
Yamazato Eikichi

—Artist, Playwright, Historian, Cultural Official

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要旨

山里永吉(1902–1989)は沖縄県那覇出身のアーティスト、劇作家、小説作家、歴史学者、かつ文化課の役人であり、沖縄人・琉球人としてのアイデンティティや伝統文化の復興を提唱した。1969年～1971年ごろの、沖縄をまた日本政権下にすることを反対した「反復帰運動」のなかの山里の意義を探る研究の関係で、本研究紹介には、そのテーマに限りなく山里のバイオグラフィーを紹介します。

abstract

Yamazato Eikichi (1902-1989) was an Okinawan artist, playwright, novelist, historian, and cultural affairs official who played a notable role in advocating for the importance of Okinawan / Ryukyuan identity, and the revival and continuation of traditional arts and culture, particularly in the postwar decades of the mid-to-late 20th century. In this essay, I present a general overview of his biography, in connection with a more focused research project examining his place in the political movement opposing “Reversion” of Okinawa to Japanese governance in the late 1960s to early 1970s.

1. Introduction

In 2022, while researching the reconstruction of Shuri Castle, the former royal palace of the Ryukyu Kingdom, I had the pleasure of attending a performance of the stage play *Shurijō akewatashi* 首里城明け渡し (“The Surrender of Shuri Castle”), written by Yamazato Eikichi 山里永吉 (1902-1989). First staged in 1930, the play is a historical drama relating the events surrounding King Shō Tai turning over the royal palace to agents of the Meiji government, marking the end of the Ryukyu Kingdom and the beginning of the Ryukyu Islands’ full incorporation into the Japanese state as Okinawa prefecture. I later learned of a pamphlet, published in 1969, bearing the bold title “Japan is Not Our Fatherland,” and authored by the very same Yamazato Eikichi.

Curious to learn more about the author of these two compelling works, I found a figure whose life spanned nearly the entire 20th century, and who wore many hats, including those of

artist, playwright, novelist, arts & culture essayist, historian, and cultural affairs official. Yamazato played a key role in the development of modern forms of Okinawan theatre, and in promoting Okinawan/Ryukyuan identity and culture. He oversaw the postwar restoration of a number of notable cultural and historical sites destroyed in the Battle of Okinawa. He also played an active role in political movements in the late 1960s to early 1970s opposing the Occupation of the Ryukyu Islands ending in the islands being rejoined to the Japanese state.

Over the course of his life, Yamazato also rubbed shoulders with a great many notable figures, including Shō Jun, Ifa Fuyū, Yamanokuchi Baku, Mavo, Yamada Shinzan, Iraha Inkichi, Majikina Yūkō, Kikuchi Kan, Kawabata Yasunari, and Yanagi Sōetsu, to name but a few.

Despite this, very little scholarship exists discussing Yamazato’s activities or works, in either Japanese or in English. This brief overview of his biography is intended as a first

step towards rectifying this.

2. Early Life and Yamazato as Artist

Thanks to an autobiography published in the 1980s book series *Watashi no sengoshi* (“My Postwar”), many details of Yamazato’s life can be easily known.¹ He was born into a wealthy and well-connected Naha family in 1902. His father worked for a bank and also owned a number of residential properties which he rented out. Eikichi was exposed to arts and literature from a young age, reading from his father’s collection of works by Natsume Soseki, Mori Ōgai, and the like, and spending considerable time at the Okinawa Prefectural Library, where his father’s close friend Ifa Fuyū (today regarded as the “father” of Okinawan Studies)² was the director.

Yamazato also practiced painting from a young age, displaying works in group shows by age 17 and the following year, in 1920, co-founding the Futaba-kai ふたば会 painting society alongside Tokashiki Isen 渡嘉敷唯選, Notsu Hisayasu 野津久保, Urasaki Eishaku 浦崎永錫, and others.³ He writes that he was inspired by, among others, the works of Kishida Ryūsei, French Impressionist painters, and others introduced in *Shirakaba* magazine at this formative time in his life.⁴ Three years later, in 1923, Yamazato moved to Tokyo to study painting. Though initially studying privately under Yōga painter Okada Saburōsuke 岡田三郎助, Yamazato soon enrolled in the Japan Art School (*Nihon bijutsu gakkō* 日本美術学校),⁵ later writing that he credits his ability to enter such a prestigious school to the fact that many international students left after the Great Kantō Earthquake which struck Tokyo that year.⁶

While there, he met artists Tagawa Suihō 田河水泡 and Murayama Tomoyoshi 村山知義, joining the avant-garde Mavo マヴォ movement they co-founded. An avant-garde *objet d’art* sculpture by Yamazato, entitled *Tatteiru otoko* 立つてゐる男 (“Standing Man”), graces the cover of the first issue of the group’s magazine.⁷ Yamazato also exhibited such works at shows alongside Mavo artists,⁸ and participated in exhibits and other activities organized by the *Sanka* 三科 artists’ group in Tokyo in 1925-27.⁹

Yamazato returned to Okinawa in summer 1924, where he held his first solo shows, including one at a restaurant called Naminoue-

ken 波上軒.¹⁰ He never returned to the Japan Art School, though in the postwar period the school retroactively granted him the status of a graduate and alumnus.¹¹

Yamazato’s Mavo-influenced works attracted some suspicion in Okinawa, perhaps due not only to their avant-garde form but also their political references; one of the pieces Yamazato showed in 1924 was entitled “the Death of Lenin” レーニンの死, within the same year of the Russian leader’s passing, while another was entitled “Revolution is saying beautiful things” 革命は美しいことを言うのだ.¹² Despite Yamazato asserting that the “revolution” being referenced was merely a revolution within art, the police officer assigned to surveil the exhibition forced him to remove the piece from display.¹³ When the core members of Mavo in Tokyo came under similar scrutiny and were forced to cease publication that same year, authorities came looking for Yamazato at his family home in Naha as well; ironically, he was in Tokyo at the time, and so escaped whatever consequences may have taken place if they had found him in Naha. Drawing upon his family’s connections in Okinawan elite circles, Yamazato was then able to stay with prominent Okinawan painter Yamada Shinzan for about one year, at the latter’s home in Tokyo. Within this year, however, Yamazato’s father passed away.

3. Yamazato as Novelist and Playwright

Yamazato then returned to Okinawa. He briefly took over the operations of a lacquerware shop his father had opened after quitting his job at the bank, but before long passed on the management of the shop to someone else so he could focus on his art and writing.¹⁴

In 1930, he was approached by Iraha Inkichi 伊良波尹吉, Majikina Yūkō 真境名由康, and Shimabukuro Kōyū 島袋光裕, stars of the Okinawan stage, who asked him to write new plays for the theatre. In contrast to the highly stylized *kumi udui* 組踊 form of traditional Ryukyuan theatre, influenced by Japanese Noh and Kabuki, and Chinese *jingju*, *Okinawa shibai* 沖縄芝居 was a “modern” theatre genre which told Okinawan stories in a less stylized, comparatively realistic, Western-influenced dramatic mode. Plays were produced in a mode known in Japanese as *kuchidate* 口立て, in which the lines, stage direction, blocking, and so

forth were developed primarily by the actors themselves, based on only rough, general, outlines of a plot. Iraha et al were interested in challenging or expanding the bounds of what *Okinawa shibai* could be; this began with asking Yamazato to write full play scripts, handing over greater creative authority to him as playwright.¹⁵

Yamazato first wrote a play entitled *Ikkō-shū hōnanki* 一向宗法難記, about someone who preaches and spreads the beliefs of Ikkō-shū, a Buddhist sect banned by Satsuma domain and by the Kingdom of Ryukyu government.

Later that same year, Yamazato wrote *Shurijō akewatashi*. Iraha and others aided in the translation of the Japanese script into the native Okinawan language. Yamazato writes that he wrote much of the play while backstage at the theatre, immersed in the environment of that place, surrounded by the sound of *taiko* drums.¹⁶ He based his dramatization of the 1879 “surrender” of the Ryukyuan royal palace to representatives of the Japanese government on texts such as *Ryūkyū kenbunroku* 琉球見聞録, a record of those events written by royal court official Kishaba Chōken 喜舎場朝賢 (1840-1916).¹⁷

The play debuted at the Taisho Theatre (*Taishō gekijō*) in Naha, and was reportedly a big hit, with people coming even from distant parts of the island to see it.¹⁸ Shinjō Eitoku writes that the play “breathed new air into” the genre of *Okinawa shibai*.¹⁹ Nakahodo Masanori suggests that the play’s great popularity and impact was not only thanks to the popularity of Iraha, Majikina, and the rest of the cast, but also because of the emotional power and importance of the events depicted.²⁰ In 1930, it had been just over fifty years since the Meiji government unilaterally declared the Ryukyu Kingdom abolished and took over the royal palace; many in the audience might have lived through that time themselves, or if not, had heard of it from parents or grandparents. It is not difficult to imagine the complex and powerful emotions many may have felt, thinking about all they had experienced over the past fifty years of colonialist assimilation, poverty, and incorporation into an imperialist and militarist state, as they watched these dramatic scenes relating the final moments of their kingdom’s independent existence.

Around this time, Yamazato also wrote a

number of other plays similarly set in mid-to-late 19th century Ryukyu, including “The Death of Giwan Chōho” (*Giwan Chōho no shi* 宜湾朝保の死), “Diary of [Commodore] Perry” (*Peruri nikki* ペルリ日記), and “The Old Disposition of the Four Districts of Naha” (*Naha yumachi mukashi katagi* 那覇四町昔気質).²¹ The last of these is credited with cementing in the Okinawan popular consciousness the association between King Shō Tai 尚泰王 and the phrase “*Nuchi du takara*” 命どう宝, or “life is a treasure”; this phrase has come to occupy a powerful and central place in Okinawan identity and culture, as a symbol of the resilience of the Okinawan people and of their dedicated opposition to war.²²

Though popularly believed to derive from a *ryūka* 琉歌 poem composed by the king, expressing his determination to protect the lives of the people of Okinawa by surrendering to the Meiji government peacefully and not subjecting the island or its people to the violence of war,²³ scholars have identified popular performances of *Naha yumachi mukashi kishitsu*, in which the character of Shō Tai recited this poem on stage, as the origin of the phrase’s centrality in Okinawan culture.²⁴ Sometime in the postwar period, these lines were added into the script of *Shurijō akewatashi* as well, further deepening the emotion of the scene of the king’s departure, and further cementing the place of the phrase in many people’s personal sense of identity as Okinawans/Ryukyuans.²⁵

Around this same time, in the 1930s, Yamazato also began regularly publishing serialized novels, some of the first illustrated serialized novels to appear in Okinawan newspapers. Yamazato’s first, published in the *Ryukyu Shimpō* newspaper beginning in 1933, was entitled “Tropical Fish” (*Nettaigyo* 熱帯魚). Painter and woodblock print designer Kinjō Yasutarō 金城安太郎 (1911-1999) provided the illustrations.²⁶ Yamazato writes that this was a difficult time, and that he found working with the newspapers an odd experience, as the editor in chief regularly invited him to continually contribute new work, but other editors just as regularly critiqued and criticized him, often in other sections of the very same issue.²⁷ Even so, even at this early stage in his career, Yamazato was prolific enough for a collection of his works – three novels and nine plays – to be published,

under the title *Yamazato Eikichi shū* 山里永吉集.²⁸

That same year, Yamazato submitted a short novel entitled “The Love Suicide of a Ryukyuan King” (*Shinjū shita Ryūkyū-ō* 心中した琉球王) to Kikuchi Kan in Tokyo, who published it in the August 1933 issue of the magazine *All Yomimono* オール読物.²⁹ This marked the beginning of Yamazato’s relationship with the author and editor. When Kikuchi visited Okinawa in 1935, he reached out to Yamazato and asked him for books on Ryukyuan history. Several years later, Yamazato visited Tokyo and because of his relationship with Kikuchi was able to be introduced to novelist Kawabata Yasunari.³⁰

4. Shō Jun, Yanagi Sōetsu, and Wartime

In 1936, at age 35, Yamazato married 23-year-old Toyohira Katsuko, who ran a dressmaking business in central Naha, possibly one of the first in Okinawa selling Western-style women’s clothing. The two were married in Western-style dress; according to some sources, they may have been the first couple in Okinawa to do so.³¹

Yamazato continued to develop and enjoy connections among elite society in Okinawa. Perhaps one of his closest and most active relationships was with Shō Jun 尚順, the fourth son of Shō Tai, the last ruler of the Ryukyu Kingdom. Though no longer a royal prince since the fall of the kingdom, Shō Jun was colloquially called “Prince Matsuyama” 松山王子, after the location of his mansion; he held the title of Baron (*danshaku* 男爵) in the European-style *kazoku* aristocracy invented by the Meiji government. Shō Jun was also among the founders of the *Ryukyu Shimpō* newspaper, and of the Taishō gekijō theatre.

Yamazato first met Shō Jun in 1937, and quickly came to be close enough with the prince that he was able to come and go freely from the Matsuyama mansion. For a period of about seven years, until Yamazato evacuated from wartime Okinawa in 1944, he enjoyed dinner with the prince multiple times a week, after which they would talk late into the night about a variety of topics. Yamazato writes that Shō Jun had an encyclopedic knowledge and extensive collections of books, and that he learned a great deal about Ryukyuan history and culture from the prince, as

if it were a university with one professor and one pupil.”³²

Shō Jun also contributed numerous pieces to the short-lived magazine *Gekkan Ryūkyū* 月刊琉球 which Yamazato self-funded and organized from 1937 to 1940. These included an essay on the former prince’s memories of his personal experience of the surrender of the royal palace in 1879.³³ Other contributors to the magazine included Okinawan Studies writers Higashionna Kanjun, Ifa Fuyū, and Higa Shunchō; *Mingei* (“folk crafts”) movement leader Yanagi Sōetsu; artist/illustrator Kinjō Yasutarō; and potters Kawai Kanjirō and Hamada Shōji.³⁴

When Yanagi visited Okinawa for the first time in 1938, Yamazato showed him around.³⁵ During his second visit, the following year, Yanagi sparked a now-famous so-called “dialect debate” (*hōgen ronsō* 方言論争) when he questioned and challenged the prefectural government’s efforts to end the speaking of “dialect” (*hōgen*), i.e. the Okinawan language (*Uchinaaguchi*).³⁶ Though it is unclear whether Yamazato took a visible, active, role in this “debate,” Yamazato writes that he generally agreed with Yanagi, and blamed the colonialist education system which taught the Okinawan people that their own language and culture were “barbaric,” thus leading them to support such assimilationist efforts.³⁷

As war crept closer to Okinawa, in August 1944 Yamazato, along with his wife and children, relocated to Kyoto. They were able to obtain housing thanks to the help of the owners of the *yūzen* textile shops Eriman ゑり萬 and the Kasaki Clothing Shop 旧木崎呉服店, who he had met when they had visited Okinawa to buy Okinawan *bingata* fabrics or garments.³⁸ Like others in Kyoto and elsewhere throughout Japan at this time, Yamazato and his family struggled for food and other basic needs. He took up what jobs he could get, spent free time exploring historical sites in Kyoto and Nara, and expanded his familiarity with a variety of Japanese arts and cultural traditions.³⁹ During this time, his second daughter died at age six.⁴⁰

5. Early Postwar: Yamazato as Cultural Official

After spending some time in Tsurusaki (Ōita prefecture) with his younger brother Eitatsu 永達, Yamazato returned to Okinawa in November

1947. Soon afterwards, he was named head of the Museum Division 博物館課 of the civilian government; in his autobiography, Yamazato attributes this to his personal connections with Vice-Governor Matayoshi Kōwa 又吉康和, who had been president of the Ryukyu Shimpō for a time prior to the war.⁴¹ Following the death of museum director Harada Teikichi 原田貞吉 in 1955, Yamazato then succeeded him in that position, as head of what was that same year renamed the Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI) Museum (*Ryūkyū seifu ritsu hakubutsukan* 琉球政府立博物館).⁴² In 1957, Yamazato then became head of the Cultural Properties Protection Committee 文化財保護委員長 as well.⁴³

Among his first major activities in this dual capacity, Yamazato began traveling to Tokyo, Kyoto, and elsewhere “buying back” and “asking for the return of” items of Okinawan cultural significance. These included a 15th century bronze bell which had been taken by American soldiers as war booty from Engaku-ji (a Zen temple closely associated with the royal family), as well as some 550 *katagami* stencils for the dyeing of *bingata* textiles, collected prior to the war by Kamakura Yoshitarō.⁴⁴ He also reached out to the Okinawan diaspora community in Hawai‘i seeking the return of *sanshin* and other items; however, contrary to his assumptions, many in Hawai‘i expressed that these items were still of great cultural importance to their community, even to second- and third-generation descendants of immigrants from Okinawa.⁴⁵

Though serving as Museum Director for only a few years, from 1955 to 1958,⁴⁶ as head of the Cultural Properties Protection Committee, Yamazato continued these activities, including coordinating with museums such as the Smithsonian Institution in Washington D.C., and the Bishop Museum in Honolulu, to organize exhibitions of Ryukyuan art and artifacts. The Bishop Museum held one such exhibition in 1957, and the Smithsonian in 1959-1960, with the latter exhibit then traveling to several other locations across the United States including the De Young Museum in San Francisco.⁴⁷

Yamazato also played a central role in the designation, protection, and restoration of a number of notable historical and cultural sites, including many damaged – some of them severely

– in the war. The most famous of these was the Shureimon 守礼門, one of the outer gates of *Sui gusuku* (Shuri castle), the former royal palace. After its restoration in 1958, the Shureimon quickly came to be promoted as one of the primary visual symbols of Okinawa, replaced only after the restoration of the Main Hall of the palace itself was completed in 1992.⁴⁸

Yamazato also worked with many of the same architects and experts, such as Mori Seizō 森政三 (1895-1980) and Nakaza Hisao 仲座久雄 (1904-1962), to restore sites such as the royal mausolea at Urasoe yōdore 浦添ようどれ in 1955 and the stone gates of Sonohyan utaki 園比屋武御嶽, a sacred site on the grounds of the palace, in 1957, as well as the Enkan pond 円鑑池, Benten Hall 弁天堂, and Tenryo Bridge 天女橋 just below the palace.⁴⁹ The University of the Ryukyus 琉球大学 was established in the central portions of the former palace grounds in 1950, however, and a number of significant historical sites either fell within the grounds of the university or were still held as private property by the Shō family (the former royal family), making negotiations or arrangements for their restoration more complicated.⁵⁰

The Japanese national government had provided considerable funding and support otherwise for the protection of such sites prior to the war. Yamazato traveled to Tokyo to discuss the possibilities of receiving such support, but was informed that due to the Occupation, Tokyo’s authority did not extend to Ryukyu. Though the national government was unable to provide financial support in the typical manner, it offered some technical support.⁵¹

In 1958, Yamazato also met with and guided Kawabata Yasunari during the author’s visit to Okinawa, as he had done for Yanagi Sōetsu and Kikuchi Kan prior to the war.⁵² In July 1960, coinciding with the founding of the Radio Okinawa company, he directed a production of his 1930 play “The Surrender of Shuri castle.” The audio of the production, staged at the Naha Theatre, was broadcast by radio throughout the Ryukyu Islands. The production sold out its initially scheduled three-day run and was extended for two additional days.⁵³ Other theatrical productions he produced or directed during this period included one at the Taiwan National Theatre in Taipei in 1969.⁵⁴

In 1962, Yamazato ran for a seat in the GRI legislature, but lost to Iraha Chōkō 伊良波長幸 by about three or four hundred votes.⁵⁵

Around this time, Yamazato also became the head of the editorial committee 編集委員会 for compiling the *Naha-shishi* 那覇市史, an official history of the city published by the city government. In support of this effort, he traveled to libraries and other institutions across Japan to collect historical records and other materials.⁵⁶ Drawing upon these and other historical materials, in 1961-62 Yamazato published a series of short columns on Ryukyuan history and culture in the *Ryukyu Shimpō* newspaper under the title “Heaven and Earth in a Jug” (*kochū tenchi* 壺中天地); these were then published as a collected volume in 1963.⁵⁷ Later, in 1971-72, he similarly published short pieces regularly in the Occupation government’s propaganda magazine *Shurei no hikari*, introducing Ryukyuan arts traditions or highlighting individual “treasures” 宝物, including paintings, works of calligraphy, ceramics, lacquerware, textiles, and so forth.⁵⁸ He also continued to publish novels, as he had begun to do before the war, including, in 1953, one entitled *Jinkyō* 塵境.⁵⁹

6. Yamazato as Anti-Reversion Activist

The so-called “Reversion” (*fukki* 復帰) of Okinawa in May 1972 to being a prefecture of Japan is often presented as having been overwhelmingly popular in Okinawa. However, Yamazato was one of a number of notable figures who actively advocated and petitioned for the Ryukyus to not be rejoined to Japan, many of them hoping that some greater form of autonomy, if not full independence, might be then later negotiated with Washington without the involvement of Tokyo.⁶⁰

In June 1969, he published an opinion piece in the newspaper *Okinawa Jihō* 沖縄時報 entitled “*Nihon ha sokoku ni arazu*” 「日本は祖国に非ず」, or “Japan is Not Our Fatherland.” The *Okinawa Jihō* then re-published this piece, along with two others by Yamazato, in a slim standalone volume entitled “*Okinawajin no Okinawa*” 『沖縄人の沖縄』 (roughly, “Okinawa for the Okinawan people” or “the Okinawa of the Okinawan people”).⁶¹ Meanwhile, Joe Hung of the Taiwan-based newspaper *The China Post* published an English translation of “Japan is Not Our Fatherland” in that newspaper in five parts, and as a single standalone volume.⁶² In these essays, Yamazato presents an overview of

Okinawan history focusing in particular on the historical sovereign independence of the Ryukyu Kingdom, the fact that up until the 1870s no one in Ryukyu would have identified as “Japanese,” and what he describes as the colonialist Japanese education that taught Okinawans to be ashamed of Okinawan history, culture, and identity, and to think of themselves as Japanese.

That same year, in October 1969, Yamazato co-founded the Association to Build Okinawa for Okinawans, or *Okinawajin no Okinawa wo tsukuru kai* 沖縄人の沖縄をつくる会, and was named its vice president (*fukukaichō* 副会長).⁶³ Headed by former GRI Chief Executive Tōma Jūgō 當間重剛, the group numbered 42 members.⁶⁴ Along with other anti-reversion groups of the time, the Association advocated for postponing reversion until such time as the economic shock of rejoining the Japanese economy might be lessened, and for a popular referendum to be held, giving the people of Okinawa the power to decide their own future.⁶⁵ They also emphasized, as Yamazato did in “*Nihon ha sokoku ni arazu*” and elsewhere, the independent history and ethnic identity of the people of Ryukyu, and that Okinawa, not Japan, is their “fatherland.”⁶⁶

A year later, Yamazato and a number of other members of this Association founded the Ryukyu Independence Party 琉球独立党, which then absorbed the Association to Build Okinawa for Okinawans.⁶⁷ The Ryukyu Independence Party then faded out in turn, after receiving fewer than 3,000 votes in a 1971 election for representative to the National Diet.⁶⁸

7. Post-Reversion and Last Years

Yamazato remained prominently active in Okinawan cultural circles well into his old age, serving as head of a number of organizations including the *Okinawa geinō renmeikai* 沖縄芸能連盟会 (roughly, Okinawa Performing Arts Association) from 1976 to 1978,⁶⁹ *Okinawa bunka renmeikai* 沖縄文化連盟会 (roughly, Okinawa Culture Association), and *Ryūkyū bunka renmei* 琉球文化連盟 (roughly, Ryukyu Culture Association) for periods in the 1970s-1980s.⁷⁰ He was granted the Ryukyu Shimpō Award 琉球新報賞 in 1970, and in 1978, he was named an Okinawa Prefecture Person of Merit 沖縄県功労者.⁷¹ Though he continued to write critically about Japanese control of Okinawa, Reversion, and related politics in light of a view of Ryukyuan history and culture, I am unsure to what extent Yamazato remained formally active in political organizations.

He passed away on May 5, 1989, at the age of 86.⁷²

[Notes]

- 1) 山里 [1980].
- 2) 金城、高良 [1984].
- 3) 川平 [1989].
- 4) 山里 [1980]. p79.
- 5) A private school, not to be confused with the Tokyo Art School 東京美術学校, predecessor to the Tokyo University of the Arts (*Tōkyō geidai*).
- 6) 山里 [1980]. p81.
- 7) マヴォ. 第1号. 1924, front cover.
- 8) 「学芸だより」.; Weisenfeld [2002]. p93.
- 9) 山里 [1980]. pp82-83.; 五十殿利治 等編 [2006]. pp411-418, 452-453, 480-484, 486-492, 579. *Sanka* ("Third Section") was a group created to supplement or supersede the *Nika* 二科 ("Second Section") group formed in response to the conservatism and exclusivity of the government's official *Teiten* 帝展 ("Imperial Exhibitions") juried exhibitions. Weisenfeld [2002]. p98.
- 10) 新城 [2003]. p44.; 山里 [1980]. p83.
- 11) 山里 [1980]. p82.
- 12) 川平 [1989].
- 13) Coincidentally, the officer's son, Yamamoto Keiichi 山元恵一 (1913-1977), went on to become a notable pioneer of Surrealist art in postwar Okinawa. 山里 [1980]. p83.; 豊見山 [2016].
- 14) 山里 [1980]. pp84, 87.
- 15) 山里 [1980]. p85.
- 16) 山里 [1980]. pp85-86.
- 17) 山里 [1980]. p86.
- 18) 山里 [1980]. p85.
- 19) 新城 [2003]. p44.
- 20) 仲程 [2015]. p31.
- 21) 山里 [1980]. p86.; 「那覇四町昔気質」, 『沖縄大百科事典』下巻 [1983]. p75.
- 22) Roberson [2010].; 阿波根 [1992]. p2.
- 23) The phrase is also sometimes associated with King Shō Nei 尚寧王 (r. 1587-1620), who similarly is said to have spared Okinawa and its people further bloodshed by peacefully surrendering to the samurai forces of Satsuma domain, who invaded the kingdom in 1609. Smits [2010].
- 24) The very first appearance of the phrase is believed to have been in the *kumi udui* play *Yakina ufunushi tichiuchi* (屋慶名大主敵討, "Revenge Killing of the Lord of Yakena"). 新城 [2003]. p44.
- 25) 仲程 [2015]. pp31-32.
- 26) 山里 [1980]. p87.
- 27) 山里 [1980]. p87.
- 28) 山里 [1933].
- 29) 仲程 [1990]. pp189-191.
- 30) 山里 [1980]. p88.
- 31) 山里 [1980]. p91.; 船越 [1989].
- 32) 山里 [1969c]. pp181-182.
- 33) 尚順 [1969].
- 34) e.g. 比嘉 [1937].; 東恩納 [1938].; 柳[1939].; 山里・金城 [1938].; 河井・浜田[1939].; 伊波 [1939].
- 35) 山里 [1980]. p89.
- 36) 山里 [1980]. pp89-90.; Clarke [2002].
- 37) 山里 [1980]. p90.
- 38) 山里 [1980]. p94.; while Eriman is still in business today, the former Kisaki Clothing Shop is today home to a business known as The Terminal Kyoto.
- 39) 山里 [1980]. pp94-95.
- 40) 山里 [1980]. p95.
- 41) 山里 [1980]. p96.
- 42) 山里 [1980]. p101.; The Government of the Ryukyu Islands (GRI) was established in 1952 as part of an administrative reorganization, from the Okinawa Civil Administration 沖縄民政府 (1946-1952) which had come before it. The GRI was a civilian government, comprised of democratically elected Okinawan civilian leaders, which operated under the authority of USCAR (US military occupation authorities). The Museum, located in the Tōnokura-chō area of Shuri and known briefly as the Okinawa Civil Administration Museum 沖縄民政府立博物館 from 1953-1955, was the product of a merger between museums established in Shuri and in Higashionna village in 1945-46. 與那嶺一子 [2003]. p71.
- 43) 仲泊 [1971].
- 44) 山里 [1980]. pp97, 101.
- 45) 山里 [1980]. p103.
- 46) 「山里永吉氏死去 戦後、文化たて直しに貢献」, 沖縄タイムス, 1989年5月6日.
- 47) 「優れた知識の宝庫—スミソニアン研究博物館」, 『守礼の光』. 1959年6月号. pp12-13.
- 48) Figal [2006]. pp108-109.
- 49) 山里 [1980]. p104.; 琉球政府文化財保護委員会 [1959]. pp4-5.; 那覇市教育委員会文化課 [1986]. p49.
- 50) 山里 [1980]. pp104-105.
- 51) The term used by Yamazato is *gijutsu* 技術. 山里 [1980]. p98.
- 52) 山里 [1980]. p88.
- 53) 「首里城明け渡し: 大伸座の舞台より」, 『オキナワグラフ』, 1960年8月号. Reprinted in: 『オキナワグラフ特別号: 首里城再録: 読み返す 60年』, 2020年1月, pp2-3.
- 54) 山里 [1980]. p107.
- 55) 山里 [1980]. pp106-107.
- 56) 山里 [1980]. p107.
- 57) 山里 [1963].
- 58) 『守礼の光』, 1971年1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 12月号, 1972年3, 4月号.
- 59) 山里 [1953].

- 60) 山里 [1980]. p108.
- 61) 山里 [1969a].
- 62) Yamazato [1969b].
- 63) The Association to Build Okinawa for the Okinawans [1969].; Tōma [1969].
- 64) 瀬永 [1970]. p235.
- 65) Sakima [1971].
- 66) Murray [1971].
- 67) 成田 [2024]. p210.; 「沖縄人の沖縄をつくる会」, 『沖縄大百科事典』 上巻 [1983]. p538.
- 68) 後田多 [2015].
- 69) 「沖縄芸能連盟」. 『沖縄大百科事典』 上巻 [1983]. p452.
- 70) 山里 [1980]. p106.; 「琉球文化連盟」. 『沖縄大百科事典』 下巻 [1983]. p920.
- 71) 「山里永吉氏死去」. 琉球新報, 1989 年 5 月 6 日.
- 72) 「山里永吉氏死去 戦後、文化たて直しに貢献」. 沖縄タイムス, 1989 年 5 月 6 日.

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