The Cultural Interaction between Japan and Taiwan in the Colonial Period: The New-Minyo Movement and the Record 『Taiwan-Ondo』 by Victor K.K. Masuda Chikako

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The Cultural Interaction between Japan and Taiwan in the Colonial Period:
The New-Minyo Movement and the Record “Taiwan-Ondo” by Victor K.K.

MASUDA Chikako

Key words: Saijô Yaso, New Minyô Movement (Shin Minyô Undô 新民謡運動), Taiwan Riyô (Taiwan Ondô 「台灣音頭」), Taiwan, Record

Introduction

Upon discussing the modern Japanese literature established after the eternal closed door isolation policy of the Edo period ended, we cannot ignore the cultural state of various foreign countries. Up to this point, however, discussing modern Japanese literature envisioning foreign nations has seldom been attempted within Japan. In recent years, taking up examples of Asia exclusively, Writers’ Asian Experiences (『作家のアジア体験』Sakka no Ajia Taiken)1), Nakano Shigeharu and Korea (『中野重治と朝鮮』Nakano Shigehiru to Chôsen)2), Shanghai – Urban Language (『言語都市・上海』Gengo Toshi Shanhai)3), Shanghai Magic City (『魔都上海』Mato Shanhai)4), Chinese and Japanese Literature At Mutual War – Beijing Under Occupation 1937-1945 (『交争する中国文学と日本文学——淪陥下北京 1937–45』Kôsô suru Chûgokubungaku to Nihonbungaku – Rinkanka Pekin)5), books were published, little by little and researchers of Japanese Literature began shifting their focus to Asia, and with a global outlook they have begun to apprehend modern Japanese literature. However, in the modern Japanese literature in which there are colossal writers and intellectuals, within the relationship among various foreign nations, there still remains a massive heap of issues at present. In Taiwanese and Japanese literature works such as, Shimada Kinji’s (島田謹二) A Literary History of a Magnificent Isle – Japanese Poets Experience Taiwan (『華麗島文学史 — 日本詩人の台湾体験 — 』Kareijima Bungakushi – Nihonshijin no Taiwan Taiken)6), Nakajjima Toshirô’s (中島利郎) A Concise Dictionary of Taiwanese Colonial Literature (『日本統治期台湾文学小事典』Nihon Tôjiki Taiwan Bungaku shôjiten)7), Tarumi Chie’s (垂水千恵) Taiwan’s Japanese
In this article, I shall take up modern Japanese literary author Saijô Yaso’s *Taiwan Ondo* (「台湾音頭」 Victor. September, 1934.) and would like to consider the example of Taiwan and what kind of cultural negotiation occurred from the New Folk Song Movement (新民謡運動 shinminyô undô) originating in Japan and spreading to the colonial territories. Distinct from minyô from ancient tradition, the New Folk Song Movement really spanned the end of the Taishô era to the Shôwa era and led by Kitahara Hakusû (北原白秋), Noguchi Ujô (野口雨情), and Saijô Yaso, it indicates a movement for the production of folk song works. (\textsuperscript{10}) The New Folk Song Movement ushered in a golden age during a singular period at the beginning of the Shôwa era in which songwriters and dancers, flourished in tandem with the completion of the railroads, the radio, the gramophone, and the record, and spread via radio wave to not only Japan, but its colonies, as well. (\textsuperscript{11})

As Saijô Yaso is a well-known author, a copious amount of previous scholarship on his work exists to this day. (\textsuperscript{12}) However, not a single thesis exists that takes up the subject for this article — Saijô Yaso’s *Taiwan Marching Songs*. In this article I wish to show that the New Folk Song Movement which developed in Japan also spread to colonial Taiwan, and I wish to consider Saijô Yaso’s work, *Taiwan Marching Songs*, as an example, and various aspects which induced cultural exchange and friction.

1 Japan’s New Folk Song Movement

1) From The Children’s Song Movement to the New Folk Song Movement

*Akai Tori* (「赤い鳥」 “Red Bird”) (\textsuperscript{13}) published in July 1934, is a celebrated magazine propelling the Children’s Song Movement. In the words of Suzuki Miekichi, “Thinking that it would bring about the first movement to create value-laden, pure and elegant children’s songs and fairy tales as art for society’s little people, I decided to supervise the publication of the monthly magazine *Akai Tori*.” (\textsuperscript{14}) Saijô Yaso also published *Wasureta Bara* (忘れた薔薇 “The Forgotten Rose”) (\textsuperscript{15}) in September 1918 and *Kanaria* (かなり)
In November 1918 in *Akai Tori* and began a proactive relationship with the Children's Song Movement. When Narita Tamezō's 1919 composition, "Kanaria", was published, "it was the first artistic children's song to be sung throughout our nation."  

The Children's Song Movement developed in the spirit of the motto, “Free and Emancipated,” out of opposition toward the Japanese Ministry of Education’s policy of writing didactic and ceremonial songs.  

Aside from Saijō Yaso, others who participated in the movement included Kitahara Hakushū, Miki Rofū, Noguchi Ujō (野口雨情), and the composers Yamada Kósaku (山田耕筰), Narita Tamezō (成田為三), and Konoe Hidemaro (近衛秀磨). In 1910, before the Children's Song Movement, Japan's first record company, Nipponophone Co., Ltd. (會社日本蓄音器商会・ニッポノフオン) appeared and throughout the Taishō era recorded many regional minyō such as the *yagi bushi* (八木節), the *iso bushi* (磯節), the *kiso bushi* (木曽節), and many others. The development of the Children's Song Movement which centered around originality, spurred the development of the New Folk Song Movement. It was not simply the excavation and collection of minyō — original minyō would be written which celebrated the free spirit. This is what is called the New Folk Song Movement. Also, around 1918, a new music movement was to emerge from Nakayama Shinpei (中山晋平), Noguchi Ujō (野口雨情) and Miyagi Michio (宮城道雄) who gathered at the home of Motori Nagayo (本居長世) who taught at the Tokyo Music School (東京音楽学校Tôkyô Ongaku Gakkô). In 1919, the Women's College of Music performed minyō for a Folk Development Foundation recruitment, and when the concert was held, the folk song and music were united and the New Folk Song Movement was born.  

Meanwhile, in 1923 at the time of the Great Kantō Earthquake in the midst of evacuating victims gnawed with anxiety, Saijō Yaso relates, “One boy was playing a harmonica. That simple melody soothed everyone’s souls. People sought out that melody and gathered in groups of twos and threes until before long there was a great crowd. Years later, I (realized) that one of my motives for writing minyō was there.” Immediately after the Great Kantō Earthquake, he started writing many original ballads.  

In Saijō Yaso’s *The Making of Popular Minyō* (『大衆民謡のつくり方』Taishû Minyô no Tsukurikata) he expresses this as follows:  

This lyric, “Hurray! Hurray! When Mr. Young Pine grows his branches, his leaves will thicken!,” is included in every local folk song in almost all of Japan. In this way, formerly, lyrics (The author does not refer to music here.) of minyō used to celebrate the particular scenic sentiment of the local, but they are now being mixed in minyō of almost the entire country! Minyō have ceased to express the particularities of locals. I think that gives rise to an opportunity to create a new folk song lyric. The poets, who actively participated in the creation of this new local minyō, were Mr. Noguchi Ujyō and Kitahara Hakushū and the one followed them was I. I produced most starting around the sixth year to tenth year of the Shōwa era while traveling various places.  

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16) 『赤い鳥』第 1 巻 5 号(1918 年 11 月 1 日)58 ~ 59 頁。  
17) 『西条八十著作目録・年譜』(1972 年 6 月 1 日, 西条八十発行・中央公論事業出版作製)386 頁。  
18) 大阪国際児童文学館編『日本児童文学大事典第 2 巻』(1993 年 10 月 31 日, 大日本図書株式会社)の藤田圭雄「童謡」444 頁に「芸術家の目から見ると, 実に低級な, 愚な, 現在の子どもが歌つてゐる唱歌」にあきたらず, 新しい童謡運動として起こったのが, 一八年創刊の『赤い鳥』による白秋・八十を中心とした運動である」とある。  
19) 『日本民謡協会史』54 頁。  
20) 『西条八十著作目録・年譜』(前出)392 頁。  
21) 「著作目録 (歌謡)」(『西条八十著作目録・年譜』215 ~ 337 頁)によると, 関東大震災以前にも歌謡は二つあるが, 関東大震災後には一気に増えていく。  
22) 西条八十『大衆民謡のつくり方』(1947年11月5日, 全音楽譜出版社)『西条八十全集第14巻』1993年7月30日, 国書刊行会, 243 頁。
Saijyō Yaso, Kitahara Hakushū and Noguchi Ujyō composed many original *minyō* while traveling various places. Saijyō Yaso said “In the summer of the fifth year of the Shōwa era, starting on the twenty-eighth of June, I ventured on a folksong pilgrimage all over western Japan for a month with the company of the painter, Mr. Furuya Shin.23) Also, Noguchi Ujyō went on a trip to search for *minyō* with Mirigaki Jirō from Nipponophone, which later became Columbia, and published a magazine called *Minyō Ongaku* 「民謡音楽」 (Folk Music) (published by *Minyō Ongaku* Publishing.24) In fact, *Minyō Ongaku* Publishing was a part of Columbia Publishing. Because the New Folk Song Movement centered around original *minyō*, it was criticized by those such as Shiratori Seigo as follows because the New Folk Song Movement centered around creative *minyō*. In *With Regard to New Folk Song Movement* 「新しき民謡について」 (Atarashiki Minyō ni Tsuite), Shiratori Seigo says;

> It would seem that since children’s songs have flourished and the value of *minyō* have started being recognized, ordinary people have certainly started to feel closer to the thing we call “poetry” and have come to think that it is something they can actually understand and compose. Aren’t there some poets, however, who row with this flow and manufacture poems in a simple, slipshod style and call them *minyō* or children’s songs? I see many of such cases. In order to examine what these new *minyō* are, let us take a look at works of Kitahara Hakushū and Noguchi Ujyō as its representatives. In sum, they take Japanese tradition to be something narrow and fixed, and they are remarkably self-indulgent and socially destitute. *Minyō*, in essence, are things that in part have emotions which surrender to passion, and in part are things which delight in disestablishmentarianism. In the *minyō* of these two, however, lackluster, meaningless Japanese sentiment and superficial sadness flow, but these are a far cry from the vitality normally evident in social life. Such a lackluster tendency belongs neither to new nor to old *minyō*.

Taking a look at the *Minyō Mogusa* 「民謡百草」 (in *Chûô Kôron*, New Year’s edition) I have with me right now, to my surprise, I do not find many works which resemble even slightly *minyō* (or even poems). Whatever the categorization of *minyō* and poems may be, as a whole, there are too many imitations.25)

Shiratori Seigo criticized Kitahara Hakushū’s *minyō* as bourgeois, sybaritic “imitations.” Furthermore, he continues, “I believe that if poets of such superior talent as Hakushū and Ujyō come to a somewhat ideological realization and tether their *minyō* to sociality, they may produce more vibrant and interesting works.” (p. 90 of footnote 25) He asks for social statements in new *minyō* and stirred up a battle with Kitahara Hakushū.26) On the other hand, in *My Folksong Writing Feeling* 「私が民謡を書く気持ち」 (Watashi ga *Minyō* o Kaku Kimochi) Saijyō Yaso explains:

> Depending on the individual, there are some who proffer an opinion like;

> ‘Such things like *minyō* in a certain place should be written by someone who is immersed in the place for a long time, not by a professional poet who is a mere traveler.’ However, on the contrary, I undertake

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23) 『民謡の旅』 (1930 年 10 月 20 日, 朝日新聞社) 「序」 (「西条八十全集第 14 巻」255 頁)。
24) 『民謡音楽』は, 1929 年 4 月創刊。
25) 白鳥省吾「新しき民謡について」 (「日本詩人」1922 年 10 月 1 日, 2 巻 10 号, 83 頁)。
26) 1922 年『詩と音楽』「日本詩人」誌上で, 北原白秋と白鳥省吾の間で民謡をめぐって繰り広げられたもの。安智史「民謡・民衆・家庭 — 白鳥省吾と北原白秋の論争をめぐって —」 (勝原晴希編『「日本詩人」と大正詩〈口語共同体〉の誕生』2006 年 7 月 21 日, 森話社, 65 ~ 94 頁) でこの論争について取り上げているが「なお慎重な検証を今後の課題とせざるを得ない」とある。この論争は, 詩壇を巻き込んだ論議であり, 今後も充分な検討が必要である。
composing with that kind of determination.

Certainly, this opinion may have a point. However, first of all, even if it is true, is there such a talented poet in every place? That is the issue. Next, do those who live in the place for a long time grasp and recite characteristics of the place better than we? That is my question. Don’t people often say that criticisms are based on first impressions? Can’t those poets, mere travelers, who come to the place spontaneously, grasp the characteristics of the place in a more lively and sensitive manner than those who are in the place for a long time and are totally used to looking at the view and experiencing human feelings of the locals by force of habit?

Based on this self-pride, I am determined to do this work. 27)

Saijyô Yaso took pride in being a first-rate poet, actively visited the countrysides and created Original Folk Songs and practiced the New Folk Song Movement with Kitahara Hakushû and Noguchi Ujyô despite the fact that he was not from these places.

2) The Popularization of Radio, the Roots of the New Folk Song Movement, and the Arrival of the “Ondo Era”

The New Folk Song Movement and local minyô quickly spread through the appearance of radio broadcasting in 1925. “Since the start of radio broadcasting, radios spread quickly, and it is said that the audience reached 100,000 in merely one year. The popularization was so immense that in the first year of the Shôwa era, audiences are said to have reached 10,000. Soaring sales reached 394,000 within the first year of the Shôwa era, exceeded 500,000 in the third year of the Shôwa era, and passed 1,000,000 in the seventh year of the Shôwa era. Therefore, the popularity of minyô accelerated even further.” 28) Ultimately, in February 1928, at the residence of Fujisawa Morihiko, the Japan Folk Song Association was established for the purpose of collection and research as well as the composition of lyrics and music for new minyô. It included poets, musicians and scholars among its members. On October 2, 1928, the first Folk Song Festival was held at Hibiya New Music Hall (日比谷新音楽堂 Hibiya Shin Ongakudô) with the Japan Folk Song Association as its main participant and was sponsored by the Tokyo Ward. At the festival, poets and musicians presented new minyô and dancers danced, and the record shows that it has been held as an annual event of the Tokyo Ward every year since then. 29) Ushiyama Mitsuru describes the Folk Song Festival and the new minyô as “The Bright Future of New Minyô” in the following manner:

The annual Folk Song Festival at Hibiya New Music Hall, which became an annual event held by The Folk Song Association, stimulated the creative elaborations done by the composers and dancers who composed and danced in collaboration with new folk song writers. It led them to make further efforts and training, and at the same time, involved ordinary people in the realm of folk song influence, granted them a deeper understanding, and attempted to help them achieve a love for new folk songs through this better understanding.

On the other hand, advances into cities with local folk songs accompanied by local dances were attempted one after another; They were polished or changed to a certain extent by the tastes of the denizens of the

27) 『大衆民謡のつくり方』(『西条八十全集第14巻』, 前出, 245頁)。
28) 『日本民謡協会史』(前出)51頁。
29) 『日本民謡協会史』54頁および「日本民謡協会」(古茂田信男『雨情と新民謡運動』, 前出, 72頁)参照。
city; They returned to the original locales or they started spreading all over Japan; On the whole, with one or two exceptions, its popularity does not seem to have reached those of new folk song lineage. The new minyō completely broke the mold of traditional minyō in their tones, and exhibit a wide range of variety and complexity in their content. Thus, it gave those composers and dancers a free world where they could let loose their creative genius abundantly. Thinking a bit about those who have already appeared, how readily we can anticipate and expect their magnificent surge and development in the future!  

While he compares the new minyō to traditional minyō, Mitsuru reveals his expectation that new minyō will flourish and develop. Record companies focused on the development of new minyō and produced folk song records.

Columbia Records released a series of new folk song records for national park sight seeing spots in 1932 and Victor also produced a national representative folk song series compiling new minyō. With regard to the New Folk Song Movement, Hattori Yoshika offers the following opinion in “The Future of Minyō—A Few Other Comments”:

In the past, minyō emerged naturally. Now, minyō are created consciously. Moreover, some are well crafted or shoddy, fake or genuine. Thus, for the most part, even though those born naturally may contain a few rough edges, they are considered genuine, while those that are created may have well crafted aspects they are considered fakes.

However, in these days, it may be safely said that it is almost impossible to expect minyō to emerge naturally. Although there may be a wide range of well crafted or shoddy and fake or genuine songs, the songs created by a person representing the people, the majority, please our ears and eyes, not the songs that emerge from the people. So, in the future, people will probably pay greater attention to the unique taste of the creators rather than to the locality, the locus where the songs were born.

In this way, the New Minyō Movement developed following the maxim, “Individual style over locality.” There were a number of new minyō created such as the following: “Suzaka Kouta” (Nagano Prefecture) (Lyrics by Nagai Hakubi, Music by Nakayama Shinpei) in 1922, “Miusa Kouta” (Tottori Prefecture) (Lyrics by Noguchi Ujyō, Music by Nakayama Shinpei) in 1924, “Tyakkiri-bushi” (Shizuoka Prefecture) (Lyrics by Kitahara Hakushû, Music by Machida Kashô) in 1927, “Sattemo-bushi” (Tôkamachi Kouta, Niigata Prefecture) (Lyrics by Nagai Hakubi, Music by Nakayama Shinpei, “Jyôshû Kouta” (Gunma Prefecture) (Lyrics by Noguchi Ujyō, Music by Nakayama Shinpei) in 1929, “Gion Kouta” (Kyoto Prefecture) (Lyrics by Nagata Mikihiko, Music by Sassa Kôka), “Kusazu Kouta” (Gunma Prefecture) (Lyrics by Sôma Gyohû, Music by Nakayama Shinpei) in 1930, “Irôzaka Kouta” (Fukushima Prefecture) (Lyrics by Saijyô Yaso, Music by Nakayama Shinpei) in 1931, “Isobara-bushi” (Ibaragi Prefecture) (Lyrics by Noguchi Ujyō, Music by Fujii Kiyomi), “Tenryû Kudareba” (Nagano Prefecture) (Lyrics by Nagata Mikihiko, Music by Nakayama Shinpei) in 1933. I would like to draw your special attention to “Habuno Minato” (Habu Harbor) whose were lyrics written by Noguchi

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30) 牛山充「輝く新民謡の将来」（『民謡音楽』1930 年 1 月 1 日，174 ～ 175 頁）。
31）『日本民謡協会』（前出）56 頁。
32）服部嘉香「民謡の将来 —その外、時評二三—」（『民謡音楽』1930 年 4 月 1 日，14 頁）。
33）『日本民謡協会史』（前出）57 頁参照。
Ujyō and whose music was composed by Nakamura Shinpei. This is a minyō celebrating Ôshima. The song was sold as a record from Victor, was sung by Satō Chiyako and became a huge hit. Before that, there were the hit songs; “Katyusha-no Uta” (「カチューシャの唄」) (Song of Katyusa) (Lyrics by Sôma Gyohû, Shimamura Hôgetu, music by Nakayama Shinpei) around 1916-1917 and “Sendô Kouta” (「船頭小唄」) (“Skipper Kouta”) (Lyrics by Noguchi Ujyō, music by Naayama Shinpei) in 1921, “Syussen” (「出船」) (“Embarkation”) (Lyrics Katsuta Kôgetsu, music by Nakayama Shinpei) in 1927, but these “the popularization of hit songs through the medium of the record was just a factory production.” Also, in 1928, “Mon Paris”, 「モン・パリ」 (Lyrics by Kishida Tatsuya, music by Vincent Scott) which was used in the musical by the Takarazuka Girls Opera was released from Victor and became a huge hit. “Arabia-no Uta” (「アラビアの唄」) (Lyrics by Nagata Mikihiko, music by Sasaki Syunichi) in 1929 became popular and a soundtrack, “Tokyo Kôshinkyoku” (東京行進曲) (“Tokyo Marching Song”) from the movie, Tokyo Kôshinkyoku, became a big hit and sold some two hundred thousand copies. “Shima no Musume” sold out at 500,000 copies. I think the only songs that reached sales of five hundred thousand were ‘‘Kimi Koishi” such as “Gyohû, Shimamura Hôgetu, music by Nakayama Shinpei. This is a

We made a request to Mr. Nakayama Shinpei and Saijô Yaso, and they produced a song called “Maruno-uchi Ondo” (丸の内音頭) and we danced to it in Hibiya Park in the summer of that same year. But it wasn’t a big hit. The following year, we thought it didn’t become popular because it was called “Maru-no-uchi.” In other words, people in Shinjuku were better off not going to Maru-no-uchi, and people in Asakusa must not like Maru-no-uchi, so there came the suggestion to change the title to “Maruno-uchi.” In other words, people in Shinjuku were better off not going to Maru-no-uchi, and people in Asakusa must not like Maru-no-uchi, so there came the suggestion to change the title to “Tokyo Ondo” and re-write the lyrics by including topics like worshiping the emperor and patriotism so that it would turn into a song they could sing in their homes or anywhere. That’s how ‘Tokyo Ondo’ came about. This became a huge hit and the so-called “Ondo era” was established. 38) Mitsuru continues:


34) 長尾直『流行歌のイデオロギー』 (1974年 4月 1日. 世界思想社. 31 頁).
35) 同書. 80 頁.
36) 岡庄五『最近に於けるレコード会の趨勢』 (1936年 9月 4日. 日本文化協会出版部. 35 ~ 36 頁).
37) 同書. 40 ~ 41 頁.
38) 同書. 42 ~ 43 頁.
produced a great number of ondo in 1934, especially. Starting at the end of 1935, the production of ondo gradually started declining. For Saijô Yaso, 1934, probably was the peak of his ondo production. 39)

2 The Japanese New Minyô Movement and Taiwan

1) Taiwan’s Folk Ballad Magazine Wakakusa (『わかくさ』) and its Relationship to The Japanese Folk Song Movement

Well, with regard to Taiwan Marching Songs, I would like to report something of profound interest I have discovered. Before this, I would like to introduce a particular Taiwanese folk ballad magazine which is related to Saijô Yaso’s Taiwan Ondo.

The New Minyô Movement exhibited an expansion toward Japan’s colonies and it influenced Taiwan as well. Let us take up the example of Taiwan’s riyô magazine, Wakakusa (“Young Grass”). Published in Taipei, this magazine was focused on Japanese living abroad in Taiwan and was written entirely in Japanese. The title Wakakusa being written in the Japanese syllabary, hiragana, the magazine featured editions like Wakakusa: Riyô and Minyô (Issue no. 181) (『わかくさ 俚謡と民謡』), Wakakusa: Riyô, Minyô, Dōyô (Issue no. 186) (『わかくさ 俚謡・民謡・童謡』), Wakakusa: Riyô Research Issue (Issue no. 194) (『わか草 俚謡研究誌』), Wakakusa (Issue no. 169) (『若草』), and Wakakusa: Riyô Research Issue (Issue no. 197) (『わかくさ 俚謡研究誌』). 40) Being very highly interesting Riyô magazines, further research should be done on the publication of this magazine, however, I would like to write about this in a different paper as I am currently researching and organizing the whole picture. 41) In this paper, I would like to just touch base on Yoshida Makoto’s “Kaoru Wakakusa Nihyaku-gô Tsunde” (薫る若草二百号積んで) in Wakakusa (No.200) published in October 1935. The first publishing of Wakakusa was in January 1917 on mimeograph copies. Starting with its first issue in January 1918, it was printed via letterpress on kiku-size paper. Starting in January 1921, it was published as a shiroku size magazine. From issue one to volume three, issue twelve, the front cover was printed in black single-color with the illustration of several young bracken sprouts shooting out between fresh grass. From volume four, issue one to issue eleven, it also showed fresh grass in black single-color printing. From volume five, issue one to issue eleven, the left side was blue, the right side was green with an illustration of fresh grass in the color blue. From volume six, issue one, to issue eighty-one, the illustration was stylized young grass, western flowers drawn in a triangle, and a series of fish swimming in the shape of an obi. From volume eighty-two to volume ninety-two, white lilies were illustrated on a green back. From issue ninety-three to issue one-hundred-and-one, women are dancing among willows beside a river. From issue one-hundred-twelve

39) 著作目録（歌謡）（『西条八十著作目録・年譜』, 前出, 234 ～ 239 頁）を見ると, 1934 年に最も音頭制作が多いのがわかる。
40) Wakakusa Riyô to Minyô 『わかくさ 俚謡と民謡』, March Issue. Publication data fault. No publication date.
41) Wakakusa—Riyô, Minyô, Dōyô, September Issue. Publication data fault. No publication date.
42) Wakakusa Riyô Kenkyûshi,『わかくさ 俚謡研究誌』April Issue. Publication data fault. No publication date.
43) Wakakusa, March Issue. Publication data fault. No publication date.
44) Wakakusa, July Issue. Publication data fault. No publication date.
45) I looked at all of those housed in the Taiwan National Central Library Small Collection. It is not in their possession, however, so I am currently searching for it. If you know of where it is archived, or if you own it privately, please let me know.
46) Yoshida Makoto, Kaoru Wakakusa Nihyaku-gô Tsunde,「薫る若草二百号積んで」(Wakakusa, 1935 October, pp. 13-20)
to issue one-hundred-twenty-five, a geisha is applying her make-up. From issue one-hundred-six to one-hundred-forty-seven, orchids by Zixuanzi 紫軒子. Starting on issue one-hundred-forty-eight, photos from the Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpōsha 台湾日々新報社 were sometimes used. From issue one-hundred-eighty-two, a column section for minyō and dōyō was established. From issue one-hundred-eighty-four, the subtitle on the front cover reads, “riyō, minyō, dōyō (俚謡・民謡・童謡)” With issue two hundred in October 1935, it reached nineteen years of publication. This is a short history of Wakakusa. It actively introduces and welcomes leaders of the New Minyō Movement through activities such as re-publishing “Minyō Shiron” (“My Personal Statement Regarding Minyō”) or hosting a welcome party on the July 2, 1934 for Kitahara Hakushû, who visited Taiwan. (Published in “Nippon no Fue” 『日本の笛』, Japanese Flute) As you can see, influences of the New Minyō Movement are found abundantly. Incidentally, according to the description of Wakakusa (no.184), the welcome party for Kitahara Hakushû is described as follows:

Welcome Party for Kitahara Hakushû-Sensei

On the occasion of our authority, Kitahara Hakushû-sensei's arrival to Taiwan, our society is holding a welcome party for him and will interview him. Members and fans, please join us.

Place: Taihokushi Kawabata-chô, Kishû-an
Date and Time: June 19. Starts: 7:00PM. Ends: 9:00PM
Fee: 3 yen. Please pay on the day
Reservations: End June 17.

Host Wakakusa-kai
Minato-kai④7)

Kitahara Hakushû arrived on July 2, 1934 (Refer to Footnote 50), so his arrival must have been delayed much longer than expected as his welcome party was planned in June. Also, Wakakusa (no.185)④8) states as follows:

Kitahara Hakushû Sensei Welcome Party

Our authority, Kitahara Hakushû Sensei was expected to arrive in Taiwan in the middle of last month, but his schedule was changed and he arrived on July 1. As he has been busy, the welcome party was postponed, however, with the permission from our teacher, we have decided to hold a rustic style welcome party unique to our society. So, members and others, please join us.

Place: Taihokushi Kawabata-chô, Kishû-an

Date and Time: July 23. Starts: 7:00PM
Haiku Topic: 「北, 原, 白, 秋」 Free Musubi, Five haiku per person
Judge: Kitahara Hakushû Sensei

④7) Wakakusa, Riyō, Minyō, Dōyō, 『わかくさ 俚謡・民謡・童謡』June Issue, p.44. Publication data fault. No publication date.
Reservation: Closes July 22
Fee: 3 yen. Please bring on the day

Wakakusa-kai⁴⁹)

The description that he arrived on July 1 is wrong according to the newspaper article in the *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* (台湾日日新報). (July 3, 1934, p.7) He arrived on July 2. The Wakakusa-kai has asked him to serve as a haiku judge and his strong influence on the society can be seen. The arrival of Kitahara Hakushû to Taipei is reported in the *Taiwan Nichinichi Shinpō* in an article titled, “Mr. Kitahara Hakushû, who came to Taiwan looking forward to the tropical scenery in Taiwan, talks. Miyake Lieutenant General Army Transit Chief also arrived.” Hakushû seems to have boarded the “Hôrai-maru” and there were “three hundred thirty six” passengers. In the article, entitled, “Mr. Kitahara Hakushû’s Interview”, Kitahara states:

Even though I had thought that I really, really wanted to go to Taiwan, ultimately a chance didn’t present itself, but this time I was summoned by Bureau Director Yasutake (安武) of my hometown and there finally being a reason, I am on a month-long round trip, will stay for twenty days and will be shown all corners of Taiwan. As I hadn’t seen it at my leisure, I can’t say what my first impressions are, but because I will no doubt have to show my poems, songs or verses at length please forgive me for not showing them here. The fact that the popularity of *minyô* and *kouta* is influenced by the record is deplorable. Within the complex relationship between the writers, lyricists, or poets and the record companies which cannot be expressed in a single word, there exists something completely morally reprehensible. There is absolutely no literary value. However, already tired of *minyô*, the record companies also are at a dead end⁵⁰).

As Hakushû points out, *minyô* seemed to run into an impasse caused by cash-oriented recording companies around 1934. In the next chapter, I would like to detail the Saijô Yaso “Taiwan Ondo” plagiarism incident.

2) The Saijô Yaso “Taiwan Ondo” Plagiarism Incident

In “Wakakusa Riyô, *Minyô, Dôyô*” (no. 187), Saijô Yaso’s “Taiwan Ondo” plagiarism incident is recorded. It is rather long, but I am going to quote the whole article here.

Opinions against Saijô Yaso

As summarized in the previous issue⁵¹) against Saijô Yaso’s *minyô* plagiarism, the public opinion in

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⁴⁹) Ibid. p.9
⁵¹) *Wakakusa, Riyô, Minyô, Dôyô*, (Issue 186, September Issue, No date of publication) On p. 23, under the title, “Is Saijô Yaso a Poet Plagiarist?”, the issue is taken up. “Based upon the story behind this, we can allege that it is indeed plagiarism. His brute boldness surprised us since he, a Japanese poet and the established writer, presented the shameless, unethical knockoff song so brazenly. It is indeed a copy write violation. Even if it were a coincidence, his poetic sensibility is so poor that his value as a poet would have no value. We do not really wish to condemn him. However, against the act of cheating, we will challenge him to the end. We may be unknown, but, we are not his stepping-stones. If he wants lyrics, we will offer them free of charge. However, because it was not only used without our permission, but was re-written so poorly, we cannot be silent. Furthermore, if it were an unknown person, we would have just dismissed it, but it was Mr. Saijô, the established authority, so we cannot
Taipei boiled, and the Minami Nippoin Shinpō and The Taiwan Economic Times published in August 24 ran the editorials below:

Our chief of staff, Mr. Komatsu Shōtō, also joined us on the thirteenth of this month, and we discussed concrete solutions and decided the course of future actions.

Plagiarism of the Minyō, “Taiwan Ondo,” Occurred
The Painstaking Work of Member of Taiwan Wakakusa-kai
Is Released Under the Name Saijō Yaso from Victor

Accusations of cheating and plagiarism from one corner of the Shimato bundan are creating an uproar as voices of criticism are being cast at Saijo Yaso, who, along with Kitahara Hakushû, are currently the number one minyo composers for Victor Japan, a gramophone company as famous as Columbia Records. The issue is a dispute revolving around the recently released Victor record, “Taiwan ondô,” authored by Saijō Yaso and sung by Kouta Shōtarô and Mishima Issei. The lyrics comprise four stanzas, yet, except for the following underlined portions of the second stanza, “Ôgimatsureya Kitashirakawa no, Miya wa Zentô no, Miya wa Zentô no Mamorigami,”

「仰ぎまつれや北白川の，宮は全島の，宮は全島の守り神」

“Worship Kitashirakawa, the shrine is the guardian of the whole island,” the major revelation is that most of the lyrics are borrowed without permission from “Taipei Ondô”, a painstaking collaborative work by members of the Wakakusa Society which is preeminent among Taiwan’s riyô (俚謡 Riyô) societies. The original lyrics for the underlined passage on the right are, “Nagare tsukisenu”

「流れつきせぬ」

“The flow never ceases”. In addition, there is the phrase, “Miya wa Shimane”

「宮は島根」. In place of “Shimane”, such an unpolished and moreover discordant word, “zentô”, is placed, which reveals evidence of strained plagiarism. For someone like Saijô-sensei’s refashioning, it is the height of artlessness. Members of Wakakusa decided to create ondo that have abundant rustic taste in Taiwan as well. They put their hearts and souls into painstakingly creating this fruit of an ondo, so they were confident with their work. Without knowing the other party’s despicable intentions, at the time it was submitted to the arts department of the said company for record production negotiations, it was splendid, but because the popularity of the ondô had declined somewhat, they were told to wait a while for the right opportunity. A few verses were then suddenly altered without the permission of the writers, attributed to another author and manufactured and released for sale, so, it is only natural that they became enraged. They can be proud that the value of their work was labeled as the product of Japan’s number one, Saijô Yaso. However, the shamelessness to sell another’s work with pretentious labeling, whatever the company’s business pursuit or sales tactics may be and regardless of the precedent that people were taken advantage of, is indeed a disgraceful, flagrant breach of morality. It is worth thorough condemnation. It is laughable that they are promoting Japanese nationalism with such a scam.

(Minami Nihon Kiji Sairoku)

Ono Stolen

Saijô Yaso vs. Wakakusa

It is not that it is the first time that an established writer from the Chûô bundan commits an act of remain silent. There should be a word from him. We will await his clear response and consider future solutions.”
plagiarism, but the fact that Saijō Yaso, who is known to be the most famous kouta and popular song writer of this generation, has his hands all the way to the south in Wakakusa, which devotes itself undividedly to the popularization and development of riyō, is seen as clear plagiarism based on part of a Taiwan ondo released recently from Victor. In the Taiwan ondo appearing at the beginning of Wakakusa, issue eighty-one, it reads, “Nagarazukisenn Kitashirakawa no, Miya wa Shimane no Mamorigami,” (流れつきせぬ 北白川の, 宮は島根の 守り神) which appears as “Aogi tate matsureya Kitashirakawa no, Miya wa Zentō no Mamori gami” (仰ぎ奉れや 北白川の 宮は全島の守り神) in Victor’s Taiwan Ondo. And Katsutarō and Mishima Issei sing this at the top of their lungs, so both “Aogi tate matsureya” and “Zentō” sound like unimaginable clichés of Saijō Yaso’s original work. Although this can be seen as a publicity stunt by a profit-making business, members of Wakakusa raged as if trampled underfoot. The story that he instructed Victor’s Taihoku branch chief staff how to record this “Taihoku Ondo” by borrowing from Wakakusa, and the fact that “Taiwan Ondo” was released shortly thereafter seems to be inflicting criticism not only from members of Wakakusa, but also people living in Taiwan as they think he made a fool of them.

(Above from Times)52

In their extended quotations above, South Japan News Dispatch Reprint (南日本記事再録 Minami Nippon Kiji Sairoku) refers to the South Japan Dispatch (南日本新報 Minami Nippon Shinpō) and The Times (タイムス) refers to The Taiwan Economic Times (南日本新報). As for the “Taiwan Ondo” released for sale by Victor with Saijō Yaso as its author, according to their reprint of the newspaper article appearing in Wakakusa Riyō, Minyō, and Dōyō (no.187), a portion of his poem was borrowed from Wakakusa Riyō and Minyō (no.181) without their permission. The so-called plagiarism is suspect. I had a look at their article in the March 1934 Wakakusa Riyō and Minyō (no.181). The Taipei Ondó in question appeared on pages 2-3 of Wakakusa Riyō and Minyō (no.181). I shall try to reproduce the full text.

Taiwan Ondó (Island Municipal kouta) Wakakusa Society Songwriters

1. タイ湾歌の台北 明るい所 ホイホイ 災の鎮めの 島の鎮めの ある所 サレ サンサ サラサラ 椰子の風
   1. Uta no Taihoku Akarui
   Tokoro Hoihoi
   Shima no Shizume no Shima no
   Shizume no Aru Tokoro Sore
   Sansa Sarasara Yashi no Kaze
   Ah, song of Taipei, a cheerful place, Hoy! Hoy!
   The island’s calming, the island’s calming part; This is – ruffle, rustle, rustle – the wind in the coconut trees!

2. 伸びる都の 朝霧分けて ホイホイ 島の文化の 島の文化の 塔が浮く サレ サンサ サラサラ 椰子の風
   2. Nobiru Miyako no
   Asatsuyu Wakete Hoihoi
   Shima no Bunka no Shima no
   Bunka no Tō ga uku Sore
   Sansa Sarasara Yashi no kaze
   Ah, Splitting the morning fog and the sprawling city, Hoy! Hoy!
   Floats the tower of the island’s culture, the tower of the island’s culture This is – ruffle, rustle, rustle – the wind in the coconut trees!

3. ネオンサインの 時雨を縫うて ホイホイ 走る市バスの 走る市バスの 銀ねずみ サレ サンサ サラサラ 椰子の風
   3. Neon sain no Shigure o
   Nuute Hoihoi
   Hashiru Shibasu no Hashiru
   Shibasu no Ginnezumi Sore
   Sansa Sarasara Yashi no Kaze
   Ah, Weaving through the drizzle of the neon signs, Hoy! Hoy!
   The silver of the running bus, the silver of the running bus; This is – ruffle, rustle, rustle – the wind in the coconut trees!

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4. Á Nenne Nemu no Ki Sansen
Dôro Hoihoi
Kata o Naraberya Kata o
Naraberya Hana ga Chiru Sore
Sansa Sarasara Yashi no Kaze

4. Nighty-night sleepy silk tree, Hoy! Hoy!
Shoulder to shoulder, Shoulder to shoulder
the flowers fall; This is – ruffle, rustle, rustle
– the wind in the coconut trees!

5. Á Mizu no Shizuka na
Tsurubana no Yanagi Hoihoi
Akai Akari ga Uku Akai Akari
ga Uku Utaga Uku Sore Sansa
Sarasara Yashi no Kaze

5. Tranquil waters, creeping flowers of the willow, Hoy! Hoy!
Red lanterns are afloat, red lanterns are
afloat, songs are afloat; This is – ruffle,
rustle, rustle – the wind in the coconut trees!

6. Á Nagare Tsukisenu
Kitashirakawa no Hoihoi
Miya wa Shimane no Miya wa
Shimane no Mamorigami Sore
Sansa Sarasara Yashi no Kaze

6. The flow of the Kitashirakawa River
never ceases, Hoy! Hoy!
The Shrine of Shimane, the Shrine of
Shimane, the guardian; This is – ruffle,
rustle, rustle – the wind in the coconut trees!

7. Á Tsuki no Anmeru
Maruyama Koeriya Hoihoi
Koishi Hokutô no Koishi
Hokutô no Yuno Kemuri Sore
Sansa Sarasara Yashi no Kaze

7. The moon is full, passing Maruyama.
Beloved Hokutô, beloved Hokutô, the steam
from the hot springs; This is – ruffle, rustle,
rustle – the wind in the coconut trees!

8. Á Kaoru Matsurika Daidao ni Hoihoi
Chayori Otome no Chayori
Otome no Kasa ga iku Sore
Sansa Sarasara Yashi no Kaze

8. Young maidens picking tea, young maidens
picking tea, there go the straw hats! This is
– ruffle, rustle, rustle – the wind in the coconut trees!

9. Á Niji ga Karanda
Taihokubashi o Hoihoi
Kudaru Jyanku no Kudaru
Jyanku no Ho ga Akai Sore
Sansa Sarasara Yashi no Kaze

9. Rainbows grasping Taihoku Bridge,
Junkets going down river, junkets going
down river, flying red sails; This is – ruffle,
rustle, rustle – the wind in the coconut trees!

10. Á Hune wa Minami e
Oikaze o Ukete Hoihoi
Shima no Miyako no Shima no
Miyako no Uta Kikini Sore
Sansa Sarasara Yashi no Kaze

10. Southbound ships riding the tail wind,
To the island capital, to the island capital to
listen to the songs! This is – ruffle, rustle,
rustle – the wind in the coconut trees!

By contrast, we shall see “Taiwan Ondo” lyrics by Saijô Yaso, music by Nakayama Shinpei, sang by Mishima Issei/Kouta Shôtarô. (“Tokyo Ondo” A remake, 1934 September Victor) I shall quote the entire
lyrics. 53)

| Hài Odore, Hayaseya Choito | Ha! Ha! Ha! Dance, Talk, Hey! Hey! Taiwan ondo! (Yo! Yo!) |
|----------------------------|--|---------------------------------------------------|
| Taiwan Ondo (Yoi yoi)     |                               |
|                            |                               |
| Shima wa Tsukiyô no, Shima wa Tsukiyô no Minami kaze (Sate) Yattôna Sore Yoi yoi yoi (Yattôna Sore Yoi yoi yoi) | Island under the midnight moon, Island under the midnight moon of the southern wind (Ok!) Let’s go! Hey! Yo! Yo! Yo! (Let’s go! Hey! Yo! Yo! Yo!) |
|                            |                               |
| Aogi matsure ya Kitashirakawa no Miya wa Zentô no, Miya wa Zentô o Mamorigami | Worship Kitashirakawa Shrine, the shrine is the island’s, the shrine is the island’s guardian. |
|                            |                               |
| Yama wa Nitaka Hi no Moto Ippon yo Ari no Hinoki wa, Ari no Hinoki wa Sekai Ichi | Nitaka Mountain is the Japan’s number one! The cypress trees of Ari are the world’s best! |
|                            |                               |
| Shincha Taihoku Meisho wa Tainan Naka no Taichû wa, Naka no Taichû wa Kome no Yama | The new tea of Taihoku, the famous attraction is Tainan. Taichu in the middle, Taichu in the middle is a mountain of rice! |
|                            |                               |
| Arae, Kuroshio Sokoku no Minami Mamoru Warera no, Mamoru Warera no Tetsu no Ude | Row to Kuroshio, south of the homeland, we shall defend it, we defend it with our iron arms! |

Certainly, the sixth stanza of “Taipei Ondô” and the second stanza of “Taiwan Ondô” bear resemblance. According to a newspaper report, “At the time it was submitted to the arts department of the said company for record production negotiations it was splendid, but because the popularity of ondô had declined somewhat, they were told to wait a while for the right opportunity. A few verses were then suddenly altered without the permission of the writers, attributed to another author and was manufactured and released for sale,” so it is likely that Victor used “Taipei Ondô” without the permission of its authors. Unfortunately, Saijô Yaso may have become involved in this. I actually searched the August 24, 1934 editions of the 『わかくさ』掲載の新聞 Nannippon Shimpô (『南日本新報』“South Japan Dispatch”) and Taiwan Keizai Taimusu (『台湾経済タイムス』“The Taiwan Economic Times”). Taiwan National University had the Taiwan Keizai Taimusu from April 1932 to October 1938 and though they had the August 1934 editions, the only edition they did not have was the August 24 edition. It was also archived in the National Diet Library, but it was a microfilm copy of those at Taiwan National University. There were some Taiwan Keizai Taimusu remaining, but when I searched Taiwan’s NACSIS-WEBCAT site for the August 1934 edition in question, they were not archived in the public libraries. Thus, regrettably, I have not seen the originals in either of the two newspapers. However, I think that perhaps the reason that only the August 24 edition no longer remains is that during the colonial occupation policy the

Nannippon Shinpô may have been put under pressure from Japan to not circulate that day. In 1929, Saijô Yaso signed an exclusive contract with Victor, and in 1932, he also signed a one year exclusive contract with Columbia without altering his Victor contract. In 1933, his contract with Columbia expired and he had just the one Victor contract. However, in September 1935 he transferred his exclusive contract from Victor to Columbia. As the reason he stated, “It wasn’t at all that Victor was a difficult company to remain with but, ultimately, my single request for lyricists and composers to be treated by the same standards was not accepted. There were a few other reasons besides this, but that one point led me to part with Victor.” 54 I take issue with Saijô Yaso’s remark, “There were a few other reasons besides this.” Saijô Yaso will not reveal the particulars, but there may be a connection with the “Taiwan Ondô” plagiarism uproar. In former Victor belles letters department Oka Shôgo’s book, Saikin ni Okeru Recôdo kai no Sûsei 『最近に於けるレコード会の趨勢』, he had this to say about the state of affairs in record companies in 1936:

So, with regard to how large this business is these days, there are not many companies who are registered, but there are many small, individual places that are manufacturing records. First of all, if we grouped them all together, there would be about fifteen or sixteen that I could say were actual manufacturers. Then, there is an organization called the Record Manufacturers Association which makes records, but currently there are six companies participating in this. These six are Victor, Columbia, Polydor, Teichiku, Dai Nippon and also the recently affiliated King. So, I think currently the gross investment capital in this group is around twelve to thirteen million yen. I don’t know the figures for the individual companies, but in total I think it is around that much. It is thought that the total annual amount for this business is approximately thirty million yen or so. I am unable to say that these figures are definite however, but, basically I know that I cannot say that these figures are completely on the mark, nor can I say that they are far off the mark. Currently, there are approximately two million records being pressed and released to the market per month, but among these it is thought that 1,500,000 are being consumed by customer demand. That being the case, presently there is a state of overproduction. 55

The records were kept producing to the extent it gets overproduction. This is because record companies overreached their business tactics. In Wakakusa Riyô, Minyô, and Dôyô (no.188) Yoshika Yumeji wrote the following in, “Discussing Ujô and His Work”:

I met with Ujô and received his tutelage on creating dôyô for more than eighteen years, and not one person can imitate his teaching attitude those days with his invariable friendliness and his company as an affectionate father figure.

Overall, it is probably because of his plainness, he cannot be as popular as Saijô Yaso. However, between Kitahara Hakushû’s cheerfulness and Ujô’s austere simplicity, it is indeed this austere simplicity that is a precious thing I think, and it is a point I think that I can never stop respecting and relying upon. 56

Here he mentions Saijô Yaso, Noguchi Ujô and Kitahara Hakushû but, the very three men who propelled the New Minyô Movement also greatly influenced Wakakusa, seems to have left impression on him. He writes, “(Noguchi Ujô) travelled to Taiwan twice, in 1927 (April) and in 1939 (November–

56 Yoshika Yumeji, Ujô-shi to Sono Sakuhin o Kataru, 「雨情氏とその作品を語る」 (Wakakusa, Riyô, Minyô, Dôyô, October Issue, Date of publication unknown, pp. 3-6)
December). However, any documents with clear details of the trip do not remain, so now analysis and explication is difficult,” but the significance of the New Minyō Movement he brought about in Taiwan is profound.57)

Conclusion

In summation, representative leaders of the New Minyō Movement in Japan, Kitahara Hakushū, Saijō Yaso, Noguchi Ujō, Nakayama Shinpei et al, brought about a New Minyō Movement in Colonial Taiwan and many sósaku kayō (nouveau kayō) were created on Taiwan soil. Wakakusa is the representative magazine of the sósaku kayō. Because of the excessive strategy of the record business and commercialism, the original goal of the New Minyō Movement was ruined, and as can be seen in the “Taiwan Ondō” plagiarism problem that occurred, in this way there was a dark side – Nonetheless, the global spread of the New Minyō Movement and the arts in Taiwan were mutually influenced by one another. Thus, we have been able to learn one part of the cultural negotiation occurring in East Asia.

N.B. – In addition, help in researching Taiwanese newspapers for this article was provided by Dr. Shyu Shing-Ching of National Taiwan University, to whom I wish to express my most extreme and humble gratitude.

57) Higashi Michihito, Noguchi Ujō—Shi to Minyōno Tabi,『野口雨情 詩と民謡の旅』(1995 October 31, Tôseisha, p.2)