A Study on the Regional Formation of the Kume District in Naha from a Culturally Pluralistic Perspective

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Abstract

The purpose of this paper is to clarify the pluralistic cultural history, characteristics of the regional formation process, and the influences of a pluralistic culture on the Kume district of Naha city. Firstly, Okinawa's pluralistic cultural background was introduced. Next, the formation process was analyzed on three levels: area, linear and spot. Then, focusing on Ryukyu, Chinese and Japanese traditional cultures, the influences of the cultures were analyzed as well. Finally, a conclusion was drawn as follows: There is an obvious connection between Ryukyu's Utaki, Haisho1, and the greenbelts and parks of today. Kume village was built based on the principles of Chinese Fengshui Philosophy. The area around Kume Street was once the central part of the district, and was preserved as its symbol on the original location. Also, Japanese Buddhism and Shinto beliefs lead to the construction of many temples and shrines in the study area. Future regional planning works in these locations should be carried out taking the aforementioned conclusions into consideration.

Keywords: Regional Formation; Kume District in Naha; Pluralistic Culture; Ryukyu; Chinese; Japanese

1. Introduction

1.1 Background and purpose

From the age of the ancient Ryukyu Kingdom, Okinawa has had a long history of cultural intercourse. The islands of Okinawa were once a major trading hub for China, Japan, Korea, and other South-east Asian countries. Representations of the traditional cultures from each of these countries gathered in Okinawa, then blended with and affected one another. This cultural intercourse influenced the regional formation process of the area, and the Kume district of Naha city was influenced the most.

In 1392, in order to help the Ryukyu Kingdom engage in trade with China, the Emperor of the Ming Dynasty dispatched 36 clans from what is now present day Fujian province of China to the Ryukyu Islands.2 Considering the islands a convenient position for international trade, the 36 clans then selected a location near Naha harbor as their place of residence. There they founded Kume Village, which was saturated with traditional Chinese culture.

During World War II, the Kume district, together with the whole of Naha City was destroyed. The rebuilt urban district has changed tremendously. However, several historical cultural sites remain in the Kume district. These sites prove the existence of a pluralistic culture in the areas history. The verification of these influences on Kume district, and an exploration of the direction of the region's urban planning are necessary.

There were a number of related historical and cultural studies conducted prior to this inquiry. For example: Kubo3 has discussed the Chinese culture's influence on Ryukyu culture, while Tomijima4 completed a thorough exploration of the history of Kume village in the late Ming dynasty. The historical and cultural elements analyzed in this study are based on these previous works. However, a study contrasting Ryukyu, Chinese and Japanese culture in the Kume district has never been done. With regard to the regional formation of the Kume district, there are materials such as Nahano Konjaku5 in existence, but an academic thesis or like research can not be found. Also, all of the previous works related to this study are focused on only one side of culture or regional formation. None have explored the possibility of a relationship between regional formation and culture. This study examines the regional formation of the Kume district from a cultural view point, by contrasting the Ryukyu, Chinese and Japanese cultures.

The purpose of this paper is to clarify the characteristics of the regional formation process of Kume district, and the influences of a pluralistic culture on this process. An analysis as to the direction of future distinctive urban planning of the unique Kume district.
1.2 Correlative conceptions

① Culture: the concept of culture is very broad. While this paper focuses on traditional cultures, when modern culture is found to have had a direct influence on regional formation, it will also be an object of study.

② Pluralistic culture: here this means there are not just one or two fountainheads of culture in a given society. In the case of this study, there are three traditional cultures which have influenced the regional formation of the Kume district the most. They are the traditional Ryukyu, Chinese and Japanese cultures. One important feature of a Pluralistic Culture is the nature of the relationships among its different constituent cultures.

1.3 Study range

① Territory Range

The range of territory for this study covers 10 sub-districts (all in the Kume district) as shown in Fig.1. They are Tondocho, Higashimachi, Nishi, Tsuji, Wakasa, Kume, Matsuyama, Kumoji, Izumizaki and Asahimachi.

② Time range

Fig.2. shows the four periods of the regional formation process in Kume district. They are Drifting Island Period, Kingdom Period, Prefecture Period and Postwar Period.

1.4 Study methods

Firstly, all correlated data such as books, maps, photos and drawings, etc. were gathered and utilized accordingly. An "important cultural and regional transformation events history list" was drawn up. Then, a "list of historical cultural sites" was made according to four source maps. Afterward, the sites were plotted to base maps of each period. Then the vicissitudinous figure of the sites was drawn by culture. (Fig.3.)

The orientation of the sites was confirmed based on certain rules as follows: ① Sites were plotted to the same location on a base map where the site was marked on the source maps; ② If a site's location among different source maps was not the same, the one with a reliable scale was taken as reference; ③ When a site was not marked on the source maps, a reference books' relative toponym was taken, and its most possible location confirmed; ④ If a site's location was not recorded consistently in different reference books, the most frequently written version was adopted; ⑤ Source maps and reference books were compared, field investigations carried out, and a given sites most possible location confirmed; ⑥ Unknown places were removed from the list.

A reference that proved indispensable for deciding questionable site names was the Okinawa Encyclopedia. In the case that certain sites could not be located in the Okinawa Encyclopedia; or concerning sites which had names in both the Japanese and Okinawa dialects, the Japanese name was given priority and was written in the Roman alphabet in this paper.

Secondly, the changes of sea reclamation, traffic lines, and the functional facilities of commerce, industry, and administration, etc. were interpreted on three levels: area (sea reclamation), linear (traffic lines) and spot (facilities).

Finally, the characteristics of regional formation and the influences of pluralistic culture were concluded. Furthermore, the significance, direction and future research of urban planning, focusing on the culture in
2. The Origin of Pluralistic Culture and the Vicissitude of Historical Cultural Sites

2.1 The origin of pluralistic culture

The original Ryukyu culture was born long before the creation of the Ryukyu Kingdom. In 1492, Shohashi united the three mountain territories, after which, the islands were a sovereign nation with close relations to both China and Japan. Then, in 1872, Japan decided to annex the Ryukyu Islands as a new territory (or Han), and in 1879 it was changed into Okinawa prefecture. After World War II, the prefecture was under American military control, and was handed back to Japan again in 1972. Throughout the region's history, even after modernization of the Ryukyu Kingdom, various cultures have coexisted in Okinawa (Ryukyu, Chinese, Japanese and later American etc.); this gives the islands a rich and culturally pluralistic history.

2.2 Vicissitude and distribution of the historical cultural sites

As shown in Fig.3., during the Kingdom Period, Ryukyu sites were spread all over the district. Until the Prefecture Period, the sites were distributed along a parallel axis east of Kume Street. At present, the sites are gathered at the two ends of Kume Street. The total number of all the cultural sites was greatly reduced, with no change in location of Chinese sites; but for the Japanese sites there was a shift in location from south to north.

3. The Regional Formation Process and its Characteristics in the Kume District

The configuration of the Kume district has changed enormously. As follows, the paper will analyze the regional formation process from three levels: area, linear and spot.

3.1 Area changes

Area changes are mainly caused by sea reclamation. It includes area expansion, coastal boundary, elevation, and other like changes.

In ancient times the Kume district was once a group of separate, drifting islands off the coast of the main island of Okinawa. (Fig.4.) During the 450 years of the Ryukyu Kingdom's history, the small group of drifting islands joined with the main island, due to a combination of gradual sand aggradation and sea reclamation.

The territorial status of different periods of the Kume district can be found in Fig.5. During the Kingdom Period, there were small highlands called Uenomo, Saikojiyama, Tsujihara, etc. Today, most
of them have turned into flat lands except for the Naminoue, Asahigaoka and Matsuyama parks. Along with the disappearance of highlands, sea reclamation projects were carried out. This is illustrated in the "Sea Reclamation Map" of Fig.5.

3.2 Linear changes

Linear changes are the changes of traffic lines such as roads, bridges, railways, waterways, etc. Fig.6. shows the traffic status of each period. The traffic patterns of the Kingdom Period and the Prefecture Period are similar. Railways came into being in the Prefecture Period.20 It is obvious that things changed considerably in the Postwar Period. Right after the war, in order to build military bases and ease the transportation of materials in Okinawa, the U.S army began maintenance and upkeep of the main roads in Okinawa.21 Road 58 was built with the help of USMG22 at that time, as well as sea reclamation projects. The formal railways were destroyed during the war, and a monorail has been erected alongside the Kumoji River in recent years.23

Table 1. shows the difference in traffic status of the prewar and postwar periods.

|                | Prewar                                          | Postwar                                         |
|----------------|-------------------------------------------------|-------------------------------------------------|
| Roads were sinuous along with natural landform. E.g. The coast. | Roads were remade into regular lines and curves. |
| Road distinction is not clear in Hijashimachi and Nishi.         | Road has clear levels.                          |
| The most important regional roads were Kariyanume-Ufujonomae Road and Kume Street. | The most important regional road changed into Road 58. |
| The railway used to transport both passengers and goods.         | The railway transported only passengers.         |
| Bridges were built of wood or stone.                              | Bridges were built in concrete and in much larger scale. |

Table 2. Type of Utaki and Haisho

| Type    | Location characteristic | Belief object | Typical Utaki/ Haisho (Fig. 8.) |
|---------|-------------------------|---------------|---------------------------------|
| Woody   | Shady space in woods on highland or hill which surround a village | Ancestor | Shishiyu-Utaki, Hanagusuku-Utaki etc. |
| Rocky   | Rocks near the coast    | Niraikanai24 | Miegusuku, Mitoji, Yoshimachi |
| Wellspring | Place of the former village wellspring, often a shady space of trees. | Ancestor | Kinko-Ugan, Hankin-Ugan |

3.3 Spot changes

Spot changes are analyzed regarding the functional facilities of the Kume district. This paper takes two such groups of functional facilities as study objects: industry and commerce, and administration and city centers.

3.3.1 Industry and commerce

As shown in map a1. of Fig.7., the Kingdom Period should be thought of as the initial period of industry and commerce. Facilities related to trading (dockyards, warehouses etc.) and daily life (baazars, shops etc.) came into being at that time. Also, service facilities (restaurants, bordellos etc.) were also in their early stages.

Up to the Prefecture Period (a2. of Fig.7.), industry and commerce developed to a remarkable degree. The number of these facilities increased to several times the amount of those present in the Kingdom Period, and the area they occupied grew as well. Commerce facilities were thickly clustered around Hijashimachi,
and industrial facilities were distributed in a zone from the new Nishishinmachi to Tondocho.

In the Postwar Period, industry and commerce also experienced a boom. Almost the whole of the Kume district became a financial and industrial center. (a3. of Fig.7.)

3.3.2 Administration and city center

In the Kingdom Period, the Kume district’s city center was once located around Oyamise and the Naha market in Higashimachi. (The circled range in b1. of Fig.7.)

In the Prefecture Period, the political and economic center of Ryukyu moved from Shuri to Naha. Before it was moved to Miebashicho in 1920, the temporary prefectural office was placed in the former Tenshikan for about 40 years. During this period, the city center separated into two parts: an economic center and an administrative center. The economic centers were A. (a locale around Naha market) and B. (another around Ishijo crossroad). The administrative center was C. (south of Miebashicho). (b2. of Fig.7.)

Recently, many government offices have gathered just east of Izumizaki (the locus of the prefectural offices). It has now become the new administrative center of the city. The economic center once stretched from Izumizaki to Kokusai Street. (b3. of Fig.7.)

In a word, the city center of the Kume district has gradually moved from Higashimachi to the areas around Kumoji and Izumizaki.

4. Culturally Pluralistic Influences on Regional Formation

4.1 Ryukyu culture

4.1.1 Distribution of Utaki and Haisho

Ryukyu culture in the Kume district was embodied as Utaki and Haisho, which were always located in the wooded areas. The location of Utaki and Haisho was sorted into woody, rocky and wellspring types as shown in Table 2.

According to Fig.8., in locations a. (east part of Matsuoyama), b. (Uenomo), c. (Naminoue) and d. (Tsujihara), Utaki and Haisho were abundant. But in the highlands and woods, which surround Kume village (e. Uenoyama and f. Matsuoyama) where Chinese once lived, Utaki and Haisho are few and far between.

Fig.9. shows that many Utaki and Haisho were built into parks or greenbelts. From this point, we could say that the location of present parks and greenbelts has a certain relationship with Ryukyu culture.

4.1.2 Range of previous traditional Ryukyu houses

Traditional Ryukyu houses were once common within the Kume district, but were destroyed during World War II. According to literature, the old houses were gathered in four zones as shown in Fig.10., A. (the two sides of Ishijodori, Kariyanume, Higashimachi), b. (the two sides of Kume Street), c. (the two sides of Izumizaki Street) and d. (part of Kumoji close to Kume).

4.2 Chinese culture

4.2.1 Relationship between the location of Kume village and Chinese Fengshui Philosophy

The orientation of Kume village was strictly selected conforming to Chinese Fengshui philosophy.

As illustrated in Fig.11., the relationship between Kume village and Fengshui will be explained below. Both A. (Bright Hall) and B. (Cave) are the center of the dwelling. On the north (Xuanwu), C. (Master Mountain) received the Dragon vessel from the ancestor mountain of L, M, N. Two layers of mountains called Qinglong and Baihu surround the dwelling from the east and west. This territory could be easily defended in case of invasion, and was protected from the north wind in winter and from monsoons in summer. The An-mountain and Chao-mountain (F. and I.) could weaken typhoons of southern origin in summer. When contrasting the right and left parts of Fig.11., it is easy to see that Kume village was constructed according to the above conditions.

Fig.12. shows that the layout of Kume village was abstractly plotted into the shape of a dragon. The Izumizaki Rock is the dragon ball. The space in front of Kume Ufujo is the dragon’s head. The two big stones there are the dragon’s eyes, and two trees were planted as the
horns of the dragon. The wandering Kume Street was the dragon's body. Smaller roads can be found on both sides, which were placed as the feet of the dragon. The dragon's tail extended from Nishinjo to Namino. Furthermore, there are canals in the village, which were placed to enhance the power of the dragon when the tide gushed back and forth. Also, in the river two big stones stood west of Izumizaki Bridge, which were meant to ease the flow of water during tidal changes.

4.2.2 Distribution of Joss house and palace

Chinese religious beliefs came to Ryukyu during the 14th century with immigration of the 36 clans. Being officials of Ryukyu, these Chinese people and their descendants built many palaces around Kume village such as the Palaces of Utenpigu, Shitatenpigu and Tenmangu to mention a few. Also, a many Joss houses were built as well, such as the Kanteibyo, Ryuobyo (Dragon), Tensonbyo, Chishinbu (Confucius) and Toteibyo structures. (Fig.13.)

4.2.3 Other Chinese influences

Other than Fengshui and religion, the Ryukyu culture was influenced by other aspects of Chinese cultural beliefs. For example, in order to make more convenient traffic conditions to receive the envoys from China, the Chokotei Causeway was built under the instruction of Chinese officials in the dynasty of King Shokinbuku. Stone bridge construction techniques came from China, and bridges like Miebashi and Izumizakibashi were rebuilt and converted from wood to stone. Also, certain sea reclamation projects of Kume Village and the area around Izumizaki Rock were carried out by Kume villagers. (Fig.13.)

4.3 Japanese culture

4.3.1 Distribution of temples and shrines

Japanese culture's strongest influence in the Kingdom Period was the spread of Buddhism. Temples like Chojushi, Gokokuji, Shinkyoji, Daitenji etc. were built in the Kume district, and temples related to Buddhism such as Kwan-yin, Amitabha, Jizodo etc. were also built at that time. In addition, the Japanese Buddhist and Shinto religions were also spread. Shrines like Amaterasuomikami, Gongensha and Ebisudo etc. were built as well. (Fig.14.)

4.3.2 Restained by Satsuma

Concerning regional formation, the construction of temples was heavily restricted during the term of governor Satsuma. Also, the unclear road system of Higashimachi's prewar center is a product of Satsuma's restrictions. Because the first road at that time (Kariyanune) was the one to accommodate Satsuma, the common people preferred to walk a road parallel to it, Higashimichi. Therefore, including Higashimichi road, several roads became main roads for the villagers. (Fig.14.)

5. Conclusions

5.1 Pluralistic culture in the Kume district

The existence of a pluralistic culture consisting of the Ryukyu, Chinese and Japanese traditional cultures in the Kume district has been confirmed. This pluralistic blend was most prosperous in the Ryukyu Kingdom Period, but many aspects of this mix have been lost over time, especially due to the Battle of Okinawa. However, in specific places, various historical traces exist, from which it could be considered that there are strong pluralistic cultural influences on the regional formation of the Kume district.

5.2 The characteristics of the development of the Kume district

There are area, linear and spot characteristics in the regional formation of Kume district.

① As for area characteristics, due to sea reclamation, the Kume district has changed from being a group of drifting islands in the Kingdom Period, to become part of the Naha urban district at present. Most of the highland has changed into flatland, with an increase in land coverage.

② As for linear level characteristics, there is a focus on road formation. Most of the roads changed tremendously after World War II, but Kume Street, which runs through the Kume district, has remained in its original location. The most important roads in the Kume district before World War II were Kariyanume –Ufujonomae Road and Kume Street. In present day Okinawa, Route 58 is now the most heavily traversed, and runs from north to south crossing the bulk of the island, and passes through the Kume district. Though there were once railways in the Kume district during the Prefecture Period, these were totally destroyed in the war.

③ As for spot level characteristics, in terms of commercial, industrial and administrative facility changes, we can see that before World War II, the area from Higashimachi to Kume was the center of the Kume district. Also, commerce and industrial facilities developed from South to North. After that, most of the Kume district became a commercial district.

5.3 Pluralistic cultural influences on district formation

① The Ryukyu culture's influences on the formation of the Kume district can be understood from the relationship between the Utaki, Haisho and the greenbelts. From ancient times, from the Kingdom Period to the present, the Kume district has changed.
much due to sea reclamation, road location, layout changes, river size and course adjustments and building locations, etc; while most Utaki and Haisho have remained the same. Now, the Utaki and Haisho in the Kume district are the places where parks, greenbelts and other such green spaces exist.

② Chinese culture’s influence on the formation of the Kume district was most evident in the Kingdom Period. Firstly, the building of the Chokotei Causeway connected the drifting islands to the main island of Okinawa, and transportation was vastly improved. This marked the end of the Kume district’s drifting island status. Then, due to prosperous trade with China, economic and population growth in the Kume district brought about a serious land shortage. So sea reclamation procedures were initiated and carried out on a grand scale, after which the area of the Kume district broadened. Kume village was built according to Chinese Fengshui philosophy, and because influence from these ideas was so deep, the main road there, Kume Street, has not changed in location since the Ryukyu Kingdom Period. Other roads in the district have moved; but Kume Street has not, and still serves as the symbol of the district to this day.

③ Japanese culture’s influence on the formation of the Kume district could be seen from the introduction of the Buddhist and Shinto religions, as well as the establishment of temples and shrines, even though the construction of places of worship had been restricted by Satsuma since 1609.

5.4 Significance of a culture-centered approach to maintenance of the district

As noted above, pluralistic culture is the Kume districts identifying characteristic. Here the significance of culture-centered district planning can be observed.

Because the Ryukyu, Chinese and Japanese cultures have had different influences, respectively, on the formation of the Kume district, it is recommended that emphasis be given to each culture’s area of influence, while district maintenance and building are executed with careful consideration regarding the district’s rich culturally pluralistic heritage. The following are a few suggestions to aid in achieving these goals:

① Emphasis should be given to Utaki and Haisho, together with the greenbelts and parks, with a focus on Ryukyu culture. ② As for Chinese culture, centered on Kume Street, there are the Joss houses of Chishinbu (Confucius), Tensonbyo, Tenпigu and the Fukushuen garden; these moderately to strongly represent the existence of Chinese cultural influences here. ③ Japanese cultural district maintenance should focus on the surrounding areas of presently existing temples and shrines. The existing cultural elements such as temples, shrine’s, torii, and stone lanterns are evident. Whether or not to create the typical Japanese bazaar atmosphere in these districts could be discussed in the near future.

5.5 Research subjects for the coming future

It is necessary to make more accurate and detailed verifications regarding the unclear location of historical sites’, and their different names. As for the Kume district's future building and maintenance decisions being region specific, and accommodating to cultural considerations, it is necessary that interviews and questionnaires towards Kume residents and discussions be conducted.

Notes

1 Utaki is an Okinawan term for a sacred place. It is also known as Mui, Gusuku, Ugan, On, Suku etc. in Okinawa's different regions. Haisho is the general term for all the other terms listed above. Utaki are usually located on the outskirts of villages and are places for the veneration of gods and ancestors.

2 As the representation of advanced civilization at that time, the 36 immigrant clans were put in a very important position by the king of Ryukyu. And from that time, they played a vital role in the diplomatic history of Ryukyu.

3 Refer to Reference 27).

4 Refer to Reference 28).

5 Refer to References 3); 4); 8) and 9).

6 In this paper, Okinawa's different historical periods were divided as follows: Drifting Island Period: before 1451 (when the Chokotei causeway was built). Kingdom Period: from 1451 (construction of the Chokotei causeway) to 1879 (replacement of the Ryuku Han with Okinawa Prefecture). Prefecture Period: from 1879 (replacement of the Ryuku Han with Okinawa Prefecture) to Oct. 10th 1944 (the Naha Air Raid).

7 Postwar Period: from 1945 (the end of the Battle of Okinawa) to present.

8 The Kingdom Period is the period when Ryukyu was an independent country. It was the peak of the Ryukyu Islands’ sea trade to other countries. Also, it is the period during which Ryukyu was most strongly influenced by Chinese culture. The Prefecture Period began in 1879, when the Ryukyu Kingdom became Okinawa Prefecture of Japan under the direct control of Satsuma. From that time, Ryukyu was strongly influenced by Japanese culture, while Chinese culture's influences sharply declined. The Postwar Period was, just as its name implies, the period after WW II. From 1945, the U.S military governed the Ryukyu Islands for about 27 years until it was returned to Japan in 1972. During this time, with the help of the U.S military, Okinawa's reconstruction and city maintenance works were carried out.

9 Historical cultural sites were selected and sorted by cultural type, such as Utaki and Haisho for Ryukyu culture; Joss House, Palace, or place related to Fengshui and/or Kume village offices for Chinese culture; temples, shrines and Satsuma’s offices for Japanese culture.

10 They are References 15); 16); Nahashikazu of 11); 66-67, and 12); 21-24, 37-40, 47-50, 61-64.

11 As shown in Fig.2., the maps from the 1870s, 1930s and 1996 were chosen to be the base maps for the Kingdom, Prefecture and Postwar Periods respectively. They are for References 17); 18) and 19) respectively.

12 Refer to Reference 14).

13 Refer to References 12); 15); 16) and 17).

14 From the 15th century, Ryukyu became a kingdom of Ming China. In the 17th century, Ryukyu was partly controlled by Japan after the invasion of Satsuma.

15 Refer to References 21) and 22).

16 Refer to References 3) and 4), 75-78.

17 Refer to Reference 14), (Kakan) 73).

18 Refer to Reference 11), 66-67, 134.

19 Kingdom Period: refer to Reference 17). [Pref. Period]: refer to Reference 16) and 18). [Postwar Period]: refer to Reference
A typical Japanese bazaar is usually located in front of a temple. It is also called Monzenmachi in Japanese.

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