

The Four Seasons in Okinawan *Ryūka* Poetry—Comparison with Classical *Waka* Poetry and *Omoro* Songs

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*Štyri ročné obdobia v okinawskej poézii rjúka—
porovnanie s klasickou poéziou waka a piesňami omoro*

Resumé 30-slabičná okinawská báseň *rjúka* je z hľadiska formy tradične spájaná skôr so starobylými okinawskými piesňami *omoro* než s 31-slabičnou klasickou japonskou básňou *waka*. Avšak závery môjho výskumu poukazujú na prevažujúci vplyv výrazov vo *wake* na *rjúku*. Cieľom tejto štúdie je demonštrovať rozsah vplyvu oboch poézií—*waka* i *omoro*—na výrazy štyroch ročných období v *rjúke* v najširšom možnom zábere.

Abstract The 30-syllabic form of Okinawan poetry *ryūka* is traditionally linked more to old Okinawan songs *omoro* than to the 31-syllabic classical Japanese poetry *waka*. However, my research findings show that the influence of expressions in *waka* on *ryūka* is significant. The aim of this comparative study is to demonstrate the extent of influence of both *waka* and *omoro* on the expressions of four seasons in *ryūka* to the broadest possible extent.

Keywords Japan, Okinawa, Literature, Genres, *ryūka* 琉歌, *kaisaku ryūka* 改作琉歌, *waka* 和歌, *omoro* オモロ · Motives, Seasons, *wakanatsu* 若夏, *urizun* うりずん

1 Introduction

Classical Japanese *waka* 和歌 poetry is typically consisting of 31 syllables arranged in 5 verses of 5-7-5-7-7 syllabic form and a well-known type of poetry not

only in Japan, but nowadays also in Western academe. However, very little has been written on the topic of Okinawan poetry¹ called *ryūka* 琉歌. *Ryūka* can be defined as a lyric song which originated in the main island Okinawa and gradually spread to other Ryūkyū Islands (present prefecture Okinawa) and Amami Islands (present prefecture Kagoshima). *Ryūka* is very popular even nowadays—besides being part of classical theatrical, musical and dance performances accompanied by typical Okinawan musical instruments such as *sanshin* 三線,² it is also vivid among Okinawan people in a form of popular folk songs. Similarly to *waka*, *ryūka* also has a fixed form, however the number of syllables and verses differs significantly from that of *waka*—it consists of 4 verses arranged in the 8-8-8-6 syllabic form, thus comprising altogether 30 syllables. The exact origins of *ryūka* are unknown as it was primarily oral poetry. The latest written record dates back to the year 1683,³ therefore we can assume that the poetry existed with certainty already in the second part of the 17th century if not earlier. Not only the year, but also the circumstances under which *ryūka* originated, are obscure. Basically there are two mainstream theories about the origin of *ryūka*. The first one assumes that *ryūka* was primarily formed under the

- 1 In this paper I am using the term Okinawan »poetry« even though in fact *ryūka* are songs that were not recited but sung in the first place. However, the term *uta* 歌 which is part of the words *ryūka*, *waka*, etc., can both be translated either as ‘song’ or as ‘poem’. Since in this paper I am dealing primarily with expressions, and not with music, I decided to use the term Okinawan »poetry«.
- 2 String instrument reportedly brought from China to the Ryūkyū Kingdom from where it spread to mainland Japan. In Japan, its version is presently known as *shamisen* 三味線.
- 3 The record in the family register of Zamami Keiten 座間味景典 which states that in this year Chinese envoy Ōshū 汪楫 (Wang Ji) upon his return to China brought a present from the Ryūkyū Kingdom—a folding screen decorated with pictures of chrysanthemum, pine, bamboo and four poems that had been written in the form of *ryūka*. Cf. Ikemiya Masaharu 池宮正治, »Man’yōshū to nantō kayō« 万葉集と南島歌謡 [Man’yōshū and Songs from Southern Islands], in *Waka bungaku kōza 2—Man’yōshū I* 和歌文学講座 2 · 万葉集 I [Lecture on Literature of *Waka* Poems 2—Man’yōshū I] ed. by Inaoka Kōji 稲岡耕二 (Tōkyō: Benseisha, 1992), 367–385; and Kadekaru Chizuko 嘉手苺千, *Omoro to ryūka no sekai* オモロと琉歌の世界 [The World of *Omoro* and *Ryūka*] (Tōkyō: Shinwasha, 2003).

Japanese literary influences as a result of cultural exchanges after the invasion of Satsuma 薩摩藩 into the Ryūkyū Kingdom in 1609. This theory was widely supported by Tajima Risaburō 田島利三郎, Seirei Kunio 世礼国男, Ono Jūrō 小野重朗, and others. The second theory, supported by Iha Fuyū 伊波普猷, Nakahara Zenchū 仲原善忠, Higa Shunchō 比嘉春潮, Kinjō Chōei 金城朝永 and Hokama Shuzen 外間守善, states that *ryūka* developed primarily from the old Okinawan songs called *omoro* オモロ⁴ and is thus a unique heritage of Okinawan culture.⁵ However, if we take a closer look at each of the theories, we recognize that all of them focus primarily on the form of the songs which they use as a main parameter for answering the questions on how *ryūka* originated. But how can we approach the problem from the linguistic point of view?

This study is not going to argue whether *ryūka* originated from *omoro* or *waka*, as I believe that both of them played significant role in the creation of the newly formed poetry *ryūka*. The aim of this study is to show to what extent *ryūka* was influenced by *waka* and *omoro* respectively, and to explain this influence regarding expressions in all of these three poetries. The findings of my research show that the influence exerted from expressions of *waka* on *ryūka* is stronger than the one from old Okinawan songs *omoro*. This is especially the case with the expressions of four seasons.

It is interesting to note that Ryūkyū Islands with the main island Okinawa stretching southwest from mainland Japan lie in the subtropic area and therefore have a unique climate that differs from four-seasonal weather typical for Japan. Okinawan seasons can be divided mainly into summer and winter with additional

- 4 *Omoro* are the old Okinawan songs comprised in the oldest anthology called *Omorosaushi* おもろさうし, which was compiled by the government of the Ryūkyū Kingdom between 1531 and 1623. It comprises 1554 *omoro* songs in 22 volumes. Contrary to lyrical *ryūka*, *omoro* is of epic nature. Even though it contains occasional 8 or 6 syllabic verses similar to *ryūka*, it does not have a fixed form yet.
- 5 Higa Minoru 比嘉実, »Ryūka no genryū to sono seiritsu« 琉歌の源流とその成立« [The Origins of *Ryūka* and its Formation], in *Okinawa bunka kenkyū* 沖縄文化研究 [Okinawan Culture Studies] (Tōkyō: Hosei University Institute of Okinawan Studies, 1975), 2: 97–142.

two short seasons—*urizun*⁶ うりずん and *wakanatsu*⁷ 若夏—seasons not known in Japan. All Okinawan seasons are traditionally contained in the old Okinawan songs *omoro*. On the other hand, spring and autumn so widely depicted in the classical Japanese poetry are completely lacking in *omoro* songs. *Ryūka*, however, depicts non-existing Okinawan seasons of spring and autumn with the same intensity as *waka* and in the amount highly surpassing the amount of expressions standing for typical Okinawan seasons *urizun* and *wakanatsu*. This surprising fact is caused by the strong influence the expressions of Japanese poetry had on *ryūka*.

In this paper I would like to demonstrate the influence on *ryūka* expressions in the following four steps. Firstly, I shall examine the similarities and differences between *ryūka*, *waka* and *omoro* regarding the frequency of occurrence of the expressions ‘spring’, ‘summer’, ‘autumn’ and ‘winter’. Secondly, I focus on the connection of these expressions with other expressions, such as verbs, nouns, etc. The third part of the paper deals with a phenomenon called *kaisaku ryūka* 改作琉歌, which can be described as a piece of *ryūka* strongly influenced by a concrete, usually famous piece of *waka* or *omoro* that was transformed into corresponding language and syllabic form of *ryūka* while maintaining its former meaning. Together with some examples of such *kaisaku ryūka*, I provide research data that show to what extent *kaisaku ryūka* can actually be found in all *ryūka* poems dealing with seasonal expressions. Finally, in the fourth part of this paper I introduce main anthologies which according to the findings of my research have possibly been the source for creating *kaisaku ryūka*.

Apart from still unanswered questions as to whether *ryūka* originated primarily under the Japanese literary influences or emerged solely from Okinawan old songs, many of previous research works show that *ryūka* has been influenced by

- 6 The season of the third month according to the ancient lunar calendar during which the soil becomes moistened. Cf. Nakahara Zenchū 仲原善忠 and Hokama Shuzen 外間守善, *Omorosausbi jiten/sōsakuin dai niban* おもろさうし辞典・総索引・第二版 [Dictionary and Comprehensive Index of Omorosausbi, Second Edition], (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1975), 98. In *omoro* songs the transcription is *oretsumu* おれつむ, *oredzumu* おれづむ or *oretsumo* おれつも.
- 7 The season of the fourth and fifth month according to the ancient lunar calendar; early summer (Nakahara and Hokama, *Omorosausbi jiten/sōsakuin dai niban*, 366).

waka especially on the topic of four seasons.⁸ The findings of this previous research provide a valuable source for the current and future research, particularly in the field of comparative studies on imagery of several poetic expressions such as ‘*sakura* cherry blossoms’, ‘plum’, ‘chrysanthemum’ and others. Furthermore, previous research introduces several examples of *kaisaku ryūka* influenced by *waka* or *omoro*.

Although all these works provide notable information about the influence on *ryūka* with seasonal topic, they deal with partial data, such as one particular anthology or limited number of examples, thus resulting in a situation where the problem has not been researched in the broad span yet. Therefore, in my paper I focus on the possibly broadest source of data that comprises wide range of anthologies, in order to give an answer to question to what extent and where exactly *ryūka* with seasonal expressions bears influence from *waka* and *omoro*. The main resources I used for this research are following: in case of *ryūka*—*Ryūka Zenshū* 琉歌全集,⁹ *Ryūka Taisei* 琉歌大成,¹⁰ in case of *omoro*—*Omorosaushi Jō/Ge* おもろさうし上・下,¹¹ and in case of *waka*—*Kokka Taikan*¹² 国歌大観, *Meidai Wakazenshū*¹³ 明題和歌全集 and *Ruidai Wakasbū*¹⁴ 類題和歌集.¹⁵

- 8 Hokama Shuzen 外間守善 and Nakahodo Masanori 仲程昌徳, *Nantō jojō Ryūka Hyakkō* 南島叙情琉歌百控 [The Lyric Poetry of Southern Islands—One Hundred *Ryūka* Poems] (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1974); Shimabukuro Seibin & Onaga Toshio, *Hyōon hyōshaku Ryūka Zenshū* 標音評釈琉歌全集 [Comprehensive Anthology of Transcribed and Translated *Ryūka*] (Tōkyō: Musashino Shoin, 1995); Kadekaru Chizuko, *Omoroto ryūka no sekai*.
- 9 The full name of this anthology is *Hyōon hyōshaku Ryūka Zenshū* 標音評釈琉歌全集 [Comprehensive Anthology of Transcribed and Translated *Ryūka*], but in the text I use the abbreviated name *Ryūka Zenshū* 琉歌全集 [Anthology of *Ryūka*].
- 10 *Ryūka Taisei* 琉歌大成 [Compilation of *Ryūka*], ed. by Shimizu Akira 外間守善 (Okinawa: Times-Sha, 1994).
- 11 Hokama Shuzen, *Omorosaushi Jō/Ge* おもろさうし上・下 [Omorosaushi I, II], 2 vols. (Tōkyō: Iwanami Bunko, 2000).
- 12 *Shinpen Kokka Taikan* 新編国歌大観 [New Edition of Overview of Japanese Poems], CD-ROM, Version 2 (Tōkyō: Kadokawa Shoten, 1996). In the text I use the abbreviated name *Kokka Taikan* [Overview of Japanese Poems].
- 13 *Meidai Wakazenshū* 明題和歌全集 [Anthology Meidai Wakazenshū], ed. by Mimura Terunori 三

2 The Occurrence of Seasonal Expressions in Ryūka, Waka and Omoro

The following table No.1 shows the number of poems that contain expressions ‘spring’, ‘summer’, ‘autumn’ and ‘winter’ in both poetries *ryūka* and *waka*. We can see that apart from the reversed positions of the expressions ‘spring’ and ‘autumn’ (in *ryūka* ‘spring’ is the mostly used expression and ‘autumn’ is the second one, while in *waka* the order is vice versa), both *ryūka* and *waka* demonstrate very similar tendency regarding the occurrence of four seasonal expressions.

Occurrence of seasonal expressions in ryūka (total of 415 poems)			Occurrence of seasonal expressions in waka (total of 5499 poems)		
1	‘spring’	43% (178 poems)	1	‘autumn’	49% (2700 poems)
2	‘autumn’	31% (129 poems)	2	‘spring’	36% (1998 poems)
3	‘summer’	14% (60 poems)	3	‘summer’	8% (429 poems)
4	‘winter’	12% (48 poems)	4	‘winter’	7% (372 poems)

Table 1
Occurrence of Seasonal Expressions in Ryūka and Waka Poetry

村晃功 (Tōkyō: Fukutake Shoten, 1976), and *Meidai Wakazenshū Zenkusakuin* 明題和歌全集全句索引 [Index of All Verses of Poems in Anthology Meidai Wakazenshū], ed. by Mimura Terunori (Tōkyō: Fukutake Shoten, 1976).

- 14 *Ruidai Wakashū furoku honbun-yomi zenku sakuin* 類題和歌集付録本文読み全句索引 [Anthology Ruidai Wakashū – Supplementary Index of All Verses], ed. by Kusaka Yukio 日下幸夫 (Tōkyō: Izumi Shoin, 2010) and *Ruidai Wakashū, Excel CD* 類題和歌集エクセル CD [Anthology Ruidai Wakashū, Excel CD], ed. by Kusaka Yukio (Tōkyō: Izumi Shoin, 2010).
- 15 The above-mentioned research resources for *waka* and *ryūka* are all comprehensive anthologies, which means they contain broad variety of anthologies compiled throughout the history, e.g. *Kokka Taikan* contains poems from all imperial anthologies such as *Kokin Wakashū* 古今和歌集, many private anthologies, theoretical works, *monogatari* 物語, etc.

This similar tendencies are even more evident from the following Table 2.

Occurrence of seasonal expressions in <i>ryūka</i>		Occurrence of seasonal expressions in <i>waka</i>	
'spring' + 'autumn'	74% (majority ↑)	'spring' + 'autumn'	85% (majority ↑)
'summer' + 'winter'	26% (minority ↓)	'spring' + 'autumn'	15% (minority ↓)

Table 2

Similar Tendencies in Combined Occurrences of Seasonal Expressions

As we can see, both in *ryūka* and *waka* the majority of poems depicts expressions 'spring' and 'autumn' which far outnumber the number of poems with expressions 'summer' and 'winter'. In *ryūka*, this proportion is 3 times higher and in *waka* even 5 times higher than the proportion of summer and winter. In the past, also Kadokaru Chizuko conducted similar research with a narrower scope, comparing the two anthologies *Kokin Wakashū* 古今和歌集¹⁶ and *Kokin Ryūka* 古今琉歌集.¹⁷ She found out that the poems classified under the topics of four seasons can be ranked into the following order according to the number of poems in each topic (proceeding from the highest number to the lowest one): In *Kokin Ryūka*, the order would be spring–autumn–summer–winter, whereas in *Kokin Wakashū*, the order would be autumn–spring–summer–winter. Furthermore, she demonstrated that in the case of *Kokin Ryūka*, the number of poems under the topics spring and autumn is two times higher¹⁸ than the number of poems with a summer and winter topic, and in the case of *Kokin Wakashū*, this proportion is even four to five times higher¹⁹. Kadokaru concludes that »poets of *Kokin* anthologies were especially fond of spring and autumn.«²⁰ The results of my research conducted with a broader scope and taking into account

16 First imperial anthology of Japanese classical poems, compiled around 905 CE.

17 Anthology of *ryūka* poetry, influenced by *Kokin Wakashū* especially in regard to the structure of the anthology, compiled by Onaha Chōshin 小那覇朝親 in 1895.

18 In *Kokin Ryūka* the topic of spring and autumn comprises 189 poems, the topic of summer and winter comprises 94 poems.

19 In *Kokin Wakashū* the topic of spring and autumn comprises 279 poems, the topic of summer and winter comprises 63 poems.

20 Kadokaru Chizuko, *Omoro to ryūka no sekai*, 26.

actual expressions of four seasons, not the topic under which poems were classified, show very similar tendency that corresponds with the findings of Kadokaru.

In relation to that, how does the distribution of seasonal expressions look like in *omoro*?

Season	Number of Poems	Percentage
'spring'	0	0%
'summer'	9	69%
'autumn'	0	0%
'winter'	4	31%
Σ	13	100%

Table 3
Occurrence of Seasonal Expressions in omoro

Firstly, it is noticeable that the number of four seasonal expressions in *omoro* is generally very low. Secondly, *omoro* comprises only expressions 'summer' and 'winter'—seasons that are traditionally part of Okinawan climate. On the other hand, expressions 'spring' and 'autumn' so widely used both in *ryūka* and *waka* are of no occurrence here. At this point regarding the occurrence of expressions of 'spring', 'summer', 'autumn' and 'winter' we can conclude that *omoro* shows characteristics different from *ryūka* which in turn proves to have significant similarities with *waka*.

As for the next step, let us examine similarities and differences regarding connection of 'spring', 'summer', 'autumn' and 'winter' with other expressions – verbs and nouns.

3 *Seasonal Expressions and Their Connection with Verbs and Nouns*

Connection of Seasonal Expressions with Verbs in <i>ryūka</i>					Connection of Seasonal Expressions with Verbs in <i>waka</i>				
RANKING	Seasonal expression	Number of poems with seasonal expression (A)	Number of poems in which seasonal expression connects to verb (B)	Proportion of B poems within A poems	RANKING	Seasonal expression	Number of poems with seasonal expression (A)	Number of poems in which seasonal expression connects to verb (B)	Proportion of B poems within A poems
1	'spring'	178	69	39%	1	'spring'	1998	642	32%
2	'autumn'	129	41	32%	2	'winter'	372	114	31%
3	'winter'	48	11	23%	3	'autumn'	2700	694	26%
4	'summer'	60	12	20%	4	'summer'	429	67	16%

Table 4
Connection of Seasonal Expressions with Verbs

As we can see from the table above, both in *ryūka* and *waka* the seasonal expression most frequently connected with verbs is 'spring'. On the other hand, the expression 'summer' is the least connected with verbs in both poetic genres. If we compare the expressions 'spring' and 'summer' with regard to their connection with verbs, we may conclude that in both genres 'spring' is twice more frequently connected with verbs than the expression 'summer'. Furthermore, if we put aside the ranking of 'autumn' and 'winter', we can say that both *ryūka* and

waka show a similar tendency regarding the connection of seasonal expressions with verbs.

Examining concrete verbs and nouns, the following findings demonstrate further similarities as well as differences between both poetic genres. Regarding the seasonal expression ‘spring’, both in *ryūka* and *waka* the verb most frequently connected with this expression is the verb ‘come’ (*kuru* 来る). In addition, there are several nouns that frequently appear in both genres in connection with ‘spring’, such as ‘spring breeze’ (*haru kaze* 春風), ‘spring rain’ (*haru same* 春雨) or ‘early spring’ (*batsu haru* 初春). Those expression account for five to ten percent of all ‘spring’ poems. However, each poetry has its own unique expressions as well. *Waka* often depicts the coming of spring with verbs as *haru meku* 春めく or *haru tatsu* 春立つ, whereas *ryūka* uses expressions with very enthusiastic connotation typical only for this poetry meaning ‘spring that awakens and excites the heart’ (*kukuru ga uchagayuru haru* 心が浮きやがゆる春, *haru ni ukasariti* 春に浮かされて). It is interesting to note that although *waka* uses the verb ‘come’ with the highest frequency also in connection with ‘summer’, ‘autumn’ and ‘winter’, *ryūka* adopts this verb as the most frequent one only in case of ‘spring’.

The ‘summer’, as I have mentioned before, is the expression to be the least connected with verbs in both poetries. Rather than with verbs, its most frequent appearance is in connection with nouns, in *waka* as well as in *ryūka*. ‘Summer night’ (*natsu no yo* 夏の夜), ‘summer day’ (*natsu no hi* 夏の日), ‘summer clothes’ (*natsu no koromo* 夏の衣), ‘firefly’ (*natsu mushi* 夏虫), ‘summer mountains’ (*natsu yama* 夏山) are just a few of the most typical examples.

In case of ‘autumn’, although there are several verbs that both poetries have in common, such as ‘come’ (*kuru* 来る), ‘draw to an end’ (*kureru* 暮れる), ‘go’ (*iku* 行く), ‘become’ (*naru* なる) or ‘know’ (*shiru* 知る), the different frequency with which they occur doesn’t allow us to make significant conclusions about similarities. The same can be said about ‘winter’ and its connection to verbs. The most typical expressions regarding ‘autumn’ that occur very frequently in both poetries are ‘autumn wind’ (*aki kaze* 秋風) and ‘autumn night’ (*aki no yo* 秋の夜). Especially the latter combines with the ‘moon’ in half of its examples (*aki no yo no (o)tsuki* 秋の夜の(お)月 ‘moon in the autumn night’) in both genres, which is of no surprise taking into account that the moon as an important natural image

in Japanese and Okinawan culture is to be most eagerly admired particularly in autumn.

‘Winter’ in *ryūka* is an expression with very particular connotation. One third of all researched *ryūka* poems that contain the expression ‘winter’, talk about sad feelings using such expressions as ‘loneliness’ (*sabishisa* さびしさ) or ‘painful feelings’ resulting from cold, hostile atmosphere (*tsurasa* つらさ, *tsurenasa* つれなさ). The reason for this specific feature of *ryūka* most probably lies in the character of Okinawan winter which is not too cold to produce snow, but still cold enough to create lonely atmosphere further enhanced by the sound of chilly rain. The lack of real snow during Okinawan winter has also influenced *ryūka*—although ‘winter’ naturally combines with ‘snow’ which is the case in many *waka* poems, in *ryūka* these two expressions are very rarely seen together in one poem. Although *ryūka* depicts snow in a surprisingly huge amount of poems (given the fact that it practically never snows in Okinawa), snow is rather regarded as something admirable, and a bit distant from the perception of tough winter. Winter in *waka*, on the other hand, does not connote lonely feelings to that extent—probably because the coldness is brilliantly covered with the white beauty of snow which is an object of admiration in *waka* as well, although not as extensively as in *ryūka*.

Now, let us take a closer look at connection of seasonal expressions with verbs in *omoro*. As there are no expressions for ‘spring’ and ‘autumn’, I shall examine ‘summer’ and ‘winter’. The expression ‘summer’ is connected with three different verbs—‘arise’ (*tatsu* 立つ), ‘know’ (*shirazu* 知らず), and ‘understand’ (*wakarazu* 判らず)—the last two being put into negation. Also the expression ‘winter’ is combined with the same last two verbs. However, there are no such verbs connected with ‘summer’ or ‘winter’ in *ryūka*. Furthermore, even though there are mutual expressions that stand for Okinawan typical seasons *urizun* and *wakanatsu* both in *omoro* and *ryūka*, my research showed that even they connect with completely different verbs in each poetry. In the case of *omoro*, *urizun* is combined with the verbs ‘arise’ and ‘wait’ (*matsu* 待つ), and *wakanatsu* with the verb ‘arise’, while *ryūka* combines the expression *urizun* with the verb ‘become’ (*naru* なる) and the expression *wakanatsu* with the verbs ‘become’ and ‘come around’ (*meguru* 巡る).

To conclude this, regarding the occurrence of seasonal expressions, as well as their connection with other verbs and nouns, there were found significant similarities between *ryūka* and *waka*. The frequent occurrence of ‘spring’ and ‘autumn’, as well as connecting ‘spring’ mostly with verbs (the verb ‘come’ being the most frequently used one), and ‘summer’ most frequently with nouns, can be mentioned as some of the major similarities between these two poetic genres. On the other hand, similarities between *ryūka* and *omoro* are more scarce. Although *ryūka*, similarly to *omoro*, displays *urizun* and *wakanatsu* that stand for typical Okinawan seasons, none of these two expressions shows any similarities between the two genres regarding their connection with verbs. Thus, the differences between *ryūka* and *omoro* stand out not only in regard to expressions of ‘summer’ and ‘winter’, but also when it comes to the connection of verbs with traditional Okinawan expressions that have no relation to the Japanese perception of the four seasons and can be found exclusively in *ryūka* and *omoro*.

4 Kaisaku Ryūka 改作琉歌

In order to further assess the extent of influence both from *waka* and from *omoro*, in this chapter I would like to introduce the phenomenon of *kaisaku ryūka*, together with data that demonstrate the proportion *kaisaku ryūka* account for in *ryūka* with regard to seasonal expressions. Although examples of *kaisaku ryūka* were presented in several works of previous research, the term itself was first introduced in the work of Kadekaru Chizuko.²¹ Despite that, a definition of this term has not been given in previous research. In my perception, *kaisaku ryūka* is a piece of *ryūka* strongly influenced by a concrete, usually famous piece of *waka* or *omoro* that was transformed into corresponding syllabic form (8-8-8-6 syllables) and Okinawan language used in *ryūka* while maintaining approximately the same meaning by using expressions from the original poem as well as their

21 Kadekaru Chizuko, »Ryūka no tenkai« 琉歌の展開 [The Development of *Ryūka*], in *Iwanami kōza nibonbungakusbi* 岩波講座・日本文学史 [Iwanami Lectures on History of Japanese Literature] vol. 15 (»Ryūkyū bungaku, Okinawa no bungaku« 琉球文学、沖縄の文学) [Ryūkyū Literature, Okinawan Literature] (Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1996), 57-78.

synonyms. As I have mentioned before, although previous research deals with this phenomenon, the data are limited to several examples. Therefore the aim of this chapter is to show overall extent of the influence by *waka* and *omoro* taking into account all examples (including numerous examples newly discovered in this research) based on the broader database.

4.1 Kaisaku *Ryūka* With the Seasonal Expression ‘Spring’

waka		<i>ryūka</i>
<i>Kokin Wakashū</i> (24)		<i>Ryūka Zenshū</i> (76)
(Minamoto-no Muneyuki 源宗于)		(Chatan Ōji 北谷王子)
(Tokiwanaru) ときはなる	----->	ときはなる松の (Tuchiwa naru matsi nu)
(Matsu no midori mo) 松のみどりも	----->	変ることないさめ (Kawaru kutu ne sami)
(Haru kureba) 春くれば	----->	いつも春くれば (Itsin haru kuriba)
(Ima hitoshio no) 今ひとしほの	----->	色どまさる (Iru du masaru) ²²
(Iro masarikeri) 色まさりけり	----->	

Translation of the ryūka: Evergreen pine—seems like it never changes. But whenever the spring comes, its colour becomes more and more vivid.

Chart 1

The above scheme demonstrates how *kaisaku ryūka* was created by transforming the original *waka* poem. The highlighted parts show mutual expressions of *waka* and *ryūka*, while the process of incorporating these expressions from *waka* into *ryūka* is indicated by arrows. This *kaisaku ryūka* has already been presented as the

22 In the case of *ryūka*, the transcription in brackets shows the actual Okinawan pronunciation. The transliteration of the Japanese characters in which the *ryūka* is written, would be as follows: *Tokibanaru matsu no / Kabaru koto nai same / Itsumo haru kureba / Iro do masaru*. Thus we can see that despite the differences in pronunciation *kaisaku ryūka* are using expressions very similar to the original *waka*.

most typical example in numerous research works.²³ In addition to that, the findings of my latest research show that within 178 *ryūka* poems that include the expression ‘spring’ there are altogether 19 *kaisaku ryūka* originating from specific *waka* poem—many of which have not been introduced in previous research so far. This number accounts for 11% from all *ryūka* poems that contain the expression spring.²⁴

4.2 Kaisaku Ryūka *With the Seasonal Expression ‘Autumn’*

waka		ryūka
<i>Kokin Wakashū</i> (215)		<i>Ryūka Taisei</i> (4167)
(Sarumarū Dayū 猿丸大夫 ²⁵)		(<i>Tsiwaku pēchin</i> 故津波古親雲上)
(Okuyama ni) おく山に	----->	深山住むならひや (Miyama simu nare ya)
(Momiji fumiwake) もみぢふみわけ	-->	紅葉ふみわけて (Mumiji fumiwakiti)
(Naku shika no) なく鹿の	----->	鹿の声聞きど (Shika nu kuwi chichidu)
(Koe kiku toki zo) こゑきく時ぞ	----->	秋や知ゆる (Achi ya shiyuru) ²⁶
(Aki wa kanashiki) 秋は悲しき	----->	

Translation of the ryūka: Living deep in the mountains, when one hears the cry of the deers while stepping on the coloured autumn leaves, one can understand autumn.

Chart 2

- 23 Hokama Shuzen 外間守善, »Ryūkyū bungaku no tenbō« 琉球文学の展望 [The View on Ryūkyū Literature], *Bungaku* 文学 [Literature] 33,7 (1965), 26; Ikemiya Masaharu, *Ryūkyū bungakuron* 琉球文学論 [The Theory Regarding Ryūkyū Literature] (Okinawa: Times-Sha, 1976), 154; Kadekaru Chizuko, »Ryūka no tenkai«, 71; Shimabukuro, *Ryūka Zenshū*, 19.
- 24 Jana Urbanová, *Ryūka no hyōgen kenkyū—waka/omoro tono bikaku kara* 琉歌の表現研究——和歌・オモロとの比較から [A Study on the Modes of Expression in Ryūka—Comparison with Omoro and Waka] (Tōkyō: Shinwasha, 2015), 145.
- 25 The name of the author is based on the record in the anthology compiled by Fujiwara-no Teika 藤原定家 (1162–1241), *Hyakunin Isshu* 百人一首 (Single Poems by One Hundred Authors).
- 26 The transcription in brackets gives the actual Okinawan pronunciation of this *ryūka*. The transliteration of this *ryūka* is: *Miyama sumu narabi ya / Mumiji fumiwakete / Shika no kowe kikido / Aki ya shiyuru*.

Both *waka* and *ryūka* express the specific autumn atmosphere by describing how one listens to the cry of deers calling for their partners deep in the mountains, while stepping on the coloured leaves that gradually fall from autumn trees. The interesting point in these two poems though is the last verse, namely the fact that ‘autumn is sad’ (*aki wa kanashiki* 秋は悲しき) in *waka* is transformed into ‘one can understand autumn’ (*achi ya shiyuru* 秋や知ゆる) in *ryūka*. Since Okinawans in their geographic region did not really experience autumn, we can suppose they also did not have a real perception of what autumn looks like and that it can arouse sorrowful, sad feelings. Therefore the author of this *kaisaku ryūka* probably didn’t use the last verse from *waka* on purpose, he rather transformed it to better suit the needs of Okinawan readers. This *ryūka* feels like a sort of manual for Okinawans to understand autumn by doing the same things as the reader of *waka* does—listen to the cry of deers deep in the mountains.

The findings of my research show that there are altogether 12 *kaisaku ryūka* poems containing the expression ‘autumn’ that are based on *waka*. This number accounts for 9% from all 129 *ryūka* poems with the seasonal expression ‘autumn’²⁷.

3.3 *Kaisaku Ryūka With Seasonal Expressions ‘Summer’ and ‘Winter’*

The following example is a *kaisaku ryūka* based on *omoro* that depicts two seasonal expressions ‘summer’ and ‘winter’ at the same time. This poem is frequently introduced in former research.²⁸ Apart from the following example of a *kaisaku ryūka* (no 1604 from *Ryūka Zenshū*), there is one more poem from the same anthology (no 1623) very similar to the one introduced above. These two poems are the sole *kaisaku ryūka* with seasonal expressions that are based on *omoro*.

27 Urbanová, *Ryūka no hyōgen kenkyū—waka/omoro tono hikaku kara*, 179–180.

28 Hokama, »Ryūkyū bungaku no tenbō«, 25; Kinjō Chōei 金城朝永, *Kinjō Chōei Shū—jōkan* 金城朝永集・上巻 [Collection of Works by Kinjō Chōei] Vol. No. 1 of how many?series? (Okinawa: Times-Sha, 1974), 453; Seirei Kunio 世礼国男, *Seirei Kunio Zenshū* 世礼国男全集 [Comprehensive Collection of Works of Seirei Kunio] (Okinawa: Music Association of Nomura School, 1975), 165. Kadokaru, »*Ryūka no tenkai*«, 64.

omoro

Omorosausbi (Vol.12-poem No. 671)

unkno 哀ぞ いくさも
一 伊祖の 戦 思ひ (Wezo no ikusamoi)nu ikusamui) あす た
月の 数 遊び立ち (Tsuki no kazu asubi tachi)shigichi fuyu ya) わか はや
十百年 若てだ 榮せmuti yurati)
(Tomomoto wakateda hayase)mishochi)²⁹ 意地気 戦 思ひ (Ijiki ikusamei)
又 意地気 戦 思ひ (Ijiki ikusamei)
又 夏は しけち 盛る (Natsu wa shikechi moru)
又 冬は 御酒 盛る (Fuyu wa osake moru)**ryūka**

Ryūka Zenshū (1604) (author

伊祖のいくさもり (Izu

夏しげち冬や (Natsi

お酒もてよらて (Usaki

遊びめしやうち (Asibi

omoro

Omorosausbi (vol. 12, poem no. 671),

authc 哀ぞ いくさも
一 伊祖の 戦 思ひ (Wezo no ikusamoi)(Izu no ikusamui)
月の 数 遊び立ち (Tsuki no kazu asubi tachi)shigichi fuyu ya) わか はや
十百年 若てだ 榮せ(Usaki muti yurati)
(Tomomoto wakateda hayase)(Asibi mishochi)³⁰
又 意地気 戦 思ひ (Ijiki ikusamei)
又 夏は しけち 盛る (Natsu wa shikechi moru)
又 冬は 御酒 盛る (Fuyu wa osake moru)**ryūka**

Ryūka Zenshū (1604)

伊祖のいくさもり

夏しげち冬や (Natsi

お酒もてよらて

遊びめしやうち

29 The transliteration of this ryūka is as follows: Izo no ikusamori / Natsu shigechi fuyu ya / Osake mote yorate / Asobi meshiyauchi.

30 The transliteration of this ryūka is as follows: Izo no ikusamori / Natsu shigechi fuyu ya / Osake mote yorate / Asobi meshiyauchi.

Translation of the omoro: The great king Eiso prays to gods every month. Please make this great ruler be prosperous for thousand years! He offers sacral sake to gods in summer, he offers sake to gods in winter.

Translation of the ryūka: The great king Eiso offers sacral sake to gods in summer and sake in winter. His majesty prays to gods.

Chart 3

In comparison to above-mentioned two *kaisaku ryūka* poems based on *omoro*, the number of *kaisaku ryūka* based on *waka* is higher. There are altogether five *kaisaku ryūka* with the expression ‘summer’ (accounting for 8 per cent from an overall of 60 *ryūka* poems containing the expression ‘summer’) and eight *kaisaku ryūka* with the expression ‘winter’ (accounting for 17 per cent from an overall of 48 *ryūka* poems containing the expression ‘winter’) that derive from *waka*.

In conclusion, the findings of my research show that the total number of *kaisaku ryūka* based on *waka* is 43 poems, which accounts for around 10 per cent from all 415 *ryūka* poems containing seasonal expressions ‘spring’, ‘summer’, ‘autumn’ and ‘winter’. From 43 *kaisaku ryūka*, approximately for half of them, the author is unknown. From this result we can estimate that although *ryūka* with seasonal expressions in the beginning was most probably created by concrete authors, but with the passage of time, they were gradually more popularized by common people.

On the other hand, *kaisaku ryūka* with seasonal expressions that was created from *omoro* was found in 2 examples only. These data show significant difference between *waka* and *omoro* regarding the extent of their influence on *ryūka*.

5 *Anthologies of waka That Influenced kaisaku ryūka*

In this chapter I would like to present anthologies of Japanese poetry *waka* that most probably had an influence on *kaisaku ryūka* with seasonal expressions. According to Ikemiya, we can understand what kind of works of Japanese literature were in general widely studied by the nobility in the Ryūkyū Kingdom by taking a look at the Testament of Aka Chokushiki (*Aka Chokushiki Yuigonsho*

阿嘉直識遺言書) from 1776. According to this testament, the following works were considered as important works of literature to be studied: the main imperial anthologies of *waka* (e.g. *Kokin Wakashū*), *monogatari*, essays (*zuibitsu* 隨筆), works of Fujiwara-no Teika, his son Tameie 為家 (1198–1275), Ton'a 頓阿 (1289–1372), and others.³¹

The results of my research regarding *kaisaku ryūka* with seasonal expressions show the similar tendencies that have already been noticed in general terms by Ikemiya Masaharu and thus support his statement. More than half of the examples of *waka* that served as a basis for creating *kaisaku ryūka* with seasonal expressions originate from the chief imperial anthologies, anthologies serving as a material for main imperial anthologies (such as *hyakushū* 百首 anthologies) and *monogatari*. Follows a list of these famous anthologies that most probably influenced *kaisaku ryūka* with seasonal expressions.³²

- *Kokin Wakashū* 古今和歌集 (5 poems)
- *Shinbokusen Wakashū* 新勅撰和歌集 (5 poems)
- *Shinsenai Wakashū* 新千載和歌集 (3 poems)
- *Gyokuyō Wakashū* 玉葉和歌集 (2 poems)
- *Gosen Wakashū* 後撰和歌集 (2 poems)
- *Shinkokin Wakashū* 新古今和歌集 (1 poem)
- *Goshūi Wakashū* 後拾遺和歌集 (1 poem)
- *Fūga Wakashū* 風雅和歌集 (1 poem)
- *Shinsen Wakashū* 新撰和歌集 (1 poem)
- *Shingosen Wakashū* 新後撰和歌集 (1 poem)

31 Ikemiya Masaharu, *Ryūkyū bungakuron*, 150.

32 The number of poems in brackets after each anthology indicate the number of *waka* contained in this anthology that were possibly the base for creating *kaisaku ryūka* according to the findings of my research. However, as some of the anthologies contain the same *waka* (e.g. there is the same *waka* in *Gosen Wakashū* 後撰和歌集 and in *Yotsugi monogatari* 世繼物語), the number of *waka* listed in brackets here is higher than the actual number of *waka* from these anthologies that influenced *kaisaku ryūka* (the actual number of *waka* from these anthologies is around one half of the whole *waka* that were the base for *kaisaku ryūka*, as I have stated in the text above).

- Anthologies serving as material for imperial anthologies: *Hōji hyakushū* 宝治百首 (2 poems), *Eikyō hyakushū* 永享百首 (1 poem), *Kagen hyakushū* 嘉元百首 (1 poem), *Enbun hyakushū* 延文百首 (1 poem)
- *Monogatari*: *Ise monogatari* 伊勢物語 (1 poem), *Yamato monogatari* 大和物語 (1 poem), *Yotsugi monogatari* 世継物語 (1 poem)

Furthermore, the following can be said about the era in which *waka* that were the base for *kaisaku ryūka* with seasonal expressions originated. Okinawan poets who created *kaisaku ryūka* with seasonal expressions used as a source of their inspiration most frequently *waka* that originated in the Heian Period 平安時代 (794–1185). Secondly, they were inspired by *waka* poems from the Kamakura period 鎌倉時代 (1185–1333). The third place, as the findings of my research show, belongs to both *waka* from Muromachi 室町時代 (1333–1603) and from Edo period 江戸時代 (1603–1868)³³.

In addition to famous imperial anthologies or *monogatari*, there are several anthologies which contain even higher number of *waka* poems that became the base for creating *kaisaku ryūka*. These anthologies are: *Teika hachidaishō* 定家八代抄 (*passim*—7 poems), *Meidai Wakazenshū* (7 poems), *Dairin Gushō* 題林愚抄 (7 poems) and *Ruidai Wakashū* (7 poems). The last three so called *ruidai* comprehensive anthologies collect huge amount of poems taken from several famous imperial and other anthologies and classify them according to various topics. They were compiled in the later periods than many of the poems inside them actually originated—in Muromachi and Edo period. Judging from the high number of poems that were found in these anthologies as the possible base for creating *kaisaku ryūka* (many of which actually coincide with *waka* from imperial and famous anthologies listed above), we can estimate that although Okinawan poets possibly used imperial anthologies, *monogatari* and other famous anthologies as the source to learn about *waka* (especially about *waka* from old Heian and Kamakura period), there is also high possibility that they learned about these old *waka* not directly from Heian or Kamakura imperial anthologies, but rather from these comprehensive anthologies like *Meidai Wakazenshū*, etc.

33 The research data are as follows: 1) *Heian waka*: 30 per cent, 2) *Kamakura waka*: 26 per cent, 3) *Muromachi waka*: 22 per cent, *Edo waka*: 22 per cent—from all *waka* (100 per cent) that were the base for *kaisaku ryūka* with seasonal expressions.

that were compiled in the later eras—the Muromachi and Edo periods. I believe that these comprehensive anthologies were definitely a more convenient source of Japanese poetry as they contain poems from a broad list of imperial and other anthologies and they were also, so to say, »handy study material«, because they were published in the period when actually many of *ryūka* poets lived.

Conclusions

This paper demonstrates to what extent Okinawan poetry *ryūka* was influenced by Japanese classical poetry *waka* and Okinawan old songs *omoro* with regard to the occurrence of seasonal expressions, their connection with verbs and nouns as well as the existence and source of *kaisaku ryūka*—a type of poem that originated by transforming the original *waka* or *omoro* poems into corresponding language and form of *ryūka*. The findings of my current research of seasonal expressions show that from the linguistic point of view the influence from *waka* poetry on *ryūka* has been proved stronger than the influence from old Okinawan songs *omoro*. Not only that *ryūka* comprises seasonal expressions in similar proportion to *waka*, and combines them in numerous examples with the same verbs or nouns like *waka*, the extent of *waka*'s influence is further strengthened by the fact that within 415 examples of *ryūka* comprising seasonal expressions there are more than ten per cent of *kaisaku ryūka*—poems that borrow expressions from *waka* or their synonyms in order to create similar poem to *waka* in a style and language of *ryūka*.

On the other hand, such *kaisaku ryūka* based on *omoro* was found in two examples only. The similarities between *ryūka* and *omoro* can further be traced in the presence of expressions that stand for typical Okinawan seasons *urizun* and *wakanatsu*. However, even though both *ryūka* and *omoro* include several poems with these expressions, the connection of these expressions with verbs vary significantly between the two poetic genres. We can conclude that compared to *omoro* that influenced *ryūka* partially, especially by loaning expressions typical for the specific Okinawan climate, *waka* influenced *ryūka* in a broader sense—from newly imported expressions such as 'spring' and 'autumn', to borrowing whole *ryūka* verses and being an important base for creating numerous *kaisaku ryūka*.

The source for the latter one was found mainly in *waka* originating in Heian and Kamakura period, however these poems were most probably taken from the anthologies that originated in later eras—Muromachi and Edo.

It needs to be mentioned that even though *ryūka* borrowed a remarkable amount of expressions from *waka* in particular, examination of the overall image of individual seasons indicates that there are differences in how Okinawans and Japanese perceive the same season. This slightly diverse perception was most clearly observed in the concept of winter. Differences in perception create the foundation for exceptional features of each culture, therefore it would be interesting to look into this problem more profoundly in future research.

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