion, the Shō library was reorganized, and Higashionna was requested to help in selecting and cataloguing the literary materials of the library. It was then that he saw six or seven old copies of a volume. When he asked the permission to choose one among them, he was accorded to take it as a reminder of past events. Many years later it was found among the volumes of his private library, which is now housed at the Prefectural Library of Okinawa as Higashionna Collection³⁰.

Information about the fate of the archive as well as of the Shō family's residence in Nanpeidai is very scarce, but it seems that, in pre-war and wartime period, also the new residence was visited by Okinawans who went or moved to the capital. We know for example that the famous Okinawan writer Kushi Fusako 久志芙沙子 (1903–1986) used to go there, after he moved to Tokyo around 1930. She was the granddaughter of Kushi Jōhō 久志助法 (1835–1900), an expert of Chinese poetry who was employed as calligrapher at the Hyōjōsho 評定所, the highest law-making body in the royal government, and whose handwritten documents are conserved in the Records of the Ryukyuan royal family Shō at the Naha City Historical Museum³¹. We also know that in 1940, among the members of the *Tōkyō Okinawa kenjinkai* 東京沖縄県人会名簿 (Association of native Okinawans in Tokyo), six individuals were registered at the same address of Shibuya Nanpeidai: the marquis Shō Hiroshi, a relative and four persons employed by the family³².

³⁰ Kobayashi Yoshinori 小林芳規. Okinawa ken no kakuhitsubunken 沖縄県の角筆文献 (Literary sources of Okinawa prefecture) // Kyūko 汲古. N. 33. 1998. P. 20.

³¹ Okinawa taimusu. 21 April 2007 (evening edition).

³² “1940 nen no Tōkyō Okinawa kenjinkai 2–Sonoshūhen” 1940 年の東京沖縄県人会②—その周辺 (The Association of native Okinawans in Tokyo in 1940 and its surround, second part), *Ryūbun* 21 琉文 21 in <http://ryubun21.net/index.php?itemid=1016&catid=2> (retrieved on 21 December, 2012).

The Shō family archive was threatened again in the wartime period, but it miraculously survive the devastating air raids on Tokyo. In fact, even if the library was hit, the mud-walled storehouse where the documents were housed escaped damage³³.

Back from Tokyo to Naha (1995–1996)

After the end of the war, Shō Hiroshi was deprived of the title of marquis when the new Constitution was enacted. Educated at the Tokyo Imperial University and lieutenant in the Japanese Imperial Navy during wartime period, he was active in the business world and later became fond of photography. He also dedicated himself to the preservation of his family's assets, including the library. According to the report compiled in 1981 on the basis of a survey conducted by the Cultural Section of the Prefectural Educational Committee of Okinawa in 1973, the Shō family archives included 948 volumes with 465 official documents, 41 sequences of correspondence and 263 single letters³⁴.

Late in his life, Shō Hiroshi became worried about the fate of his family's possessions and thought about the proper way to preserve them. According to some accounts, it seems that he felt it was a duty toward his ancestors. Actually, the question regarding the future of the Shō family's possessions arose in the second half of the 1980s, when it was said that Shō Hiroshi intended to donate the family treasure to the Taitō ward, which seemed to be a more suitable place than Okinawa for preserving them. Obviously, the decision that cultural and historical assets testifying Okinawa's past would not be returned to Okinawa caused strong criticism among people in Okinawa, particularly those from the cultural world, while a lively debate on how to restore, preserve and use records of such high historical and cultural value drew the attention of the public³⁵.

In January 1993, an exhibition called "Treasures from the Shō family Inheritance. The Cultural Legacy of the Kingdom of the Ryukyus" opened at the Okinawa Prefectural Museum in Naha. The message of greeting was delivered by Shō Hiroshi, who expressed his joy for "contributing to the rising enthusiasm of Okinawans for their past" as well as his pride that his family was "able to preserve this irreplaceable heritage intact in Tokyo through the destruction of the Second World War"³⁶. At that time, the Shikina garden, the Sōgenji temple and the royal mausoleum of Tama Udun

³³ *Dana Masayuki*. Shōke monjo, cit. P. 67, 112.

³⁴ *Ibidem*.

³⁵ Okinawa Taimusu. 20 March 2006.

³⁶ Okinawa kenritsu hakubutsukan-Ryūkyū shinposha (hen). Shōke keishō — Ryūkyū ōchō bunkaisan, cit. P. 107.

had been already donated to Naha City. The treasure of the Shō family was donated later, when the twenty-second descendant of the family decided that it would be the best way to preserve the cultural heritage in the future³⁷. Thus, after many vicissitudes, the Records of the Ryukyuan royal family Shō could be returned to their original place and became a National Treasure. Shō Hiroshi was conferred the honorary citizenship of Naha in 1996, and in Naha he died on 30 August of the following year³⁸. He was entombed in the royal mausoleum of Tama Udun in Izena island, which is said to have been constructed during the reign of king Shō Shin 尚真 (1465–1526)

It took several years before these records, which had survived the demise of Ryukyuan kingdom, their removal from Shuri to Tokyo, the Great Kanto Earthquake, and the air raids on Tokyo, could be open to the scholars. At last this happened in 2010. When I heard the news, I recalled Higashionna Kanjun, his *Jitsuroku*, and his merit of having contributed to the survival of this treasure. I also recalled what he wrote about the estate and the assets of the Shō family, as well as their cultural and historical value. Indeed, he asserted that neither the royal ancestry nor the honoured position of Shō family could make them meritorious to claim the monopoly of the historical materials they owned. He thought that even if from a legal point of view their ownership belonged to the Shō family, such precious material could not be regarded as a private possession of a family or an individual. “The ownership of History — he stated — belongs to the people”³⁹. Perhaps, after the opening of the Records of the Ryukyuan royal family to the scholars, what Higashionna hoped for has been fulfilled.

Роза Кароли

**ПРИКЛЮЧЕНИЯ НАЦИОНАЛЬНОГО СОКРОВИЩА.
АРХИВНЫЕ ДОКУМЕНТЫ РЮКЮСКОЙ КОРОЛЕВСКОЙ
СЕМЬИ СЁ (РЮ:КЮ: КОКУО: СЁ: КЭ КАНКЭЙ СИРЁ:)**

Статья призвана воссоздать историю архивных материалов рюкюской королевской семьи Сё со времени ликвидации королевства Рюкю, когда после многовекового нахождения в замке Сюри они были перемещены из него в близлежащую резиденцию наследного принца, которая называлась Накагусуку Удун. Позже часть из них была перевезена из Окинавы в Токио, где они противостояли невзгодам и могли быть в итоге возвращены обратно на Окинаву в недавнее время.

³⁷ Okinawa Taimusu. 20 March 2006.

³⁸ Asahi shinbun. 15 October 1997.

³⁹ Quoted in Namimatsu. Higaonna Kanjun to Okinawa shigaku no hatten, cit. P. 27.