Music Culture of the Japanese in Colonial Korea as Reflected in the Media\(^1\)
— Focusing on the Reception of Traditional Japanese Performing Arts —

植民地朝鮮におけるメディアに反映された日本人の音楽文化
— 日本伝統芸能の受容を中心に —

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要 旨

本研究では、在朝鮮日本人社会において音楽文化、特に日本伝統芸能をどのように受容していたのか、その実態について「京城日報」音楽関連記事・広告や京城放送局音楽プログラムのメディア情報を基に考察を行った。植民地朝鮮における日本伝統芸能は、ラジオプログラムの編成や在朝鮮日本人邦楽家の公演活動、日本本土からの歌舞伎興行などにより、在朝鮮日本人のコミュニティーに伝わり、日本的地方都市と同様に普及し、享受されていた。また、戦時総力戦になると、大物歌舞伎俳優による慰問巡業は「慰安」のみならず、「在朝鮮日本人の結末の役割」を果たすようにもなった。

キーワード：日本伝統芸能、在朝鮮日本人、京城放送局、京城日報、植民大都市、メディア

1. INTRODUCTION

This study explores how the Japanese community appreciated traditional Japanese performing arts in Colonial Korea (1910-1945), by examining music-related articles and advertisements found in Keijo Nippo, and music programmes by the Keijo Broadcasting Station.\(^3\)

After signing the Japanese-Korean Treaty of Amity in February 1876 (日朝修好条規, also known as Treaty of Ganghwa), Korea was forced to open three ports Busan, Incheon, and Wonsan.\(^4\) This was followed by a few, similarly unequal treaties between the two countries.

Under those treaties the Japanese government exercised military, economic, and cultural control over Korea and the number of Japanese immigrants to Korea increased under the immigration incentive policy. The Japanese Resident-General of Korea was established in February 1906 to represent, protect and manage the Japanese community in Korea. The Japanese were settled in certain areas in the city Hansung (which was given a new Japanese name 'Keijo' after the merger).

Those areas were also given Japanese names such as Honmachi (本町) and Koganemachi (黄金町), and became the centres for Japanese commercial activities. The Japanese residential and commercial areas were lined with modern buildings occupied by public offices, national policy companies, and banks. Those areas also functioned as the new cultural centres in the Colonial City Keijo.

By the end of 1909, Hansung had 17,288 residents with 146 different occupations. Those occupations included governmental and public officials, employees, and office workers, and 44 of them were in the entertainment industry. Japanese-owned theatrical establishments began to thrive even before 1906, and in Keijo alone had several theatres including Kabukiza (歌舞伎座), Kotobukiya (寿座), Keijou (京城座), Ryuzanza (龍山座), Honmachiza (本町座), Naniwakan (浪花館), etc. This itself attested to not only the increasing number of Japanese immigrants to colonial Korea but also their demands for entertainment.

Many Japanese entertainment premises and events centered on the Honmach. Concerts of Western classical music by Japanese musicians took place at public halls such as Keijo Kokaido public hall (京城公会堂) and Keijo
Fuminkan (京城府民館, public hall). Japanese films were shown at theaters including Koganekan (黄金館), Yurakukan (遊楽館), etc. Customarily, film-screening was accompanied with the Japanese Katsudo Benshi (narrators for silent films活動弁士).

Traditional Japanese performing arts such as Kabuki, performances such as Ko-shibai Kabuki (小芝居), Gidayu-bushi (義太夫節), Naniwa-bushi (浪花節), Rakugo (落語), Nogaku (能楽), and Shakuhachi (尺八) music were presented in Korea as well and were appreciated much by the Japanese.

It was the Japanese, the ‘coloniser’ who led and defined the culture in occupied Korea as a whole even if they accounted for only circa 2 to 3% of the Korean population at that time. Keijo had a particularly high density of Japanese population and naturally became the centre of various cultural performances and events for Japanese people. The city provided promoters with an ideal market. As a result, in Keijo, indigenous Korean music somewhat ‘coexisted’ with Japanese music and the city became a centre of nostalgia for the Japanese when away from home. (KIM 2020, 2018)

With the above background in mind, we will explore in more detail the kinds of music the Japanese in Korea enjoyed and attempt to evaluate the significance of those musical activities, positioning it within the history of modern Japanese and Korean music.

2. KOREAN NEWSPAPERS MEDIA AND MUSIC RELATED ADVERTISEMENTS

1) Korean Newspapers Media and Their Subscribers

In this section, first we will look at newspapers published in colonial Korea and their subscribers. The first Korean newspaper was Hansun Sunbo (漢城旬報), first published in 1883. This was followed by Tongnip Sinmun (独立新聞, 1896). Meil Sinbo (毎日申報), Hwangseong Sinmun (皇城新聞, 1898). Jeguk Sinmun (國新聞, 1898). Dachan Meil Sinbo (大韓每日申報, 1904, changed to Meil Sinbo in 1910). Keijo Nippo (1906), and lastly, Seoul Press (1907).

In 1925, the following newspapers were issued daily in the Japanese language: Keijo Nippo (京城日報), Chosen Simbun (朝鮮新聞), Keijo Nichinichi Simbun (京城日日新聞), Chosen Shoko Simbun (朝鮮商工新聞), Chosen Keizai Nippo (朝鮮經濟日報), etc. while in the Korean language were: Mainichi Shinpo (毎日申報), Donga Ilbo (東亞日報), Side Ilbo (時代日報), Chosun Ilbo (朝鮮日報). In addition, Seoul Press was published in English. The total number of newspaper subscribers were 156,595 (OCHI 1925: 376–377), among which the Japanese, 71,980 (45.97%) the Koreans, 84,440 (53.92%) and other nationals, 175 (0.11%).

Among the total population of 19,015,526 in Korea in 1925, 18,543,326 (97.52%) were Koreans, 424,740 (2.23%) were Japanese and 47,460 (0.25%) were other nationals ("1925 Governor-General of Korea Statistics Annual Report" 1928: 24). The total number of households was 3,609,624, out of which 3,483,481 (96.51%) were Koreans, 113,254 (3.14%) were Japanese, and 12,889 (0.36%) were from nationals of other countries.

Normally, newspapers subscriptions by different households consisted of: 66.56% of the Japanese (which amounted to only 3% of the population): 2.42% of the Koreans; and 1.36% of other nationals. The newspaper subscription rate increased year by year, and the newspaper dissemination penetration rate out of the total population in Korea was 3.51% in 1932, 4.18% in 1935, 5.20% in 1937, and 7.10% in 1939 (KIM 2001: 62).

In 1930, the total population of the Koreans was 21,058,305 while the Japanese 1,420,840 (6.75%). When we examined the population in terms of their literacy, 3,159,738 (15%) were Korean-literate while only 395,571 (1.88%) were only Japanese-literate. The remaining number of the population 16,082,156 (76.37 %) was illiterate (Governor-General of Korea 1935: 275, 278, 279).

More than 70% of Koreans people at that time were illiterate, which explains why the newspaper subscription rate-less than 10%-among that group was low. People who could afford to subscribe to a newspaper were the middle class and intellectuals who had higher education. Perhaps, acquiring day-to-day information from newspapers was necessary for their work. They were the ones who led the culture of Korea, occupied the high strata of the societal hierarchy and enjoyed modern lives as consumers.

2) Music-Related Advertisements in Keijo Nippo

Now we will examine music-related advertisements found in Keijo Nippo, which was not only the most-subscribed newspaper but also functioned as the official
<Fig. 1> Phonographic / Musical Instrument Related Advertisements in Keijo Nippo

June 17, 1934

June 18, 1934

June 1, 1939

April 2, 1936
<Fig. 2> Keijo Nippo’s Performance-Related Advertisement

March 16, 1928

April 4, 1936

January 9, 1938

March 12, 1938

April 18, 1939
bulletin of Governor-General of Korea (朝鮮総督府). *Keijo Nippo* was an indispensable information source for the Japanese in Korea, and contained many advertisements as well as articles related to Japan, Korea, the West, the masses, and music education (KIM 2019). Before examining their music-related advertisements, let us look at the roles meaning of newspaper advertisements in general in colonial Korea.

As we have seen above, from the 1920s, Keijo functioned has been as a modern city centered in the Japanese community. They developed modern consumer culture, enjoying photography, radio, records, cosmetics, theaters (including the Shinpa Play (新派劇)), and coffee shops as seen in any other capitalist society. At that time, advertising was aimed at the middle class, titillating their tastes and aiding their pursuit for comfort. It represented the image of 'home' the basic unit for consumer society, and promoted a pleasurable and comfortable life. Advertisement was an effective strategy to promote mass consumption.

In colonial Korea, capitalism institutionalized under the leadership of the Governor-General of Korea and was developing in tandem with consumerism, and the industry as a whole was thriving. Of course, the Japanese -high earners- in Korea, were the main power of consumption commercial as well as cultural. For example, the Japanese were main users of door-to-door taxes in the Keijo prefecture—approximately 30% of the Keijo population was responsible for circa 76% of the entire taxi usage in that region (July 4, 1924, *Donga Ilbo*).

The "modern home", which was appeared in advertisements, represented a comfortable daily life, a cohesive family and a cultured life. Music, representative of high-class pastime, was indispensable here. Music was also promoted through newspaper advertising and played a key role in shaping the modern life. The high-earning Korean citizens and Japanese residents in Korea were the main consumers of music culture. In particular, large cities such as Keijo provided with a good market for cultured life, embodying capitalist values.

*Keijo Nippo* put many product advertisements in newspapers such as music-related publications, musical instruments, phonographic equipment, radios, records, and music education, all indispensable for music-cultural life. There were even advertisements of relatively low-cost products which enabled people to enjoy music as household pastime. Figure 1 shows some phonographic advertisements (January 1937, *Yeo Seong*; 50–52), where we can see portable phonographs including Nitto Phonographic (low price 25yen, 35 yen); Columbia Phonographic (medium and low price 35yen, 50yen, 55yen); Victor Phonographic (50yen). Also available was the Victor Radio Phonographic (extremely expensive at the price of 375 yen).

In addition, musical instruments such as pianos (upright piano: 500 yen or higher, grand piano: 1000 yen or higher) and organs (45yen to 750yen) were purchasable by music leaners in middle-class households. There were also advertisements of other musical instruments such as a guitar (11yen) and a mandolin (9.50yen) (By the way, the monthly salary of a secondary-school teacher at that time was 85yen. (October 7, 1933, *Mainichi Shinpo*). Moreover, concerts of various kinds were advertised. They included those of Western music such as vocal solo concerts and those by Western musicians; those of Japanese music such as Shin-Nihon Ongaku (New Japanese Music) and Kabuki performances. Singers of popular music whom record companies tried to sell well appeared too.

Those performance advertisements reveal that colonial Korea enjoyed music of various kinds.

3. MUSIC PROGRAMS BY KEIJO BROADCASTING STATION (JODK)

1) The Establishment of Keijo Broadcasting Station (JODK)

Keijo Broadcasting Station (with call sign JODK) opened on February 16,1927, and organized programs under the categories of "news", "education" and "entertainment". The call sign 'JODK' was given because it was the fourth broadcasting station after Tokyo (JOAK), Osaka (JOBK), and Nagoya (JOCK). JODK, as a radio station, dealt with the public; however, it did not become under the direct management of the Governor-General of Korea but become an incorporated association due to the regulations concerning institutions which used radio waves. At the time of the inauguration, the Governor-General of Korea had only a low transmission rate in Korea, and was less aware of the importance of radio-
based media than publications.

The Governor-General of Korea was extremely reluctant to give financial support to JODK compared to newspapers such as Keijo Nippo and Mainichi Shinpo at that time (CUNG 2008: 13). In fact, JODK could not afford to run its own news department, and their news had to be reliant upon those from newspapers and news agencies (SEO 2008: 232). Due to the unsupportive attitude of the Governor-General of Korea, JODK faced with managerial difficulties as their, financial resources were never sufficient at that time.

JODK conducted a test broadcast in January 1927, and on February 16 of the same year, it started a bilingual-broadcast with a ratio of 50% Japanese and 50% Korean. However, the number of contracts among listeners did not increase as much as hoped due to the poor reception and the high subscription fee (at the price of 2 yen per month). Among the total number 1829 of radio registrations in 1926 when the station first opened, 336 were Koreans, 1481 Japanese, and 12 other nationals. That was not high enough to secure financial gains.

Under these circumstances, the radio diffusion rate among the Koreans was less than 20% of that of the Japanese in Korea. Inevitably, the broadcasting organization increased the proportion of broadcasting in the Japanese language into 60%. In March 1929, the number of programmes from Japan was increased, and the percentage of Japanese broadcast was increased further into 70%. Yet, even four years after the opening of the station, the number of listener contracts remained to be as small as circa 11,000.

<table>
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<th>fiscal year</th>
<th>number of registered units</th>
<th>percentage</th>
<th>penetration rate</th>
<th>number of registered units</th>
<th>percentage</th>
<th>penetration rate</th>
<th>number of registered units</th>
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<tr>
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<td>18.52</td>
<td>0.03</td>
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<td>3.50</td>
<td>12</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>0.04</td>
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<td>83.85</td>
<td>5.79</td>
<td>14</td>
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<tr>
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<td>15.49</td>
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<td>84.29</td>
<td>6.72</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>10,153</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


2) 1920s Music Programs and Japanese Music

Out of the number of JODK programmes in the 1920s, 1513 (10.40%) were for entertainment, 2310 were educational, 1347 (9.26%) were of other topics (recipes, daily discussions etc.), (15.88%). 4411 were news programmes (30.32%), while 4475 were music programmes (30.76%). Of the total programmes, music programmes accounted for the largest share (KIM 2020: 334). In addition, among the number of music programmes, 253 was about music education (5.65%), 751 was about Western music (16.78%), 1408 about Korean music (31.46%), and 1729 about Japanese music (38.63%) (KIM 2020: 334). What should be noted here is that there was not much difference in number between programmes about Korean music and Japanese music. This is quite astonishing when we consider that Korean radio registrations in the 1920s formed less than 20% while the Japanese more than 80%.

The next question will be what kind of Japanese music was broadcast at that time. In fact, music widely known in Japanese appeared frequently—for example, Biwa (琵琶), Koto (琴), Shamisen (三味線), and Shakuhachi (尺八) music (KIM 2020: 335–339). Among those instruments, Biwa was particularly favoured, especially popular was Chikuizen Biwa (筑前琵琶). Chikuzen Biwa was born mainly in Fukuoka after the Meiji Restoration and spread all over the country. The popularity of Chikuzen Biwa can be seen, for example, from the result of a competition entitled “One vote for one entertainer in the whole fields of Korea music and dance” held in December 1928. The event was sponsored by Keijo Nippo. In this
popularity vote, music and dance genres such as Biwa, Nagauta (長唄), Joruri (浄瑠璃), Shakuhachi, Piano, Mandolin etc. competed with each other. The method was that each voter was to nominate one performer of their favourite genre by sending a postcard to Keijo Nippo by the deadline 20 December 1928. Before that date, interim deadlines were set, and the respective results were to be announced on 10 and 15 December. In the end, Keijo Nippo publicized the result every day owing perhaps to the great interest people demonstrated in the competition. In the results issued on 10 and 14 December, Kyokusho Eto (江藤旭喜) who belonged to the Tachibana school (橘流) of Chikuzen Biwa and was residing in Keijo at that time was ranked first. In the result on 14 December, following Eto who collected 1128 votes were: → Tozan school Shakuhachi (都山流, Reiha Tamura (田村令晴): 742 votes) → Ikuta school Sokyouku (挿曲生川流, Ryoko Kikushike (菊木越子): 632 votes) → Harmonica (Jutaro Sekimine (赤峰重太郎): 415 votes). Not only Eto but many of those performers were based mainly in Keijo.

Chikuzen Biwa was a particular school of Biwa playing which incorporated certain aspects of Shamisen music and had distinctive melodies. It seems to have touched the Japanese living in Korea at that time. It became so popular in Korea at that time that the first anniversary of the inauguration of JODK was commemorated with Chikuzen Biwa music broadcast on 18 February 1928.

4. KABUKI PERFORMANCES IN COLONIAL KOREA

1) Gado KATAOKA’s Performances in Colonial Korea

The Japanese in Korea enjoyed their own music culture from the early days of immigration. Among their activities, noteworthy were Kabuki performances in Korea by the great Kabuki company from mainland Japan. Keijo Nippo reported such performance in 1908. According to articles, we learn that Kanto Kabuki (関東歌舞伎), Kansai Kabuki (関西歌舞伎), and Onna Kabuki (女歌舞伎) the last of which is no longer in operation now, visited Korea (KIM and SHIKAKURA 2018: 47-51). From an early stage of Japanese occupation, those Kabuki companies toured mainly in urban areas such as Keijo and Busan, and their performances were showed to a certain number of people who loved Kabuki.

Gado Kataoka (片岡我童 (1882–1946) who succeeded the title Kataoka Nizaemon XII) and his 120 Kansai Kabuki troupe performed at Keijo Gekijo (京城劇場). On 6 August 1921, the performers arrived in Keijo for a performance later in that month, and were greeted by about 100 geishas. That was a sensational topic at that time.

This performance was to commemorate the refurbishment of Keijo Gekijo earlier in that year, and was to be held on 12 and 15 August (August 6, 1921, Keijo Nippo). Performers included: Gado, Kasho (嘉昇), Shoujo (松江), Rokusaburo (楽三郎), Hajime (一), Aragoro (荒五郎), Gangyo (樫年), Araihiro (荒市郎), Utasaburo (卯多三郎), Gansho Arashi (嵐巖笑). The programme for 12 August consisted of ‘Natsumuri Naniwa Kagami (夏祭仏花鏡),’ ‘Kimura Nagatono Kami Chausuyama Kepandori (木村長門守茶臼山血判取),’ ‘Genpei Nunobikinotaki (源平布引嶺),’ ‘Ushiromen Hagino Tamagawa Kumenosennin (後面蓑川亀僧仙人)’ (August 12, 1921, Keijo Nippo). Also the programme for 15 August was: ‘Igagoe Dochu Sugoroku (伊賀越道中双

<Fig. 3> Gado Related Articles in Keijo Nippo

June 22, 1921

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2) Kichimon Nakamura’s Performances in Colonial Korea

Kabuki was one of the traditional Japanese genres most popular among the Japanese in Korea. However, during the War, the central purpose of the genre drastically changed: to console and give comfort to Korean military personnel. In fact, Kabuki troupes toured widely not only in Korea but also battlefields in mainland China. Typically, such ‘consolation’ performances were held in Korea which was a strategic site for Japan’s advance into the Continent. Even the renowned Kabuki master, Kichimon Nakamura (中村清右衛門, 1886-1954) and his company took up such a tour (KIM 2018: 203-230). As their performance is of cultural significance, I will discuss it further.

Kichimon and his troupe performed at the Keijo Prefectural Hall for four days, September 25-28, 1938, under the auspices of the Keijo Military Support Federation, for the purpose of ‘Imperial Army Consolation and Expeditionary Army Remains Family Comfort (皇軍慰問と出征軍人遺家族慰安)’ (September 21, 1938, Keijo Nippo). This was Kichimon’s first performance in Korea which was materialized owing to the friendship between Kichimon and the Governor Jiro Minami (南次郎), and attracted much attention from the Japanese community in Korea. Their tour schedule was: Dalian Kanto Region (大連, 関東州) → Fengtian Manchukuo (奉天, 満州国) → Xingjiang Manchukuo (新京, 満州国) → Andong Manchukuo (安东, 満州国) → P'yongyang Korea (平壌, 朝鮮) → Keijo Korea → Busan Korea → Moji Japan (門司, 日本国).

Keijo Nippo reported that on August 16, 1938, the
plan was first made it was realized when Governor Minami came to visit Kichiemon when the latter was hospitalized, and they agreed to donate the profit for defense. Of the four performance days (between 25 and 28 September at Kijo Fuminkan), two days (26 and 27 September) were by invitation only, solely for sick and wounded soldiers and bereaving families who lost family members as expeditionary soldiers (September 21, 1938, Keijo Nippo). Kichiemon’s patriotic and humanitarian deed was welcome by the Japanese community in Korea and was featured in many Keijo Nippo articles.

Kichiemon and his company were scheduled to leave Tokyo on September 5 and arrive at Keijo on the 23 via Dalian, Fengtian, Andong and Pyongyang. The company included: Kichiemon, Kuzo Ichikawa (市川九蔵), Kichinojo Nakamura (中村吉之丞), Shichisaburo Nakamura (中村七三郎), Tatsunojo Nakamura (中村辰之丞), Tatsuenmon Nakamura (中村辰右衛門), Kichiroku Nakamura (中村吉六), Tokinojo Nakamura (中村時之丞), Kichibe Nakamura (中村吉兵衛), Monzaburo Ichikawa (市川文三郎), Bungoro Nakamura (中村文五郎), Chidori Sawamura (澤村千鳥), Kingnosuke Nakamura (中村錦之助), Matagoro Nakamura (中村又五郎), Tanosuke Sawamura (澤村田之助), Tokizo Nakamura (中村時藏), etc. (August 16, 1938, Keijo Nippo).

<Fig. 4> Kichiemon Related Articles in Keijo Nippo

August 20, 1938

September 21, 1938
The program consisted of: Shuzanjishu (秀山十種) 'Kiyomasa Seichuroku (清正誠忠録, the third act)', Kasane Yoemon Iromoyo Chotto Kariname (かさね與右衛門色彩間句豆, the first act)', Kajiwara Heizo Homareno Ishikiri (裸原平三若石切, the first act)', Shuzanjishu 'Matsuurano Taiko (松浦の太鼓, the second act)', Kabuki Dance (所作事) Kanda Matsuri (神田祭)', Kiyomoto bushi (清元節) Umeha (梅澤) Iemoto (家元) Umekichi (梅吉) scheduled to appear in musical performance in Kabuki (下座音楽). On the first day of the performance, on 25th, the Governor-General Minami and his wife also attended.

The Governor-General Minami particularly requested Kichiemon to play the role of Kiyomasa Kato (加藤清正), which was believed to represent the "spirit of Japan (日本の精神)", and Kichiemon was at his best in that role. This was an apt choice for the consoling purposes of Kichiemon's performances, symbolizing the affinity of the Japanese in Korea. Kichiemon's touring performance received a great deal of attention from the Governor-General, military personnel, and the Kabuki world in Korea, and produced reviews and columns even a while after the shows ended (September 27, 1938, Keijo Nippo).

5. CONCLUSION

In this article, we have explored how music culture, especially traditional Japanese performing arts, was received by the Japanese community in Korea. Our discussion has been based mainly on relevant articles and advertisements found in Keijo Nippo and music programmes broadcast by the JODK.

The Japanese community enjoyed their own musical in Korea and the accessibility of Japanese cultural products within Korea particularly in large cities like Keijo was high. Traditional Japanese performing arts were visible in colonial Korea, disseminated through radio programmes and concerts. In this sense, a Korean city like Keijo was just like one of the cities of mainland Japan. In addition, during the wartime, renowned Kabuki actors toured in Korea not only to comfort their compatriots but also to symbolize through their performance the sense of affinity among the Japanese in Korea.

In many senses, it was the Japanese, 'the coloniser' that led cultural activities in Korea even if they accounted for only about 2 to 3% of the population in that region. The cultural climate in Korea surrounding music showed characteristics which many colonized places had to bear.

However, in colonial Korea, Japanese music culture coexisted with Korea's indigenous music culture in an interesting manner, and Korean music provided even the Japanese with some sense of comfort. This is what I should like to pursue as my future research project to offer a better understanding of a fuller picture of music culture in colonial Korea.

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[Reference]

Keijo Nippo 京城日報
Mainichi Shinpo 毎日新聞
Donga Ilbo 東亞日報
Yeo Seong 女性
Governor-General of Korea 朝鮮総督府
Chungsin PARK・Taiyoung KIM
JUNG Jinseok 정진석
2008 "80 years of broadcasting, development and contrast" 80 Years of Korean Broadcasting, Its Historical Lighting, Seoul : Nam, pp. 9-63.
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2) Keijo Nippo (京城日報, 1906–1945) is a Japanese-language newspaper published in Korea Hansung (Keijo) during the Occupation Period.
3) The Keijo Broadcasting Station (社団法人京城放送局, 1927–1945) was established in Keijo in 1926 by the Governor-General of Korea and started broadcasting on February 16, 1927. In April 1932, it was reorganized as the Chosen Broadcasting Corporation (社団法人朝鮮放送協会). In April 1933, it separated broadcast channels into two: one for the Japanese language and the other for the Korean language.