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要計畫—國際交流計畫

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結案報告書

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**The Fourth Conference of the NTU  
Shakespeare Forum  
— Shakespeare in Cultur**

**臺大莎士比亞論壇**

**發表成員：Robert Tierney**

**發表題目：Othello at Light Comedy in Early  
Twentieth Century Japan**

The Fourth  
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
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
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## *Othello* as Light Comedy in Early Twentieth Century Japan

Robert Tierney\*

1891

Abata

Denshichiro

Pock-marked

Densichiro

木下田太郎

CEO of

Taiwan

Sugar

Company

New

Othello 1906

In this paper, I will introduce *Shinosero* (*New Othello*), a comic adaptation of Shakespeare's *Othello* written by Masuda Tarōkaja and first performed in Japan in 1906. The play was revived several times over the following decade and was played in theaters in Taiwan as well. By all accounts, it was a resounding popular success. Before examining this play, I will look at the early history of the reception of *Othello* in Japan, focusing on adaptations of the play in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Next, I will analyze *New Othello* and consider how an original tragic play was turned into a light social comedy and what makes the play comic. Finally, I will look at the establishment of comic genre of Japanese theater, hitherto dominated by historical and tragic plays, and its significance for Japanese theater.

Let me briefly introduce a few early adaptations of *Othello* in Japan that set the stage for the Masuda play. In the first place, narrative adaptations of *Othello* appeared in the 1890s, before any translations into Japanese were available. In 1891, Jōno Denpei (1832-1902) serialized the novel *Abata Denshichirō* (Pock-marked Denshichirō) in the *Yamato Newspaper*<sup>1</sup> and it was published in book form in 1893.<sup>2</sup> In his preface to this work, he describes *Othello* as a "famous Western novel," suggesting that he was familiar with the *Tales of Shakespeare* (1807) by Mary and Charles Lamb, which had already been translated into Japanese.<sup>3</sup> In 1892, Matsubayashi Baien performed *Abata Denshichirō* as a *kōdan* (a traditional form of dramatic

\* Assistant Professor of Japanese, University of Illinois, Urbana Champaign, and Visiting Professor, University of Tsukuba.

<sup>1</sup> The *Yamato Newspaper* was famous for publishing stenographed accounts of *rakugo* and *kōdan* performances and popular novels in *kōdan* style.

Stenography as a technique for transcribing the human voice into writing was introduced into Japan at this time. Such early efforts to record colloquial styles contributed to the standardization of writing and the development of the modern colloquial novel.

<sup>2</sup> See Taira Tatsuhiko, "Hon'an Kōdanka Oserō to shinbun shōsetsu abata Denshichirō, Ronshō" in *Akita Keizai Hōka Daigaku tanki daigaku bu*, #74, 2004, 1-30.

<sup>3</sup> The first Japanese translation of the Lambs' *Tales From Shakespeare* (*Seikūsugia monogatari*) was published in 1886.

storytelling) in the Tamanoitei yose. In this adaptation, the story is set in the city of Edo (Tokyo) in the year 1853, that is to say, the very same year that Admiral Perry commanded his fleet of Black Ships to force the opening of Japan. The protagonist Denshichirō is the studious son of a famous doctor in Nagasaki; he is 25 years old, has a dark complexion, is short of stature, and is scarred by smallpox, a disease that caused many deaths in the early Meiji period. He marries Suteko, the beautiful only daughter of a high official in the government. A complete plot summary would take me too far from my main topic, but I will mention that at the end of the story, Suteko (Desdemona) is not killed by her jealous husband, but instead commits suicide, because he suspects that she is unfaithful. After her suicide, he realizes his mistake and dies by cutting his own throat.<sup>4</sup> In 1892, Udagawa Bunkai (1848-1930) serialized a second narrative adaptation called *Bandō Musha* in the *Osaka Mainichi Newspaper*. In both of these early adaptations, the Japanese Othello is not distinguished by his race or his religion: instead, he is depicted as extremely ugly and his face disfigured by smallpox. As such, he is a foil opposed to the beauty of the woman, the Desdemona character that he loves. These works show that when *Othello* was first adapted into Japanese, it was treated as a story rather than a play and the theme of race was almost entirely missing: instead it offered a variation of the beauty and the beast plot.

Next, Tozawa Koya (1869-1955) translated *Othello* into Japanese in 1899 and published the work in the periodical *Taiyō* (The Sun).<sup>5</sup> In 1903, seeking to modernize the Japanese stage, Kawakami Otojirō had his troupe perform *Othello* on the Japanese stage. He chose the recent Tozawa translation but he commissioned Emi Suiin (1869-1934), a popular writer, to adapt the work to the circumstances of Meiji Japan.<sup>6</sup> This work, named *Osero*, was

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<sup>4</sup> The story also includes many characters that are not in *Othello* and plot developments that are not part of the play.

<sup>5</sup> *Taiyō* (The Sun) Vol 5/#17-23. To bring this translation history up to the early twentieth century, I will note that Tsubouchi Shōyō, a famous professor of English at Waseda University who translated all of Shakespeare's works into Japanese, published a translation of *Othello* in 1911 and directed a performance of the play at the Imperial Theater in 1914.

<sup>6</sup> Emi Suiin (1869-1934) made a name for himself for his war stories during the Sino-Japanese conflict for the *Chūō Shinbun*. While Emi wanted to go to China as a war correspondent, his newspaper vetoed the idea because of his popularity. He later wrote that he was "giving (his) all to the nation with his pen instead of his sword." Cited in Keene, "Cultural effects of Sino-Japanese War," *Meiji Japan: Political, Economic and Social History*, Vol 3, NY: Routledge, 1998. In light of his popularity, Kawakami offered Suiin the sum of 1000 yen as a fee for the adaptation, an utterly unheard of sum at the time for a mere drama script. In the event, he only

performed at the Meijiza in Tokyo and in other major Japanese cities.

*Osero* is an adaptation, but it differs from the two previously mentioned adaptations in two ways. First it was written as a play rather than simply as a story.<sup>7</sup> Second, it is essentially concerned with Othello's racial difference rather than with the theme of beauty and ugliness. At the start of the play, the hero of *Osero*, Muro Washirō (Othello), a Japanese general rumored to be an outcaste (*shinheimin*) secretly weds Tomone (Desdemona), to the outrage of her father, Count Fura. The Prime Minister of Japan sends general Washirō to crush a rebellion in the colony of Taiwan and stay on as its new colonial governor. Iya Gōzō (Iago), Washirō's subordinate, tricks the latter into believing that his wife is having an affair with another army officer and Washirō murders her in a fit of jealousy; after realizing his error, he kills himself, calling himself an ignorant fool, just as "savage" as the aboriginal people of Taiwan. For the purposes of this paper, the two most interesting transpositions in this adaptation are that the action is set in Taiwan, Japan's first modern colony, and that the character of Washirō is rumored to be an outcaste group in Japanese society. At the time the play was staged, the outcastes were widely believed to be racially different from other Japanese, making this characterization a translation of Othello's racial difference into Japanese.

However, *Osero* is not really a tragedy like *Othello*, but rather a political melodrama. When it was first performed, the actors modeled their characters after real political figures in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century Japan. Kawakami, who played Washirō, imitated Kodama Gentarō, then governor general of Taiwan, whereas Matsumoto Masao, the actor playing the prime minister modeled himself on the statesman Itō Hirobumi and so on.<sup>8</sup> In addition, at the end of the play, Emi adds a scene that is missing in *Othello* and that gives his play a different meaning. In this scene, Kurachi, an emissary of the Prime Minister of Japan, orders Washirō to return to Japan and face charges, aired in Japanese newspapers, that he "massacred civilians when [he] pacified the pirate revolt."

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paid him a fraction of the amount promised. A canny impresario and self-promoter, Kawakami publicized this story of Suiin's fabulous payment to put his troupe in the spotlight of the press.

<sup>7</sup> This performance was historical for several reasons: it was the first plays in which female roles were played by actresses, it eliminated the narrator and music that was part of kabuki theater, and it was performed in a proscenium theater.

<sup>8</sup> Emi Suiin, *Jiko Chūshin Meiji Bundanshi* [A Self-Centered Literary History of Meiji Period], (Tokyo: Hakubunkan, 1927), 67.

<sup>9</sup> Washirō denies the charges against him, but he learns that Count Fura (father of Tomone) is a member of the parliamentary commission ordering his recall <sup>10</sup> and that he is also ordered to hand the reins of power over to his adjutant Katsu; both details heighten his doubts about Tomone's infidelity. Kurachi reassures Washirō that the prime minister has complete trust in him, but this scene allows another interpretation of the play. In this interpretation, Washirō is the victim not merely of Iya's malevolence, but also of the cynical politics of the Meiji state. Indeed, through the agency of Kurachi, the Japanese state intervenes directly in the plot of *Osero* as a powerful ally in Iya's plot to bring down the General Washirō.<sup>11</sup>

Let me now turn to *New Othello* and to its author, Masuda Tarō. Masuda (1876-1953) was the eldest son and heir to Masuda Takashi, the business magnate and founder of the Mitsui Trading Company. After graduating from high school in Japan, he was educated for ten years in England and Belgium, where he spent much of his free time attending popular theaters. For most of his adult life, he served as the CEO of the enormous Taiwan Sugar Company, one of the most profitable of Japan's colonial enterprises, but he lived in Tokyo and rarely traveled to Taiwan. His real passion was the theatre rather than business. He was chosen to serve on a committee established in 1906 to build a great Western-style theater in Tokyo, where Japanese theater could be shown proudly to the world, and in 1911 he became one of the directors of the Teikoku Gekijō or Imperial Theater, which also housed an important school for actresses. Between 1906 and 1930, he wrote dozens of plays under the pen name of Masuda Tarōkaja, the latter name being stock trickster character in kyōgen. Almost all his plays are light comedies, and many premiered at the Imperial Theater. In addition to comedies, he composed songs, including the hit "Song of the Croquette," and wrote works for the musical theater. While he is largely forgotten today, he had a major influence on later development of mass entertainment in Japan,

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<sup>9</sup> Emi, *Osero*. p. 64-65

<sup>10</sup> After examining the documents delivered by Kurachi, Washirō says "According to these papers, the cabinet has issued a summons for me to return to Japan at once. In particular, it is apparent that Count Fura and his like are of the opinion that I should be called back as soon as possible." Emi, *Osero*, p. 64-65

<sup>11</sup> In a famous essay on the play, Coleridge speaks of Iago's "motiveless malignity." *Lectures 1808-1819 On Literature 2*: 315. Iago's motive for seeking Othello's downfall is an enigma in the play. To judge by the final scene of *Osero*, however, Iago plays a more incidental role in the Japanese adaptation and may in fact be part of a larger plot to destroy the hero's reputation.

such as the Asakusa light opera and the Takarazuka revue.

His plays were influenced by Victorian light comedies and vaudeville. For that reason, he is called “king of Japanese light comedy.” Often, he set his comedies in far-away and exotic places. For example, *Oshi Ryokō* (The Dumb Fool’s Trip to England) is a play about a Japanese who visits England without knowing a word of English and gets involved in a series of interactions with others based on linguistic misunderstandings. Masuda’s comedies are often “funny” because he makes fun of other peoples and cultures. In *Seiban shurai* (Attack of the Taiwan Barbarians), a Japanese couple made up of a 60 year old groom and a 20-year-old bride goes on their honeymoon in aboriginal Taiwan. The groom is a coward, while the wife, a “new woman”, is adventurous. The play ends farcically, when mainland Japanese, dressed as aboriginal Taiwanese, stage an aboriginal attack on the Japanese tourists, and scare the wits out of the old husband. The aborigines, or actually the Japanese pretending to be Aborigines, speak an artificial language that is to actual Japanese as pig Latin is to English.

In *New Othello*, one of his earliest comedies, Masuda alludes in several places to Kawakami-Emi *Osero* without, however following the plot or creating a political melodrama. In effect, he directly reworks this adaptation without making a detour back to the original play; as a result, *New Othello* is an adaptation twice removed from *Othello*. All the major characters from *Osero* reappear with the same names, although they differ greatly from their counterparts in that play. How does Masuda manage to turn a melodrama or tragedy into light comedy? I believe that he uses two major transpositions. First, Masuda makes Washirō a wealthy bourgeois who is married to a younger and beautiful wife. There is no suggestion that he belongs to a different race or has a troubled past from which he is trying to escape. Second, the play takes place entirely in a bourgeois drawing room in metropolitan Tokyo. By contrast, in *Osero*, Washirō’s transformation into a “savage” takes place in a military environment in Taiwan. The colony of Taiwan is a backwater associated with instability, violence and savagery. Iya’s task of poisoning his commander’s mind is facilitated by the fact that they are both in a colony and in the military milieu.<sup>12</sup> In the comedy *New Osero*, by contrast the main character is not a general but a gentleman and the action takes place in a Western style bourgeois salon in Tokyo. These two transpositions are the

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<sup>12</sup> With respect to the setting of the play in the colony, I find Andrew Hadfield’s analysis of *Othello* very convincing. See Andrew Hadfield, *Shakespeare and Republicanism*, Cambridge University Press, 2005, pp. 214-220



necessary conditions for the transformation of the play from melodrama to comedy.

In *New Othello*, Washirō, who has been a confirmed bachelor until four months before the play starts, returns to Tokyo from their honeymoon with his young and beautiful bride, Tomone. Omiya (Emilia), a maid in the household and a lady-in-waiting to Tomone, describes the love-sick, agitated state of the protagonist in this opening scene: “Recently, you never leave the house or visit your old friends... You are always absorbed in reading novels and the like and often get angry for no reason, but then right after that you take a nap” and lastly, “you will not leave your wife alone even for a minute, even when she is doing up her hair.”<sup>13</sup>

Washirō begins to suspect that his young wife is cheating on him after he reads Arthur Schopenhauer’s essay “On Women”, which is translated into Japanese by Iya Gōzō. Throughout the whole of the play, this is the only reference to Iya Gōzō, who plays a modest part in the play.<sup>14</sup> Starting with Schopenhauer’s misogynistic work, Washirō begins to read contemporary novels and plays that introduced “romantic love,” popular among students. He learns with surprise how “weak and deceitful women are” and “how easy it is for young Meiji women to fall in love with men.” His suspicions aroused, he subjects his wife to a regime of vigilant surveillance and mounts a guard on her bedroom at night, armed with his pistol.

In the absence of any mention of race, then, we learn through various hints that Washirō is much older than his wife. In the stage notes, he is described as about forty years old, obese and ugly, at least ten years older than his wife. In one scene, Omiya jokes with her mistress about this unappealing husband and Tomone refers to him on one occasion as a bear.<sup>15</sup> On the one hand, Washirō resembles his counterpart in *Osero*, who is also dark-complexioned, and he appears in the opening scene with a military sword, suggesting that he is a retired soldier. However, rather than the hero of *Osero*, he more closely resembles the heroes of the first adaptations of *Othello*, who were invariably ugly, and also in love with a beautiful young woman. Like those adaptations, this play offers a variation on the

<sup>13</sup> Masuda Taro Shinosero (*New Othello*) Tokyo: Saiunkaku 1906, p. 4

<sup>14</sup> Masuda, *New Othello*, P. 24 As he puts it, recently, I have been reading modern love novels and watching modern plays about romance. In the end I realized that I had better start to study the female character so I read the Iya Gōzō’s translation “On Women.” Ibid, P. 27, also pp 28-29 for his long soliloquy on modern literature.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid. p. 66

time-honored story of beauty and the beast. In the course of his different transformations in Japanese adaptations, Othello passes from being ugly, to being racially different and finally back to being ugly.

By contrast with her husband, Tomone is extremely young, fair complexioned and fashionable (*haikara*); she is decked out in the outfit of a young modern urban woman, who has been educated in the new schools for girls of the Meiji period and read modern literature.<sup>16</sup> Early in the play, Washirō notices that a young man in his thirties, who is very fashionable and handsome, lives across the street from his apartment and he imagines that this man is secretly communicating with his wife through a system of coded signs: standing on a balcony with red roses, smoking, and so on.<sup>17</sup> This man is named Katsu Yoshio, but he goes by his pen name Sumire (meaning Violet) and is portrayed as a ridiculous fop, a failed writer and a coward. He is the comical counterpart to the dashing young officer Katsu in *Osero*, just as the bourgeois Washirō corresponds to General Washirō. In addition, Sumire's situation resembles that of Tomone, since both are young, attractive and involved in marriage plots with older and unattractive partners. Sumire schemes to marry a wealthy widow who is also jealous and he tries his hardest not to spark her suspicions. From this marriage, he hopes to inherit the fortune of 250,000 yen, but the widow lays down the condition that he must not lose any of the numerous walking sticks that she gives him as presents.

How does the playwright make us laugh? In March 1906, not long before the premiere of *New Othello*, he spelled out his views of comedy in an interview in *Kabuki*, the principal theater journal of the time. He argued that plays should serve the moral purpose of encouraging virtue and chastising vice (*kanzenchōaku*), a very traditional view of theatre in Japan. He also attacked the plays of his day as rubbish, written by entrepreneurs who only wanted to make money and to attract an audience with vulgar tastes. He goes on to say: "Because I wanted to produce plays that were not of this objectionable type, I viewed the plays of the time with a pessimistic eye. They were insulting to the audience and I felt it preferable to write comedies that

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<sup>16</sup> She is described as a *jogakusei* (female student) on page 11. This female student attracted much attention from male writers in Meiji literature with her distinctive speech patterns, her school uniform, (*ebicha*) ("I may have worn an *ebicha* uniform, but the only men that I know are my father and my teachers.") p. 30, but, above all, by her new views of the relations between the sexes.

<sup>17</sup> By *musendenshin* (wireless transmission) Ibid, p. 39

would make anyone who saw them laugh, and if they were usable, to put them on stage; to cloak a serious argument satirizing society in a veil of humor and have a great many people see it.” Tarō also set forth his notion of what constitutes the comic: He thought, “One should collect people of eccentric characters. Reality is reality and people simply laugh.... because of this if an actor simply plays the part of the irritable person or the dandy and so on perfectly seriously, just as the author wrote it, then audience will certainly laugh.” Since humor was part of reality, specifically the reality of character types, he opposed “forced or fantastic humor since “comedies should be as natural as possible.” In addition, he thought that it is “extremely difficult to keep humor up throughout a long play.” Lastly, he argued that comic playwrights are ill served by Japanese actors because they are not properly trained: he did however except the kyōgen theater, which had good acting technique.<sup>18</sup>

Masuda’s humor frequently revolves around language, puns, and plays on words. At the start of the play, Washirō loses his temper with Tomone when she comments about the “lovely violets in the garden” because the novelist who lives next door is named Sumire, meaning Violet. He refuses to call his wife by her name Tomone, since, written with different Chinese characters, this name can signify, “to sleep together.” Once he makes this decision, he keeps calling her *tomodachi*, a word that means “friend.”<sup>19</sup> In another scene, describing the odd behavior of her husband, Tomone says that “a man’s heart is as changeable as an autumn sky,” comically inverting a Japanese idiom that is traditionally applied to women, rather than men.<sup>20</sup> As in several others plays, Masuda makes use of a foreign language in the play to produce humorous effects. After a cat and mouse chase, Washirō captures Sumire in his home, and interrogates him at length. Learning that Sumire is translating an English novel into Japanese, he asks him, “Do you speak English?” and Sumire, both terrified and tongue-tied, is unable to answer him in English, and is thereby humiliated, and exposed as a fraud.<sup>21</sup>

The props and accessories that are used in the play provide another source of humor. In an early scene, Tomone is secretly knitting a handkerchief

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<sup>18</sup> Interview Kabuki, Match 1906, #71, cited in Takano Masao, *Kigeki no Tonosama: Masuda Tarōkajaden (King of Comedy: The Life of Masuda Tarōkaja)*, Tokyo: Kadokawa Shoten 2002 pp 28-29

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 33-34

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid*, p. 13

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid*, pp. 93-94

for her husband's birthday, which features two hearts drawn with an arrow and her husband's initials. When he appears in her room, she hides the handkerchief suddenly and sparks his suspicions that she is planning to give this to someone else. In addition, there is the aforementioned walking stick (s). Sumire makes three visits to the home of Washirō and each time he leaves behind one of his many walking sticks. In this way, he both endangers his marriage to the rich widow and arouses Washirō's suspicions about Tomone. In general, the play is a slapstick comedy in which such accessories and props play an important role.

Why is the play called *Shinosero*? I would mention that this name becomes significant not just in *New Othello*, but also in the play on which it is based. In the Emi-Kawakami play, *Osero*, the names of the characters are all Japanese; the title, written in *katakana*, a Japanese syllabary used to write words of foreign origin, is not the name of the protagonist, but a sign that the play is based on a foreign play. In 1903, writing the title *Osero* gave the work a certain cachet and enhanced its popularity. In *New Othello*, the title indicates that the play is based on the earlier adaptation but does not refer back to Shakespeare. Indeed, in the play *New Othello*, the term *Osero* becomes a common noun that denotes a particular type of character: the personification of the irrationally jealous husband: *Osero* becomes the name of a personality type and a designation for paranoia. Suffering from delusions caused by jealousy, Washirō has a tendency to read too much meaning into the everyday gestures of Sumire and Tomone, imagining that they are secretly communicating with each other when they are total strangers. In this respect, Washirō does not even need an Iago to poison his mind in order to become the jealous husband. Indeed, even Washirō frets that he may turn into an "Osero" if he keeps reading modern novels or listening to the speech of young women.<sup>22</sup> Similarly, his wife and Omiya are equally afraid of the murderous potential of his jealousy, and of his turning into an "Osero," particularly since he keeps the weapons in the house.<sup>23</sup> In fact, this very fear impels her to write a letter to the Sumire in which she asks him to stop standing in front of the window smoking against a background of red roses since her husband interprets this behavior as a secret language. She thereby precipitates the very disaster that she sought to avoid, since in the very next scene Sumire appears at her front door while her husband is out. "Osero" is

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<sup>22</sup> Ibid, p. 30

<sup>23</sup> At one point she mentions his statement "I have become the reincarnation of Osero" Ibid. 63.

then byword for irrational or perhaps cuckolded husband, a thoroughly comical character. Washirō is able to work himself up into a frenzy of jealousy on his own without any real cause and without anyone's help. Unlike the character that descends to savagery at the end of *Osero*, the jealous husband comes to his senses in *New Othello* and apologizes to everyone for his silliness. This bourgeois drama, set in Tokyo, has a happy ending.

Up till now I have considered how Masuda turns the play into a comedy and aspects of the play that make it funny. Now I would like to consider this comic adaptation of *Othello* in the broader sense of Japan's incorporation of Shakespeare. As I mentioned, *Othello* was first adapted as a story in the 1890s, then performed on stage in 1903. Kawakami Otojirō, who sought to introduce Shakespeare to Japan, saw his serious mission as that of introducing straight theater (*seigeki*), that is to say the orthodox, Western theater to Japan as opposed to the popular kabuki theater. In 1906, Masuda who was a friend of Kawakami, wrote a *New Othello*, which turns this serious and straight drama into a farcical play. Indeed, Kawakami Otojirō and his wife Sadayakko played two starring roles in the play. In a sense, *New Othello* continues the process of domestication of Shakespeare begun by Kawakami, but carries it one step further: in *New Othello*, one adaptation gives birth to another without any need to return to the source text. I would add that the freedom from seriousness and the ability to laugh in the face of tragedy itself, hallmarks of the attitude of the parodist toward his object, represent the ultimate appropriation and domestication of the foreign work.

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**The Fourth Conference of the NTU  
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臺大莎士比亞論壇

發表成員：吉原ゆかり

發表題目：“Un-Shakespear<sup>ing</sup>”Shakespeare

## “Un-shakespearing” Shakespeare

Yukari Yoshihara\*

### Introduction

Japanese adaptations of Shakespeare, such as the first adaptation of *Othello* (1903) and the recent adaptation in TV series (2008), claim that they are “based on” or “deriving from” Shakespeare --- but should we take their claim at their face value? In the former, the scenes are set in Taiwan just after the First Sino-Japan War and the protagonist is an outcaste Japanese. It reflects the process of ideological construction of Japan as a colonial empire. The latter, set in today’s Yokohama, reflects anxiety over Japanese society, with unfair widening income gap. Both of them use or abuse Shakespeare as a useable, recyclable, convenient tool or medium to express their own desire and anxiety over the time and society in which they live in, rather than “faithfully” reproducing and replicating Shakespeare. They are not “authentic,” whatever we mean by the term, but they cleverly adapt, recycle and update Shakespearean stories so that “Shakespeare” is turned into something relatable and relevant in their time and culture. As a result, these adaptations force us to rethink about what we mean by “authentic” and “authoritative” Shakespeare, and what we mean by the derisive term “spin-offs.”

### 1. The First Adaptation of *Othello* (1903) and Japan’s Colonization of Taiwan

KAWAKAMI Otojiro (1864-1911), a founder of Japanese modern drama, performed his adaptation of *Othello* in 1903. The scenes are set in Tokyo and Taiwan. The Othello figure, Washiro, is a Japanese colonial general of Taiwan. In the last scene, he commits suicide, comparing himself to a Taiwanese aborigine (*seiban*: literally, raw-savage).

Washiro : Gentlemen! I believe everyone knows that I, Washiro, have done the state great service. I pray you when you shall these lucky deeds relate, speak of me as one who committed indiscrete deeds unsuitable for a military man, because he was not sophisticated enough to know the

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\* Associate Professor of Literature, University of Tsukuba.

proper ways to love his wife, turning love into unenlightened folly, going mad because of ungrounded jealousy. Here is Washiro's end, who, like a moronic raw-savage [*seiban*], threw himself and his jewel away.

*He grabs a dagger on the table and stabs his throat.*

(Act 5, Scene 4)

Where Othello compares himself to 'the base Indian' and to 'a turbaned Turk,' Washiro compares himself to a Taiwanese aboriginal people. His contorted argument — that it is dishonor for a metropolitan military man like himself to kill his wife out of ungrounded jealousy, while it is only 'natural' for 'a moronic raw-savage' to do so — reflects the racist ideology of imperial Japan, in which the metropolitan Japanese is set at the top of the hierarchy and the Taiwanese aboriginal people at the bottom.

Washiro asserts that if he were to turn jealous at the mere rumor of his wife's infidelity, he would be 'as naïve, ignorant and unenlightened as any raw-savages.' Just after this scene, the indigenous Taiwanese people (performed by Japanese actors) appear on stage, led by a Chinese translator, and sing and dance in praise of Japanese colonial rule of Taiwan. The stage directions in the script read: '*The natives worship the morning sun, shout strange and weird magic spells very loudly, hopping and jumping*' (Act 3). According to a theater review in the *Yomiuri* newspaper, the Taiwanese aborigines sang a song: '

Ever since the Japanese came to rule Taiwan, peace prevails  
We are grateful for Japan because we can now live without fear of  
burglars. We can live happily and contentedly thanks to the good  
rule of the general.

In these four or five years since Japan came to rule, we feel as if we  
were living under the bright sun every day.

The praise for Japanese 'benevolent' colonial rule in the song is metropolitan Japanese ventriloquism in the mimicked voice of Taiwanese aborigines.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> There are some evidences of productions of Kawakami's *Othello* in Taipei by some travelling troupes from the metropolis in the early 1910s. Kawakami made his performing tour around Taiwan in 1911, but he did not perform his *Othello* on this occasion. See my "Kawakami Otojiro's Trip to the West and Taiwan at the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> Century," in Steve Clark and Paul Smethurst (eds.), *Asian Crossings* (Hong

## 2. Taro's *Taiwanese Savages Attack!* as a Parody of *Othello*

As Professor Tierney demonstrates, MASUDA Taro (1875-1954) makes a double adaptation of Shakespeare's *Othello* in his *New Othello*— he adapted Kawakami's adaptation of *Othello* based on Shakespeare's, to turn the tragic tale of Othello and Desdemona into a farce of modern Japanese Washiro and Tomone. Here I would point out Taro's further step of appropriating Shakespeare in his farce, *Taiwanese Savages Attack!* (1913), in which a married couple, a not-too-young jealous husband (66) and a young bride freshly out of college (21), is a remake of Washiro-Tomone couple in Taro's *Othello* farce.

The play is set around 1910 in the mountainous area of Taiwan, about foolish mainland Japanese visiting Taiwan. The play ends, quite farcically, when the mainland Japanese, dressed as aboriginal Taiwanese, make a mock attack on their fellow tourists. The wife in this comedy is a modern girl eager to have an adventure deep into the "savage village," while the husband is a coward always henpecked by his young wife and scared by imagining that the "savages" might attack them at any time. They arrive at the "savage village," the husband first and the wife much later. While waiting for her arrival, he ponders his wife might be too modern for him to manage, and thinks about all much ado to have a "new" woman as a wife. When the wife arrives, he greets her with enthusiasm, in lines vaguely resembling Othello's "It gives me wonder great as my content / To see you here," but the wife reacts with zero enthusiasm on their reencounter. Even the trip into the aboriginal village is not too tame for her who wanted to visit Borneo in *Robinson Crusoe* fashion. A young man, in Iago fashion, tries to delude the Othello figure saying that his wife is in adultery with another young man, but his intrigue goes nowhere because everyone is too preoccupied with the possibility of aboriginal people attacking the tourists Japanese. In the last scene, the Desdemona figure beats down young metropolitan Japanese young men dressed as aboriginal Taiwanese.

It is noteworthy that Taro's comedy was written and performed in the very period when the colonial government was pursuing the most bloodiest and violent crush down policy of massacring hundreds of Taiwanese people risen against Japanese colonial rule (the 5 year project of "Civilizing Savage Taiwanese": 1910-1914). Taro claims that this comedy is based on his trip to Taiwan. Taro was, at the same time as being the most popular playwright at

the time, a vice president of Taiwan Sugar Company (a division of Mitsui Syndicate), and he visited Taiwan to oversee his company. His *Taiwanese Savages Attack!* is a propaganda piece attempting to legitimize Japanese colonial exploitation of Taiwan, at the same time as being a well-made comedy.

Taro's *Taiwanese Savage Attack!* is a three-times removed adaptation of Shakespeare's *Othello* — Kawakami adapted Shakespeare's original work, Taro adapted it into a farce of *New Othello*, and then Taro himself adapted his own farce into *Taiwanese Savage Attack!*. In this process, Taro used or abused Shakespeare's masterpiece as a means or medium to forcibly legitimize Japanese colonial rule of Taiwan.

### **3. Western Literature Department of Taipei Imperial University during Japanese Colonial Days (1928-1945)**

In this part I must be particularly tentative, for my project to study Western Literature Department of Taipei Imperial University during Japanese colonial days stands at the very earliest phase. I did a very preliminary research on the department last summer. It is quite astonishing but it is a fact that metropolitan Japanese scholars of English literature (educated in Japan) taught canonical works of English literature to the students of Taipei Imperial University (some were Taiwanese, others were metropolitan Japanese), presumably speaking in Japanese (then enforced "national" language of Taiwan). Furthermore, some of the professors were active to propagate Japanese ideology of "Asian Co-prosperity Sphere." To take one example, one of the professors, YANO Houjin (1893-1988), was the president of the Taiwan branch of "Literary People's League in Asian Co-prosperity Sphere," at the same time as being a professor teaching Shakespeare, the Romantics and Fin-de-Siecle literatures, and as being a poet writing pieces like "Brutus' Soliloquy." I do need and am eager to pursue further research on Taipei Imperial University in order to know what functions and significance did English literature, particularly Shakespeare, education have in the context of Japanese colonial rule of Taiwan.

### **4. Shakespeare in Rap— *Future Century Shakespeare* (2008)**

The recent TV adaptation series, titled *Future Century Shakespeare*, would be one of the good examples of "Shakespeare unshakespeared," for it is quite determined to be "unshakespearean" in the very act of appropriation of

Shakespeare's works.

The scenes are set in today's Yokohama, Japan. The characters are the socially marginalized figures like unskilled, lowly-paid young workers, impoverished old citizens, residents with Chinese ancestry. The youths are dressed in bad boy/ bad girl style like hip-hop singers, and they sometimes say their "Shakespearean" lines in rap rhymes.

The opening sequence would tell almost everything about the TV adaptation's "Shakespeare is no fun" attitudes.

A: Dumb as you are, you must have heard the title, *Romeo and Juliet*, at least? . . . for you, Shakespeare might be too profound.

C: My image of Shakespeare ---old guys wearing wigs and false beards doing too much of theatrical gestures and over actions. . .

D: Scholars and critics have made Shakespeare too difficult for mere commoner to understand, with their philosophical interpretations and acting method theories. . . .

D: "To be, or not to be !" [ In rap rhyme]

C: Is it not in rhyme?

D: It's Shakespeare.

C: Who's rhyme is it?

D: I'm saying, it is Shakespeare.

A: "Shakespeare is so hip and hop, check it out ," that's the theme of this TV drama. In other words, this TV show offers "Shakespeare even the dumbest one can understand"

The TV series adaptation caricatures Shakespeare, turns the greatest tragedies into sordid soap operas.

The TV series adaptation is "Shakespeare even the dumbest one can understand" --- a Shakespeare made fit into today's tastes for the quick, easy and fashionable. The TV adaptation is proud to be "a dumbed-down Shakespeare rewritten in the idiom of mass culture." <sup>2</sup> Of two cultural authorities, "one conferred by Shakespeare and professional scholars, the other conferred by the mass media and popular subculture," it is evident that the TV series puts more importance on the latter<sup>3</sup>. As "vernacular adaptation," to borrow Thomas Cartelli and Katherine Rowe's phrase, the TV

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<sup>2</sup> Lynda E. Boose and Richard Burt eds., *Shakespeare, the Movie: Popularizing the Plays on Film, TV, and Video* (London: Routledge, 1997), 2.

<sup>3</sup> Douglas Lanier, *Shakespeare and Modern Popular Culture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 13.



series “recycles” Shakespeare’s works, treating them as just one among many cultural commodities<sup>4</sup> that can partly meet their needs to make their product “popular.” They aim to please non-elites, deeply absorbed in popular subculture, rather than educated elites who inherit the difficult language of high-culture.

“Shakespeare” is in circulation in Asia sometimes lawfully, sometimes not-too-lawfully. I bought DVDs of the TV adaptation in Taipei at a DVD shop which did not exactly look like keeping copyright laws. In the DVDs, the lines are said in Japanese, with Chinese subtitles. It is quite astonishing how “Shakespeare” migrates— from Shakespeare’s England to Japan then to Taiwan, from English to Japanese then to Chinese subtitles.

The TV adaptation shows off its self-consciousness about its own fakeness, inauthenticity, near-plagiarism status by various means, including a Shakespeare robot with a hip-hop cap, characters wearing T-shirts with Shakespeare as a monkey, as a sheep, as a Mickey Mouse like mouse (referring to Chinese twelve animals), and, in the case of the *Othello* episode, by means of referring to a board game produced by a Japanese company, named *Osero*. The board game is played by two players on a board with a set of distinct pieces (typically disks with a light a dark face). The modern rule was originated in Mito, Japan in the 1970s. The name was selected as a reference to Shakespearean play *Othello*, referencing the conflict between the Moor Othello and Iago, who describes himself as “two faced,” or, more controversially, to the marriage between Othello and Desdemona, recalling the coloring of the game pieces.

(URL:<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Reversi>). In the TV adaptation *Othello* episode, the Shakespeare figure (who appears throughout the series as a director of an amateur theatre troupe) plays the board game *Osero* with his assistant. The assistant suddenly realizes that the board game’s name, *Osero*, derives from his master’s work. The camera catches the amateur theatre group’s poster for their *Othello* production, that has a line explaining that their *Othello* is not the board game *Osero*. The Shakespeare figure plaintively says, “Couldn’t I receive copyright fee?”. In this way, the TV adaptation, half jokingly, half seriously, highlights the fact that “Shakespeare” in Japan has been commonized, has almost lost any reference to the Bard’s work.

The TV adaptation surely “abuses” Shakespeare. However, it is

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<sup>4</sup> Thomas Cartelli and Katherine Rowe, *New Wave Shakespeare on Screen* (London: Polity Press, 2007), 37.

successful in making Shakespearean stories more meaningful and relatable in today's Japan. The *Othello* episode reflects widening disparity in Japan and increasingly impoverished status of manual laborers. The Othello figure is a mechanic engineer: though hardworking and proud of his professional skills, he cannot earn much, and he is always wears gloves to hide his hands blackened with machine oil. The Desdemona figure is a children's nurse, whose job is more "clean" and near "white collar", more respected. The gap between blue collared job and white collared job is surely widening, making Japan, formerly said to be a country where almost everyone is (lower) middle class with steady income, ruthless a-dog-eats-dog country. As most people believe Japan is and has been a mono-ethnic country (which is not true), they sometimes lack imagination to understand the story of Desdemona and Othello in terms of racism. Just like Kawakami's *Othello* substitutes difference in ethnicity with class division between an aristocrat and an outcaste, the TV adaptation tries to explain the cause of the tragedy in terms of the widening gap in Japanese society, trying to make it easier to be comprehended. In some senses, the TV adaptation series is another tribute to the Bard, trying to revive and renew his works, making them relevant to today's society. It shows their love for Shakespeare in particularly twisted ways, mixing reverence with irreverence, adoration with sarcasm. It does not keep his works in a reverential distance, but dare to "recycles" them, even though they are also eager to deconstruct tragic grandeur in his work by, in the case of the *Othello* episode, turning the tragic love into a sordid story of double adultery: the Desdemona figure is actually having an affair with the Cassio figure and gets married to him, instead to the Othello figure.

### 5. Is This Shakespeare?

"Shakespeare" migrates and circulates far and wide, sometimes in totally unexpected forms of "spin-offs," and "travesties," and some of them show off their origins in Shakespeare, others do everything to hide them away. Hidenori is a virtuoso of "unshakespeareing" Shakespeare. He has directed three adaptations of Shakespeare's works. The first is *Shakespeare in Tempo* (2002), an ultimate 'Shakespeare Reduced,' squeezing the whole 37 works of Shakespeare in one play. It is set in 1841, 13 years before Japan's opening its doors to the world. It starts with *King Lear*'s plot transformed into a *yakuza* 'mafia wars' story. As it proceeds, one character morphs into another character in another play. The super intense condensation shows off the

play's patched-up nature, making the play super-comic.

In all of his Shakespearean adaptations, Hidenori shys away from anything that can make his adaptations too Shakespeare or too political. Instead, he chooses to make his adaptations un-Shakespeare as possible. His adaptations are more like *manga*, rock concert or sci-fi movies rather than Shakespeare. Outlandishly, the narrator in his production of *Tempo* wears a *kimono* with Shakespeare's face patterned on it. "Shakespeare" here is nothing more than one of numerous fashion items. These intentionally tacky pastiches of Shakespeare, Japanese culture and postmodern youth culture in the Hidenori's *Tempo* are instances of the indiscriminate cultural mixing and matching, taken to be the hallmark of postmodern Japan. Hidenori underlines his awareness that not only "Shakespeare" but also "Japan" in his works are sham, inauthentic, campy constructs.

Furthermore, we now have a Korean adaptation of *Shakespeare in Tempo: Shakespeare in 1863* (Seoul: Oct, 2009). Korean Michoo Theater Company turns the original into a story set in the tempestuous days of King Cheoljong. This dazzling double or triple adaptation process leads us to think of the possibilities that Shakespeares could be a means of trespassing the boundaries in multiple directions, between England and Asia, between English and Asian languages, between Asian countries and cultures.

#### 6. Which Is More Authoritative, Shakespeare or *Manga*?

Another of Hidenori's Shakespearean "rip-off" is *Demons in the Murky Forest*(2007), based on *Richard III* and *Macbeth*. Performed in picturesque kabuki fashion, featuring an eminent kabuki actor, Hidenori makes it crystal clear that for him Shakespeare is merely one among various sources which he can make use of. He utilizes varieties of sources, including *manga*, Kurosawa movie, legend of demon hunting, the convention of erotic villain in kabuki, together with Shakespeare's two plays. His *Demons* is, officially, an adaptation of *Richard III* and *Macbeth*, but if we are to be more exact, it is an adaptation of an adaptation. Tezuka, a manga god, ripped off *Macbeth* and *Richard III* to create his manga, *Vampire* (1979). The protagonist is driven to his ambition by the three witches' prophecy and he is driven into damnation after he encounters the ghost of the people he killed. For those who are familiar with Tezuka's works, it is fairly transparent that Hidenori bases his adaptation more directly on Tezuka's *manga*, than on Shakespeare. For Hidenori, Tezuka is more authoritative than Shakespeare.

Hidenori's strategy has some elements in common with the tendencies in recent adaptations, almost all of them eager to relativize Shakespeare's authority, by putting him side by side with other sort of authorities, some of them high brow, others pop and low brow. The recent adaptation of *Romeo and Juliet*, entitled *Romeo X Juliet* (2007), is an astonishing patched-up of the globally popular media, animation, and the global brand of Shakespeare. This spin-off cleverly cuts-and-mixes Shakespearean elements with Japanese *manga* "tradition," most markedly in its use of cross-dressing. The adaptation's Juliet is a girl-revolutionary dressed as a boy -- following the convention of a girl-dressed-as-a-boy in Shakespearean plays, of course, but also following the "tradition" of transvestite girls in Japanese *mangas*, including *Revolutionary Girl Utena* (1997) and *Princess Knight* by Tezuka (1967). In this instance, both *manga / anime* (animation) tradition and Shakespeare are "ripped-off" and "bastardized."

#### 7. Modest Proposal for a Serious Study of Global Spin-offs of Shakespeare

Significantly, the phenomenon to "appropriate" and "bastardize" Shakespeare is not merely locally Japanese, but global. We have *Were the World Mine* (2008), a "queer" MND about an American boy having tough life because of his sexuality, and *West Bank Story* (2001), a musical comedy about an Israeli soldier and a Palestinian fast food cashier, to take a few examples.

Needless to say, these adaptations are variations of what Gary Taylor calls "Walmart Shakespeare" that appropriate the "flagship commodity of the world's most powerful culture," Shakespeare<sup>5</sup>. In spite of, or all the more because of, their irreverent appropriation of Shakespeare, these adaptations must, at least, depend upon Shakespeare's global authority. No matter how these adaptations try to deconstruct the authority of Shakespeare, they are simply the latest cultural commodities in the Shakespeare Industry.

Admitting all these, I would like to argue and insist that these "unfaithful adaptations," "tie-ins," "derivatives," "travesties" and "revisions" deserve very serious study with global perspectives. Up until very recently, adaptations and spin-offs has been assigned to the critical netherworld of "Shakespeareana" that dark space reserved for the illegitimate, fake, scandalous, or unfaithful versions. These "pirated" versions deserve serious scholarly investigation for we are living in the age the line between "proper"

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<sup>5</sup> Dominic Dromgoole and Gary Taylor, "Welcome to Bardworld." *Guardian* 13 July, 2005.

and “improper” Shakespeare films is hard to determine and defend. They challenge us to re-examine not only the line between “proper” and “improper” Shakespeare, but also the boundary between England and Asia, between highbrow and tacky lowbrow, posing us a question: “what do you mean by ‘authentic’ Shakespeare?”

# 政大特別演講會

發表成員：**Anne Sokolsky**

發表題目：**Marginalized Spaces / Marginalized  
Voices Woman Writers in Colonial Taiwan**



**Marginalized Spaces/ Marginized Voices  
Women Writers in Colonial Taiwan**

**Paper Given at  
National Chengchi University**

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**By: Anne Sokolsky  
(Ohio Wesleyan University)  
[aesokols@owu.edu](mailto:aesokols@owu.edu)**

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**I. INTRODUCTION**

This paper is the start of a much larger project and is a brief discussion of what I have read to date. The goal of my project is to locate and analyze literature written by Taiwanese and Japanese women writers in Japanese during Japan's colonial rule of Taiwan. Most scholarship in English and Japanese<sup>1</sup> on colonial Taiwanese literature focuses on male writers, for example Yang Kui (楊逵 1905 - 1985), Wu Zhuoliu (吳濁流 1900 - 1976), and Lu Heruo (呂赫若 1914 - 1951) and translations of these writers' works into English are few.<sup>2</sup> The title of my paper (and

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<sup>1</sup> Because my reading knowledge of Chinese is limited, I cannot speak for scholarship in Chinese on Taiwanese colonial literature. I am curious, however, if there is a similar lacunae in Chinese scholarship as well.

<sup>2</sup> Works that are available in English translation include: "The Doctor's Mother" (1945) by Wu Zhuoliu (吳濁流, Wu Chuo-liu, 1900 - 1976) and "Mother Goose Gets Married" (1942) by Yang Kui (楊逵 Yang K'uei, 1905 - 1985). Both short stories appear in *The Unbroken Chain: An Anthology of Taiwan Fiction Since 1926*, Joseph S.M. Lau, ed. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1983). Also there are now English translations of Wu Zhuoliu's 1945 novel written in Japanese titled *Orphan of Asia*, Ioannis Mentzas, trans. (Columbia University Press, 2005) and his memoir *The Fig Tree: Memoirs of a Taiwanese Patriot*, Duncan Hunter, trans. (Bloomington: First Books Library, 2002). *Fig Tree* was written in Chinese in 1968.

In terms of scholarship on Taiwan's colonial period, Angelina C. Yee has written two articles on this topic. In 1995, she wrote an article that focused specifically on Yang Kui titled "Writing the Colonial Self: Yang Kui's Texts of Resistance and National

research) indicates two points. First, the voices of women writers (whether Japanese or Taiwanese) in Colonial Taiwan were few. Second, by using the plural form of “voices” in my title, I want to emphasize that even though such writers might share a gender designation as women that does not mean they share similar writing styles, viewpoints, or ideas. Just because one happens to be a woman does not mean that there is a “singular” way in which women writers, Taiwanese or Japanese, living in Taiwan during its rule by Japan chose to depict their colonial experiences. The plurality of this colonial experience is the objective of my research.

This paper will briefly introduce you to two women writers who wrote in Japanese during the colonial period of Taiwan, Yang Qianhe (Yung Chiang Ho) (楊千鶴 1921 - ?) and Sakaguchi Reiko (坂口れい子 1914 - ?). The similarities between the two are that both are women and both lived in Taiwan during Japan’s colonization of the country. The dissimilarities are that Yang Qianhe was a native of Taiwan, whereas Sakaguchi Reiko came as part of Japan’s colonial expansion. Both, however, as evidenced in their writing seemed to struggle with their identities, living in the liminal space of colonial Taiwan. For Yang Qianhe, the source of her liminality was that despite being Chinese, she wrote in Japanese. For Hasegawa-Reiko, the source of her

of Sakaguchi

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Identity Author(s),” *Chinese Literature: Essays, Articles, Reviews*, vol. 17 (December 1995), pp. 111 -132. She also wrote an article in 2001 that discussed the idea of a native consciousness from different periods of modern Taiwan’s history starting with the colonial period and ending with a discussion of writers from the 1960s and 1970s. Writers from the colonial period that she included her discussion are: Lai He (1894 - 1943), Wu Zhouliu, Yang Kui, Lu Heruo (1914- 1947), Zhang Wenhuan (1909 - 1978), and Long Yingzong (1911 - ?) to name a few.

More recent research includes: *Taiwan Under Japanese Colonial Rule, 1895 – 1945*, ed. Laio Ping-Hui and David Der-Wei Wang (New York: Columbia University Press, 2006) which discusses Yang Kui, Nishikawa Mitsuru, and Lu Heruo. Faye Kleeman’s *Under an Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu, University of Hawaii, 2003) includes a chapter that specifically discusses Nishikawa Mitsuru and *Bungei Taiwan*. Discussions of Yang Kui and Lu Heruo are included in this work as well.

liminality was that though she lived in Taiwan as a representative of Japan's colonial regime, she was still a minority by virtue of being a woman.

My discovery of Yang Qianhe is what started this new research project for me. Initially I was looking at an anthology of colonial Taiwanese literature to learn about the period and see if there were any stories I could use in my classes. I was fascinated and also surprised that in a multi-volume anthology of Taiwanese colonial literature titled *Nihon tôchiki Taiwan bungaku: Taiwanjin sakka sakuhinshû* (日本統治期台湾文学：台湾人作家作品集 Taiwan Literature of the Japanese Occupation Period: The Collected Works of Taiwanese Writers), only one female author is included - Yang Qianhe. The story is "Hana saku kisetsu" (花咲く季節 The Season When Flowers Bloom, 1941).<sup>3</sup> I read the story and was struck by how apolitical it was. It is a coming of age story of a young school-girl and her thoughts about love and marriage. There are almost no references to the colonial world in which this young girl would be living.

To get a better sense of Yang Qianhe's writing style, I then searched for more works written by her. Thanks to Dr. Pei-chen Wu, I was able to obtain a copy of Yang Qianhe's memoir *Jinsei no purizumu* (人生のプリズム The Prism of Life, 1982).<sup>4</sup> In her memoir, there is more discussion of her experiences as a Taiwanese person living under Japan's colonial regime.

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<sup>3</sup> Yang Qianhe 楊千鶴, "Hana saku kisetsu (花咲く季節 The Season When the Flowers Bloom)," *Nihon tôchiki Taiwan bungaku: Taiwanjin sakka sakuhinshû* (日本統治期台湾文学：台湾人作家作品集 Taiwan Literature of the Japanese Occupation Period: The Collected Works of Taiwanese Writers), vol. 5, Kawahara Isao 河原功 and Nakajima Toshio 中島利郎 eds. (Tokyo: Ryokuin shobô 緑蔭書房, 1998), pp. 295 - 313.

<sup>4</sup> Yang Qianhe, *Jinsei no purizumu* (人生のプリズム Life's Prism), reprint of the original 1987 (Taipei: 南天書局 Nantianshujū CHECK??, 1997). I want to thank Dr.

Then I looked at the series of books titled *Nihon tôchiki Taiwan bungaku: Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshû*. Again, the only female writer included is Sakaguchi Reiko in volume 5 of a six volume anthology. The other Japanese writers are: Nishikawa Mitsuru, Hamada Hayao, Nakayama Susumu, and Kawai Saburô.

Where in fact should the stories by Yang Qianhe and Sakaguchi Reiko be placed? Is Yang Qianhe's story "Hana saku kisetu" "Taiwanese" even though it was written in the language of its colonizer? Are Sakaguchi Reiko's stories<sup>5</sup> "Japanese" by virtue of the writer writing the story and the language used to tell it or are they "Taiwanese" due to the setting and subject matter? These are some of the questions scholars in Taiwan, Japan, and the United States are starting to ask in broader discussions of "Taiwan"/"Taiwanese" literature. David Der-wei Wang states in the first sentence of his introduction to *Writing Taiwan: a New Literary History* (2007), that "[l]iterature from Taiwan occupies one of the most contested zones in the mapping of modernity and modernization on Chinese culture".<sup>6</sup> What gets included in the category of "Taiwanese" literature? And what does one do with the literature written in Japanese by Taiwanese writers during the colonization of Taiwan by Japan from 1895 – 1945? "Taiwan

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Pei-chen Wu, Assistant Professor at The Graduate Institute of Taiwanese Literature at National Chengchi University for sending me a copy of this memoir from Taiwan.

<sup>5</sup> Sakaguchi Reiko was a prolific writer. During her time in Taiwan from 1938 to 1946, she wrote on almost a monthly basis for *Taiwan shinbun* (台湾新聞), *Taiwan jiho* (台湾時報), and later through an introduction with Yang Kui, *Taiwan bungaku* (台湾文学). The anthology *Nihon tôchiki Taiwan bungaku: Nihon sakka sakuhin shû*, vol. 5, includes the following stories by Sakaguchi Reiko: "Tei ikka" (鄭一家 The Family Tei), "Tomoshihi" (灯, Light), "Tokeisô" (時計草, Passion Flower), "Biryô" (微涼, Faint Coolness?? Or is this a place in Taiwan??), "Shokô" (曙光, Daybreak), "Isho" (遺書, Note Left by the Dead), "Kawa ha nagaretomazu" (川は流れ止まず The River That Does Not Stop), "Urabon" (盂蘭盆, Feast of Lanterns).

<sup>6</sup> David Der-Wei Wang and Carlos Rojas eds., *Writing Taiwan: A New Literary History* (Duke University Press, 2007), vii.

literature” (Taiwan wenxue) is actually a rather recent term coined in the 1980s, according to

Xiaobing Tang. He writes:

The term Taiwan literature highlights this ambiguity because it can mean several things that are not yet borne out by the body of literature in question: a literature by native-borne Taiwanese (*Taiwanren wenxue*, as opposed to literature produced on Taiwan), a literature in Taiwanese (*Taiyu wenxue*, which has yet to be created), or literature narrowly defined by its makers’ citizenship (*Taiwan [guo] wenxue*, an equal of Irish, Japanese, or American literature). (p. 80)<sup>7</sup>

Xiaobing Tang further states that canons of national literature such as modern Japan’s idea of

*kokubungaku* (国文学 National literature) and China’s idea of *Zhongguo wenxue* (中國文學),

which Xiaobing Tang translates as literature of the Chinese nation, are too narrow and ignore

what he states are the “uneven literary and cultural traditions” of these countries.<sup>8</sup> In other words,

many groups get excluded from these national canons due to issues of linguistics as well as

ethnic identity. For example, do you include the writings of *zainichi* writers (Korean residents in

Japan who write in Japanese) in Japan’s national canon? And what about the minority cultures of

China who might write in other languages? The problem of accurately naming literature from

Taiwan as either Taiwanese or Taiwan is further articulated by Carlos Rojas who states that “the

concept of Taiwan literature is itself grounded on something of a paradox. In an age in which

literatures continue, by and large, to be defined, however awkwardly, by their national origin, the

category Taiwan literature is located in an ambiguous epistemological hinterland.”<sup>9</sup> Furthermore,

when this “hinterland” includes a moment of colonial history, in which the colonized are writing

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<sup>7</sup> Xiaobing Tang, “On the Concept of Taiwan Literature”, in *Writing Taiwan: A New Literary History*, eds. David Der-Wei Wang and Carlos Rojas (Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 51 -89.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid, p. 80.

<sup>9</sup> Carlos Rojas, “Introduction,” in *Writing Taiwan: A New Literary History*, eds. David Der-Wei Wang and Carlos Rojas, (Duke University Press, 2007), pp. 1 – 14.

in the colonizer's tongue, how should one read such literature? Do such works exhibit a form of complicity, passive resistance, or just plain economic survival? Angelina Yee cautions against an immediate assumption of complicity with the ruler. She writes:

The moment one begins to write in the colonizer's language, the question is raised of whom one is writing for, and what effect such hybridization, whether intentional or subconscious, has on the construction of meaning between writer and reader. Does the very act of writing condemn the self and his kin to a position of servitude?<sup>10</sup>

So whose side were Yang Qianhe and Sakaguchi Reiko on? Was Yang Qianhe by virtue of the language she chose to write in complicit with the colonizer? And was Sakaguchi Reiko by virtue of her nationality complicit with the colonizer?

First let us look at Yang Qian-he's only work of fiction that I have found – "Hana saku kisetsu." "Hana saku kisetsu" was originally published on July 11, 1941 in *Taiwan bungaku* (台湾文学). Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao categorize it as a "shōsetsu" (小説 novel).

However, reading this work in conjunction with *Jinsei no purizumu*, Yang's memoir, there is clearly a very thin line between fiction and nonfiction. I would argue "Hana saku kisetsu" is typical of the Japanese I-novel both in terms of the close relationship with the author's own life, the deletion of people's names and places with *fuseji* (xxx), and also perhaps the author's motivation to retreat into the personal at a time when writing the political was too difficult.<sup>11</sup>

The journal *Taiwan bungaku* (Literary Taiwan), in which "Hana saku kisetsu" appears, was established by the Taiwanese writer Zhang Wenhuan (張文環 1909 - 1978) from 1941 – 1943. Along with Nishikawa Mitsuru's (西川満 1908 - 1999) *Bungei Taiwan* (文芸台湾

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<sup>10</sup> Angelina Yee, "Constructing a Native Consciousness: Taiwan Literature in the 20<sup>th</sup> Century," *The China Quarterly*, no. 165 (March 2001), p. 87.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the "I-novel" and the socio-political reasons for its development see Janet Walker, *The Japanese Novel of the Meiji Period and the Ideal of Individualism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1979), pp. 98 – 99.

Literary Taiwan), which lasted from 1940 - 1944, these two journals were considered, according to Faye Kleeman, the “main pillars of a robust, competitive literary scene in Taipei.”<sup>12</sup> *Taiwan bungaku* was dominated by Taiwanese writers and published stories that were more realistic, whereas *Bungei Taiwan* was supported mainly by Japanese writers who wrote for Japanese audiences and the stories tended to follow the style of romanticism.<sup>13</sup>

In the vein of social realism of *Taiwan bungaku*, Yang’s “Hana saku kisetsu” depicts the lives of affluent school-girls who transition from their school-girl days to married life. The narrator describes the girls’ thoughts and feelings, but details of Taiwanese culture and Taiwanese scenery are sparse. Yet years later, when Yang is living in another space, the United States, she talks more forthrightly about her feelings growing up as a colonized person in Taiwan in her memoir *Jinsei no purizumu*.

Yang explains the motivation for writing “Hana saku kisetsu” in her memoir. She claims she had no desire to actually write a story, but she was urged to do so by the editor of *Taiwan Bungaku* and so eventually she did. She describes “Hana saku kisetsu” as a work that reveals the psychological outpouring of an older woman who could not write. She believes the story’s value is the gentle atmosphere depicted in the work during the dreary reality of the 1930s and 1940s. The purpose of the story, she claims, was to provide some ease and comfort to her readers. Soon after this story was published, she quit her job and got married. But requests for writing articles and attending meetings continued and later during the Kuomintang regime, she was a member of

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<sup>12</sup> Faye Kleeman, *Under An Imperial Sun: Japanese Colonial Literature of Taiwan and the South* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2003), p. 72.

<sup>13</sup> Kim Kono, “Writing Colonial Lineage in Sakaguchi Reiko’s ‘Tokeisô’,” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 32:1, 2006, 84. See also Sung-sheng Yvonne Chang, “Taiwanese New Literature and the Colonial Context,” *Taiwan a New History*, Murray Rubinstein ed., (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2007), p. 272.



the Association of Women Representatives of All Taiwan Round-Table (全省縣市女議員座談會).<sup>14</sup>

The editors of the anthology in which “Hana saku kisetsu” appears summarize the story as a tale about a young woman’s view on marriage in Taiwan. They state that during the period of Japanese rule, there were few Japanese women writers so this work is one of the few articulations from a female point of view about the situation of young Taiwanese women at the time.<sup>15</sup>

This semi-autobiographical story is told from the first person perspective of “watashi,” a young woman who is graduating from a women’s college. The sixteen-page story, upon initial read, does not have much plot or substance. It comes across as a sentimental work in which “watashi,” whose name is later revealed to be Hui-in (惠英),<sup>16</sup> and her friends lament graduation day and how because they are women their fate is already decided – they will become wives and mothers. As a result of getting married, they fear their friendships will wane. The story then traces, very briefly, the first few years of the women’s lives as they proceed to marry and have children.

The metaphor of flowers blooming can be read in two ways. One way is a more traditional read of the path women should take. The blooming is their transition from the life of virginal schoolgirls to the life of wife and mother, which obviously implies sexuality. The other way to read “flowers blooming” is as an intellectual blooming. Hui-in, the narrator, I believe, represents this kind of blooming. Unlike her female peers, she does not want to follow them in the marriage track. She believes there is another way to live life as a woman and the story is

<sup>14</sup> Yang, *Jinsei no purizumu*, p. 187, p. 284.

<sup>15</sup> Kawahara Isao and Nakajima Toshio, *Nihon tochiki Taiwan bungaku*, p. 402.

<sup>16</sup> I want to thank my colleague Pei-chen Wu for helping me with Taiwanese readings of names. She claims this is a very typical Taiwanese name.

basically an articulation of her struggle to come to terms with living life by a different drum beat and avoiding the path of least resistance - marriage.

The short story ends two years later. Now almost everyone in Hui-in's class is married and are having children. The final scene of the story is when Hui-in goes to visit a friend in the hospital who has just given birth to a boy. The three friends are gathered in the hospital room. One of the friends asks as she looks at the newborn baby, "what kind of great person will you become, I wonder?" The mother replies, "I just ask for a good person." The story ends with them looking at each other and smiling.

✓ One striking aspect of this story is how unpolitical it seems at such a political time. In Yang's memoir, *Jinsei no puruzumu*, she clearly states that life for her was difficult and even at one point, she wanted to kill herself. Politics was her life. So why did she write a story that on the surface seems so <sup>boring (枯燥)</sup> banal? In an earlier quote, I noted that Yang admits she thinks the value of "Hana saku kisetsu" is that it provided a "gentle" atmosphere of Taiwan for readers by focusing on the <sup>日常生活</sup> quotidian lives of upper-class school girls at a gloomy time in Taiwan's history. In some ways the story is escapism from a reality that actually had numerous challenges such as her husband's imprisonment, the early death of her mother, and the fact that she was a woman living under the influences of traditional Taiwanese culture in a colonial Japanese regime. In her memoir *Jinsei no puruzumu*, Yang is much more honest about the difficulties of her life in Taiwan.

My married life to my kind husband was like a three legged race, even with various setbacks such as his illegal persecution, I was definitely blessed to be surrounded by good people. My life has been one in which I have often been tested. There was even a time when I thought about suicide. (p. 15).

The year “Hana saku kistetsu” was published Japan’s policies towards its colonized became increasingly severe as bodies and goods became scarce. People of the colonies were forced to fight for Japan and all resources were devoted to Japan’s war effort. By focusing on a politically neutral topic (marriage), but by emphasizing the lack of options other than marriage for these educated women, perhaps Yang was in fact making a political statement. Despite the superficial accoutrements of modernization that are referenced in the story, namely her elite education, still, these educated women have nowhere to go but marriage. Only Hui-in and Tagawa-san are able to create an alternate life by writing. Moreover, while it is not clearly stated in the story, Tagawa-san most likely is Japanese thus adding another layer of complexity to the opportunities for women. [Is Yang subtly implying that Tagawa-san’s ability to write is a result of the fact that she is Japanese and part of the “modern” culture of Japan as opposed to Hui-in who is pressured by Taiwanese parents to marry?] Is this a critique of Taiwanese society still stuck in the patriarchal Confucian past? Or is this a subtle critique of the false promises of colonial Japan which argued that its push southward would ultimately benefit all members of the “komin” (Imperial Empire). For Hui-in and her educated Taiwanese female friends, they still seem to have nowhere to go.

Thus although on the surface the story might seem to be a banal discussion of a woman who does not want to get married, perhaps, underneath this personal layer is coded symbolism for a political reading of the story? [For example, the narrator’s dilemma about the idea a woman places in terms of loyalty to her friends versus a husband can be read as a covert attack on the double loyalties Taiwanese people would have had to display during this time.]

Well, without realizing it, the brief time that you have been married will completely kill the feelings of friendship you had with your maiden friends. You cannot sustain to the same degree strong feelings for both. (p. 300)

One could read the maiden friendships as metaphors for “maiden” Taiwan. As cited earlier, Japan actually viewed Taiwan as virgin soil upon which to impose its colonial policies and develop it from its pre-modern existence. The idea of marriage can be interpreted as a “marriage” to Japan. Most of these women are marrying – and taking what the narrator perceives to be “the easy way out”. Hence, perhaps what Yang is stating is that becoming part of the *Naichi* without any form of questioning is a problem. The narrator’s refusal to get married, perhaps, is Yang’s subtle way to say that she refuses to be part of Japan’s colonial agenda. Perhaps this is an over-reading of the story, but considering the time, and the level of censorship that would have been occurring, as well as the philosophical stance of *Taiwan bungaku* discussed earlier in this paper, it might be plausible. Moreover, in Yang’s memoir she discusses her ambivalence about writing in Japanese and being part of the *shokuminchi* (植民地). She writes,

I was born in Taiwan, a solitary island of Asia. But now I live in a metropolitan area of Maryland in the United States. As I look back on my own past life, I look back on my own history with great joy.

I cannot say that my life in Taiwan that was spent enduring the turbulent political situation of war, and then continued with the post war transition from Japanese to Chinese, was smooth or economically easy. (p. 11)

About writing her memoir in Japanese, she states in *Jinsei no purizumu*:

I was a person born in Taiwan at the time of its colonization by Japan. I, a person who is not Japanese, but who had to write in Japanese, a language I did not ordinarily use, speak about the burden of carrying wounds that can not be erased. I pray that I can help Taiwanese people write in their own language as a new period for Taiwan in which Taiwanese people can have their own country is about to be born. But for now, there is no other choice but for me to write in Japanese, which continues to perpetuate the wound that will never heal. (p. 19 – 20).

In the afterword to *Jinsei no purizumu*, she explains why she writes.

The trend of Taiwanese works written by male writers is to depict Taiwanese women as oppressed by their sad fate. In my work, a work that is written by a woman’s own hand, I present one woman’s inner thoughts. This work is a record of a Taiwanese woman’s life who chose a different path from that which tends to

be depicted even now in Taiwanese literature of crying women who lament their oppressive and sad fate. (p. 360)

Thus it is clear that Yang Qianhe has very strong feelings about the position of women in Taiwan both now and also in its colonial past. Writing for her is an act of social and political expression. If “Hana saku kisetsu” is read in conjunction with her memoir *Jinsei no purizumu*, then a deeper reading of her story that on the surface seems to be only about marriage becomes more possible.

As mentioned earlier, Sakaguchi Reiko is the only Japanese women writer included in the anthology of Taiwanese colonial writing. During the period from 1938 – 1946 when she lived in Taiwan she wrote on almost a monthly basis for *Taiwan shinbun*, *Taiwan jiho*, and upon Yang Kui’s recommendation *Taiwan bungaku*. The editors Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao state that Sakaguchi Reiko is significant for several reasons. First, it was rare to be a Japanese women writer in the colony of Taiwan. Second, she looked at Taiwan with innocent eyes devoid of any prejudice. They state that in her works, she did not depict people as “naichijin” (内地人), “honshimajin” (本島人), or “banchi” (蕃地). The works that she produced during her short time as a writer in colonial Taiwan are praised not only by Japanese readers and writers, but also by Taiwanese, according to Nakajima and Kawahara.<sup>17</sup> However, in a recent article by Kim Kono who analyzes Sakaguchi Reiko’s “Tokeisô,” which is about a young boy who is born to a Japanese father and an aborigine mother, Kono questions whether this hybrid child is truly a metaphoric challenge to Japan’s colonization project or rather is

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<sup>17</sup> Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao (河原功), “Sakaguchi Reiko,” in *Nihon tōjiki Taiwan bungaku: Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshū*, vol. 5, 557.

maintaining the discourse of colonial union.<sup>18</sup> However, in the story that I have read by Sakaguchi Reiko, titled “Tomoshihi,”<sup>19</sup> which was published in *Taiwan bungaku* in April of 1943, I would argue deftly depicts and questions Japan’s militarism. The story which is told through the voice of “watashi” (I) is about a young Japanese wife who must send her husband off to war. Her sadness about watching him become a soldier is subtly depicted. The editors Nakajima and Kawahara, note however, that sections of the story were deleted and sentences such as “The more I hear, the more I want to be a useful person who can manage things by myself and raise my child alone for the war that continues in distant places” and the final line “Through the worship of my husband, I bow reverently toward our respectful Emperor saying “banzai.””<sup>20</sup> The story was praised by her peers when it was published and it was a candidate for the first Taiwan bungaku prize. First place went to Lu Heruo for 財子寿 (?? Saikosû?? “Wealth, Children, and a Long Life”??).

My paper is long now so I will leave the rest for our in person discussion. I am curious to hear what you think about my interpretation of Yang Qianhe’s “Hana saku kisetsu” as well as any thoughts you have on the readings of Sakaguchi Reiko’s “Tei ikka” or “Tomoshihi.”

## CONCLUSION

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<sup>18</sup> See Kim Kono, “Writing Colonial Lineage in Sakaguchi Reiko’s ‘Tokeisô’,” *Journal of Japanese Studies*, 32:1, 2006, pp. 83 – 117.

<sup>19</sup> Sakaguchi Reiko, “Tomoshihi,” in Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao, “Sakaguchi Reiko,” *Nihon tôchiki Taiwan bungaku, Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshû*, vol. 5, (Tokyo: Rokuin shobô, 1998), pp. 89 – 112.

<sup>20</sup> Nakajima Toshio and Kawahara Isao, “Sakaguchi Reiko,” *Nihon tôchiki Taiwan bungaku, Nihonjin sakka sakuhinshû*, vol. 5, p. 559.

The questions that I would like to leave you with are as follows. Gender metaphors are often used in colonial discourse as the male imperial body colonizes the “pure” female colonial body. Certainly this was the case for Taiwan perceived to be an innocent pure and exotic land that the Japanese wanted to “develop.” Yet, gender was also a reality. For Taiwanese women living in Taiwan and Japanese women sent to Taiwan during Japan’s colonial period they had a double bind of oppression (gender and race). That there are only two women in the 12 volume anthology on Taiwan’s colonial period literature strikes me as strange. Where were the women? Where were their voices?

A recent work by Yuko Kikuchi titled *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan* (2007)<sup>21</sup> has uncovered numerous female Taiwanese artists who produced art during Japan’s colonization of Taiwan. If there were women painters, certainly there were women writers. Thus while I am in Taiwan, I will be looking at *Taiwan shinbun*, *Taiwan bungaku*, and *Bungei Taiwan* to see if I can unearth more female voices (Taiwanese or Japanese) who might have had something to say about colonialism and imperialism. I want to look at how gender metaphors were used in literature produced in the colonial period by female writers as ways to articulate resistance and survival during this dark period in Taiwan’s history. Gender is important in colonial and imperial paradigms where metaphors of masculinity are applied to the colonizer or imperialist as the active conquering agent and metaphors of femininity namely purity, innocence, and passivity are used to describe the colonized. Certainly this was the case with Japan’s relationship to Taiwan and how this is dealt with in literature by writers writing on both sides of the colonial paradigm is my ultimate research goal.

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<sup>21</sup> Yuko Kikuchi, *Refracted Modernity: Visual Culture and Identity in Colonial Taiwan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2007).



時間：2010年3月10日

Anne Sokolsky 教授於政大演講。

演講題目：

Marginalized Spaces / Marginalized Voices Woman Writers in Colonial Taiwan



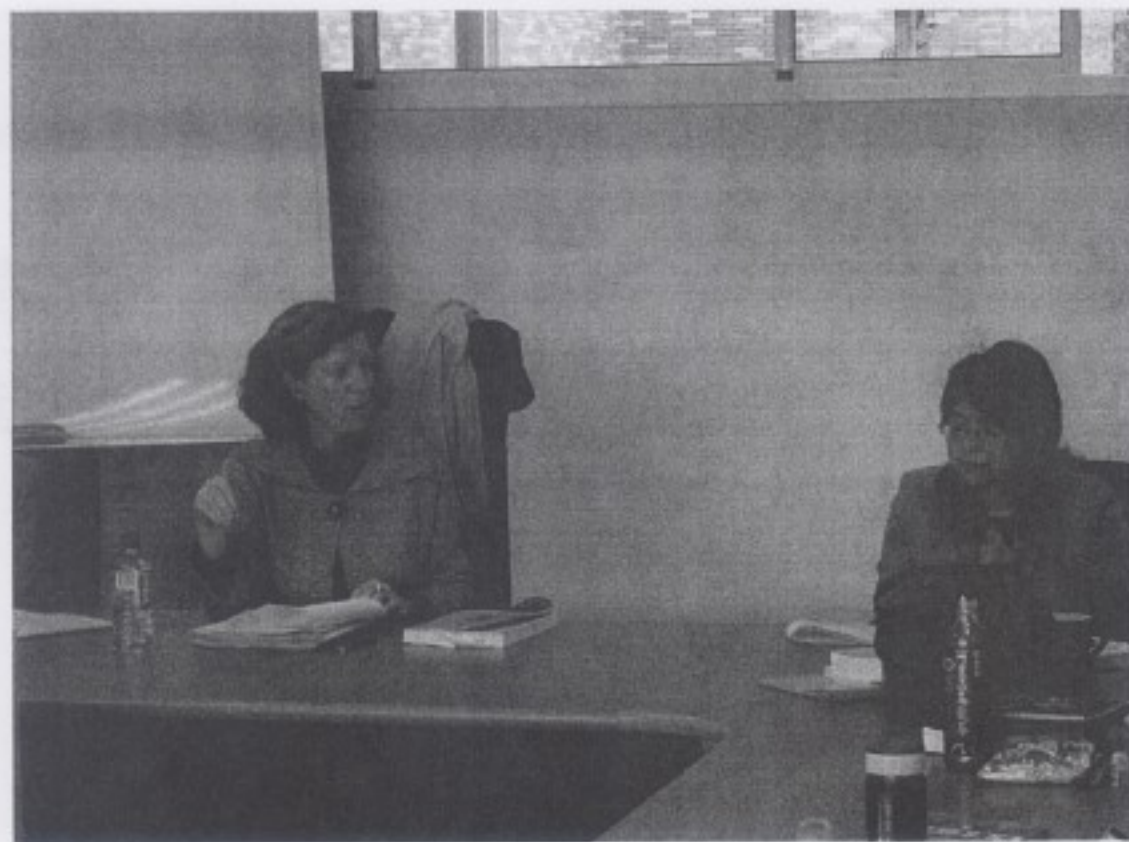






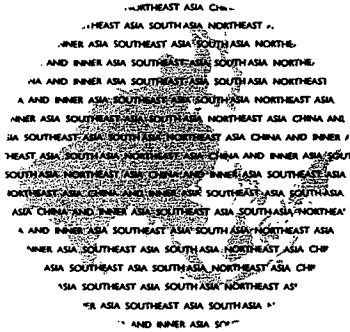






# **Association for Asian Studies**

與會證明



# Association for Asian Studies

1021 East Huron Street  
Ann Arbor, MI 48104-1628 USA  
Phone: (734) 665-2490  
Fax: (734) 665-3801

Fall, 2009

Dear Colleague,

I am pleased to learn that you will be a participant in the Annual Meeting of the Association for Asian Studies. As you know, the meeting will be held at the Philadelphia Marriott Downtown, March 25-28, 2010. Special hotel convention rates are available on our website [www.asian-studies.org](http://www.asian-studies.org)

We hope this letter will help you in securing funds from your institution or other funding source. While the Association is not in a position to provide general financial help with travel and maintenance to the 1450 or more scholars who will be on the program, it does provide over two hundred carefully selected panels of important recent research, exhibitions of the latest publications on Asia, professional contacts, interviews with prospective employers, meetings of specific interest groups, continuous video showings and an opportunity to meet and visit with friends and colleagues. If you need a personalized letter, please contact us as soon as possible. International visitors should allow at least 3 months for visa arrangements.

We look forward to March, 2010, and hope that all goes well as you make your plans. Please let us know if you have any questions or concerns.

Sincerely,

Michael Paschal,  
Executive Director



# *Panel Description for Panel Number 237*

Panel Description: Global Shakespeare and East Asia

Date: 3/28/2010 Time: 8:30am - 10:30am Room: To Be Updated

Area No : 6 Area Description: Interarea

<i>Participant</i>	<i>Expires</i>	<i>Pos</i>	<i>SeqNo</i>	<i>DatePaid</i>	<i>Title</i>
44104 Robert Tierney 2317 Eagle Ridge Road  Champaign IL 61822 USA	20101	O	0		University of Illinois, Urbana-Champaign
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35561 Peichen Wu 64, Sec 2 ZhiNan Road Wenshan District Taipei Taiwan 11605 ROC	20043	P	3		Graduate Institute of Taiwanese Literature Shakespearean Theatres and Colonial Taiwan
517063 Yukari Yoshihara  4-10-3-102-304 Azuma Tsukuba, Ibaraki 305-0031 JPN		P	4		University of Tsukuba Un-Shakespearizing Shakespeare and Un- Japanizing Manga
28126 Alexander Huang 2344 Autumnwood Drive  State College PA 16801 USA	20093	D	10		Pennsylvania State University

# 政大特別演講會

發表成員：日比嘉高

發表題目：〈外地書店〉から見える近代日本の  
出版文化と文学



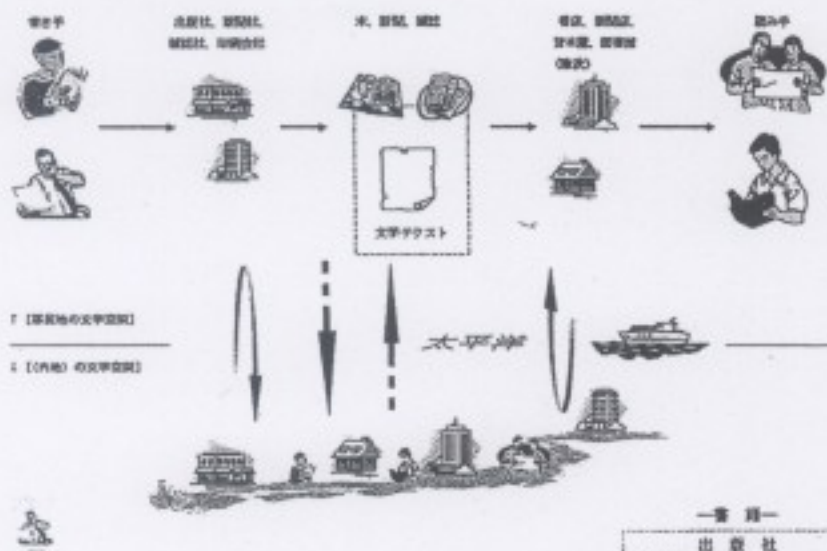
# 〈外地書店〉から見える 近代日本の出版文化と文学



日比嘉高 (名古屋大学)  
yshibi@lit.nagoya-u.ac.jp

## 1 問題の所在

### 1.1 「文学」を成り立たせるシステム：



「文学」が成立するには、それを可能にする文化的基盤が必要。今回は、数多くある文化的な装置のうち、読者に最も近い小売り書店の外地における展開を考える。

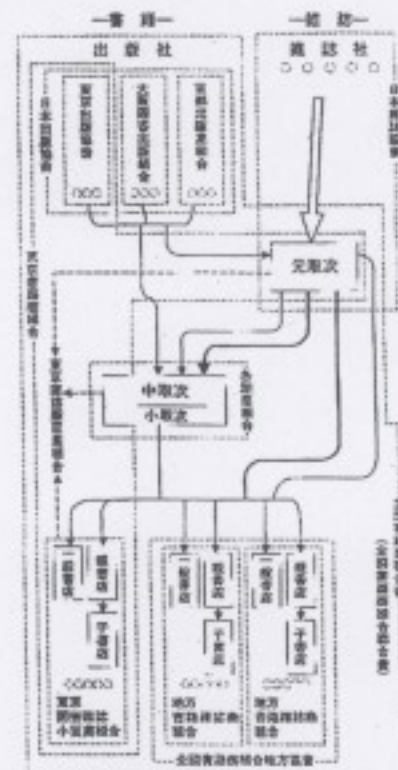
### 1.2 書店から見えるもの

人々の読書の、もっとも身近な窓口としての書店。入手できる資料から考えれば――

- 書店の数…広がり、街の規模・性格、読書人口
- 書店の広告…顧客の性格、流行、内地書店との連動性/非連動性
- 書店の販売/蔵書目録…書店の規模、時代の知の体系
- 書店の写真…店・人の雰囲気、品揃、店構、販売法
- 書店員の回想…店の歴史、店・客・時代のような
- 書店についての回想……店・客・時代のような

→ 失われた人々の読書の営為をあぶり出す

→ 時代の知の基盤を明らかにする



図一 出版流通と読者の流れ

【資料-1】 渡辺隆宏「『周辺』の出版流通——满洲書籍配給株式会社設立への過程、大阪屋敷書店その他——」『メディア史研究』2010年3月

## 2 外地への書店の進出（侵出）

### 2.1 外地への本の流れの概略

（北米については、日比の既発表論文を参照。）

#### 2.1.1 朝鮮・満洲・台湾——

【資料-2】 望月政治「東亜への出版物輸出」『わが国出版物輸出物の歴史』望月正捷・発行、日本出版貿易・製作、1971年4月、pp.28-29

#### 2.1.2 大衆向け廉価商品の流れ

■引用1 ■ 「夜店・古本屋相手から満洲・台湾へ残品の大量卸 河野清一（省光社）／富永龍之助（新星出版社）」尾崎秀樹、宗武朝子『日本の書店百年 明治・大正・昭和の出版販売小史』青英舎、1991年7月、pp.544-555  
河野 [...] その河野書店へ入った当時は、出版屋の残品を扱っていたわけです。それは細々としたものでしたよ。それで、出版屋が売れ残った本とか、また、時には紙型までつけて引き取って、その紙型で紙を仕入れて出版して、ほんのわずかの口銭で売る。だいたい販売網というのは、当時は都内の夜店と地方の古本屋でした。それと朝鮮、満洲、台湾、あちらの方へ行くと、本が行き渡らないんですね。また、行き渡っても定価より高いんですよ。外地定価といって、定価より何割か増しのものです。

尾崎 最低、一割増しぐらいと言っていましたね。

河野 満鉄でも幹線しか通らないわけです。品物が奥地に行かないわけですよ。だからあちらに行って売る方にやるのには、東京から安いものを仕入れていかなくちやいけない。そのために、見切物というので、当時一円の本を、残りものから一〇銭とか一五銭とかで買って、それを五銭なり七銭なり儲けて卸すわけです。そういうものを仕入れていけば、台湾へ行って半額でも卸せたわけですよ。その大手筋が地方では、大阪で松要さん、京都では洛東書院です。

尾崎 その外地への販路というのは東京から直接というよりも、やはり松要さんあたりを通過して行ったわけですか。

河野 そうです。向こうは地の利がいいですし。私の方はどちらかという、買い卸の方なんです。大量卸なんです。出版元から引き取る、それで、それを皆さんに分ける。[...]

### 2.2 教科書販売と書店

#### ■引用2 ■ 橋本求『日本出版販売史』前掲

地方は鳥取の今井とか、神戸の宝文館とか、山口の白銀とか、どの店も初めは教科書販売で基礎をつくり、だんだんに書籍や雑誌に移っていったんですね。（p.120）

中等学校教科書は発行所が各学校の注文をとり、それによって各府県の取次店、販売店に卸していた。この取次、販売の仕事は主として地方の有力書店が行ない、末端の販売は書店の他に文房具店、呉服店などが兼業するような例もあったが、昭和四〔1929〕年頃、全国教科書販売店は千八百軒といわれた。（pp.510-511）

【資料-3】 柴野京子『書棚と平台——出版流通というメディア——』弘文堂、2009年8月、pp.40-41

#### ■引用3 ■ 座談会「出版通信」「出版同盟新聞」復刻をめぐる『新文化』2001年11月15日、p.5

「小林〔一博〕 書店のことをいいますと、昔は教科書を扱えないような書店というのは、二流、三流の書店だという位置づけがあったのです。教科書を扱っている書店というのは殿様です。経営的にも安定します。教科書を扱い、四大取次を通じて日本雑誌協会の会員社が発行する雑誌を扱っている書店というのは、安定している書店だという位置づけをされてきました。書籍しかやっていないのは、大したことがないということです。書籍が大したことがないということではなくお店の販売力や信用という面です。」

【資料-4】 渡辺隆宏「『周辺』の出版流通——満洲書籍配給株式会社設立への道程、大阪屋書店その他——」前掲

■引用4 ■ 望月政治「東亜への出版物輸出」前掲、p.38

「一口に小売店と言っても、例を朝鮮にとると、書籍、雑誌、中等教科書、青年学校教科書、日記、兵書等全般を扱う店は、全鮮で約一二〇店、書籍雑誌日記扱約一八〇店、書籍雑誌のみ約一〇〇店の計四〇〇店で、あとの店は雑誌だけとか、書籍と日記とかいうたぐいであつたが、満洲の場合は昭和十六〔1941〕年に、満配という統制会社によって一応書店が整理されたので、教科書以外の扱い品目については、全書店が、全般を扱ったように覚えている。」

2.3 外地書店の概数

2.3.1 年次別の変化

	1907年	1924年	1928年	1936年	1938年	1942年
樺太	1		9		93	
台湾	12	35	51		106	123
朝鮮	22	99	50 (3)	109	358	549
満洲		46	29 (3)	69	189	192
中華民国 (清国)	26					192
米国	32 (*1)					

1907年 『全国書籍商名簿』東京書籍商組合事務所、1907年11月による。\*1 バンクーバー1、ハワイ3を含む。  
 1924年 『全国書籍商組合員名簿』全国書籍商組合联合会、1924年3月による。  
 1928年 『特選書籍商名簿』東京出版協会編輯・発行、1928年7月による。( ) 内は取次卸売をする書店。  
 1936年 『図書総目録』濱井松之助編輯・発行、1936年11月による。書店数は目録に掲載された「連絡店」の数(大阪屋号の満洲卸部、朝鮮卸部を含まず)。  
 1938年 『全国書籍業組合員名簿』全国書籍業联合会編輯・発行、1938年3月による。  
 1942年 望月政治編『わが国出版物輸出物の歴史』発行・望月正捷、1971年4月による。このほか蒙古13、関東州16。

2.3.2 1938年時点の全国の組合員数

順位	組合名	組合員数
1	東京組合	3296
2	大阪組合	1321
3	北海道組合	860
4	京都組合	622
5	兵庫県組合	525
6	福岡県組合	476
7	新潟県組合	359
8	朝鮮組合	353
9	静岡県組合	355
10	神奈川県組合	349
11	広島県組合	334
12	名古屋組合	309
13	千葉県組合	301
14	愛知県組合	282
15	熊本県組合	276
16	岐阜県組合	267
17	山口県組合	214

18	石川県組合	212
19	長野(信濃)組合	207
20	和歌山県組合	201
21	鹿児島県組合	197
22	長崎県組合	192
23	岡山県組合	189
24	満洲組合	189
25	茨城県組合	182
26	埼玉県組合	168
26	富山県組合	168
28	大分県組合	167
29	宮城県組合	166
30	栃木県組合	163
31	岩手県組合	155
32	島根県組合	154
33	福島県組合	145
34	山形県組合	141
35	青森県組合	132

36	秋田県組合	130
37	群馬県組合	129
38	福井県組合	116
39	滋賀県組合	110
40	佐賀県組合	109
41	台湾組合	106
42	鳥取県組合	103
43	八王子組合	94
44	樺太組合	93
45	愛媛県組合	92
46	徳島県組合	86
47	奈良県協会	82
47	高知県組合	82
49	香川県組合	81
50	三重県組合	78
51	宮崎県組合	76
52	山梨県組合	73
53	沖縄県組合	22

(『全国書籍業組合員名簿』全国書籍業联合会編輯・発行、1938年3月による。)

### 3 具体例 1 大阪屋号書店

#### ■引用 5 ■ 渡辺隆宏 「『周辺』の出版流通」前掲、p.99

大阪屋号書店は、もともと、濱井松之助が明治三八年春、營口で開いた書籍小売店で、これが徐々に発展し、奉天、新京、旅順、鞍山（ただし奉天支店開設にあたり閉鎖）、鐵嶺、大連といった満洲国および関東州内のみならず、朝鮮各地や北京にも支店を開設、満洲組合の中心的存在ともなった。松之助自身は、一九一一（明治四四年）三月、本店を東京（神田から後に日本橋に移転）に構え、出版業も行いながら、外地各地に八、九ヵ所あったという支店への集荷発送所を設けた。これが、徐々に拡張し“外地専門の書籍取次業”となり、「満洲国内供給の元締」とさえ言われるに至ったのだった。

→ 満洲中心の記述だが、朝鮮、台湾でも重要な役割。

#### ■引用 6 ■ 『図書総目録』編輯・発行者 濱井松之助、発兌 大阪屋號書店・同満洲卸部・同朝鮮卸部、1936年11月 謹告

- 一、此の図書総目録は現代日本の代表的有力出版元の優秀図書を網羅掲載致しました。
- 一、此の目録は出版元別に編纂致しましたが、読書家諸賢の御利用上、別に種類別にした発行所の索引を附しましたから、御希望の種類 of 図書がどこから出版されてあるかを御調べになることが容易に出来ます。
- 一、此の目録に掲載致してあります図書は、総て満洲では奉天、朝鮮では京城の大阪屋号満鮮両卸部に常備されてありますから、弊店に品切の節は短時日に御取寄せ御届けする事が出来るもので御座います。
- 一、奉天、京城の両卸部倉庫は、恰も全日本有力出版元の総合倉庫で、日本出版文化の大陸進出が為された訳であります。倉庫内部は陳列式になつて居りまして、一般読書家へ直接に小売は致しません、弊店から御紹介致しますれば御自由に御覧が出来弊店の勘定で御買上げも出来ます。
- 一、此の目録は逐年新刊を増補し、読書家諸賢の御便宜を図る予定で御座います。

昭和一一年十一月

→ この『図書総目録』から何が読めるか？

### 4 まとめと課題——本屋から読む

- 本の流れから、トランス・ナショナルな文化の広がりとその構造を描き出す。
- 経済活動であると同時に、文化の基盤である書店。
- さらに、と同時に、軍事的な侵出と密接な連関を持っていた。  
日本文化の輸出・浸透という国策 / 軍事的侵出を後追いする経済進出
- 書店・書物の多重的役割、多義性を考えたい。
- 「同居」していた他民族との関係のなかで考える。

例えば  
蘭記書局

## 東亜への出版物輸出

日本の出版物が外地に本格的に移出されはじめたのは、日露戦争以後のことである。それまではほとんど、商品としては問題にならなかったようである。

日露戦争を契機として、日本人の外地渡航者定着者が漸増し、書店としては明治三十八年〱旅順陥落前〱大阪屋号浜井松之助氏が先ず満州の营口に上陸（余事にわたるが当時、婦人は袴をはいていないと上陸は許されなかった……とのこと）して、書店営業適地を物色の結果、先ず大連に書店を開業し、更に、旅順、奉天、新京に大阪屋号書店を、連鎖的に開設して読書人の渴を潤した（遼陽・鉄嶺にも設けたが閉店、奉天の店は後年満配の営業所に転用され、また新京の店は大東亜戦時中に東京の富山房に譲り、新京富山房になった）。これを足場にして浜井松之助氏は、更に朝鮮に支那にと書店網を伸ばしたのであるが、勿論、大阪屋号系以外の書店も、それぞれ各地に漸増した。

台湾に逸早く渡航した（明治二十八年）村崎長昶氏は、台北に、新高堂書店を開業され、その後、内地人及び現地人書店が基隆、台中、嘉義、台南、高雄、花蓮港等、全島に開店された。なお、東都書籍株式会社（台北）が、官報の一手販売のほか、三省堂出版物の普及に全力を挙げていた。

昭和十六年五月、日配（日本出版配給株式会社）創立まで、外地に対する雑誌の供給は主として東京堂、北隆館、東海堂（昭和二十年から二十四年にかけて創業された元の雑誌大取次）が供給し、書籍や教科書は大体に於て日本橋で外地専門取次店をやっていた大阪屋号が調達納入していたので外地の書店で大阪屋号と取引のなかった書店は、ほとんど無かったと言ってもよいくらいであった。

これら外地に対する出版物の移出量〱日配創立当時〱は、全体の約二〇%で、ほかに教科書が多少移出され、また日本国内で捌ききれなかったようなもの、あるいは赤本類などが大阪の松要書店、東京の河野書店などから、相当量送り出されてきたけれども、その数量は明らかでない。

前記（日配時代）二〇%に達するまでの三十数年間の過程は、文字通り漸増であったが、日韓合併（明治四十三年）満州建国（昭和七年）等によって、拍車を

かけたことは否めない。殊に、ラジオ・テレビ等普及していない時代であったから、当時の出版物の重要さは今日の比ではなく、この仕事に携わる者、みな大きな意義を感じて、働いたものである。

大東亜戦後は、対外地出版物（雑誌を除く）の荷造り運賃は大体定価の五―七%で、全額小売書店負担であった関係から、現地の小売価格は定価の一〇%増しになっていった。雑誌の方は荷造り運賃が定価の二%ぐらいであり、書籍同様一〇%増し売りによって、相当な利益はあった筈ではあるけれども、売残り返品は書籍雑誌とも、ほとんど小売店が背負いこんでしまうので、取次も小売店も売残さぬように努力したものである。

このように返品が少なくて都合であった反面、部数の伸長度は内地よりも遅くまた荷物事故は遠隔地であるため、内地に比してその割合が多く、しかも僻遠地書店あての荷物は防水紙で包み、糊ばりの上、結束の結び目はほどけぬようにしたのであったが、荷物ごと行方不明というような事故すら起って商売上では一長一短であった。以下、朝鮮、満州、台湾、支那等の順に思い出を綴ってみよう。

朝鮮には、京城に内藤定一郎氏〱小売組合長〱経営の大阪屋号をはじめ、日韓書房（岸本賀次郎氏）、丸善支店（諏訪田房之助氏）、金城堂（松野勝氏）等があり、更に、東京大阪屋号の卸部が昭和十二年に設けられて、出版物の普及に努力された。そのほか、釜山―博文堂書店（吉田新一氏）、平壤―脇坂文鮮堂（脇坂喜之助氏）、大邱―玉村書店（河野祐治氏）等、有力な書店があり、また卸部の関係から、大阪屋号系統の小売店が要所要所に点在していたほか、他系統の小売店も二百以上あつて、一般出版物の普及につとめ、更に赤本・第四部門品（松要さんや河野書店の扱品の俗称）も満州同様に流入して、日本の出版物はなかなかよく普及していたものである。

なお、朝鮮では戦前、教学図書株式会社（明治書院森下松衛氏、大阪盛文館岸本善次郎氏など中核）が、教科書の発行頒布に活躍されたのであるが、これも戦厄に遭われ雲散霧消した。

満州での書店網は、明治三十八年、まず大阪屋号の大連開店にひきつづき、遂次、拡大をみたのであるが、その進展途上においては、各地に種々の苦心談や珍談などが伝えられている。

雪ふかい新開辺地の雑貨店兼書店で、荷物の不着事故などが起つても、その店舗のある寒々とした附近の風景を写真でみせられ、荷物の動きなどを説明される。こんな淋しいところで本や雑誌を売って下さる……という御苦勞に感謝の念が先立ち、また雑誌などは一斤百二十匁、たしか三銭か三銭五厘で満州の果てまで運んで賣っていたのであるから、鉄道当局に不着事故を申し立てることも差しひかえ、理屈ばらずに円満に解決してしまふ……というようなことで、大阪屋号はじめ現地書店の努力と内地取次の協力とによって出版物の普及網はどんどん伸び、大正末期ですら約一〇〇店（推定）、昭和十七年には二満配によって整理されたあとと言え二一九二店に達したのである。

当時、満州関東州で潰滅させられた書店の主なもの、安東―弓倉文栄堂（弓倉悦蔵氏）、新京―森野書店（森野昇二氏）、ハルビン―ハルビン堂（小柴九三氏）、千葉書店（畑山善作氏）、奉天―大阪屋号（大谷直定氏）、弘文堂書店（宮坂徳治郎氏）、大連―大阪屋号（浜井良氏）、金鳳堂（堤茂樹氏）、旅順―大阪屋号（新田貞義氏）、文栄堂（山縣喜次郎氏）等である。

台湾では、台北中心に六割、台中中心に二割、高雄中心に二割ぐらいの割合で、日本の出版物が普及していたように思う。

全島の主だった書店の名を挙げてみると、台北―新高堂村崎長親氏（台湾全島の小売組合長）、文明堂（長谷川祐寛氏）、杉田書店（杉田英氏）、台中―棚辺書店（棚辺久氏）、台南―小出書店（小出平左衛門氏）、新竹―犬塚書店（呉享霖氏）、嘉義―山陽堂書店（吉川リウ氏）、高雄―山形屋（山田耕作氏）、みどりや（橋詰七郎氏）、台東―林書店（林夷蔵氏）、花蓮港―並木学生堂（並木利三氏）等である。

なお、台湾では、内地からの船便仕入れが遅れるので、昭和十二年に、大阪出版物の卸販売を目的とする台湾図書株式会社（責任者大阪駿々堂出身碓延一郎氏）が設立され、つづいて昭和十三年に、全島の有力小売書店と東京大阪屋号本店との共同出資による台湾書籍株式会社（設立され、業務担当者として大阪屋号も解消し、役員は日配の台湾支店（支店長―東京堂出身奥村輝輔氏―現在東販勤務）に移して、業務の運行には支障を生じなかった。

支那では戦前、上海に内山書店（内山完造氏経営、東京堂取引）至誠堂（出光衛氏経営北隆館取引、新聞販売業兼営―現在、東京で出版、小売）等のほか、天津に大地書局（吉村周蔵氏）、日光堂（鈴木芳太郎氏）などが記憶にのこっている。北京には、長田勝四郎氏―大連大阪屋号出身―経営の北京堂書店、熊谷敬一氏―東京熊谷印刷株式会社社長の創立した國華書籍株式会社（北隆館取引）、永増書局（藤本勇一郎氏）、大阪屋号（石川静夫氏―現在東販）等々々。日本人が支那各地で書店を経営され、それぞれ相当な成績をあげていられたのであるが、小規模な店は大部分、大阪屋号本店が品代金を保証（帳合取引）されて、内地の取次店から、商品を直送していた。これは大阪屋号系統の書店が主要地に点在している、信用調査などが割合容易であった結果であろうと思われる。

支那における教科書の発行については、平凡社の下中弥三郎社長が、北京に新民印書館を設立して活躍された。

戦前の鮮満台支を一〇〇としての出版物（教科書を除く）普及率は五〇、四〇、五、五ぐらいで、これ等外地に対する出版物の配給については、日本出版配給株式会社（銀座営業所（旧東海堂の社屋）が管掌し、この営業所長（初期所長は短期更迭）は、現在の日本出版貿易株式会社社長望月政治であった。



当初の自由採扱は、明治一六年の段階で許可制、一  
九年には検定制となっており、三六年には国定化される。その前年に教科書の採用をめぐる贈賄賄事件  
（教科書疑獄）が起きた影響で認可発行者はさらに絞られ、四二年に日本書籍、東京書籍、大阪書籍の  
三法人に統合されることになるのだが、流通上のエポックは、販売を行う元卸として東京に共同販売所  
を設置し、各道府県に一つの支所または特約販売所を設けるよう定められた（明治三八年）ことである。  
特約販売所ができる前年、博文館の大橋新太郎率いる日本書籍が各地に特約大販売所、特約販売所、取  
次販売所を配置し、あわせて教科書販売の九割というシェアを獲得している。巨大市場である教科書の  
出版と流通に関しては、業界の有力者が積極的に関与したとみられ、販売所の法制化もほぼ日本書籍の  
筋書きに沿ったものである可能性が高い。

いずれにしても、この一連の動きの中で（発行会社）―（共同販売所）―（特約販売所）という初等  
教科書のルートが固定化する。このとき教科書特約販売所（教販）となったのが明治初年の地方翻刻出  
版社であり、各地域にもれなく配置されたことから、出版物全般の仲卸を担う地域出版流通の拠点とし  
て発展したのである。多くは県庁や繁華街などの中心地区に小売店舗をもっていて、供給元であると同  
時に、学校や官庁ともつながりの深い中核的な総合書店となつてゆく。その一つ、米子今井書店の会長  
今井兼文（当時）は次のように語り、教科書特約販売所が仲買にとどまらず、地域内の出版流通拠点を  
積極的に開拓していった模様を伝えている。

各地の適当な場所に／教科書の扱い店をつくる必要があると考えました。そうして、酒屋さん、郵  
便局長さんをお願いしたこともありました。呉服屋さんはむろんのこと、文具屋さんだとか薬屋さ  
んだとかに、書籍だとあずかっていたこともできないので、どこかにくっつけてやっていただ  
きたい、ということもあって、教科書の県下全体の供給するために、そういうおもしろい書店に  
なつていただいた。それがもつた本場の書店になり、現在もやっている店がたくさんありま  
す。／一般の読者も非常に少ないこの島根と鳥取の地では、教科書の歴史が即書店のあゆみであ  
る、ということも考えられると思います。

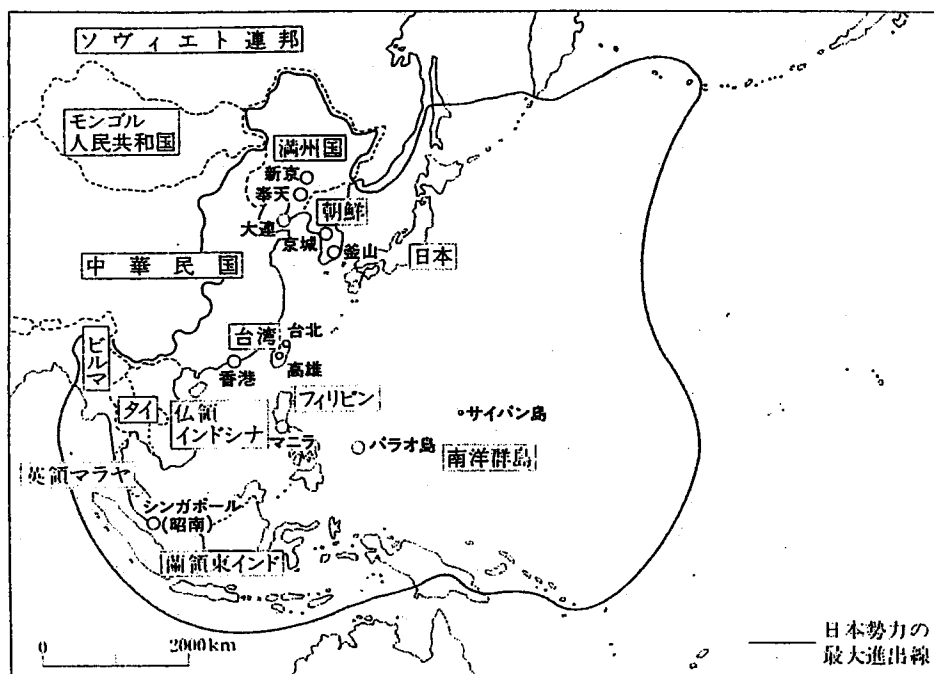


図1 1940年代の日本の勢力圏と植民地都市

また、滿洲圖書株式會社（滿圖）の設立も、日本の出版業界の滿洲国への進出という点で、特筆すべき大きな出来事であった。滿洲国内すべての「教科用図書」の翻刻発行、発売、頒布などを目的として、一九三七年三月二九日公布の勅令第四一号「滿洲圖書株式會社法」によって設立されたこの特殊会社には、東京書籍、日本書籍、大阪書籍といった、日本の国定教科書を出版販売する大手出版社がその出資に加わっており、理事長を石川正作（東京書籍取締役社長）、理事を大橋光吉（日本書籍取締役社長）が勤めていた。そもそも、この教科書会社設立に際しては、日本の複数の出版社間で利権をめぐる争いがあったのだが、こうした事実も、滿洲国の市場としての価値の大きさを物語っている。

## 台湾の場合

『全国書籍商総覧』（後藤金壽編輯・新聞之新聞社発行、1930年9月）から

【\*注意：授業資料としてのみお使いください】

### 1. 人口と民族構成（昭和七[1932]年末）

総数 4,930,000人余	中華民国人 42,000人
内地人 247,000人	朝鮮人 1,000人
本島人 4,496,000人	其他の外国人 200人
生蕃人 144,000人	

### 2. 教科書販売との関係

明治四十年以降の総督府中学校官制、同高等女学校官制、小学校令施行規則および台湾小学校規則の改正などにより生徒数が増加した（本島人の生徒も増加した）ことを整理し、教科書もそれとともなって整備されてきたという。「而して教科書および教授用掛図、参考書は総督府に於て出版し、その払下は州知事又は庁長に保管転換をなし、それより需要者の請求に応じて指定の図書販売に払下げるのである。」

大正十一年からは教育令が改正され、中等学校以上の教科書は内地のものと同程度のものを使う方針となったため、「之を販売する書店側にとっては従来の不安定な販売方針より免れ得て一定の営業方針を樹立する事が出来、極めて有利な地歩を占めるに至った。」同時に高等女学校や師範学校、高等学校も整備され、「是等各校の地元は勿論、島内各地に書籍業を営む者多く同業者間の競争も漸く激しくなつて来た。」

### 3. 高等教育との関係

「この増加は一面に於て本島の文化施設が着々その緒に就き一般書籍需求者の漸増を物語るもので、例へば各種の中等実業学校及び台北医学専門、台北高等商業、台南高等工業、台北帝大付属農林専門部の四専門学校、さては昭和三年三月設立の台北帝国大学等が統々開設され、研究者、学徒の数が夥しく増加した事と図書館、文庫其他の図書閲覧期間の設置等によるは勿論であるが、書籍商自体の機まぬ奮闘と努力が然らしめたのである。」

### 4. 図書館との関係

台湾における図書館の現況を概略し、特に台湾総督府図書館の沿革を述べて、「島民の啓蒙に裨益する処蓋し尠少でなく、台北市を中心とした書店が繁昌する所以も亦これあるが為である。斯かる文化的施設は日を経るに従つて彌々多きを数ふるであらう事は疑を容れず、現に島内の書々はこの恩恵を直接若しくは間接に受ける事によつて業容を拡充し株式会社の組織による書店が頻出著しく企業化する傾向が顕著である。」

### 5. 取り次ぎ、および「任務」

その取引先は大阪屋号、三省堂、東都書籍株式会社、柳原書店、大阪売文館、金文堂、東京堂等である。特に注意すべきは地元書店の多くは内地人の移住者であるか、或は本島人中の一部知識階級であつて、何れも島人の文盲を滅却させ、文芸、學術の振興を期し、国家興隆の基礎を築く重大任務を帯びて居るといふ国民的自覚が可成り強く働いてゐる。」



台北市街景（1930年代）

時間：2010年6月15日

日比嘉高於政治大學演講

演講題目：〈外地書店〉から見える近代日本の出版文化と文学

