SHIFT OF MUSIC AND ITS INFLUENCE ON SOCIAL PARADIGM:
REEVALUATION OF MUSIC ON KUDAKA ISLAND IN OKINAWA

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ABSTRACT

Rituals and music have been the basis of society on Kudaka Island in Okinawa, and have played significant roles in creating social rules and values there. Although modernization of the island’s lifestyle and social values since the 1960s have caused a shift in the significant ritual music of Kudaka, music is still an indispensable component of the construction of Kudakan society today.

The sacred music called *kamiuta* has been the major music of the island, at the core of its rituals. However, after the religious leaders who had the right to lead it disappeared from society, female *kamiuta* has not been performed. Instead of changing the religious rules and continuing female *kamiuta*, the Kudakan people began to put more importance on music called *gurui*. Although both *kamiuta* and *gurui* are music used in rituals and have musical similarities, this musical shift has resulted in change to the Kudakan social structure.

TRANSLATION IN JAPANESE

要約

儀式と音楽は神経、久高島の社会基盤であり、社会の規則と価値観を構築する上で重要な役割を果たしてきた。1960年代以降の島の生活様式及び、価値観の近代化は久高における中心的な儀式音楽の変遷を引き起こしたが、音楽は、今日もなお、久高の社会構成に欠かすことのできない要素である。

神歌は神事に歌われる音楽であり、その音楽は島の代表的な音楽であると共に、儀式の中心に位置してきた。しかしながら、神歌演奏を司る宗教的指導者が途絶え、今日、女性の神歌は演奏されていない。久高の人々は、宗教的規則を曲げて女性の神歌を存続するよう、グルイと呼ばれる久高音楽に重きを置くようになった。神歌とグルイは共に、儀式で使われてきた音楽であり、音楽的にも共通点があるが、神歌からグルイへの音楽の変遷は、久高の社会構造にまで変化をもたらす結果となった。
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1.1 Purpose of the Study

In Okinawa Prefecture, Kudaka Island is regarded as "the island of the gods," and is famous for an abundance of traditional rituals. Despite the influence of outside societies, the continuity of a traditional Kudakan social system has enabled the Kudakan people to maintain indigenous traditions in their old forms for generations. Among the foundations of the Kudakan social system, including fishing and agriculture, Kudakan religion has had an especially significant meaning to Kudakan society, with its equally important influence on politics and the regulation of people's lifestyle. In addition to religion, music and rituals were significant for the construction of Kudakan society. Music was not only entertainment and recreation but was directly related to the creation of social rules.

Among the various kinds of Kudakan music, kamiuta or gods' song, is important as sacred music performed at rituals, where it was sung by priestesses and mediums. Orally transmitted only to Kudakan female descendants, the contents of kamiuta include prayers to the gods, the history of Kudaka, and praise of community leaders and of the king of the Ryūkyū Kingdom\(^1\) (Hokama Shuzen to Hōsei Zemināru 1991: 28–30). Musical performance was an inseparable element of the rituals; nevertheless, no kamiuta except for the male kamiuta, have been performed after the religious leaders called noro and aka-hanjanashi disappeared from Kudakan society, because singing it without their lead was strictly against Kudakan religious rules. Therefore, Kudakan women decided to suspend the performances rather than continuing it and distorting their religious faith. Since Kudakan women were allowed to sing the kamiuta only during rituals with religious leaders (Uchima Hideko, pers. comm., 2007), the kamiuta tradition rapidly

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\(^1\) The Ryūkyū Kingdom existed from the 16th century to the 19th century. Its government unified the Ryūkyū Islands, located between Kyūshū and Taiwan (Higa Yasuo 2000: 21).
disappeared from Kudakan life.

The kamiuta and the religious leaders had been strong support for the complicated religious system in Kudaka. However, suspension of the most important female initiation ritual called Izaihō since the last ritual in 1978 impacted the traditional religious organization and the kamiuta tradition. The disappearance of these religious cornerstones radically changed the traditional Kudakan social system. Kudakan society with the kamiuta and Kudakan society without them were different. I distinguish the traditional Kudakan social system from the modern Kudakan social system: the former includes the social system established by the Ryūkyū Kingdom, and by community leaders even before the emergence of the Ryūkyū Kingdom, while the latter is the Kudakan social system as it developed after the 1960s. The 1960s was one of the major turning points for the Kudakan people, especially in terms of modernization.

Yet, although the Kudakan social system changed after the kamiuta disappeared, music remains a significant part of the society. Today, dance music called gurui has become the representative music of the island. (The term gurui is a synonym of usudeeku or ushideeku in the Okinawan language.) Gurui has also been performed at rituals, and has musical characteristics of both sacred and secular music. Since the cessation of kamiuta performance at rituals, people have lost their central ritual songs, and this unstable religious situation has recently brought functional change to the gurui. While some female religious leaders try to make the gurui a more sacred music, similar to kamiuta, other elderly women are afraid that the gurui will soon disappear if it becomes sacred music.

Since both verse and rhythm of gurui's syllables have similarities with kamiuta

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2 Islanders can speak both Japanese and the Kudakan dialect. Although young people do not speak it any longer, older people still prefer to speak in the Kudakan dialect. The Kudakan dialect is a variety of the Okinawan language; however, it has developed uniquely and is very different from the dialect spoken on the main Okinawa Island.
(Kaneshiro 2004: 83–84, 101), and both *kamiuta* and *gurui* are used in the rituals, *gurui* is considered a derivative of *kamiuta*. *Gurui* became the major Kudakan music as the *kamiuta* had been in the past, and both types of music have been essential in the development of Kudakan society; however, *gurui*’s musical characteristics and its development are very different from *kamiuta*. Thus, the religious leaders’ attempt to change *gurui* into sacred music was socially controversial in Kudaka in 2007. The disappearance of *kamiuta* and the functional change of *gurui* built the tension between the religious leaders and elderly women. Also, this controversy spread to men as well as women, which was an unusual circumstance, because women had administered rituals and men had not directly intervened in female decisions for centuries (Higa Yasuo 2000: 33–34).

As a result, the strong religious organization supported by the sole authority of female religious leaders was not as influential as it was in the past, which brought radical change to cultural transmission in present-day Kudakan society. Today, contribution by Kudakan men to the Kudakan religious organization and traditions is noticeable, and the performance skills and knowledge of elderly women have become indispensable for continuation of *gurui*. In short, the Kudakan social system changed tremendously in a very short time. The decline of religious leaders’ authority in cultural transmission was a significant change in Kudaka, where rituals and ritual music have constituted the most important element in the social structure.

My main purpose in this thesis is to clarify the musical structures and characteristics of *kamiuta* and *gurui*, and examine how the shift of central music from *kamiuta* to *gurui* affected the Kudakan social structure. By regarding Kudakan music as the basic component of the construction of society and focusing on the change of cultural transmission, this thesis leads readers to an understanding of Kudakan social values and their structure.
Before comparison of **kamiuta** with **gurui**, the relationship and features of **kamiuta** and **usudeeku** must be examined, because **gurui** is in the same genre of music as **usudeeku** in mainland Okinawa. Since **usudeeku** has spread throughout the Okinawa area, and it has been researched thoroughly, comparison of **gurui** with **usudeeku** illuminates the distinctive characteristics and diversity of **gurui** in Kudaka.

Among earlier work, Kaneshiro's analysis of **kamiuta** and **usudeeku** is outstanding research into Okinawan music because it reveals the connection between the **kamiuta** and **usudeeku**, enabling the analysis of the **usudeeku** using the musical theory of the **kamiuta**. The verses of **kamiuta** and **gurui** have received more attention than their music among scholars (Kaneshiro 2004: 84). In contrast, Kaneshiro examined the rhythmic patterns of syllables and cast a new light on the musical aspects of this genre. In this thesis, I apply Kaneshiro's theory to Kudakan **kamiuta** and **gurui**. In addition to his theory, the musical scales and drum cycles of **gurui** are analyzed using my transcriptions.

After the analysis of music, I examine the influence of musical shift on Kudakan society by focusing on the annual events in Kudaka in September 2007. The analysis of **gurui** is based on my own observation of the events. The change of social status and gender roles are of particular interest for analysis of cultural transmission. Existing theories and the mass media have emphasized the importance of women to the preservation and continuation of the traditional Kudakan religion; however, participation by men and non-islanders in religious events is becoming significant. Today, the strong support of men and non-islanders is indispensable for the continuation of female religious traditions, and also advances new societal developments.

My thesis provides new perspectives concerning the relationship between music and society in Kudaka. At a macro level, a social interpretation of the situation in Kudaka

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3 Although annual events and rituals have been conducted according to the lunar calendar at Kudaka, I use the solar calendar in this thesis.
that centers on music will promote deeper cultural understanding. Also, analyses of Kudakan *kamiuta* and *gurui* will contribute to the expansion of established theories about *kamiuta* and *usudeeku*. On a micro level, my thesis will document disappearing Kudakan traditions and reveal the changes in cultural transmission, which reflect the social dynamics in present-day society.

1.2 Significance of my Thesis

In his book, *Why Suyá Sing*, Anthony Seeger states that musical performances create culture and social systems, and writes of its significance to a social analysis:

Rather than assuming there is a pre-existing and logically prior social and cultural matrix within which music is performed, it [musical anthropology] examines the way music is part of the very construction and interpretation of social and conceptual relationships and processes. Through its emphasis on performance and enactment of social processes rather than social laws, this musical anthropology shares an emphasis on process and performativity common to much of contemporary anthropology... Yet because of the nature of music, it presents a slightly different perspective on social processes that complements, but does not replace, the others (Seeger 2003: xiii-xiv).

Seeger researched Suyá society in Brazil where ceremony and musical performances regulated lifestyle and customs. As he notes that “the Suyá may someday sing to let people know they are Indians (ibid.: 137),” music is deeply related to their ethnic identity which was created by contact with outsiders who had different social values. Singing can be a major tool for the Suyá to express themselves to others. Therefore, “they valued their songs and recorded them (ibid.)” for preservation and will continue to sing in the future.

His insightful analysis raises the issue of external influence on cultural transmission. In modern society, transportation systems and recording technologies are highly developed, enabling people to access different societies and cultures easily. Consequently, not only technology and devices, but also modernized social values and concepts rapidly spread all over the world. In modern society, a dominant music is not
used to represent ethnic identity in general, which leads me to the question of how people living in a society like Suya or Kudaka maintain their "traditional" customs and social structure under the strong influence of modernization.

Although the traditional Kudaka social system had similarities with Suya society, Kudaka had less external influence because of its isolated location and the limits imposed on outsiders, who were not allowed to inherit Kudakan religious traditions. However, that situation has changed tremendously since the latter half of the 1960s, because the rare initiation ritual called Izaihō, held on Kudaka in 1966, suddenly drew the attention of the outsiders on the island. Today, Kudakan people take new approaches to cultural transmission under external influences and modernization. Maintenance of social balance between traditional and modernized social values is the issue shared by other communities which face modernization, and the Kudakan case illustrates a model of coexistence of traditional and modernized values. Moreover the examination through musical analysis of how Kudakan people fit their traditional social structure into modernized society contributes to the expansion of the interpretation of music as the basic component of society.

1.3 Methodology

My research is mainly based on four months of fieldwork in Okinawa using library research; interviews with Kudakens, researchers, and film-makers; observation of Kudakan community events and rituals; practice and transcription of Kudakan songs; and analyses of the Kudakan social system.

The Uchima family were my hosts during my stays in Kudaka from June 1st to July 1st and from September 12th to 25th in 2007. Mrs. Uchima Hideko retired from her position as a medium 15 years ago and is familiar with Kudakan traditions. Mr. Uchima Yutaka is a former island councilor and one of the founding members of
Kudakajima-shinkōkai. Not only were they my main informants, but they also fully encouraged me in my new social surroundings.

Professors Higa Etsuko and Kaneshiro Atsumi, who are leading usudeeku researchers at the Okinawa Kenritsu Geijutsu Daigaku (Okinawa Prefectural University of the Arts), provided me opportunities to observe usudeeku in various regions of Okinawa. Knowledge and experience gained through usudeeku observation support my analysis of Kudakan gurui.

The modified Hepburn system, found in Kenkyūsha’s New Japanese-English Dictionary (1974), is used for romanization of Japanese and Okinawan terms. All Japanese and Okinawan words except proper nouns, such as the names of people and places, are italicized. All English translations are by the author unless otherwise noted. The Japanese format for Okinawan and Japanese names is used; family name first and given name following. Macrons are omitted from song titles in transcriptions due to a shortcoming of my transcription software.

1.4 Outline of Chapters

My thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 1 is this introduction, including the purpose and significance of my thesis, and the methodology and outline of the chapters. Chapter 2 reviews Kudakan geography as well as the social and religious systems with details on social titles, roles, annual events and rituals, and basic functions in society. Chapter 3 is an outline of musical structures of the kamiuta and usudeeku, and the analysis of three kamiuta and eight gurui performed at Yōkabī in 2007. Chapter 4 discusses processes of practice and performance of gurui in 2007. This chapter explores the functional change of gurui as performed at the September events in 2007 with

4 The Kudakajima-shinkōkai, established in 1996, is an association which aims to promote the social development of Kudaka.
particular focus on change in female status and gender differences in cultural transmission. Chapter 5 presents conclusions including a summary of musical and social changes and cultural transmission.
2.1 Geography and Social Background of Kudaka Island

Kudaka Island is a small island (3.2 kilometers long, 700 meters wide, with a perimeter of 8 kilometers) with a population of 300, located 6 kilometers to the southeast of Okinawa Island (Figure 1). The important locations on Kudaka, including the sacred places called utaki, wells, and the Kudaka-den and the Hokama-den where most rituals are held, are indicated in Figures 2 and 3 (Higa Yasuo 2000: 21).

Okinawa Prefecture, including Kudaka Island, is located in the archipelago that stretches between Kyūshū and Taiwan in the southern part of Japan (Karimata 1999: 3). The temperature is warm throughout the year and the islands support tropical flora and fauna. Because of its location, Okinawa prospered as a seafaring nation, trading with various countries including Japan, Korea, China, and Taiwan, as well as Southeast Asia, resulting in a unique culture quite distinct from that of Japan. Before it was incorporated into Japan in 1879, Okinawa had maintained itself as the independent Ryūkyū Kingdom since its establishment in the 15th century, although it entered into a tributary relationship with the Satsuma daimyō (feudal lord) following the invasion and occupation of the kingdom in 1609 (Higa Yasuo 2000: 21). The social system and culture that evolved during the period of the Ryūkyū Kingdom are emphasized as an Okinawan identity today.
Figure 1: Okinawa and Neighbor Islands (Map 1)

(Karimata Keiichi 1999)
Figure 2: Kudaka Island (Map 2)
(Higa Yasuo 1993a)
Figure 3: Kudaka Island (Map 3)
(Higa Yasuo 1993a)
2.2 The Traditional Social System

Fishing, farming, and rituals had been three basic pillars of the traditional Kudaka society for generations. In particular, female rituals and music created strong ties of community and religious faith among women, which was very important on Kudaka Island where the men were always away from home fishing and women sought to believe in their men's return, and supported their families through farming and prayer. Therefore, female organization of rituals was highly developed on the island, and most rituals are still conducted only by women. At sacred places men are strictly prohibited from entering. In the traditional Kudakan society, women prayed together for the prosperity of the community and the safety and success of their men while fishing (Higa Yasuo 2000: 35–36). Those Kudakan fishermen had a great reputation, not only in the Ryūkyū Kingdom, but also in other trading nations for their brilliant navigation and fishing techniques (Uchima Yutaka 2007: 102–105). The combination of their skills and, at home, the strict religious rules and faith based on a number of rituals and annual events enabled the community to maintain its traditional social system for centuries (Higa Yasuo 2000: 36).

The sense of "community" has been highly valued on Kudaka Island. The land, for example, belongs to the community and only priestesses can own it. People "borrow" some of the lands, which are divided into 10 groups (Higa Yasuo 1993a: 8), for agriculture when they are born and return it at the age of 50. A house itself is individual property; however, the land on which the house is built does not belong to an individual and cannot be sold or bought (Uchima Yutaka, pers. comm., 2007). Therefore, even today, there is no concept of selling and buying land on Kudaka.

Also, the system called moai strengthens the consciousness of community. Moai is a common practice throughout Okinawa: family, relatives, or close friends gather to pool their money, and one person from the group takes money in turn (Uchima Hideko, pers.
comm., 2007). Moai is not only a system which helps people who need financial support, but also a system which keeps the community strong and provides an opportunity to communicate with each other. Many traditions which aim to tighten the bonds of the community have been practiced on Kudaka; among these, an intricately organized religion, indigenous to Kudaka, is the core of the united community.

2.3 The Indigenous Kudakan Religion

Politics and religion had equal importance in the Ryūkyū Kingdom (Higa Yasuo 2000: 22), and religion had the power to influence the entire social system on Kudaka during that time. Even before the Ryūkyū Kingdom was established, the Kudakan people had a strong religious organization ruling the community. Although the Kingdom governed all of Okinawa, the government did not ban the Kudakan belief; on the contrary, the government chose to merge their governance with the Kudakan religion as they spread their rule (ibid.: 22–23).

Kudakan religion is polytheistic, and the types of gods worshipped range from gods of nature and ancestors to the gods of daily life (Higa Yasuo 1993a: 200). In other words, the islanders believe gods exist in everything, so that people should never forget gratitude to them. Also, there is a concept similar to the idea of heaven in Kudaka. Gods exist not only on Kudaka, but also in the other place, called Nirai Kanai, which is located far east of the island. The difference between Nirai Kanai and heaven is that the former is a place people can reach while alive, and the place exists somewhere far east in this world (Kudakajima Nenjū-gyōji 1978). In addition, the gods in Nirai Kanai can visit Kudaka. There are important rituals welcoming gods of Nirai Kanai who come to Kudaka in order to purify the island. The myths say that the gods of Nirai Kanai created Kudaka Island (Higa Yasuo 2000: 28–29).

Since Nirai Kanai is regarded as a sacred place where the gods live, the sacred
places on the island (*utaki*) have a very important role in Kudakan religion, because these places are where the spirits of gods descend temporarily, and where priestesses and mediums communicate with them. Some *utaki* in Okinawa have a tree, a rock, and a censer at their center, while other *utaki* look just like a forest or a plain field. There are twelve *utaki* on Kudaka, and men are strictly prohibited from entering them (Higa Yasuo 2000: 26). Although outsiders are also discouraged from entering *utaki*, Higa Yasuo had permission to enter Fubī-utaki, the most important *utaki* on Kudaka, and described the scene.

[Fubō-utaki is] in the forest. I walked a path, which was naturally created in the forest, for over ten meters and reached a circular opening. This is the center of Fubō-utaki. There is no artificial object...and it is surrounded by grass and trees... [T]here are a few rocks... The spirits reside in the rocks, which are called *ibi*. (ibid.: 16)

*Utaki* have been used not only for rituals, but also for important and secret meetings among women who decide rules and discuss problems of the island (Uchima Hideko, pers. comm., 2007). Women administered the rituals and religious rules, and had a high degree of authority in the society. The essence of Kudakan religion was maintained and verbally transmitted by those women for generations.

### 2.4 Social Status and Roles

The religious system developed extensively on the island and formed the basis of society. All islanders had religious titles or social roles related to the religion, attained after initiation rituals, and dependent on their age, sex, genealogy and ability (Higa Yasuo 2000: 31–34, 61–68); in other words, religious titles were equated with social status on Kudaka. Since titles from both the larger Ryūkyū Kingdom and the ancient Kudaka community coexist even today, people's relationships and roles are very complicated.
There are two different ways to belong to the Kudakan religious establishment: inheritance of religious leaders' positions, or participation in initiation rituals as a community member. The former is subdivided into two types: inheritance of positions which have existed since the time of the ancient community, and inheritance of positions which date back to the Ryūkyū Kingdom. Ritual initiation is also subdivided into two categories: female and male initiation rituals. Kudakans are able to become leaders by inheriting the spirits of their ancestors or of Kudakan gods (Ōshiro 1985: 67–68). Since Kudakan social roles and titles vary according to the type of spirit inherited from Kudakan gods, categorization of the gods is important in understanding their social system.

Although different types of gods exist in the complicated social system of Kudaka, and they are categorized in several ways, I use the inclusive classification of Higa Yasuo (1993a: 200). According to his book, Kamigami no Genkyō Kudakajima Vol. 1, the gods are divided into three groups: gods in nature, gods having a human form, and the gods of daily life. From among these three types, the Kudakan people inherit four types of the spirits of gods with a human figure: tamagaë,5 kunigami,⁶ kaiso,⁷ and mutû-gami,⁸ and aka-hanjanashif⁹ (ibid.).

A. Leaders whose positions have existed from the time of the ancient society

The concepts of the kaiso (ancestral gods), mutû-gami (clan gods) and aka-hanjanashi (indigenous gods) are believed to have already existed in Kudaka before the establishment of the Ryūkyū Kingdom. These types of spirits have been inherited by

5 Tamagaë are mediums who inherit their grandmother’s spirit.
6 Kunigami is the inclusive name of the eight native gods of Kudaka.
7 Kaiso are the ancestors who created Kudaka.
8 Mutû-gami are gods of each Munchû (clans based on patrilineal relationships).
9 Han means god and janashi is an honorific form. Aka-hanjanashi are the gods of Nirai Kanai.
community leaders since ancient times. For example, *aka-hanjanaši* is the general name for the gods who came from Nirai Kanai. The term *hanjanashī* means the god and these leaders are considered to hold the spirits of specific gods of Nirai Kanai and have that god’s name as their title, in addition to their given name. Leaders have different ranks and important roles in guarding society. Islanders believe that the *aka-hanjanaši* have higher status than leaders who hold positions dating from after the establishment of the Ryūkyū Kingdom. Genealogical legitimacy and natural ability are required to inherit the role of the *aka-hanjanaši* after the death of a title holder. Before World War II, there were more than 20 *aka-hanjanaši* (Higa Yasuo 1993b: 111); however, their number is very limited today. Figure 4 is a table of gods’ names, types, and characteristics.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name (Bold indicates male gods)</th>
<th>Type</th>
<th>Characteristic</th>
<th>Incumbents (X=none)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Agariupunushi</td>
<td>Nirai Kanai</td>
<td>The priestess called the Kudaka <em>noro</em>, holds the title of <em>agariupunushi</em>.</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The highest rank of Nirai Kanai’s gods. Wears a white dress at rituals.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hichōza</td>
<td>Nirai Kanai</td>
<td>The god of thunder having a sword as a symbol.</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The family of the priestess called Hokama <em>noro</em> succeeds to this position.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Wears a blue garment at rituals.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ao Hanjanashi</td>
<td>God who created Kudaka</td>
<td>Wears a blue garment at rituals.</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Akachumi</td>
<td>Ancestral god</td>
<td></td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Amamiyā</td>
<td>God who created Kudaka</td>
<td></td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanimanganashī</td>
<td>God of blacksmiths</td>
<td>A high-ranking male position</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Figure 4: Kudakan Gods*  

B. **Leaders whose positions date from the time of the Ryūkyū Kingdom**

There are a total of eight types in this category of leader. Titles, social functions and
incumbents are indicated in Figure 5.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Position</th>
<th>Roles</th>
<th>Incumbents (X=None)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hokama noro</td>
<td>The highest official priestess. The leader of rituals.</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kudaka noro</td>
<td>The highest community priestess. The leader of rituals.</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokama nīgan</td>
<td>A sister of the Hokama nīchu. The highest ranking guardian of the community.</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kudaka nīgan</td>
<td>Same functions as the Hokama nīgan.</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokama umēgi</td>
<td>An assistant to the Hokama noro.</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kudaka umēgi</td>
<td>An assistant to the Kudaka noro.</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokama nīchu</td>
<td>The highest male position and the community leader.</td>
<td>O</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kudaka nīchu</td>
<td>Same role as the Hokama nīchu.</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 5: Kunigami Positions (Oshiro 1985: 68)

An inclusive name for these eight titles is *kunigami*, or national gods, and these eight people hold the position of *kamiyaku* (literally, the roles of the gods), after they are inducted as *kunigami*. Although the rules have been changed several times, a daughter-in-law typically inherits the *kunigami* position from her mother-in-law. These eight people are the indispensable conductors of most rituals and govern society. The *noro* is the highest female rank and the *nīchu* is the highest male rank; however, the *noro* is far more privileged than the *nīchu* (Uchima Yutaka, pers. comm., 2007). The *noro* are deeply related to the Ryūkyū Kingdom. (More details about the *noro* are provided in section 2.5, following a discussion of initiation rituals.) They are leaders of most rituals and strongly influence the maintenance or disappearance of Kudakan rituals and culture.

Today, maintenance of the *kunigami* positions is becoming more and more difficult because of their strict rules and a lack of successors. The last *noro* died in 2005 and only two positions—the Hokama *umēgi* and the Hokama *nīchu*—are currently occupied.

Islanders face the danger of the disappearance of all *kunigami*, and must use unconventional procedures to continue the tradition. Usually, the *umēgi* position is inherited by a daughter-in-law from her mother-in-law on Kudaka; however, the
incumbent uměgi married a non-islander and they live on mainland Okinawa. Although she visits Kudaka whenever there are important social events and rituals, her experience and knowledge about Kudaka are limited, compared to that of the former uměgi. Also, the present Hokama nitchu is from the Shimu family; however, it is unconventional in Kudaka for the Shimu family to hold the position of the Hokama nitchu (Uchima Yutaka, pers. comm., 2007).

C. Female initiation ritual

Until 1978, after which the ritual was suspended, all female islanders had to participate in an initiation ritual called Izaihō when they turned 30 years old. The women became mediums called nanchu and attained supernatural power to protect their families through the ritual (Ōshiro 1985: 68). Unlike leaders, the role of medium was not permanent. Women had different duties according to their age, until their retirement at the age of 70 (Figure 6).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From 30 to 41</td>
<td>Nanchu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 42 to 53</td>
<td>Yajiku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 54 to 60</td>
<td>Unsaku</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 61 to 70</td>
<td>Tunutū</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 6: Female Social Titles (Ōshiro 1985: 68)

In short, all women on the island had dual roles as mediums or priestesses and as mothers, wives, or sisters in the community. Even today, as a female duty, women start the day with a prayer for the family at home, and pray for ancestors on the 1st and 15th days of each month (Uchima Hideko, pers. comm., 2007). Gods and faith are the basis of people’s daily lives. However, there are only six mediums remaining, and there will soon be no more because of the suspension of Izaihō and the absence of noro.

D. Male initiation ritual
Like the women who had to participate in a female initiation ritual, all men over 15 years old had to attend a male initiation ritual. Women became *kaminchu* (God-person) and men became *uminchu* (Sea-person) on Kudaka (Ōshiro 1985: 67). As women became mediums through their ritual, men similarly became members of a male organization based on fishing (Figure 7).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Titles</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>From 15 to 17</td>
<td><em>Unsaku</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 18 to 20</td>
<td><em>Makuraga</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 21 to 23</td>
<td><em>Chikudun</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 24 to 26</td>
<td><em>Uyamui</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>From 51 to 70</td>
<td><em>Upushū</em></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Figure 7: Male Social Titles** (Ōshiro 1985: 67)

Since men between the ages of 27 and 50 were away from the island for fishing, they did not hold a social title on Kudaka (Uchima Yutaka, pers. comm., 2007). The two oldest *upushū* (men between 51 and 70) had to be *hassha* for two years, and candidates for the role of the *sōruiganashi* (gods of fishing) were chosen from among men who were *hassha*. The *sōruiganashi* was an important position for leading the rituals of fishing; however, the last *sōruiganashi* retired in 2002 and the male fishing organization almost disappeared (Saito 2003: 84). As in the system for the retirement of mediums, fishing society members retired from their roles at the age of 70.

### 2.5 The Ritual Leaders and their Authority

Among the leaders of the Kudakan religious establishment, the *noro* had especially strong influence on rituals and music. The *noro* had high authority and were the Ryūkyū government officials who administered rituals and prayed for the safety of fishermen and the prosperity of the kingdom and community (Higa Yasuo 2000: 22). The *noro* organization was a system unique to Okinawa. During the period that Okinawa was an

*Hassha* is one of the Kudakan male social roles. Men who inherit this position are responsible for preparation of rituals and annual events.
independent kingdom, each community, including Kudaka island, had at least one noro who had authority over fundamental rituals. In some areas, a priestess called the nigan, who was the sister of a male community leader (the nitchu), became the noro; however, in other areas including Kudaka, the noro were dispatched by the Ryūkyū government to each community. In the era of the Ryūkyū Kingdom, religion and politics were inseparable and the noro virtually had the power of a ruling class member in society. For example, land belonged to the community and no one could own it on Kudaka Island; nevertheless, the noro owned a mountain on Kudaka that symbolized her authority, because there are few mountains on the tiny, flat island and people depended on firewood from the mountains before electricity became available. No matter how hard life became on the island, no one could enter the noro's land.

Compared to the noro, who were rich and privileged, the male leaders called the nitchu were not allowed to leave the island, and were very busy for annual events and rituals without having privileges like the noro. Thus, although he had the power to conduct events and lead people, he did not have time to work on the island or go out for fishing, and was one of the poorest men in society because in the past, there were more events and rituals, and the lives of island leaders were filled with these events (Uchima Yutaka, pers. comm., 2007).

The noro were not only privileged on Kudaka, but were also treated as special priestesses of Okinawa by the Ryūkyū government. Unlike other communities, there were two noro on Kudaka Island: the Hokama and Kudaka noro. In particular, the Hokama noro was the noro for official rituals and had the authority to lead the ceremony called Ōaraori, which was an inauguration ceremony for the highest priestess of the Ryūkyū Kingdom called Kikoe-Ōgimi. For the ceremony, numbers of the noro gathered from different communities; this was one of the biggest ceremonies held in the Ryūkyū Kingdom. It was held in the sacred place called Šėfa-utaki in the southern part of
mainland Okinawa from which people could clearly see Kudaka Island and pray to it (Hokama and Hateruma 1987: 98).

The king visited Sēfa-utaki every year in order to pray while facing toward Kudaka. Previously it had been customary for him to visit Kudaka Island to pray, but navigation from the mainland of Okinawa to Kudaka was dangerous and took a long time. Therefore, the king began to visit Sēfa-Utaki and prayed there instead of going to Kudaka. Kudaka Island was a sacred place from the time of the Ryūkyū Kingdom and noro on the island were very important women for maintaining the kingdom and the Okinawan religious system (Sakima 1996: 105). However, a deeper understanding of Kudakan society cannot be reached without examining the relationship between noro and aka-hanjanashi (indigenous gods).

Noro were indispensable leaders of most rituals and had prerogatives in Okinawa; some gods, though, had higher status than the noro on Kudaka. For example, a person who has the role of aka-hanjanashi as ōrēnu-hanjanashi told me the contents of her conversation with her god. When she tried to pour sacred rice-wine for the noro at a ritual, her hands shook and she could not do it because her god was of higher status than the noro and did not allow her to pour drink for the noro. The noro also recognized her power and had the ōrēnu-hanjanashi sit next to her during the ritual in order to avoid putting her in a lower ranking position. Even today, islanders respect ōrēnu-hanjanashi’s supernatural power and believe she was born to be a kaminchu (God-person). Ability and trust from the community are necessary to be the aka-hanjanashi. The conception of the gods, which existed before time of the Ryūkyū Kingdom, had been the center of Kudakan religion and faith even after the introduction of the noro system.

Most rituals were conducted by the noro after the system was established in Kudaka during the era of the Ryūkyū Kingdom. Some rituals, though, were held by indigenous gods such as the aka-hanjanashi, thus maintaining the balance of the
traditional Kudakan social system. Annual events and rituals had strict rules regarding
who could attend them and what they should do. Since Kudakan culture was transmitted
orally for centuries, leaders had the heavy responsibility to memorize the orders and
rules by attending each event every year. Furthermore, strict requirements were imposed
not only on leaders but also on all islanders. While men had a duty to attend the first
initiation ritual called Nātiki at the age of 15, women over 30 years old were required to
attend the initiation rite, Izaihō, to become mediums. They had a duty and the right to
attend social events and rituals on the island until 70 years old, which was the
retirement age for their roles.

In sum, each person had different responsibilities depending on the religious rules.
For instance, the aka-hanjanashi had absolute authority at the purification rituals, and
nobody but they could conduct their rituals. This firm hierarchy enabled Kudaka to
maintain a coexistence of different religious concepts. The leaders had to learn and
understand in which social occasions they could exercise of their authority, and they had
complementary relationships in the society. Consequently, the dual social structures
constructed by the Ryūkyū Kingdom and the older Kudakan community coexisted on the
island. The combination of dual religious concepts did not conflict with each other; rather,
it has strengthened the rituals leaders' authority and responsibility for the traditional
Kudakan religion and social system. However, these dual social structures have changed
today, and in the following, I illuminate the process of change by analyzing annual events
and rituals.

2.6 Annual Events and Rituals

The great number of annual events and rituals led by the noro and the
aka-hanjanashi were the core of the island which supported the islanders' faith and
regulated their lifestyle. These were complicated and large in scale, requiring a great
deal of time and effort from the strong leaders with support by the whole island community. About 40 annual events, including rituals and festivals, used to be held (Kudakajima Nenjū-gyōji 1987), while about 30 events still exist today. According to the videotape Kudakajima Nenjū-gyōji, annual events were classified into three categories: events for agriculture, events for fishing, and prayers for daily life. In addition to these three categories, there were other, non-classified rituals; the change of seasons, the new year, the bon (a Buddhist’s event), and the induction or retirement of religious roles were celebrated by rituals and festivals, and there were also island purification rituals. In other words, rituals had a function to determine Kudakan life and time on the island.

Basically, the aka-hanjanashi led the purification rituals, the noro led the agricultural events, the sōruiganashi led the fishing events, and the kunigami and mediums prayed for good health and safety for their family and for the island.

Among different types of rituals and annual events, I focus particularly on Izaihō, Hachigatsu-matti, Yūkabī, and Tērāgami in this thesis because these four rituals are essential to reevaluate Kudakan musical functions and meaning in present-day society.

2.7 Izaihō

The Izaihō was one of the most important rituals in Kudaka, conducted by the noro. It was an initiation rite held once every 12 years from November 15th to 18th (lunar calendar), for women from 30 to 41 years old who were born on the island. All of them had to attend the ritual to become mediums called nauchu (Ōshiro 1985: 67–68). Thus, every woman above 30 years old on this island was regarded as a medium having supernatural power. The ritual took four days to complete and was rigorously administered by the noro. The mysterious and sacred characteristics of the Izaihō drew attention from non-islanders, and were certainly one of the major reasons that Kudaka Island is regarded as the significant sacred island in Okinawa today; however, the Izaihō has been
suspended since the last Izaihō in 1978.

The Izaihō was a very serious ritual, and it was believed that if women were unfaithful to their husbands before the ritual, they would die during it, falling off a bridge prepared for the ritual (Higa Yasuo 2000: 79). They had to pass the initiation ritual in order to be a member of society. It took a month to prepare the ritual including seven prayers in total at a mountain called Izaiyama. The women stayed there for four days during the ritual and men were strictly prohibited from entering the mountain. Women were separated from their daily lives and absorbed into the sacred ritual, falling into a trance. Uchima Hideko, who retired from the position of medium, reminisced and told me, “I thought gods did exist in this world” (pers. comm., 2007). Women inherited their grandmothers’ spirit and attained supernatural power through the ritual. They could experience a trance through musical performance at rituals when it was time for them “to ‘meet’ their deities” (Kurokawa 1991: 75). In order to provoke the trance state, shouting and singing had very important meaning at the rituals. Sacred songs were sung with the form of call and response; the noro started the phrases and other women repeated their phrases. This singing style is called uirē in Kudaka. Not only at the Izaihō, but also at most rituals, sacred songs were sung in the uirē style. As Kurokawa mentions in her thesis, “the noro is an important determinant in terms of whether the songs survive or not in rituals” (ibid.: 73). The noro had a heavy responsibility to continue Kudakan music; at the same time, they maintained their prestige by continuing traditions and their songs.

Each sacred song has specific functions and meaning at each ritual, and performers are not allowed to sing or talk about them except during the rituals (Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Minzoku Ongaku Zemināru 1991a: 117). Even though there is no noro on the island, women were reluctant to answer my questions when I asked five women, who attended the Izaihō but already retired from their position as mediums whether they
remembered the songs or not. Examples of their reactions include:

1. They did not remember the songs.
2. It was not a subject they could talk about outside of the sacred places where the rituals were conducted.
3. They became quiet or changed the subject.
4. The sacred songs were not songs they could memorize because they just followed the lead of the *noro*, who was responsible to memorize it.

One woman told me it was extremely rude to the *noro* if she memorized the songs.

Another woman also hesitated to sing or talk about it; however, she sang some parts of the songs. Since she remembered only a few phrases and sometimes stopped talking and singing, trying to not break the rules, I could not transcribe her songs. Women tended to keep silent about ritual issues even though the *noro* was absent, and the Izaihō and many other important rituals have been suspended since 1978, because not only singing but also talking about rituals was taboo in the society. In other words, Kudakan women keep their religious faith today even without actual significant musical performances and rituals. The *noro* and the Izaihō caught attention and have become cultural icons of Kudaka. Today, they have disappeared from society, but the Kudakan religious faith still exists. Disappearance of leaders and rituals do not equal the disappearance of Kudakan religious faith. However, no sacred song except a male sacred song is performed at rituals, even though people retain strong religious faith.

2.8 Hachigatsu-matti, Yokabi, and Tōrōgami

After the Izaihō, *noro*, and the sacred song (*kamiuta*) disappeared from the island, a New Year's celebration and the rituals and festivals in September became the two biggest events of the year. September is one of the busiest months because of the five days of large-scale events (Figure 8).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Ritual</th>
<th>Date (Dates in parentheses are according to the solar calendar for 2007.)</th>
<th>Main Participants</th>
<th>Contents of Ritual</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kashiti</td>
<td>August 9th (September 20th)</td>
<td>All Families</td>
<td>Prayer for health and harvest</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hachigatsu-matti</td>
<td>August 10th (September 21st)</td>
<td>Noro, Nigami, Umégi, Tamutū, Unsaku, Sōruiganashī</td>
<td>Prayer for health and fishing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yōkabī</td>
<td>August 11th (September 22nd)</td>
<td>All women</td>
<td>Prayer at the Fubō-Utaki Purification of the island because this is considered the worst day of the year</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tērāgami</td>
<td>August 12th (September 23rd)</td>
<td>Hanimanganashi, Akatsumashi, Nibutui, Nitchu, Sōruiganashī, Upushū</td>
<td>Ritual for the god of the Sun Prayer for heath and purification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jūguya</td>
<td>August 15th (September 26th)</td>
<td>Islanders</td>
<td>Ritual for the god of the moon Prayer for health</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 8: Rituals in September (Ōshiro 1985: 73–74)

The second, third, and fourth day of events are called Hachigatsu-matti, Yōkabī, and Tērāgami, respectively, which are the main focus of my thesis. The music performed at the Hachigatsu-matti and the Yōkabī is representative of traditional Kudakan music today, and the sacred music performed at Tērāgami is the only sacred music which is still performed in Kudakan ritual. In contrast to the sacred and serious image of the Izaihō supported by the noro, these events are more flexible and are maintained by leaders different from those of the time when the Izaihō and noro still existed, reflecting Kudakan social change.

There had been sacred and serious parts to the September events, but these elements were weakened as the female sacred music disappeared and ritual parts were simplified. The change in the contents of the events, including the disappearance of the important sacred songs, reflects the change of society on Kudaka.
2.9 Musical Anthropology

As seen in this chapter, Kudaka has a very complicated social system, deeply rooted in rituals and music. Many social aspects, including people's behavior, customs, and laws were established through performance and participation in music at rituals. In his book, *Why Suyá Sing*, Anthony Seeger mentions that “music is part of the very construction and interpretation of social and conceptual relationships and processes.” (2004: 14). As in Seeger's study, music and rituals have been central to Kudakan society and I propose to examine music on Kudaka Island not *in* culture, but as a basic factor for the creation of culture and society. Lifestyle and social laws emerged through musical performance and its rules.

Kudakan songs had been protected from exposure to the public by prohibiting them from being sung in daily life, and by transmitting them only to women. Protecting music equaled keeping the laws of society; islanders always respected people who had the right to pray and sing for the gods. If they broke the rules, they believed they should be punished by the gods and the community. Social bonds were strengthened through the rituals, and the people of the community watched one another's behavior to maintain social unity. Music and rituals did not bring change; instead, they formed the core of society and functioned to preserve the Kudakan social structure.

The Kudakan social system had not only been maintained through large-scale official rituals but also with daily ritual practices in the family. There is a morning prayer, as an example, which is still practiced today. Women prepare a big teapot and three cups, which represent the sky, earth, and ocean, and pray for the health and safety of their family. The contents of the prayer are almost same in each family; however, each woman has her own way to pray. Uchima Hideko emphasized that there is no woman who does not have her prayer (or *muchi*me) for her family on Kudaka Island (pers. comm., 2007). The following is the morning prayer recited by Uchima Hideko on June 22nd, 2007.
According to Uchima Hideko, every woman would naturally know the prayer after the Izaihō. Besides their experience from childhood with their mothers, the apprentice mediums stayed with their seniors to learn the quintessence of prayer and singing for the gods at the Izaihō over four days. Moreover, attending the almost 30 rituals in a year made women think that prayer and singing were very natural things. Prayers in daily life and singing at rituals had formed the basic structure of Kudakan life.

Just as Seeger states that "singing was an essential part of social production and reproduction" (2004: 128) for Suyá society, music has been indispensable for the creation of society in Kudaka. However, in Suyá, different musical functions are emphasized when music works as a vehicle to bridge insiders and outsiders. While the Suyá people have developed and maintained their society by exchanging music with outsiders (ibid.: 133), the major sacred music called the kamiuta or gods’ songs on Kudaka Island has been protected from the musical influence of outside society. If new members came from outside society to Kudaka, they were not encouraged to bring or exchange new songs. On the contrary, they had to learn Kudakan songs in order to become a community member. Kudakan society has kept its social order by assimilating outsiders to Kudaka, until modernization seriously affected the island beginning in the 1960s.

The Kudakan social system had been less influenced by the outside. However, the strong influence of modernization has affected and changed present-day Kudakan society,
which resulted in the creation of new social orders and values. My argument is how music and a society like Kudaka Island change by accepting intervention from outside the society that is not based on music or rituals. The social change represented by the disappearance of the sacred music was rapid and critical to Kudakan society. The sacred music had been transmitted only to qualified insiders and was denied to outsiders. Although external influences were very strong, islanders did not accept the change of their sacred music transmission. They stopped transmitting the sacred music and protected their traditional social values. Consequently, Kudaka created a situation in which people keep their traditional social values, which place major importance on rituals and music, but they do not have their central musical performance at rituals any longer. In order to compensate for the loss of the sacred music, another type of music attained importance in society—one which is more applicable to present-day society but is still able to maintain the basis of traditional Kudakan society. This musical shift brings not only variations in cultural transmission, but also alters the basic social structure of Kudakan society. In the following chapters, I analyze the musical structures of the former representative music (kamiuta) and the present-day representative music (gurud) (Chapter 3), and how musical shift affects cultural transmission in contemporary Kudakan society (Chapter 4).
CHAPTER 3
KUDAKAN MUSIC AND ITS STRUCTURE:
ANALYSIS OF KAMIUTA AND GURUI

3.1 Classification of Music

Music in Kudaka can be classified into six categories according to its musical characteristics and structure, and by its social function: kamiuta as sacred music, gurui (usudeeku) as dance music, classical Okinawan music, children’s songs, songs taught at school, and popular music. Kamiuta and gurui are the particular focuses of this thesis. While kamiuta was the representative music of traditional Kudakan society, gurui is the representative music of present-day Kudakan society. Since gurui is derivative of kamiuta and both types of music play significant roles in terms of creating the Kudakan social structure, the two types of music share similarities as well as having distinctive characteristics. The analysis of these two types of music demonstrates the kind of musical shift that occurred from traditional to contemporary Kudakan society.

Before analyzing kamiuta and gurui, I clarify the relationship between kamiuta and usudeeku, because gurui in Kudaka and usudeeku in mainland Okinawa are the same genre of music. Kaneshiro Atsumi examines the musical relationship between kamiuta and usudeeku in his book, Okinawa Ongaku no Kōzō—Kashi no Rizumu to Gakushiki no Riron. In this chapter, I expand on his interpretation of the musical structure and relationship of kamiuta and usudeeku in Okinawa by analyzing kamiuta and gurui, and illuminate the uniqueness and diversity of Kudakan music through a comparison of their musical characteristics with those of kamiuta and usudeeku as discussed by Kaneshiro.

3.2 Historical Definition of Kamiuta and Usudeeku

Kamiuta

The sacred songs called kamiuta are sung by women usually with no
accompaniment or with drums and hand clapping during rituals. The concept of *kamiuta* is rather closer to that of prayer than singing (Kaneshiro 2004: 83). In many Okinawan communities, singing the sacred songs equals praying to the gods, which is “the central function of sacred rituals” (Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Minzoku Ongaku Zemināru 1991a: 117). Since *kamiuta* is a conversation with the gods (logogenic music), its singing style has not been developed for artistic purposes, and its structure is determined by poetic form (Kaneshiro 2004: 34–35). Thus, the songs keep the rhythm and intonation of not only archaic Kudakan songs, but also mainland Okinawan songs with the simplest musical structure, which has five syllables placed into two bars of duple rhythm, greatly contributing to the analysis of the rhythm and structure of classical Okinawan music (ibid.: 83).

*Kamiuta* employs ancient texts orally inherited from ancestors in each community. As Kaneshiro often heard the *kamiuta* performers say, “This is not singing. This is a ritual” (2004: 83); “singing” in *kamiuta* is rather difficult to define, and classification of *kamiuta* genres is laborious work. Hokama Shuzen classifies eight types of prayers at rituals into two categories: recitation and recitation/singing, according to the delivery of the text (1998: 11–12), which is a very helpful distinction in interpreting the complicated variations of the *kamiuta*:

**Recitation**: Female religious leaders and mediums pray to the gods or tell people the words of the gods.

![Diagram of recitation genres](image-url)
Recitation/Singing: Female religious leaders and mediums pray to the gods; some texts are intoned or “sung” with a simple melody.

The second category is generally considered to comprise kamiuta. The four types of kamiuta in this category—tiruru, omoro, umui, and kuēna—are classified according to the contents of their texts and the situations in which the kamiuta are performed. Hokama indicates that the texts called umui (sometimes both the texts and songs are referred to as umui) have more diversity and flexibility than the kuēna and are further developed into omoro (1998: 15). Meanwhile, Miyagi recounts that Okinawans first created umui, and with the addition of intonation, these became kuēna (1979: 13). Accordingly, umui contain the thoughts and fundamental expressions of feeling, while omoro developed after umui and kuēna. However, the Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Minzoku Ongaku Zemināru asserts that umui and kuēna cannot be distinguished by a musical structure. The differences they identify are that umui tend to be sung by women at the sacred sites whereas the kuēna are more secular songs which can be extended to the genre of celebration songs in folk music (1991a: 115). Since the Okinawan people sing kamiuta only at rituals, which are rapidly disappearing from present-day society, research on kamiuta, especially music, is very difficult, and is an urgent task in Okinawa.

Kamiuta have been studied from the viewpoints of literature and social contexts, and the texts especially have garnered scholarly attention (Kaneshiro 2004: 84). On the
other hand, Kaneshiro succeeds in expanding the conventional theory of *kamiuta* using his musical analysis.

**Usudeeku**

*Usudeeku* refers to singing and dancing by women at rituals and festivals in Okinawa and its neighboring islands (Figure 1, page 9). It is usually performed before and after the Bon festival in the lunar calendar in many Okinawan communities, although some places do not follow a fixed schedule of occasions (Kobayashi 1987: 95). Although the history of the *usudeeku* is not very clear, Higa Etsuko refers to it as a celebratory dance performed after a community ritual (Higa Etsuko 1987: 248). A conventional musical classification of the *usudeeku* places it between sacred and secular music because it has characteristics of both *kamiuta* and classical Okinawan music (Kaneshiro 2004: 18). Thus, *usudeeku* is considered derivative of *kamiuta* and the root of classical Okinawan music.

The *usudeeku* performing style is of singing in unison, with *chijin*\(^{11}\) drumming by a few female performance leaders. Unlike *kamiuta*, *usudeeku* does not use the *uirē* (call and response) style. *Usudeeku* is spread over wide areas of Okinawa, under different names. For example, there is a musical genre called *hachigatsu odori*, or August dancing, found in the northern part of the Amami Islands (Figure 1, page 9), which has characteristics similar to *usudeeku*. According to Kumada Susumu, the similarities between *hachigatsu odori* and *usudeeku* are the following:

1. Performers both sing and dance in a circle.
2. Both are performed at important events in a community.
3. Performance is largely based on the form of the *ryūka*, which is constructed with verses of 8, 8, 8, and 6 syllables. The music has a meter and repeating melodies.
4. The dancing patterns are repeated in certain rhythmic patterns.
5. The singing cycle and the dancing cycle are not related but are performed in parallel.

\(^{11}\) *Chijin* is a double-headed, barrel-shaped drum. It is about 12 inches in diameter and 3.5 inches deep (Higa Etsuko 1987: 248).
The difference between *hachigatsu odori* and *usudeeku* is in whether or not men participate in the performance. *Hachigatsu odori* is performed by both female and male participants; on the other hand, *usudeeku* is performed only by women (Kumada 2004: 6–7). The *gurui* also has the same characteristics indicated above, and is performed by both female and male participants, like *hachigatsu odori*. Although there are some variations between *gurui*, *hachigatsu odori*, and *usudeeku*, the three are considered to be part of the same genre having different arrangements in each area. These “arrangements” show the musical diversity and change in Okinawa, and are significant resources with which to analyze the communities and their development. Kumada's analysis supports the contention that these three types of music are the same genre with regional variations which have developed from *kamiuta*.

3.3.1 The Musical Structures of Kamiuta and Usudeeku

Kaneshiro's remarkable accomplishment is his analysis of both *kamiuta* and *usudeeku* using common rhythmic patterns, which clarifies the close relationship of these two types of music. Although my main musical analysis is based on his theory, Kaneshiro's book is written in Japanese and is not available to most English readers. Therefore, I summarize Kaneshiro's analysis of *kamiuta* and *usudeeku* in this section as a reference.

*Kamiuta*

Kaneshiro Atsumi analyzes 51 *kamiuta* from different regions of Okinawa and provides researchers with a detailed examination of the musical form (2004). First of all, Kaneshiro stresses the importance of texts, and classifies Okinawan *kamiuta* into four categories according to the formation of verse phrases:
A simple 5 syllable form (5 syllables complete one phrase)
A pair of contrasting 5 syllable strings (couplet)
A sequential 5+5 syllable form (5+5 syllables complete one phrase and sentence.)
A sequential 5+4 syllable form.
(2003: 87–103)

The rhythmic variations of *kamiuta* are another focus of Kaneshiro’s book. He classifies the 51 *kamiuta* first according to his four categories of texts, then examines the rhythmic details of the words. In the first type (the simple 5 syllable form), 5 syllables are placed into 4 beats within 2 bars, which is the minimum and basic musical structure of *kamiuta*. There are two different rhythmic types which form the basic rhythms of all four categories:

Figure 9: The Basic Syllable Rhythms of *Kamiuta* (Kaneshiro 2004: 90)

The first bar in each has three syllables, and the second bar has two syllables in an even rhythm.

In the second text form (a pair of contrasting 5 syllable strings), the first and second five syllables tend to have the same rhythmic pattern as in I or II in Figure 9 or a slight rearrangement of them. Their melodies, on the contrary, have contrasting contours. For instance, if the melody in the first five syllables starts in a high range, the melody of the next five syllables might start in a low range. The characteristics of this form as a “pair” are strong (Kaneshiro 2004: 94–95). In short, both the contents of the texts and the melodic contours are important elements in analyzing the couplet form.

In the third form (the sequential 5+5 form), the characterization as a pair becomes weak; rather, the first five and second five syllables tend to complete a sentence as
subject and predicate. There is an intriguing variation that appears in the second, five syllable part: four syllables are sometimes placed into the first bar and only the last syllable is positioned in the second bar so that there are three beats of rest in the second bar which lend a clear feeling of closure to the phrase.

In the fourth form (the sequential 5+4 form), the rhythmic forms of the first five and second four syllables are asymmetrical because the second part lacks the last syllable. The “missing” last syllable also creates a feeling of unity and closure similar to the third form. (Kaneshiro 2004: 96–99)

The basic patterns introduced as I and II in Figure 9, which are applied to all four categories, are one of Kaneshiro's remarkable discoveries. Through his analysis, he succeeds in categorizing phrasing and rhythmic patterns of the kamiuta. Although Kaneshiro does not discuss details of melodies and musical scales of kamiuta, his classification illuminates its use of simple and coherent structures with variations. His theory is very helpful in supporting the diversity, uniqueness, and development of Kudakan kamiuta. Moreover, his classification is a significant resource for detailed analysis of the relationship between kamiuta and usudeeku, which is described below in the section on usudeeku.

Usudeeku

The texts of an usudeeku song are constructed by a combination of verses of 8+8+8+6 syllables, which is called ryūka·keishiki, or the ryūka form (Kaneshiro 2004: 106). Compared to the kamiuta, in which 5+5 (or 5+4) syllables are placed into 4 bars with 8 beats, 8 syllables are placed into 4 bars with 8 beats in usudeeku (ibid.: 108). Both types of music are based on duple rhythm and the two rhythmic patterns or variations are shown in Figure 10 (same rhythmic patterns described in Figure 9).
Although 8 syllables create one phrase of *usudeeku*, those 8 syllables are musically divided into 5+3 regardless of the meaning and divisions of words: the first 5 syllables are placed into the first two bars, and the remaining 3 syllables are placed into the second 2 bars (ibid.: 110–111). In short, the musical formation of 5+3 is dominant over the rhythm of the spoken words. The latter 3 syllables are placed in one of four ways:

The important connection between *kamiuta* and *usudeeku* is that the first 5 syllables have exactly the same rhythmic patterns in each (Figure 9). Although *kamiuta* and *usudeeku* use similar basic patterns in dividing syllables, *kamiuta* places more
importance on the texts than on music. On the other hand, usudeeku is more musically developed and has many musical variations of these basic patterns.

This 5+3 form and its rhythmic patterns (I, II, and A1, A2, B1, and B2) are the basis of the usudeeku; however, Kaneshiro found only 3 songs out of 75 which use exactly these basic patterns (2004: 113). The other 72 songs are constructed based on complicated variations of the basic patterns. Kaneshiro categorized the usudeeku into 10 varieties, including the basic forms of Figures 10 and 11.

The basic pattern: I or II + A1, A2, B1, or B2
Disposition: II → ii

Examples of ii

Reduction (two bars → one bar): A1, A2, B1, B2 → a1, a2, b1, b2

Omission (A first or last beat is often omitted): 8 beats → 7 beats
Shortening: some notes are irregularly shortened
Extension: some parts of notes are extended (ex. 8 beats → 10 beats)
Expansion: all notes are expanded (ex. 8 beats → 16 beats)
3.3.2 The Central Topics of Kudakan Kamiuta and Gurui Analysis

My musical analysis of Kudakan kamiuta and gurui is particularly focused on the following three facets of kamiuta and usudeeku: the rhythmic patterns of syllables and their variations, musical scales, and the drum and singing cycles.

First of all, as Kaneshiro's ten variations based on verses (Figure 12) reveal, the usudeeku has developed musically and aesthetically apart from the basic form based on kamiuta. Kaneshiro mentions that people began to consider usudeeku as an art, which suggests that performers sought out individual expression instead of following rules of performance (2004: 109). Also, usudeeku rhythmic patterns have varied especially in order to accompany dance (ibid.: 113). The usudeeku has characteristics of secular music and an art which is performed for an audience. Kaneshiro's ten variations are essential to differentiate usudeeku from kamiuta, and application of them to Kudakan gurui and kamiuta highlights similarity and difference among kamiuta, usudeeku, and gurui.

Second, compared to the musical scale of kamiuta, which uses a 2 or 3 note scale, or a series of notes without scales (a few songs use the Ryūkyū onkai\(^{12}\)) (Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Minzoku Ongaku Zemināru 1991a: 117), most usudeeku songs use the Ryūkyū onkai. The analysis of usudeeku by Kobayashi Kimie is significant in terms of the musical scale. She analyzes 521 usudeeku pieces from 59 different Okinawan communities in her article, Okinawaken no Usudeeku (1987: 95). Unlike Kaneshiro's analysis, which is focused on texts and rhythms, she examines musical scales and the distribution of repertoire in those 59 communities.

---

12 Ryūkyū onkai is the Ryūkyū musical scale of C–E–F–G–B–C (Kobayashi 1987: 99)
According to Kobayashi, the musical scale used in 70 percent of the 521 usudeeku pieces is the Ryūkyū onkai (C-E-F-G-B-C), and 60 percent of the pieces which use the Ryūkyū onkai include D or C-D-F. The F sound does not have a core musical function and C-E-G-(B) are the strong sounds. The music tends to end with E (1987: 99). She does not mention the characteristics of musical scales in each community, but her analysis of the distribution of repertoire is significant in researching the relationships between the communities.

100 out of the 521 are original songs created by a community and 11 songs have a similarity with songs in different genres; however, the remaining 410 pieces are classified into 76 different types (Kobayashi 1987: 97). In other words, many communities share repertoire having the same titles and melodies with slight variations in the texts and melodies. The common repertoires are of two types: repertoires spread to all Okinawan districts and those spread only in narrow local areas. Although the “common” repertoires are found in many communities, diverse variations exist and the roots of the songs are very hard to trace; however, her chart shows which area has what songs (ibid.: Senritsu Hikaku Kyokumokuhyō, loose, inserted sheet) and helps researchers examine the relationship of each community and how the music has traveled. Furthermore, her research into repertoires reveals that many usudeeku have a close relationship with Okinawan classical music in terms of texts and musical characteristics. Her research provides depth and further possibilities for research into Okinawan music.

Third, both kamiuta and usudeeku are based on duple meter. “Most songs of the ushideeku [usudeeku] are clearly divided into duple meter having a wide pitch range and unstable melodic lines which are sung in unison by a group” (Kaneshiro 2004: 31). Kamiuta is also set in duple meter; however, the pitch range is narrow and the tempo is usually much slower than the usudeeku.

One of the major differences between kamiuta and usudeeku is the elaborated
drumming pattern of usudeeku. The drumming and singing rhythms are performed simultaneously; however, their cycles are different.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Kamiuta</th>
<th>Usudeeku</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Scale</td>
<td>2 or 3 note scale or a series of notes without scales. A few songs use the Ryūkyū onkai.</td>
<td>Ryūkyū onkai. C-E-F-G-B-C (often with C-D-F).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhythm</td>
<td>Duple meter.</td>
<td>Duple meter.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verse</td>
<td>5+5 or 5+4.</td>
<td>Ryūka-keishiki (3+8+8+6).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 13: Comparison between Kamiuta and Usudeeku

3.4.1 Analysis of Kudakan Kamiuta

Although Kaneshiro did not analyze all Kudakan kamiuta, he includes three Kudakan kamiuta in his book as representative examples of types 1 (the simple 5 syllable form), 2 (the pair of contrasting 5 syllable strings), and 4 (the sequential 5 + 4 syllables form) (2004: 87–88, 105–106). Kaneshiro finds that Kudaka Island has kamiuta which have characteristics in common with kamiuta in mainland Okinawa. Since Kudaka Island has about 30 rituals with various kamiuta which have been less affected by outside influences, Kudakan kamiuta are important resources for Okinawan kamiuta analysis.

On the other hand, his analysis does not exemplify all kamiuta of Kudaka. Although there are not many resources and recordings of Kudakan kamiuta available, there is a song, which is an example of type 3 (the sequential 5 + 5 form), and there are two examples which have different musical structures from those in Kaneshiro's theory—the former is called “Fāganashi no Tiruru” and the names of the other two songs are “Iicho-haricho” and “Binnūsunnū.” The following is my analysis of these three Kudakan kamiuta.
1. Rhythmic Patterns of Syllables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllables in one verse</th>
<th>5+5 (Sequential)</th>
<th>5+5 (Couplet)</th>
<th>5+4</th>
<th>5+3</th>
<th>4+6</th>
<th>4+3</th>
<th>4+6+5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The number of syllable used in the song</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Fāganashi no Tiruru" (Transcription 1): The Structure of Verse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllables in one verse</th>
<th>6+6</th>
<th>6+5</th>
<th>5+6</th>
<th>5+5 (Sequential)</th>
<th>5+5 (Couplet)</th>
<th>5+3</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The number of syllable used in the song</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Iicho·haricho" (Higa Yasuo 1993b: 259—260): The Structure of Verse

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Syllables in one verse</th>
<th>6+6</th>
<th>6+5</th>
<th>5+6</th>
<th>5+5 (Sequential)</th>
<th>5+5 (Couplet)</th>
<th>5+4</th>
<th>5+3</th>
<th>4+5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The number of syllable used in the song</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

"Binnūsunū" (Transcription 2): The Structure of Verse

In each song, the dominant number of syllables in one phrase is 5+5, which is a typical organization of kamiuta (Kaneshiro 2004: 83-84). "Iicho·haricho" used to be sung at Yōkabō, but it has now disappeared. My transcription is based on the singing of Nishime Setsuko in 2007, and her song was much shorter and skipped many verses compared to Higa's description of the texts which he learned from one of the religious leaders in 1981 (1993b: 259-261). Although Nishime sang only one set of the couplet in 5+5 form and other phrases are based on 6 syllables (Transcription 2), according to Higa's description, more than half of the texts are sung in the sequential and couplet of 5+5 forms.

Although there are slight variations according to the numbers of syllables, all three songs use the form I (Figure 9) as a basic rhythmic structure. For example, measures 10–11 and 12–13 in "Fāganashi no Tiruru" use the 5+5 sequential form with the same syllable rhythm as in form I except the use of half notes instead of quarter notes. The texts of the first two measures and the latter two measures are in the relationship of subject and predicate.
The following example from "Ticho·haricho" is also in form I. Although the syllable "ya" in measure 15 is longer and "ji" is shorter (which is classified as disposition in Figure 12), and the other three syllables are twice extended from the basic form I, three syllables are placed into the first two measures and two syllables are placed into the remaining two measures, just as in the examples of "Tąganashi no Tiruru."

The basic structure of "Binnüssunnū" is in form I; however, it is more arranged than the former two examples. The following two examples are the couplet of 5+5 syllables in measures 202–208 of Transcription 3. Although the distribution of syllables is the same, the rhythms are slightly different.
In sum, the texts of kamiuta have different contents in each verse but the musical structure is very simple: the combination of five syllables, and use of form I are the common features for all three kamiuta. In addition to Kudakan kamiuta as representative examples of the simple 5 syllable form, the pair of contrasting 5 syllable strings, and the sequential 5+4 syllables form in Kaneshiro's book, the sequential 5 + 5 form is frequently used in the above three kamiuta, which means that Kudakan kamiuta covers all four of Kaneshiro's forms.

In contrast to this simple musical structure of the texts, the hayashi parts of "Binnūsunū" and "Iicho-haricho" are complicated. The hayashi is frequently used in kamiuta in mainland Okinawa; however, it is usually vocables and has irregular musical forms. Therefore, Kaneshiro excludes the hayashi parts from the analysis in his book (2004). However, hayashi in "Iicho-haricho" and "Binnūsunū" have musical importance as do the texts. Hayashi in these two songs are repeated after every verse, are longer than the main melody of the texts, and are not vocables. For example, hayashi in "Iicho-haricho" completes one sentence in eight measures. There are examples of hayashi which are longer than the main melody in Kaneshiro's book (ibid.: 92–93, 96–97); however, there is no example of hayashi which has meaning, consists of a sentence, or has a developed musical structure as well as the main melody. The following are the hayashi in two songs.

The texts from measures 5 to 8 mean “all together,” and the texts from measures 9

---

13 Hayashi is a musical phrase or words inserted between melodies to support and smoothen a performance. The hayashi words are often merely vocables.
to 12 mean "silk dress." This hayashi represents "all women, who wear the silk dress, gather" (Higa Yasuo 1993b: 261). This hayashi section is also musically divided into two: from measure 5 to measure 8, and from measure 9 to measure 12.

The hayashi part in “Binnusunnū” is divided into three parts: from measures 10 to 13, from measures 14 to 17, and from measures 18 to 20. The texts means: 1. “like the sunshine,” 2. “the beautiful phoenix”, and 3. “dance is beautiful.” Thus, the hayashi part represents “the phoenix which is like the sunshine dances beautifully” (Higa Yasuo 1993b: 253).

Furthermore, the hayashi in “Binnusunnū” fits into Kaneshiro’s analysis of texts. Although this hayashi consists of 6+6+6 syllables, its structure is very close to the combination of the simple 5 syllable form + the pair of contrasting 5 syllable strings in I.

2. Musical Scales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>&quot;Fōganashi no Tiruru&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Iicho·haricho&quot;</th>
<th>&quot;Binnusunnū&quot;</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Musical Scale</td>
<td>CDE</td>
<td>CDFGBC+C#</td>
<td>CDFGAC+E</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 14: Musical Scales of Three Kamiuta
Since “Fāganashi no Tiruru” uses only three notes with no hayashi part and few rhythmic variations, it can be classified as a basic kamiuta, which puts major importance on the texts. In addition to the interesting characteristics of the hayashi in “Ticho·harichō” and “Binnūsunnū,” the musical scales of these songs have unique characteristics. The musical scale of “Ticho·harichō” consists of a combination of ritsu tetrachord and ryūkyū tetrachord\(^{14}\), which is C-D-F-G·B·C. Neither Kaneshiro nor Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Minzoku Ongaku Zemināru mentions the existence of this scale in kamiuta in their books (Kaneshiro 2004; Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Minzoku Ongaku Zemināru 1991a), and Kobayashi states that only 15% of 521 usudeeku songs use either the ritsu scale (combination of two ritsu tetrachord), pentachord, combination of ritsu and ryūkyū tetrachords, min'yō tetrachord\(^{15}\) with ryūkyū scale or ritsu scale, or min'yō scale (combination of two min'yō tetrachords). In short, use of a combination of ritsu tetrachord and ryūkyū tetrachord is very rare for both kamiuta and usudeeku.

On the other hand, the musical scale of “Binnūsunnū” is the ritsu scale (C-D-F-G·A·C) with ryūkyū tetrachord (C-E·F). Ritsu scale is stronger than ryūkyū tetrachord in this song; E is used only twice in a strophe. This scale is also rare for kamiuta.

3. The Drum and Singing Cycles

Since Nishime Setsuko personally sang “Fāganashi no Tiruru” and “Ticho·harichō” for me in 2007, examination of the drum cycle and the singing style in the rituals was not possible. However, the cassette tape recording of “Binnūsunnū” in 1982 by Kaneshiro Atsumi provides an important resource for these analyses. The drum is generally played once in every four measures except for a shortened measure of 1.5 beats inserted at the

\(^{14}\) Ritsu tetrachord (C-D-F) and ryūkyū tetrachord (C·E·F) are two of four Japanese musical modes devised by Koizumi Fumio (1958).

\(^{15}\) Min'yō tetrachord (C·E·♭·F) is one of four Japanese musical modes created by Koizumi Fumio (1958).
7th measure in every verse. Although there are irregularities in the first three strophes, from the fourth strophe to the 15th strophe, the singing and drum cycles match. However, there is a quarter note’s delay in the singing part right before the 16th strophe (measure 601 in Transcription 3), and the drumming timing becomes one beat ahead compared to earlier strophes. Without correcting off-timing, the drum keeps the cycle of four, and singing keeps the cycle of 39.5 beats (17.5 beats for melody and 22 beats for hayashi). Accordingly, the drum does not have to always match the singing. This rhythmic independence between the drumming and the singing is more developed in gurui.

3.4.2 Analysis of Kudakan Gurui

Although Kudaka once had a repertoire of more than 20 gurui (Uchima Hideko, pers. comm., 2007), only 8 songs are performed today. I transcribed 8 gurui performed at Yōkabī in 2007 in order to examine their characteristics and their relationship with kamiuta. The order of the gurui was not fixed, and, in the past, performance leaders had the right to choose songs. However, at least by the time that the gurui were recorded on cassette tape in 1995, the order and repertoire were fixed as they are today. The following is an analysis of the 8 pieces.
1. Rhythmic Patterns of Syllables

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Syllables in Verses (underline indicates hayashi)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rennähögä</td>
<td>1 verse: 8+8+8+8+8+6+7+8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 verse: 9+8+8+8+7+8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 verse: 9+8+8+6+7+8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 verse: 10+11+8+8+7+8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hariakari</td>
<td>Unclear (because performers do not know the meaning of lyrics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aman'yū</td>
<td>Unclear (because performers do not know the meaning of lyrics)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hisashifumagurui</td>
<td>1 verse: 3+8+1+8+8+8+1+6+13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 verse: 3+8+1+8+8+7+1+6+13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 verse: 3+8+1+8+8+9+1+6+13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irabuhaishira</td>
<td>1 verse: 8+8+1+8+8+8+8+6+8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 verse: 8+1+8+9+1+5+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 verse: 8+1+8+9+1+8+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 verse: 8+1+9+8+1+6+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakawatashinishi</td>
<td>1 verse: 8+2+8+8+8+2+6+45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 verse: 8+2+8+8+8+2+6+46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 verse: 8+2+8+8+9+2+6+45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nautumishu</td>
<td>1 verse: 5+2+10+3+8+8+2+[3+2+3]+11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 verse: 8+2+8+8+8+2+[3+2+3]+11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 verse: 8+2+8+8+8+2+[3+2+3]+14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 verse: 5+2+8+3+7+2+[3+2+3]+11 (partially inaudible)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 verse: 8+2+8+3+8+2+[3+2+3]+11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 verse: 8+2+9+3+8+2+[3+2+3]+11+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 verse: 8+2+8+3+8+2+[3+2+3]+11+4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8 verse: 9+2+8+3+8+2+[3+2+3]+11+6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanushamā</td>
<td>1 verse: 5+5+8+4+8+6+10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>2 verse: 5+5+8+4+8+6+10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>3 verse: 6+7+8+7+4+3+10+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>4 verse: 7+8+8+3+7+4+8+10+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>5 verse: 7+5+6+8+3+9+4+8+10+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>6 verse: 5+7+5+3+2+4+8+10+3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>7 verse: 8+7+8+3+7+4+8+10+2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Syllable Combinations in Each Gurui Verse

**Gurui** except “Hariakari,” “Aman’yū,” and “Kanushamā” are based on the ryūka keishiki (8+8+8+6): however, no verse consists of a simple 8+8+8+6 syllables without variations. The verses usually contain a hayashi part, and the form of 8+8+8+6 tends to have variations of syllables, which consequently cause musical variation. Compared to kamiuta, which is largely based on 5+5 syllables, syllable rhythmic patterns in gurui are much more complicated and diverse. The following are categorizations of the developed syllable’s rhythmic patterns in eight gurui.

---

10 3+3 syllables inside the brackets create one sentence; however, hayashi is inserted in between.
"Rennähögä" (Transcription 4)

In addition to the basic patterns of I and II (Figure 10) and A1 (Figure 11), the song used a few variations including numbers 2 (Disposition), 6 (Extension), 7 (Expansion), and 8 (Extension, reduction or omission of expansion) (Figure 12).

\[
\text{Half notes' value}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ta} & \quad \text{ga} & \quad \text{pa} \\
\text{jyu} & \quad \text{mi} \\
\text{mi} & \quad \text{ta} & \quad \text{ga}
\end{align*}
\]

Above is the syllable rhythm of measures 6–10 in transcription 4. Although the syllable "pa" is twice extended, the form I which is described above is created by reducing all 5 syllables' value to half from the measures 6 to 10. In other words, the syllable "pa" is four times extended compared to the basic form I, which is classified as the number 8 in Figure 12. Aside from the syllable "ta," which is twice extended, the combination of syllables "mi," "ta," and "ga" fit into the form A1. A quarter rest after the syllable "ga" is omitted because hayashi is inserted right after "ga." Extension and expansion are the major ways of arrangement in this song.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{na} & \quad \text{na} & \quad \text{ti} & \quad \text{ru} & \quad \text{ru} \\
\text{sa} & \quad \text{gi} & \quad \text{ti}
\end{align*}
\]

Above is the syllable rhythm from measure 49 to measure 52 in transcription 4, which is a typical example of II+A1 form, except having a dotted rhythm in the syllables "na" and "ti," which is classified as number 2 (disposition) in Figure 12.

In contrast to the simple organization of rhythmic patterns and verses, the melodies of "Rennähögä" are complicated. The first and second strophes have very different
melodies; the Tōkyō Geijutsu Daigaku Minzoku Ongaku Zemināru indicates that these could have been two different songs in the past (1991b: 323). The third and later strophes use the melodies of the second strophe.

"Hariakari and Aman'yū" (Transcription 5 and 6)

The verses of these two songs do not have the ryūka keishiki (8+8+8+6), and performers I interviewed did not know details regarding the meaning of the lyrics. Also, the musical structure does not fit into Kaneshiro's theory because the rhythmic patterns do not fit into any of Kaneshiro's forms of variation (both Figures 10 and 11). These songs could be elaborated variations or may have a different root from standard gurui.

"Hisashifumagurui" (Transcription 7)

This song is remarkable in its development of the basic form, using variations numbers 2 (Disposition), 4 (Omission), 6 (Extension), and 9 (Inversion).

Extract of Transcription 7: Measures 1–5 with Syllable Rhythm

Instead of having the 1+B2 form, this eight syllable part in measures 1–5 uses B2+I (inversion). A quarter rest in the B2 part is omitted because the hayashi, "YO," replaces the rest. The syllables “fu” and “ru” are extended and disposition occurs at the syllable “ma.”
From measure 5 to 8, this uses II+A1 with extension (the syllables “ga,” “na,” “gu,” and “ru”), disposition (the syllables “fu,” and “su”), and omission of a rest (right after the syllable “i”).

Measures 12 to 14 do not fit Kaneshiro’s theory, and above is the irregular form of measures 13 and 14. The syllables of “ru” in the third and 13th measures are extended long after the rests in the fourth and 14th bars, lasting until the following syllable, “i”.

Hayashi (capital letters in the transcriptions), which are inserted at the beginning, middle, and end of the song, and extended syllables make analysis of the lyrics and musical structure more difficult. This song shows remarkable development of the gurui out of the basic form.

“Irabuhaishira” (Transcription 8)

Kaneshiro analyzes “Irububanshira” from Tsuken Island (located north of Kudaka), which, despite differences in pronunciation, is the same song as “Irabuhaishira” in Kudaka. Although the pronunciation of the lyrics is slightly different, the lyrics and verse forms are almost identical and the musical structures are closely matched, too. Although Kaneshiro describes Tsuken’s “Irububanshira” as an example of variation 9 (inversion),
Kudaka’s “Irabuhaishira” is a good example of variations 3 (reduction), 4 (omission), 5 (shortening), 7 (expansion), and 9 (inversion). This piece is useful in analyzing regional characteristics and differences.

Extract of Transcription 8: Measures 1–7 with Syllable Rhythm

All note values in this song are twice extended compared to Kaneshiro’s forms (Figures 10 and 11), and the syllable rhythm which is described above is created by reducing note values from measures 1 to 7 into half. Instead of having the II+A1 form, measures 1–3 are inverted as A1+II. The syllables “i” and “ra” in measure 1 are reduced and the quarter rest is omitted after the syllable “bu.” These three notes are supposed to fit into the two bars; however, it is reduced into a single bar, which is classified as reduction in Figure 12. The syllable “ya” in measure 3 is shortened because hayashi comes right after.

The syllables “n,” and “ga” in measure 5, and “fu” in measure 6 are shortened. The
syllable “mi” in measure 7 is extended, which is the combination of expansion and extension, as classified as number 8 in Figure 12.

“Sakawatashinishi” (Transcription 9)

The verse of this song is in the ryūka keishiki (8+8+8+6); however, the syllable rhythm in transcription 9 does not fit Kaneshiro’s theory. Also, more than half of this song’s lyrics are vocables (hayash), which have very different melodies and rhythms from the main melodies.

“Nautumishu” (Transcription 10)

The first strophe in this song is composed with an irregular verse form and musical structure; however, from the second singing cycle forward, the song can be analyzed using Kaneshiro’s theory. There appear variations 2 (disposition), 3 (reduction), and 4 (omission), while variations 6 (extension) and 7 (expansion) are not found in this piece. Therefore, the song is in clear duple meter, which makes it easy to dance along with and feel the beats. In fact, performers sing it loudly and dance it cheerfully, and audiences clap their hands during this song, which makes for a contrast in atmosphere compared to the songs above.
Disposition occurs at the syllables “ha” and “yu” in measures 17 and 21, and the quarter rest after the syllable “ya” in measure 20 and “i” in measure 24 are omitted because Hayashi comes right after them. The syllables “mu,” “ru,” and “i” in measures 23 and 24 should be placed into two bars; however they are reduced into one bar.

“Kanushamā” (Transcription 11)

This song also has an irregular verse, which is not based on the ryūka keishiki (8+8+8+6) and its syllable rhythm is different from Kaneshiro’s theory; however the meaning of the lyrics, as well as its singing and dancing are well-known among performers. Like “Nautumishu,” “Kanushamā” tends to be performed longer and louder, with a cheerful emotion. Again like “Rennähögā” and “Nautumishu,” this song also has different melodies in the first and second strophes.
2. Musical scales

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Scale</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rennōhōga</td>
<td>CDEFGBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hariakari</td>
<td>CDEFGBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aman'yū</td>
<td>CDEFGBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hisashifumagurui</td>
<td>CDEFGBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irabuhaishira</td>
<td>CDEFGBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakawatashinishi</td>
<td>CDEFGBC</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nautumishu</td>
<td>CDEG</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanushamā</td>
<td>CDEGA</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 16: Musical Scales of Eight Gurui

The first four songs and “Sakawatashinishi” use the typical scale of *usudeeku*, which is *Ryūkyū onkai* (C-E-F-G-B-C) + D (Kobayashi 1987: 99). However, the rest of the scales are uncommon. “Irabuhaishira” uses *Ryūkyū onkai* (C-E-F-G-B-C) + D + F#. “Nautumishu” uses only 4 notes. Although “Kanushamā” has an additional note of A compared to “Nautumishu,” The note A appears only twice in one strophe and the rest of melody is composed with C-D-E-G. The last two songs use simpler scales than the others, but they are not common *usudeeku* scales. Since these two songs have strong characteristics of other islands (“Nautumishu” is from Amami-Ōshima, and “Kanushamā” is from Yaeyama), further research of these islands' musical scales is necessary.
3. The Drumming and Singing Cycles

Drum Cycles

1. Rennahoga (M.M. = 75)

2. Hariakari (M.M. = 80)

3. Amanyu (M.M. = 85)

4. Hiseshifumagurui (M.M. = 90)

5. Irabuhaishira (M.M. = 80)

6. Sakawatashinishi (M.M. = 45)

7. Nautumishu (M.M. = 73)

8. Kanushama (M.M. = 100)

Figure 16: Drum Cycles of Eight Gurui

The coexistence of different singing and drum cycles in one song is one of the most significant features of *usudeeku* and *gurui*. As Kumada mentions, the singing and drum cycles are not related but are performed simultaneously (Kumada 2004: 6–7); in most
gurui, the beginning of the singing cycle does not always match the beginning of the drum cycle. The following is an example of the beginning of the third and fourth strophes of "Rennähögä."

Extract of Transcription 4: the Difference of the Drum Rhythm Timing

These are the beginnings of the third and fourth strophes and the entrance of the drum cycle in the fourth strophe is one measure later than in the third strophe. In contrast to the repetition of the drum cycle, the singing cycle tends to be flexible because the rests between strophes vary. For example, while the rests between the first and second strophes are eight beats, the rests between the second and third strophes are only two beats.

Extract of Transcription 4: the Difference of the Rests in the Transition Part to the Next Singing Strophes
In addition to the difference of the beats of drum and singing cycles, this flexibility of the singing cycle creates a complicated interweaving between the drum and singing cycles.

Compared to the flexible singing cycles, the drum pattern tends to keep its cycle; however, there are exceptions. First, “Aman’yu” begins with an additional three drum beats and a rest. According to the performers, these three drum beats at the beginning are a cue for performance. After this beginning cue, the drum repeats the cycle of 16 beats (Figure 15).

Second, the drum cycle in “Irabuhaishira” maintains 22 beats; however, even if the drum does not complete its cycle, it starts a new cycle after 7 or 8 beats of the new strophes. For example, the drum cycle, which is right before the 4th strophe, has only 18 beats instead of 22 beats, and moves to the next cycle after 7 beats of the 4th strophe. This ascendancy of the singing cycle is significant because the drum cycles are always fixed in other gurui except for this song and “Sakawatainashini,” and are not affected by the singing cycles.
Third, while "Irabuashira" changes the drum cycle when it moves to the next strophes, "Sakawatashinishi" changes its drum cycle in the middle regardless of any move to a new strophe. This song has the longest dance cycle in Kudakan *gurui*, of between 25 and 27 beats. During the performance of the "Sakawatashinishi," when the performance reached a "☆" point,

6. Sakawatashinishi (M.M. =45)

the drum performers stretch the beats from three to five; therefore, the complete cycle of beats total 25, 26, or 27 (Table 2).
Table 2: The Length of Beats at “☆” in Transcription 9

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cycle</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>7</th>
<th>8</th>
<th>9</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>11</th>
<th>12</th>
<th>13</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Beats</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the performance at Yōkabī in 2007, the drum cycle of “Sakawatashinishi” was repeated 13 times. The dominant number of rests at “☆” was 4, however, 3 beats appeared in cycles 1, 7, and 11; and 5 beats appeared in cycles 3, 9, and 13. Since both 3 and 5 beats appeared 3 times each, the average drum cycle is 25.

I listened to different performances of the same song at Hachigatsu-matti, Yōkabī, and rehearsals in 2007, and it seemed that the leaders randomly decided to take either 3, 4, or 5 beats in each verse. At first, these sounded like mistakes; however, there were 3 drum players and all of them took almost the same length of beats in the “☆” part without disrupting the drum cycles. Also, there are the same sequential patterns of beats in the cycle from 1 to 3, from 7 to 9, and from 11 to 13, which is the order of 3–4–5. The drum cycle equals the dancing cycle, and all gurui songs except “Sakawatashinishi” and “Irabuhaishira” in present-day Kudaka have a fixed drum cycle. “Sakawatashinishi” is the only gurui example in which the rhythmic patterns of the drum cycle have variations. Besides the flexibility of both singing and drum cycles, this song has the longest and most complicated drum cycle. Therefore, the accuracy of the performance depends on the teamwork and skill of the leaders. Although I tried to transcribe the same song as performed in 1995, using an audio recording, I could not identify the drum cycle because drum performers were not able to play together to maintain the cycle.

Consequently, unlike kamiuta, both the singing and drum cycles are musically well-developed, and create variations in each verse. Only “Hisashifumagurui” has fixed singing and drum cycles; the drum cycle repeats every 20 beats, and the singing cycle repeats every 78 beats. Other songs are classified into three types: only the drum cycle is fixed (“Rennahōgā”, “Aman’yū”, “Nautumishu”, and “Kanushamā”), only the singing cycle is fixed ("Rennahōgā", “Aman’yū”, “Nautumishu”, and “Kanushamā”), only the singing cycle
is fixed ("Irubahaisha"), and neither the drum nor singing cycles is fixed 
("Sakawatashinishi"). Although the drum cycles are more regular than the singing cycles, 
the end of singing cycle equals the end of the performance; the drum cycle stops when the 
singing stops, even if in the middle of the drum cycle.

3.4.3 Summary of Analysis of Kudakan Kamiuta and Gurui

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Title</th>
<th>2. Tempo (M.M.)</th>
<th>3. Strophe</th>
<th>4. Scale</th>
<th>5. Variation (Figure 9)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Fāganashi no Tiruru</td>
<td>115</td>
<td>5+5 syllables</td>
<td>CDE</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iicho-haricho</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>5+5 syllables</td>
<td>CDFGBC+C#</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Binnūsunnū</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>5+5 syllables</td>
<td>CDFGAC+E</td>
<td>I</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3: Comparison of Three Kamiuta

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>1. Title</th>
<th>2. Drum Cycle</th>
<th>3. Tempo (M.M.)</th>
<th>4. Strophe</th>
<th>5. Scale</th>
<th>6. Variation (Figure 12. X=irregular form)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rennāhōgā</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>75</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>CDEFGBC</td>
<td>1,2,6,7,8,X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hariakari</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>CDEFGBC</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aman'yū</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>86</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>CDEFGBC</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hisashifumagurui</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>CDEFGBC</td>
<td>1,2,3,4,6,9,X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Irubahaishira</td>
<td>18-22</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>CDEFF#GBC</td>
<td>1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8,9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sakawatashinishi</td>
<td>25-27</td>
<td>90</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>CDEFGBC</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nautumishu</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>CDEG</td>
<td>1,2,3,4,X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanushamā</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>CDEGA</td>
<td>X</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4: Comparison of Gurui Performance Details at Yōkabi in 2007

The musical features in two kamiuta—"Iicho-haricho" and
"Binnūsunnū"—including rhythmic variation of basic patterns, developed hayashi forms, 
and the Ryūkyū onkai and its variations, are musically closer to gurui than to kamiuta.

In other words, these types of music are located between the kamiuta and gurui. My 
examples of Kudakan kamiuta are very limited. However, they have interesting features 
in terms of musical development and reveal a stronger relationship between kamiuta and 
gurui, which still needs further research and comparison. Kaneshiro's theory is expanded 
by analyzing the details of Kudakan kamiuta, which are important resources for research 
of not only Kudakan gurui but of Okinawan classical music and usudeeku, and society.

Three examples of Kudakan kamiuta show Kudakan music has more diversity and
uniqueness than the existing theory of Okinawan kamiuta.

While there are musically developed features in Kudakan kamiuta, they maintain distinctive differences from gurui, which are the importance of the texts, the formation of syllables, and their rhythmic variations. In kamiuta, one strophe basically consists of 5+5 syllables. Texts are different in each strophe with the same melody and rhythm. Texts are fixed and memorized by the religious leaders; on the other hand, the number of repetitions and choice of texts in gurui depend on the performance leaders. Gurui performers said that islanders had performed much longer in the past using various lyrics; however, the lyrics had become simple and shorter. Those songs which were often performed and well-remembered, such as “Nautumishu” and “Kanushamā,” had more variety in their lyrics. In contrast to the lyrics of kamiuta, which have been well-researched and documented, the lyrics of the gurui have not received as much attention. Higa Yasuo includes gurui lyrics in his book (1993b: 256–258); however, he neither distinguishes words from vocables, nor includes translations of the lyrics.

Since kamiuta emphasizes the importance of texts, musical variations are very limited. The three kamiuta in my analysis are based on only form I. However, gurui show their diversity beyond the variations of usudeeku indicated by Kaneshiro Atsumi. The “X” in Table 4 stands for an irregular form, which means that the musical structures do not fit into Kaneshiro's theory. Three kamiuta examples use variations of form I and there are few divergences from the basic rhythmic forms; on the other hand, irregularity often occurs in gurui. Four songs have completely irregular musical structures or could not be analyzed because the lyrics and vocables were not distinguishable. Another three songs were partly in the irregular form, while only “Irabuhaishira” did not have any irregularity. Although there are only eight gurui songs left in Kudaka, all variations except number 10 (triplet) are used in four gurui (Table 4).

Another significant difference between kamiuta and gurui is in drum cycles. All
Kudakan *guru* songs also have very unique characteristics and elaborated drum cycles (Figure 15 and Table 4), especially “Irabuhaishira” and “Sakawatashinishi.” Against the existing theory that the singing and drum cycles are not related but performed simultaneously (Kumada 2004: 6–7), the drum cycle of “Irabuhaishira” is certainly affected by the singing cycle. Despite the fixed drum cycles of other *guru*, these two exceptions highlight the development of the drum cycles and its importance in Kudaka.

Although *kamiuta* and *guru* share the rhythmic patterns of syllables and musical scales as the basic structures of their music, there are strong characteristics which clearly separate these two types of music. For example, even though “Binnūsunnu” is elaborated from the basic *kamiuta*, the drum pattern is very simple, and the singing structure is regulated under the lead of religious leaders with the *uirō* style (call and response), both of which are the unique features of *kamiuta*. Similarly, more emphasis on musical variations and skills than the texts in *guru* is its significant difference from *kamiuta* in terms of not only musical change in Kudaka, but also social change, as is analyzed in Chapter 4.
CHAPTER 4
SHIFT OF MUSIC AND CULTURAL TRANSMISSION

4.1 Change of Social Status through Change of Musical Performance

Two distinctions between Kudakan *kamiuta* and *gurui* are revealed in their musical analysis: a greater development and wider diversity of musical variations in both singing and drumming are found in *gurui*, as well as a reduced importance of the *gurui* texts. These musical differences between *kamiuta* and *gurui* also brought about the change of the social status of women in Kudakan society. *Kamiuta* texts and music had been transmitted only to the religious leaders, and talking about them or singing without the religious leaders were taboo in traditional Kudakan society. Since the singing style of *kamiuta* was in the *uirê* (call and response) style, the religious leaders regulated the musical performance. The *kamiuta* had been protected by the strong authority of the religious leaders. On the other hand, the responsibility of religious leaders is less in *gurui* performance because leadership is based upon musical ability rather than status. Thus, even if a woman holds a social title as a religious leader, she cannot be a performance leader in *gurui* unless she is a competent performer.

As the complicated rhythmic structures of the drum cycles (Transcription 12)—especially that of “Sakawatashinishi”—suggest, drum performers must make a great effort to learn them. The performance skills and musical sense of those performers became sophisticated through their participation in great numbers of rituals and performances, while the younger generations have few opportunities to learn those skills in their daily lives, lacking those rituals today. In fact, the performance leaders in 2007 were women who had retired as mediums, and the younger islanders—including religious leaders—could not perform the *gurui* without their leadership. The former mediums said that only easy pieces are currently performed because young people do not want to practice the difficult ones. Accordingly, the songs which proficient women consider “easy”
remain active on Kudaka, meaning that continuation of gurui depends more on performance skill than on religious faith and rules.

Consequently, development of the musical structure and the reduced importance of texts built tension between the traditional religious leaders and present-day performance leaders. The former mediums have more substantial authority in transmitting the skills of performance than do the current religious leaders, who are young, less experienced, and who do not excel in performance. The decline of religious leaders' authority over performance is a significant change in the present-day society, affecting the entire Kudakan religious system and cultural transmission. Since rituals and music have played significant roles in the maintenance of Kudakan society, those people with the responsibility and authority to continue and transmit their culture have a direct and great influence on the construction of the Kudakan social structure. In the following accounts of rehearsals and events on Kudaka, entirely based on my field research, I analyze how this musical shift has affected cultural transmission and the society through the rehearsal and performance of gurui in 2007.

4.2 Brief Descriptions of Rehearsals and Events in 2007

The First Gurui Rehearsal on July 7th

Although gurui rehearsal usually commenced at the beginning of September, in 2007 it started much earlier—July 7th, from 8:00 pm to 9:00 pm, was the first day of practice.

The Second Gurui Rehearsal on September 11th

Rehearsal in 2007 started much earlier than usual, but no additional practice was done until September. Instead of holding rehearsal on July 21st, as was scheduled on July 7th, the second rehearsal was held on September 11th—only nine days before the festival.
The Last Rehearsal on September 19th

Since everyone was busy with the Kudaka school sports festival—one of the biggest community events—on September 15th, the third and final practice was held on September 19th. No practices at all had been held for male kamiuta or gurui.

Hachigatsu-matti on September 21, 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:00am -</td>
<td>Asa-matti</td>
<td>Kamiyaku, Mediums</td>
<td>Upugui</td>
<td>Prayer and offerings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00am</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3:00pm -</td>
<td>Preparation</td>
<td>Hassha, Volunteers</td>
<td>Udunmyá</td>
<td>Preparation for recording, registration, and place setting</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00pm -</td>
<td>Yū-matti</td>
<td>Kamiyaku, Mediums</td>
<td>Upugui</td>
<td>Prayer and offerings</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30pm -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00pm</td>
<td>Gurui</td>
<td>Kudakan Women</td>
<td>Udunmyá</td>
<td>Singing and dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:40pm -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:10pm -</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:10pm -</td>
<td>Drinking</td>
<td>Everyone</td>
<td>Udunmyá</td>
<td>Drinking and talking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:30pm</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 17: Schedule of Hachigatsu-matti in 2007

Only kamiyaku (religious leaders) and mediums are allowed to conduct Asa-matti and Yū-matti, and their numbers decrease every year because of a lack of successors.

Four mediums (another could not participate in the festival because of a death in the family), umēgi, amamiyā (aka-hanjanshī), Hokama nitchu (the traditional community leader), and kaminchu (god-person) conducted the ritual this year.

17 "Kachaashii [Kachāsh] is an improvisatory music that is performed on every auspicious occasion in Okinawa." (Kurokawa 1991: 54)
Yōkabī on September 22, 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Contents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>10:00am-</td>
<td>Takimai</td>
<td>Kamiyaku,</td>
<td>Upugui, Fubō-utaki</td>
<td>Prayer for health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00am-</td>
<td>Kachāshi,</td>
<td>Kamiyaku,</td>
<td>Bonkyā, Upugui</td>
<td>The male performers waited for kamiyaku and mediums to return from the Fubō-Utaki where they prayed for health. Then both men and women went to Upugui together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30am-</td>
<td>Purification,</td>
<td>Mediums, Male</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00am-</td>
<td>Prayer</td>
<td>Performers</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:30am-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:00pm-</td>
<td>Gurui</td>
<td>Kamiyaku,</td>
<td>Upugui</td>
<td>Singing and dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:40pm-</td>
<td>Sanshin</td>
<td>Mediums</td>
<td>Upugui</td>
<td>Musicians played Okinawan folk songs and other participants listened and drank awamori (rice wine).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:50pm-</td>
<td>Performance</td>
<td>Male Sanshin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:50pm-</td>
<td></td>
<td>Players</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12:20pm-</td>
<td>Sake-sangō</td>
<td>Volunteers</td>
<td>Every house on Kudaka</td>
<td>A group visited every house on Kudaka and collected sake (rice wine) for the festival.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00pm-</td>
<td>Yū-matti</td>
<td>Kamiyaku,</td>
<td>Upugui</td>
<td>Prayer for health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30pm-</td>
<td>Mediums</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:30pm-</td>
<td>Yū-matti,</td>
<td>Kamiyaku,</td>
<td>Udunmyā</td>
<td>Prayer for health</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00pm-</td>
<td>Mediums</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:20pm-</td>
<td>Gurei</td>
<td>Kudakan</td>
<td>Udunmyā</td>
<td>Singing and dancing</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:40pm-</td>
<td></td>
<td>Women</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:40pm-</td>
<td>Welcoming the</td>
<td>Sake-sangō</td>
<td>Udunmyā</td>
<td>The Sake-sangō group brought sake to the Udunmya and performed the sake-collecting song.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sake Collectors</td>
<td>Group</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:50pm-</td>
<td>Announcement</td>
<td>Hassha</td>
<td>Udunmyā</td>
<td>Announcement of donations.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:55pm-</td>
<td>Kachāshi,</td>
<td></td>
<td>Udunmyā</td>
<td>Dancing; Performance by a guest professional sanshin player.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Performance,</td>
<td>Everyone</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Drinking</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>late night</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 18: Schedule of Yōkabī in 2007

Sake-sangō is a very unique tradition: two people shoulder a long pole hung with a large container, and visit all the houses on Kudaka together with musicians. At each visit, they sing a song to ask the family to pour sake into the container for the festival. If the family provides sake, the group sings a thank-you song for them. If the family does not provide sake or is away, the group loudly sings a comic song, "We could not get sake
from this family!"

Antikyä and Tēragami on September 23, 2007

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Participants</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Content</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>8:35am-11:00am</td>
<td>Antikyä</td>
<td>All Men</td>
<td>The Kudaka seaport</td>
<td>Fishing using four ships</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11:00am-2:00pm</td>
<td>Making Sashimi and Distribution of Fish</td>
<td>Anyone</td>
<td>The Kudaka seaport</td>
<td>Men over 70 made sashimi instead of going fishing.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4:00pm-5:00pm</td>
<td>Tērāgami, Gurui</td>
<td>Nitchu, Upushū</td>
<td>Hanchatai, Yuraumanu beach, Udunmyä</td>
<td>Singing, dance and purification</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5:00pm-6:00pm</td>
<td>Second Distribution of Fish, Drinking</td>
<td>Anyone</td>
<td>Yuraumanu beach</td>
<td>Men drank at Yuraumanu beach. Women could not enter the beach this day and received fish near the beach.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00pm-7:00pm</td>
<td>Sumō contest</td>
<td>Anyone</td>
<td>Yuraumanu beach</td>
<td>Anybody (both men and women) could participate in the sumō contest, which is believed to bring health to the participants.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 19: Schedule of Antikyä and Tērāgami in 2007

Unlike the other rituals, men were the leaders of Antikyä. Women could not approach the men when they sang their kamiuta, "Tērāgami," and were not allowed to enter the Kudaka seaport in the afternoon until the sumō contest. The main purpose of fishing on this day was to make sashimi for a banquet in the evening (Higa Yasuo 1993b: 266). In the past, fishing was a duty for all men from 15 to 50; today, however, if people paid money, they were exempted from this duty (Uchima Yutaka, pers. comm., 2007).

About 20 people, including upushū, the president of the Ryūgakusei Center,18 one of the film crew members from The Kudaka Odyssey,19 and a 17 year-old high school student—the youngest participant of this year—were organized into four groups and went fishing.

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18 Children from different places in Japan come to the island and live together at the Ryūgakusei Center. They study at the Kudaka school with local students. The concept of the Center is similar to study abroad.

19 The Kudaka Odyssey is an ongoing movie project, directed by Ōshige Jun’ichirō since 2002.
4.3 Entitlement of Gurui Performance

Tension between the religious leaders and the senior performers (the performance leaders) rose to the surface on the first day of rehearsal on July 7th. Before the practice, senior performers had told me I could attend, and a music teacher at the Kudaka school, who was born in mainland Japan, also had received permission from the umēgi to be present. However, when we arrived at the practice hall, the umēgi and another religious leader suddenly prohibited our participation and recording during the rehearsal. The umēgi said “this island has very complicated rules. I decided you should not join it for the island’s sake and for your sake, too.” When I asked about recording, while one religious leader allowed me to record, the umēgi did not allow me to record the rehearsal. Two religious leaders had inconsistent opinions toward non-islanders’ participation in gurui, and it could be assumed that the two religious leaders had not decided on the rules governing non-islanders’ participation until right before the rehearsal. Their decision to exclude outsiders from gurui performance was controversial among the senior performers. Most were surprised, and did not agree with the religious leaders because the decision was against the history of gurui and ran counter to the islanders’ efforts to continue gurui.

Unlike kamiuta, gurui maintains much more flexibility. Its repertoire used to be different each year depending on the decisions of the performance leaders. In the past, everyone, from little children to elderly women, freely jumped into the performance. Therefore, the older women are very supportive of anyone who wants to participate. They are afraid that gurui will disappear, as did kamiuta, if non-islanders are excluded. In fact, acceptance of outsiders is not an uncommon phenomenon. I observed an usudeeku performance at Gushiken on mainland Okinawa in 2007, where the region maintains a large-scale performance by accepting people from outside their community.
Kudakan *gurui* was also a large-scale event until the Izaihō was suspended. The dancing formation of Kudakan *gurui* in the past was three concentric circles: the innermost circle was for little children, the circle around the children was populated by young mothers, and the outer circle consisted of the senior performers. Although everyone could jump in and join the performance, women (over 70 years old) who had retired from the position of medium usually did not participate in *gurui*. Women of age 70 could retire from performing because there were enough successors; however, the number of participants decreased year after year, especially following the suspension of Izaihō, and the number of circles dropped from three to one, with fewer than ten performers a few years ago. It was both a duty and a pleasure for women who experienced Izaihō to perform *gurui*; however, this sense of the old social values became weaker. Today, retired mediums, young Kudakan women who married outside the island, and outside women who married into Kudaka are all asked to perform *gurui* in order to continue the tradition.

In addition to inviting young women who had either married outside of or into Kudaka, the Kudakan people tried to perpetuate *gurui* by establishing a *gurui* organization and holding *gurui* gatherings with other regions. The *gurui* preservation organization was established about ten years ago by the current *umēgi*. The organization made a trip to other regions to perform and learn other repertoires. It receives financial support from Nanjo City each year, which means that their *gurui* performance is supported by outsiders, and islanders agreed to showcase their performance in return for accepting the support. Kudakan *gurui* performers were invited to festivals held outside the island, and have performed many times. Islanders performed *gurui* for audio recording on the island in 1995; many families have that tape and have copied lyrics written by the Kudakan women. Furthermore, despite the rejection of non-islanders in 2007, one *gurui* song, “Nautumishu,” has been performed at the Kudaka school sports...
festival. Everybody who comes to the festival—not just female islanders—can participate in the performance. None of these activities would be allowed if the subject were *kamiuta*.

*Gurui* has been historically open to the public; however, religious leaders were unfavorable towards non-islanders who wanted to gain familiarity with their traditions. Some former mediums did not agree with the religious leaders’ decision and remained supportive of non-islanders who wanted to join the performance, while others were very angry and insisted on having a meeting with the religious leaders in order to clarify the reasons behind the religious leaders’ opposition to non-islanders. Although the islanders have respected and followed the religious leaders’ decision, it seems that there is some inconsistency in the activities and opinions of the religious leaders, which brought out an issue of entitlement on the island.

*Gurui* avoided the danger of extinction because it was not under the complete control of religious leaders and was governed by less strict religious rules. However, do the religious leaders—who are not the performance leaders—have ultimate power over the continuation of the music? The religious leaders tried to hold onto *gurui* the way the former religious leaders had protected *kamiuta*; however, senior performers considered *gurui* different from *kamiuta*, and tried to include more participants in order to continue the form. The interpretation of *gurui* clearly varies among religious leaders, senior performers, young participants, and non-islanders.

In addition to disagreement between senior performers and religious leaders, the right to participate in performance was controversial in 2007. In the past, when a woman married into the island and participated in *Izaihō*, she was accepted as a respectable Kudaka woman and learned every tradition from her mother-in-law. However, the influence of the traditional Kudakan social system is weaker today without *Izaihō*. Today, seniors waver on how much of the traditions they should pass down to their daughters-in-law. Furthermore, they wonder why women who married “outside” the
island should be allowed to join *gurui* despite the refusal of the music teacher living on
the island. In contrast to a decrease in the number of islanders who have participated in
Izaihō, the number of non-islanders on Kudaka is increasing every year. If they do not
marry islanders, will they be outsiders forever, no matter how hard they work and how
long they live on the island?

The Kudaka music teacher was one of those who experienced this ambiguous
situation as a non-islander. She was interested in traditional music on Kudaka, and
worried that it would soon disappear because the number of participants was decreasing
every year. Therefore, she wanted to relate music education at the Kudaka school to
community events, just as students learned male fishing traditions as a school activity
with community members. After her rejection by the two leaders from joining *gurui*
practice, the music teacher told me that if the majority of islanders decided that only
relatives of islanders could perform *gurui*, like *kamiuta*, and would take the risk of its
extinction rather than open it to non-islanders, she would accept. In order to clarify the
situation, the music teacher asked a relative of the *umēgi* to call her to see if she could
visit her and talk about her opinions. Since the *umēgi* has a title as a religious leader and
is in the position to protect Kudakan traditions, the music teacher thought that a proper
meeting would be better; however, her request was denied. Although I also directly asked
questions of the *umēgi*, she told me, “I always decline interviews from researchers. There
are many good books about Kudaka Island you can read and I also learn our traditions
from those books.” Neither islanders nor the music teacher could have a discussion with
the religious leaders during my stay in 2007, and the music teacher did not participate in
the performance.

I speculate that the negative attitude toward non-islanders derives from three
sources: responsibility, lack of knowledge as the religious leader, and maintenance of
social status as the “leader.” The *umēgi* and other religious leaders had neither followed
conventional paths to their leadership positions nor abilities to lead the performance.

The present umēgi is the daughter of the last Hokama noro. She did, however, marry into a family on mainland Okinawa, and traditionally, if women moved from the island, they did not have the right to inherit the umēgi position. She has, though, held the position since her mother died. Another religious leader insisted she held the spirit of the noro, with no reliable evidence or approval from islanders. A fact which made the latter situation worse was that she earned income from tourists by taking advantage of having the title. Her behavior, including acting as a tour guide and letting tourists enter the sacred places, and holding fortune-telling sessions for tourists to earn income, made the islanders very angry and distrustful of her. Therefore, those two leaders could not wield strong leadership. Neither could sing the guuri songs, and the actual practice was supervised by senior performers. Even though they lack knowledge and experience, they have the responsibility and titles of religious leaders. Exclusion of non-islanders was an exercise of their power based on their sense of “for the island's sake.” They chose participants from among women who married outside of the island rather than people with no genealogical and traditional tie with Kudaka.

Consequently, there were two opposite opinions about guuri: one, that it was sacred music used at the ritual which should be performed only by islanders without any recording by outsiders, and the other, that it was secular music and performance should be open to the public.

The two religious leaders are averse to making the guuri too secular, which would in their minds become infidelity to their gods, because guuri has been performed as a part of the ritual. Out of their responsibility and authority as religious leaders, these two women refused outsiders’ involvement in the guuri this year. If their opinions become the “rules” of guuri, it will attain a new function as sacred music, treated as a substitute for kamiuta, and support religious leaders in maintaining their authority as conductors and
preservers of rituals. However, if gurui attains that position as sacred music, the possibility of its disappearance will become very high. The island lacks successors and young islanders have a few opportunities to participate in the performance today.

Gurui in 2007 seemed to indicate that the year's performance had a very important meaning in determining the future of ritual music, the authority of religious leaders on Kudaka, and their relationship with outsiders. Gurui was required to be a representative music which either opens Kudakan society to outsiders or refuses them. The situation highlights the unstable religious situation and change of cultural transmission on Kudaka.

In 2007, senior performers were the core of the performance and they tried to exchange their opinions with religious leaders, which is a significant change in Kudakan society. However, religious titles and genealogy were still the main factors for continuation of the female tradition on Kudaka, and people respected the religious leaders' opinions on ritual rules, as exemplified by following two examples.

The first example is a decision of the religious leaders' decision during the Hachigatsu-matti. A famous Japanese popular singer came to the island a few days before the event, and participated in it for a TV filming. After the singer was introduced by hassha during the event, she came to the center of the stage, gave a speech, and sang two songs. One was “Tinsagu nu Hana” (an Okinawan folk song), and the other was “Sen no Kaze ni Natte,” a Japanese popular song. Since I had experienced a difficult situation regarding the right of non-islanders to participate in the event, her performance was surprising to me. She even entered the Hanashagi shrine (Figure 3, page 11), and none of the kamiyaku (religious leaders) stopped her. They applauded and welcomed her, despite the fact that they emphasized the strict rules of traditional Kudakan society during the gurui rehearsals, and rejected the elders' opinions and the participation of non-islanders. Also, one of the ritual leaders had prohibited my recording and photographing at the
Sōji-matti\textsuperscript{20} in June and at the \textit{gurui} practice; however, she just told the TV crew not to come too close to the ritual site for recording and shooting at this time.

After the Japanese singer's performance, one of the islanders told me that older women were very angry at the Japanese singer and went home early. He was even asked to stop her because she sang a Japanese song whose lyrics are related to death. The Hachigatsu-matti is a festival praying for the people's health, and singing about death was certainly not appropriate for the event. However, nobody directly shared their opinion about this incident with the religious leaders.

There was miscommunication at the event among the religious leaders, senior performers, and outsiders. If the religious leaders considered that the \textit{gurui} section was the last part of the sacred ritual, and that everyone could participate in the festival after \textit{gurui}, they felt that it should have been clearly explained to everyone in order to avoid confusion. Since the number of visitors at the event increases every year, it is important for non-islanders to know the rules of the island in order not to distort the Kudakan rituals. Because of the island's publicity, Kudaka has large numbers of tourists, and so, today, the leaders' duty is to show leadership not only of islanders but also towards non-islanders.

Another example is senior performers' behavior toward the religious leaders' decision during the \textit{gurui} rehearsal on September 19\textsuperscript{th}. When, after the practice, the \textit{umēgi} came to ask seniors the procedures for the festival, one older woman, who was watching the practice with me, suddenly asked "Why don't we let this student [me] participate in the performance?" The leader strongly answered her, "this student came to the island to study and she can study it by watching!" No one could say a word, and the next day, another woman told me she also wanted me to join the performance; however, she had to respect the leader's opinion.

\textsuperscript{20} The Sōji-matti is a millet festival (Higa Yasuo 2000: 37).
According to these two examples, religious leaders still have ultimate power to decide who can join the performance, even though they do not have ability to transmit the musical skills. The most important requirement for non-islanders to participate in performance is not musical skill or strength of will, but permission from the religious leaders.

Senior performers and the head of the island told me that they needed to have a meeting with the religious leaders; however, a meeting was not arranged during my stay because prudence was part of their tradition, too. Kudaka Island is very small and almost all people are genealogically related. Therefore, islanders are very careful and take a long time to have a discussion or decide something when they have problems with others, so that they can maintain harmony. Thus, understanding and acceptance in unifying their thoughts about the rules of cultural transmission are a long-term project for the Kudakan people.

In sum, because of the rise of gurui as a representative music of Kudaka, cultural transmission has come to depend on a dual structure of the musical contents, which are transmitted by competent performers, and traditional status and authority, which are maintained by the religious leaders. The decline of the religious leaders' authority in performance does not equate to the loss of their authority in society; however, the religious organization is less united in present-day society compared to the time kamiuta existed.

4.4.1 Gender Differences in Cultural Transmission

The rise of gurui, which created a dual authority structure of cultural transmission, is also a significant phenomenon in terms of expanding the Kudakan men's contribution in cultural transmission of rituals and music—traditionally considered female-centric traditions. The following sections are analyses of the transition of cultural transmission
from traditional to present-day approaches by both male and female islanders. Besides the analysis of the events in September 2007, I refer to other significant activities in support of my argument.

4.4.2 Continuity of Female Traditions

Although there is a recording of *gurui* and copies of the lyrics, its learning process depends on the traditional method of oral transmission. *Gurui* once experienced the danger of its extinction because of a lack of performers. The number of circles of performers in performance decreased from three to one, as the number of performers kept decreasing, until the former mediums and women who married into and out to the island were asked to join the performance three year ago. However, the conventional oral tradition did not change. As I observed in an *usudeeku* performance at Bise in mainland Okinawa in 2007, which used a audio recording for accompaniment of dance, the decline of oral transmission is not rare; however, oral transmission remains the principal method of learning *gurui* in Kudaka.

All three rehearsals of *gurui* were divided into two sessions. In the first session, performers went through all eight songs without stopping. Seniors neither stopped to go over the lyrics and dance patterns, nor gave instruction to people who could not perform well. Young or less competent performers learned songs by watching and listening. During the break between the first and second sessions, performers exchanged information. Seniors confirmed the dancing steps with each other, and young performers asked the seniors how to sing. Seniors demonstrated and corrected wrong dancing steps in the second session; however, they did not stop performing while they were correcting mistakes.

One of the young *gurui* performers told me after the performance that she did not know much about traditional Kudakan events, but she thought she could help to continue
gurui for Kudaka Island. She is a Kudakan woman of the first generation that has had to inherit Kudakan traditions without being a medium. Not only former mediums and religious leaders, but also younger participants were trying to find a way to continue gurui in present-day society. The Kudakan gurui has long been in the shadow of kamiuta; however, it has gained more attention recently, and has begun to symbolize Kudakan identity among both older and younger generations.

On the other hand, the situation of gurui is very different from that of kamiuta. Kamiuta had been the backbone of Kudaka society, and it was a key to maintaining the value of ritual and the social status of women. Those were the reasons for the protection and perpetuation of a diversity of kamiuta for centuries. Today, female kamiuta performance has disappeared and rituals have become very simple without any songs. This does not mean, however, that no one remembers kamiuta. For example, the daughter of a former nitchu remembers the rituals and songs very well. Although islanders and even the nitchu himself noted her aptitude for becoming one of the ritual leaders, as a woman she could not inherit the nitchu position because it is a male role. She has strong faith in the Kudakan gods and wishes to continue Kudakan traditions. She is in a very difficult position: she wants to keep the traditions alive and remembers details of the rituals and kamiuta, but she is not in a position to conduct the rituals or sing the songs. She let me read the lyrics of one kamiuta which she had written down. That kamiuta is considered to have disappeared from society with the disappearance of the aka-hanjasan who had the right to sing it. Since she knew she was probably the only person who could sing it today, she wrote it down and told her relatives to copy it. She is very friendly and provides her valuable information to researchers, just as the former umēgi provided information to researchers in order to preserve Kudakan traditions.

The kamiuta, "Fáganashi no Tiruru" (Transcription 1), which the daughter of the
nitchu sang for me when I interviewed her in September 2007, used to be performed at the ritual called Hanjanashî, which was led by aka-hanjannashî. Although the position of aka-hanjanashî, with its right to sing this kamiuta, is unfilled today, the existence of this kamiuta indicates that the disappearance of performance leaders and opportunity does not mean the disappearance of songs or identity as established through musical experience. In the present situation, there is no opportunity for the daughter of the nitchu to perform the kamiuta in public; however, she keeps her faith and identity as a Kudakan woman by remembering the old traditions and songs. Besides the daughter of the nitchu, many elderly women who have retired as mediums remember Kudakan traditions and kamiuta; opportunities to transmit the kamiuta to the next generations, however, are few.

4.4.3 Continuity of Male Traditions

In contrast to the decline of the female kamiuta tradition, male kamiuta and gurui have continuing social importance today. Since women are considered to have the supernatural power to see gods and have the right to enter the sacred places, most kamiuta are reserved for women, and there are only a few kamiuta in Okinawa that may be sung by males (Tôkyô Geijutsu Daigaku Minzoku Ongaku Zeminaru 1991a: 115). In Kudaka, there is one male kamiuta which is still performed today.

On the day of Antikyä, which fell on September 23rd in 2007, the nitchu and seven upushû gathered at the Hanchataï (Figure 3, page 11) at 4:00pm in order to pray and sing the male kamiuta, “Tèrãgami.” Higa Yasuo explains that the singing there is for practice, and that the singing while walking from Sankakumô (Figure 3, page 11) to the Udunmyä carries the real significance of purifying the island (1993b: 271). Nitchu and upushû practiced “Tèrãgami” twice, and then went to the Yuraumanu beach while singing it. The nitchu was at the front of the line and led the group by beating the taiko
(drum). Other members waved fans marked with a big red circle from side to side during the performance.

While classified as kamiuta, “Terāgami” has different characteristics from the female kamiuta. First, performers practiced the song in front of observers, which was not usual for other kamiuta, because female religious leaders and mediums believed the songs should naturally come out of their mouths when they were at a ritual, without practice. Second, male performers wrote down the lyrics of “Terāgami” on their fans, which was also not allowed for women when they sang kamiuta. Third, in this performance, “Terāgami” performers did not use the urē (call and response) style. Higa Yasuo indicates that “Terāgami” was led by the nitchu, and the upushū followed him (1993b: 271); however, they sang together in 2007. The urē style was the most common singing style for the female kamiuta, and Kudakan women followed that rule.

Furthermore, the position of nitchu was vacant when Higa Yasuo visited the island in 1981 and observed the hanimanganashī (aka-hanjanshi) leading “Terāgami” (ibid.: 269). Substitution of performance leaders was not common practice for female kamiuta. In short, the requirements for the continuation of male kamiuta were much more flexible than those for female kamiuta. The rules were closer to those for gurui.

One of the reasons for that flexibility was the less-privileged status of the male religious leaders. As discussed in chapter 2, the nitchu and other male leaders had fewer privileges and less prestige compared to the noro’s high status, despite their extensive duties. Also, the main duty for most male islanders had been fishing, and the male leaders had few opportunities to be the main conductors of rituals. Therefore, it was assumed that religious rules and status were less important for men, but the preservation of their only male kamiuta and its surrounding events has become more important to them since they witnessed the rapid decline of female traditions.

The flexibility allowed Kudakan men was applied not only to kamiuta but also to
gurui. “Nautumishu” had been a male gurui song; however, male performers have welcomed women into its performance together today. Higa Yasuo describes the performance of the male repertoire when he observed a ritual in 1981:

There was gurui performance of the “Nautumishu” [the name of the male song] by the upushū. However, they could not perform it well. That situation had Hokama nord’s umēgi, Nishime Shizu and one of the observers help them. They joined the dancing circle and led them with their drums. (1993b: 274)

Thus, “Nautumishu” had been part of the male repertoire; in time, however, some women who excelled at memorizing the song began to help in male performance. I also observed six women who joined the male performance in 2007. Since three women performed on chijiin (drum) and none of the male performers had a drum, those women were essential to the male gurui. Even now that female participation in the performance has become a tradition, the islanders still remember that Kudakan fishermen learned the song at Amami-Ōshima (Figure 1, page 9) and brought the performance to Kudaka. In fact, this song has similarities with Amami-Ōshima’s hachigatsu odorō: performers make a circle and step into the center of the circle with hayashi after singing each phrase (ibid.).

Kudakan men were excellent fishermen and visited many different regions and countries, resulting in a multicultural diversity within their traditions.

In contrast to the disappearance of all female kamiuta at rituals, there had been one male kamiuta and it is still performed today. Similarly, there is one male gurui: it, though, has more performance opportunities, including Hachigatsu-matti, Yōkabi, Antikyō, and even the Kudakan sports festival. Moreover, there is one male ritual still remaining and the series of events in September including the male ritual are the biggest events in Kudaka today. Consequently, participation of men in rituals has much more importance for the maintenance of the Kudakan traditions now than in the past. Also, the men’s perspectives and attitude toward cultural transmission are influential in the present-day society.
Compared to the women's conservative attitude toward Kudakan traditions, men tend toward innovation. In addition to their efforts to make "Nautumishu" the standard performance at the Kudakan sports festival, Kudakan men decided to teach their traditional fishing technique, called oikomi-ryo, to the students at the school. Today, the demonstration of those techniques has become a community event held by the school, at which all students and community members can experience traditional fishing. Kudakan men place importance on transmitting their male traditions to the next generations and are supportive of people who want to learn them.

Introduction of recording devices also affects cultural transmission, as exemplified in the continuation of the "Sake-sangō" song at Yōkabī. The "Sake-sangō" song was previously sung with only taiko (drum) accompaniment. Recently, however, it was arranged for sanshin (a three-stringed lute) and taiko, and was sung by a Kudakan sanshin player and his apprentice from mainland Japan in 2007. One elderly man made a speech at Yōkabī in 2007 discussing how the "Sake-sangō" song had greatly changed. He indicated the differences and sang an older version of the song. He remembers the old songs very well and tried to preserve them by recording them on a CD in 2003, on which he sang 13 Kudakan songs including male kamiuta ("Tērāgami") and gurui ("Nautumishu"). The CD was distributed to the Kudakan people, and the head of the island told me that he actually practiced "Tērāgami" with the CD. The CD is very important because not many people can sing those songs anymore; moreover, it is an insider's attempt to preserve the traditions with modern technology. The main body of research and recording has been done by non-islanders, while islanders have maintained their traditions verbally. Now, however, a shift in methods of cultural transmission is occurring and islanders seek new possibilities for the preservation and continuation of their traditions.

Kudakan men, especially the head of the island, the island's former councilor, and
hassha, are eager to perpetuate not only male but also female traditions. Kudakan men have respected female decisions about their traditional rituals and have not directly interfered with them; however, this does not mean all rituals were conducted with only female contribution. For example, although not many people paid attention to the hassha and his work during the festivals and rituals, he was certainly one of the most important people for Kudakan events. In addition to remembering all the processes of Kudakan events, he had to prepare ritual materials, decorate and clean the ritual places, and be a coordinator. Although two people should inherit the position of hassha, one man renounced the duty and the remaining man had to prepare everything by himself in 2007. The former hassha and other male islanders helped him, but nevertheless, the hassha was the busiest person at the September 2007 events.

Male kamiuta and related events followed a different path of cultural transmission from female ones, which consequently increased male importance at the rituals. Also, men's dedication to protecting their traditions led them to reconsider the importance of their island's traditions and strengthened their will to have a discussion with female religious leaders. Although there is a tradition that Kudakan men have entrusted women with the maintenance of rituals, men are not outsiders to the rituals and try to participate in their discussion with women today. The Kudakan people face a big change in their social structure. Cooperation between women and men is more important than in the past, in order to transmit their traditions after the loss of the main ritual conductors.

4.4.4 Cooperation between Men and Women for Cultural Transmission

Kudakan men preserve and develop their traditions using a different approach from that of women; however, their approach is influential on female rituals and music today. The revival of traditions by Kudakan men is a notable example: a representative example is the revival of irabū-ryo (sea snake hunting) by Uchima Yutaka. Irabū-ryo is a tradition
that had once disappeared in the process of Kudakan social change.

One of the main reasons for reviving the tradition was to regain a self-governing system on Kudaka despite continual modernization. Modernized social values and lifestyles came from outside society, and Kudaka lost its traditions, which also caused the loss of a self-governing system on the island. When the Ryūkyū Kingdom governed Okinawa, the Kudakan traditions were politically important and given privilege by the Ryūkyū government (Sakima 1996: 83–87). Because of this privilege and its isolated location, Kudaka could independently govern its community with its three foundations: fishing, agriculture, and rituals. Although these foundations have changed today, Uchima Yutaka emphasized the importance of the self-governing system in present-day society (pers. comm., 2007). He felt that the coexistence of traditional and modernized social values would strengthen the Kudakan self-governing system. He chose to revive *irabū-ryo* because it had a history of at least 400 years on Kudaka, and because he was familiar with the tradition.

The *irabū-ryo* had been suspended for 10 years before Uchima revived it in 2005 (2007: 99) because of a lack of successors and strict hunting rules. The *irabū-ryo* is allowed from June to December at specific shelves along the ocean in Kudaka. Hunters have to go there at night and seize the *irabū* (a sea snake) with their bare hands. After hunting, the *irabū* are brought to the Baikanyā (Figure 3, page 11) and smoked, which takes about a week, using specific local resources. *Irabū* have long been famous as an expensive and nutritious food, and hunting permits on Kudaka were only given to some privileged people (Izu 2008). An article on the right of hunting, in the magazine *Tamaki* states:

The right of holding an *Irabū-ryo* was given to Miyamutu families who administered rituals and there are specific shelves to hunt. Among Miyamutu families, Kudaka *nora* had the best hunting shelf and rituals for *irabū* were conducted by her. Therefore, the most privileged person of the *irabū* hunt was the Kudaka *nora*. Since non-Miyamutu families were prohibited from hunting on the
island, they had to hunt far away from the island. (Uchima Yutaka 2007: 104)

The *irabū* was important revenue for the Kudaka *noro* and its hunting was a significant custom for the traditional Kudakan social system. People in the *hassha* position traditionally helped the *noro* with the hunt; that position was also vacant until the hunting tradition was revived.

During the revival process, Uchima did not hesitate to broadcast the hunt on TV shows when he had the opportunity, and emphasized the strict rules, the processes of the hunt, and *irabū's* importance as a sacred animal. As a result, the rules of the *irabū-ryo* became clear for both islanders and non-islanders. Tourists became interested in *irabū* as a sacred animal of the sacred island. They came to the island to see and eat *irabū*, but they knew they should not touch or hunt it freely. Today, *irabū* is one of the representative products of Kudaka. Uchima has since retired from the *hassha* position, but has found some young successors to continue the tradition. By garnering wider publicity and a broader market, islanders succeeded in redefining their once-lost tradition to fit into its present social context. Furthermore, Uchima spread the rules and image of the hunt to the public using mass media, which reduced the risk of overhunting for economic profit. Although the *irabū-ryo* tradition had disappeared once, it regained its social value in present-day society and was successfully familiarized to both islanders and non-islanders.

The revival of the *irabū-ryo* is meaningful not only for economic development but also for the continuation of traditional Kudakan rituals and events. The significant contribution was the revival of the position of *hassha*. As I describe earlier, the *hassha* is the sole coordinator of all Kudakan events. Because of his help, female religious leaders can focus on their rituals and prayer, and other people can cooperate and prepare for the events with strong support from their *hassha*. Hence, maintenance of the Kudakan events without *hassha* is very difficult, and people who have benefited from *irabū-ryo*
have a responsibility to later become *hassha*. Moreover, *hassha* is a coordinator not only for traditional female events, but also for traditional male events. There was once an important male ritual position called *sōruiganashī* (the god of fishing), and people who inherited this position must have once held the *hassha* position. The *sōruiganashī* position is vacant today and many Kudakan events were simplified due to the lack of a *sōruiganashī*; however, the revival of the *hassha* position made the revival of the *sōruiganashī* position possible. In brief, the *irabū-ryo* has expanded the possibility for old Kudakan traditions to fit into the contemporary lifestyle. Even if a tradition once disappeared as social value changed, that does not directly lead people to abandon the tradition. Coexistence of traditional and modern social values is possible by fitting traditional social values into present social contexts or fitting new social values into traditional social contexts.

4.5 Creation of Social Conditions for the Continuation of Traditions

The revival of the *irabū-ryo* was a rare and successful example of the revival of tradition. There are four important factors which helped Uchima succeed in reviving the tradition. First, the existence of a leader with memory and experience: Uchima watched the hunt when he was young, and many people remember the details of the hunt and its rules. Second, a long-term history and relationship with their religion: since there are the strict religious rules and a difficult technique is required to hunt and smoke *irabū*, Uchima studied the rules thoroughly and had a strong involvement in this tradition. Third, interest from outside society: non-islanders including researchers, mass media and tourists became interested in the hunt and *irabū*. Fourth, coexistence of Kudakan and non-Kudakan social systems: islanders were seeking a way that would enable them to connect Kudakan traditions with outside society. Development and decline of culture are delicate and manifold social phenomena affected by social conditions. The *irabū-ryo*
once became inapplicable to the Kudakan social context; however, Uchima recreated the social conditions for it. Even though the influence of modernization is very powerful, it does not always deprive traditions of the possibility of existence. The modernized social value is also affected by the traditional social value, which creates a unique coexistence of social values in each region.

In contrast to this successful example of nurturing good conditions for the survival of tradition, the transmission of Kudakan female ritual music, other than gurui, remains difficult in present-day society, as is exemplified by following three examples of declining musical traditions.

The memory and experience of music are sufficient to maintain many old musical traditions on present-day Kudaka; however, the decline of musical traditions is often caused by other factors. The first example is a song which used to be sung right after a gurui performance. Although this song was sung when performers left the performance site (Uchima Hidoko, per. comm., 2007), only a few performers could sing it in 2007's performance. Performers did not practice the song at the rehearsals, but former mediums, who had retired from performance but still remembered the song, taught it to me for several days before the events. They wanted to continue the song at gurui and told me “now you remember the song, so you have to sing it at the performance.” Since my participation in the events was not allowed, and neither religious leaders nor performance leaders mentioned the song during the rehearsals, the performance of the song was vague in 2007. People had the memory, experience, and eligibility with performance opportunity for the song; nevertheless, the lack of leadership caused a decline in its performance.

The second example is the kamiuta, “Tōganashī no Tiruru,” which is remembered by the daughter of the nitchu. Unfortunately, she is not in a position to sing it at the ritual and the ritual itself disappeared without religious leaders who were eligible to sing
it. If she were in a position to perform it at the ritual, the ritual and song could exist
today. This situation is more involved than the previous example, because people would
need to recreate the traditional religious positions and context for the ritual in order to
have the performance opportunity.

The last example is Izaihō in 1990. While some traditions like the irabū-ryo can
meet the requirements for revival, other traditions like Izaihō are not able to be easily
revived. Izaihō in 1990 was suspended because the Kudaka noro died, the Hokama noro
was sick, the Hokama and Kudaka nitchu were absent, and apprentice mediums
(nanchu) did not exist, which made Hokama noro and the head of the island decide to
suspend the ritual. However, the Shimu family—considered to be the original conductor
of Izaihō—secretly conducted the ritual in 1990. The five Shimu family members were
shocked by the announcement of Izaihō’s suspension, and they could not refrain from
conducting it. Since the ritual was conducted against the decision of the noro, and was
very simplified and different from the original one, the conductors’ behavior was
criticized by islanders. Many islanders considered the fact that four ritual conductors
died within 10 years after the 1990 ritual and only one male conductor is alive today as
punishment by the gods (Saitou 2003: 80). There has been no attempt to conduct Izaihō
without the appropriate members after this incident.

Taken together, these examples indicate that creation of appropriate social
conditions for the continuation of traditional rituals and ritual music was much harder
than for other Kudakan traditions. The rituals and ritual music are difficult to separate
from their traditional social contexts and to fit into present-day social contexts. The
decline of these musical traditions occurred not because the music itself or religious faith
were lost, but because leaders were absent and the music did not fit into the present-day
Kudakan life and times. Continuation of traditional social values is as important as
maintaining the music itself. The irabū-ryo is not directly related to Kudakan music;
however, it has indirectly contributed to the continuation of musical traditions by reviving the *hasaha* position and strengthening the people's consciousness of old Kudakan traditions.

### 4.6 Summary of the Change of Cultural Transmission in Kudaka

The shift of the central ritual music from *kamiuta* to *gurui* coincided with significant social change in Kudaka, as analyzed in the social contexts of *gurui* performance in 2007. Among the various social changes, I particularly focused on the change of cultural transmission by comparing religious leaders with performance leaders, and female approaches with male approaches. Although existing theories emphasize the authority of female religious leaders, and the importance of females to transmission of ritual and ritual music, cooperation among religious and performance leaders, and Kudakan women and men for cultural transmission are all critical in understanding present-day Kudakan society and culture in depth.

New approaches toward rituals frequently developed in male traditions as compared to female traditions, in order to avoid the danger of disappearance. Kudakan men's efforts at transmission of Kudakan music and rituals became more noticeable than in the past. Their attempts succeeded in fitting traditions into the present-day social contexts, and expanded the possibility for other traditions to fit there as well. In contrast to male innovation, women tend toward conservatism in female traditions, avoiding change of their traditions and rules. Because of their efforts, the many Kudakan traditions remain as archaic forms. The music protected by women tends to have a high risk of extinction because they maintain their music only with the traditional social values and system.

Different approaches between men and women result in the creation of complicated situations for musical transmission. *Kamiuta*, *gurui*, and the “Sake-sangō” song are
music performed at annual events; these three types of music have quite different performance and preservation directions today. Female kamiuta disappeared from the rituals without being changed, but remain in the memory of elderly people. Female gurui is in the middle of change in its transmission style. The “Sake-sangō” song is divided into old and new versions, and both versions still exist. Male kamiuta and gurui attained more performance opportunities and social importance.

The tension between new and conservative attempts has made people consider what Kudakan traditions mean to them. Although new attempts by male islanders are influential in society today, Kudakan men are not trying to replace female traditional approach with their way. The head of the island told me “after the last noro died, female traditions are disappearing; however, if women decide to continue female traditions, we [Kudakan men] respect their decision and will support them” (Nishime Fuminori, pers. comm., 2007). In other words, Kudakan men try to establish the social structure in which women are able to continue their traditions. These men and female approaches have created a new social balance in present-day Kudakan society.
CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

The main purpose of this thesis is to examine musical functions in society and how musical shift in Kudaka affected its social structure. Analysis of two types of representative music, *kamiuta* and *gurui*, drawing on insights from Kaneshiro’s theory, highlights changes in musical functions and characteristics, while comparison of functional change of the music naturally leads to the examination of cultural transmission in traditional and present-day Kudakan society. The remarkable changes apparent in cultural transmission are the innovative participation of Kudakan men and the decline in the authority of religious leaders in female musical performance. Kudakan women have kept conservative attitudes toward protecting their traditions; on the other hand, the men actively pursue the coexistence of both old and contemporary social values.

The traditional Kudakan social system was based on a strong religious organization led by female ritual leaders. The leaders’ privileged status was protected by their right to lead the sacred songs and also by the strong religious faith of the mediums. Izaihō had been the largest and most significant ritual in creating and supporting the religious faith and organization; however, a lack of successors and leaders, coupled with social change led to the ritual’s disappearance. The loss of two representatives of the traditional Kudakan social system—religious leaders and Izaihō—weakened the traditional religious organization, and in consequence, rituals were simplified or disappeared altogether, and performance of all female *kamiuta* vanished from Kudakan society.

*Kamiuta* had significant functions as the basic component of the society. There had been approximately 40 annual events and rituals on Kudaka which regulated the people’s lives and time, and *kamiuta* was at the core of those rituals. Since the rules of *kamiuta* were strict and only ritual leaders were allowed to sing it during the rituals, the existence of *kamiuta* reinforced the social hierarchy. Therefore, the social systems were
tremendously changed after kamiuta disappeared from Kudakan society.

After the departure of kamiuta, gurui increased its value in present-day society. Transcriptions and analysis of eight songs clarify Kudakan gurui's musical relationship to kamiuta and its distinctive characteristics. Although further analysis of Kudakan language, usudeeku, and kamiuta is necessary to completely detail Kudakan gurui and kamiuta, the musical diversity and development of the two forms is evident. There is a remarkable difference of gurui performance from that of kamiuta: it is not the ritual leaders but instead the drum players who excel at performance who can be the musical leader. As a result, gurui performance and performance leaders have decentered the authority of religious leaders in musical performance.

The emergence of two authority types, represented by the religious and performance leaders, brought forth two different opinions on the island. Ritual leaders tried to protect gurui as sacred music, while others tried to transmit it to younger generations as a less sacred music. This controversy between female authorities spread to Kudakan men and outsiders. Religious leaders rejected the participation of outsiders in 2007, against the opinion of other former mediums. Despite the controversy, 2007's gurui performance was on a bigger scale than the previous year because of support from former mediums and women who married into or outside the island.

Another significant change on Kudaka today is the difference in approaches between men and women as regards cultural transmission. The female approach, based on conventional oral tradition and strict religious control, maintains traditional values and rules. Rather than recreating social conditions for kamiuta, women are trying to continue gurui, which is less strictly regulated and easier to fit into the present-day social context. As a result, while gurui has attained status as the socially central music of Kudaka and has become the object of preservation, other ritual music is disappearing—not due to a decline of memory, experience, or faith, but because of change.
in the social context.

The male approach, on the other hand, aims to create social conditions for the coexistence of both traditional and contemporary values in present-day society. Recreation of the social conditions in which traditional music can fit and function enables the Kudakan people to continue to transmit their culture in Kudakan society today. Just as the reintroduction of the *irabū-ryō* tradition led to the revival of the *hassha* position, which is essential to female rituals, details of the transmission of Kudakan music cannot be identified and preserved by only focusing on the female verbal tradition today. Although Kudakan music had been verbally transmitted to Kudakan women, the participation of men became a significant part in the continuation of female traditions and singing.

Analysis of the change of this society's central music and its impact on the social structure supports Seeger's statement that “music is part of the very construction and interpretation of social and conceptual relationships and processes” (2004: 14). By reevaluating representative Kudakan music, from *kamiuta* to *gurui*, this thesis reveals the changes in society and cultural transmission on Kudaka Island. Unlike the development of society seen in Seeger's analysis through the exchange of music in Suyá society (ibid.: 133), Kudakan *kamiuta* did not encourage musical exchange from outside, and it disappeared without being transmitted to outsiders. Religious music and belief have been the cores of Kudakan life, and because of that strong religious belief and its accompanying rules, *kamiuta* disappeared from society. However, the loss of *kamiuta* neither changed Kudakan musical function as a chief component in the creation of the Kudakan social structure, nor caused the disappearance of Kudakan religious faith.

The new central music, *gurui*, introduces a balance between the traditional social values based on rituals and music, and the present-day social values based on modernity. The analysis of the social functions of *gurui* illuminates the fact that the consideration of
Kudakan music is still essential to understanding the society. Modernization and globalization are popular topics in ethnomusicology, and their influences often cause the disappearance of indigenous traditions. However, they do not always replace the traditional social value with the modernized social value. The traditional social value also affects the modernized social value. I hope this thesis will contribute to a deeper understanding of Kudakan society and musical values, and expand the interpretation of the place of music in society.
APPENDIX A: TRANSCRIPTIONS

Transcription Notes

Eleven transcriptions are used in this thesis and summarize three kamiuta and eight gurui performances. The first and second transcriptions are based on the singing of Nishime Setsuko at her house on Kudaka in September 2007. The third transcription is based on a cassette tape recording by Kaneshiro Atsumi at Yōkabî in 1982. Transcriptions four through eleven are based on my recording of gurui performance in September 2007. In addition to my recording, audio recordings of gurui in 1995 (one of the islanders asked female islanders to perform gurui for this recording) are reviewed as a complement for inaudible parts and to judge the accuracy of performance in 2007. Since my main purpose in the transcriptions is finding common rhythmic patterns of syllables and drums, obvious mistakes, which affect musical patterns, are indicated as “mistake” in the transcriptions. Also, both melody and drum lines are supposed to be performed in unison, and off-timing between performers (especially drummers) of less than a sixteenth note is transcribed as a single note. Greater off-timing in the drum part is generally indicated by an appoggiatura.

The first and second transcriptions have only a singing line, while the third transcription has singing, chorus, and drum lines. The other transcriptions have singing and drum lines. Although all songs are transcribed in staff notation and are transposed to the keys of either C or F for convenience in analysis, the actual pitch levels are indicated with cents on page 96. Since the singing pitches vary depending on the leaders who start the singing at every performance, the cents indicated in my transcriptions are applicable only to the transcriptions in this thesis.

Texts and hayashi (vocables) are distinguished in the transcriptions using small letters for texts, and capital letters for hayashi. However, all texts are recorded with small letters in transcriptions five and six because the meaning of the texts of these two
songs is unclear among the Kudakan people, and the texts and *hayashi* are indistinguishable.
Actual Pitch Levels in Cents

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<tr>
<th>Transcription</th>
<th>Notes</th>
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<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>G+97 C+67 B+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>Bb+3 B+76 Eb+16 F#+89 Ab+3 A+86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>D+68 Eb+53 F#+78 A+5 Bb+76 C#+27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>C+29 D+26 E+30 F+27 G+17 B+54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>C+41 C#+76 E+23 F+86 G+22 B+5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>F#+95 A+59 B+27 B+76 D+24 F#+8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>D+35 F#+14 F#+84 A+81 B C+24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>F#+68 Ab+95 Bb+62 B+65 C#+16 C#+86 F#+46</td>
</tr>
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<td>9</td>
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<td>10</td>
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</tr>
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<td>11</td>
<td>B+86 D+62 E+29 G+54 A+92</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX B: SOUND EXAMPLES

Sound examples on CD format are attached to the thesis at the Music Department Ethnomusicology Archive at the University of Hawai‘i at Manoa.
GLOSSARY

_Aka-hanjanashī_ アカハンジャナシー  
*Han* means god and *janashī* is an honorific form. *Aka-hanjanashī* are the gods of Nirai Kanai.

_Antikyā_ アンティキャー  
An annual event held every August 12th in the lunar calendar (September 23rd in 2007). *Tērāgami* (the male *kamiuta*) is performed on this day.

_Chijin_ チジン  
A double-headed, barrel-shaped drum, about 12 inches in diameter and 3.5 inches deep.

_Gurui_ グルイ  
A synonym of *usudeeku* in Kudaka. Although *usudeeku* is performed only by women, *gurui* is performed by both men and women.

_Hachigatsu-matti_ 八月マッティ  
An annual event held every August 10th in the lunar calendar (September 21st in 2007). *Gurui* is performed on this day.

_Hassha_ 法人  
A Kudakan male social role. Men who inherit this position are responsible for the preparation of rituals and annual events.

_Hayashi_ ハヤシ  
A musical phrase or words inserted between melodies to support and smooth out a performance. The *hayashi* words are often vocables.

_Irabū_ イラブー  
A sea snake.

_Irabū-ryo_ イラブー漁  
A sea snake hunt.

_Izaihō_ イザイホー  
An initiation rite held once every 12 years from November 15th to 18th (lunar calendar), for women from 30 to 41 years old who were born on the island. All of them had to attend the ritual to become mediums.
<p>| <strong>Kachäshi カチャーシー</strong> | An improvisatory music that is performed on every auspicious occasion in Okinawa |
| <strong>Kaiso 開祖</strong> | The ancestors who created Kudaka |
| <strong>Kamiuta 神歌</strong> | Sacred songs which are sung by women, usually with no accompaniment or with drums and hand clapping during rituals |
| <strong>Kamiyaku 神役</strong> | Kami means a god and yaku means a role. |
| <strong>Kunigami クニガミ</strong> | Inclusive name for the eight native gods of Kudaka |
| <strong>Mōai 模合</strong> | A common practice throughout Okinawa: family, relatives, or close friends gather to pool their money, and one person from the group takes money in turn. |
| <strong>Mutü'gami ムトゥ神</strong> | Gods of each Munchū (clans based on patrilineal relationships) |
| <strong>Nirai Kanai ニライカナイ.</strong> | The place where the Kudakan and Okinawan gods reside |
| <strong>Nitchu 根人</strong> | The highest male position as a community leader in traditional Kudakan society |
| <strong>Noro ノロ</strong> | The religious leaders and highest female position |
| <strong>Ryūkyū Kingdom 琉球王国.</strong> | The kingdom existed from the 15th century to the 19th century. Its government unified the Ryūkyū Islands, located between Kyushū and Taiwan. |
| <strong>Ryūkyū onkai 琉球音階</strong> | The Ryūkyū musical scale of C-E-F-G-B |
| <strong>Sake-sangō 酒三合</strong> | A group visits every house on Kudaka and collects sake (rice wine), singing the song “Sake-sangō” for the festival at Yōkabi. |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Soruganashi</strong> ソールイガナシ</th>
<th>Gods of fishing</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Tamagaê タマガエー</strong></td>
<td>Mediums who inherit their grandmother’s spirit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Têragami テーラーガミ</strong></td>
<td>Both ritual and male kamiuta held every August 12th in the lunar calendar (September 23rd in 2007) are called Têragami.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Uirê ウイレー</strong></td>
<td>Sacred songs were sung in a call-and-response style; the religious leaders started the phrases and other women repeated their phrases. This singing style is called uirê in Kudaka.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Umëgi ウメーギ</strong></td>
<td>One of the Kudakan female religious positions; her role is to assist the noro.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Usudeeku (ushideeku) ウスデーク</strong> (ウシデーク)</td>
<td>Singing and dancing by women at rituals and festivals in Okinawa and its neighboring islands. It is usually performed before and after the Bon festival in the lunar calendar in many Okinawan communities.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Utaki 御嶽</strong></td>
<td>A sacred place in Okinawa where the sprits and gods descend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Yôkabi ヨーカピー</strong></td>
<td>An annual event held every August 11th in the lunar calendar (September 22nd in 2007). Gurui is performed on this day.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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Kudakan Gurui Performers

Uchima Shinzō

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July 5, 2007 Office worker at the Naha City Hall

Nishime Fuminori
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Nishime Setsuko
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