

A Study of the Formation of Japanese Language Literature in Colonial Korea: Japanese Magazines, Japanese Translations of Joseon Literature, and Traditional Japanese Poetry

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Abstract: This study aims to examine Japanese language literature in Korea since the early 1900s through the relationship between Japanese language literature and Japanese magazines, Japanese translations of Joseon literature, traditional Japanese poetry, which were the major areas of Japanese literature during the Japanese colonial era. The literature analyzed in this research had not previously been included in the study of Japanese literature or even colonial Japanese language literature. Even before the Japanese annexation of Korea, Japanese language newspapers and magazines had already been launched in major Japanese communities in Joseon. It is apparent that Japanese language literature in the early twentieth century was formed around the literary columns in these medias. These Japanese language literary activities in Joseon were carried out with a close connection with the both domestic and international literary worlds, such as those of Manchuria and Taiwan. After the 1930s, the development of Japanese language literature became complex due to diverse literary and cultural phenomena, and because of its sensitive response to local issues.

Key words: Japanese language literature in Korea; Japanese magazines; Japanese translations of Joseon literature; traditional Japanese poetry; Border Crossings

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标题：朝鲜被殖民期间日语文学的生成研究：日语杂志、朝鲜文学的日语翻译和日本传统诗歌

内容摘要：本研究旨在通过对日本殖民朝鲜时期日语文学与日语杂志、朝鲜文学的日语翻译和日本传统诗歌之间的关系来考察始于 20 世纪早期的“朝鲜半岛日语文学”的全貌。本研究涉及文学作品未被收录入日本文学，甚至未被收入殖民时期的日语文学。早在日本吞并朝鲜之前，日语报纸、杂志已在朝鲜日语社区中广泛发行。显而易见，20 世纪初日语文学已通过上述媒体的相关栏目获得发展。在韩半岛形成的日语文学活动与日本的“内地”文坛，以及和“满族”或“台湾”这种“外地”文坛均密切相连。20 世纪 30 年代之后，因多元文学、文化现象的出现和文学本身对地方问题敏感反应上的差异，日语文学的发展日趋复杂化。

关键词：韩半岛日语文学；日语杂志；朝鲜文学的日语翻译；跨境

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1. Introduction: Japanese Literature and Japanese Language Literature in Korea

In the early 1890s after the Meiji Restoration, Japan saw the formation of a nation-state and the initial writing of various histories of Japanese literature. At that time, Japanese literary history was based on the following perspective:

Looking back, our country, Japan, is one of the oldest countries in the East. The light of literature was already shining in Japan when the Western countries were still in the complete dark....The literature of the past is indeed the flower of national culture and a treasure of the nation. The fact that we have this 3,000-year-old treasure is evidence that Japan is the mother land of the East, which makes us proud. (Haga 263-64)

This perception of the country's history reveals an attempt to establish a national identity based on the logic of a nation-state. Such Japanese literary histories were used for school textbooks in order to instill into students, the custodians of Japan's future, a sense of excellence and pride regarding Japanese culture and pride.

In Japanese literary history, literature was often considered an extension of the general humanities rather than as pure literature or language art.

The canonization of literature occurred as the concepts of nationalism and language arts were emphasized in the Japanese literary histories written during the formation period of a modern nation-state after 1890. Canonization played an important role in sustaining Japanese literature throughout the 20th century. This shows the origin of an integration of Japanese literature, Japan, Japanese people, and the Japanese language. That is, throughout the 20th century, Japanese literature supported an integration logic formed during the foundation period of a nation-state. However, as Masahiko Nishihara pointed out, after the publication of Kurokawa So's *Anthology of Japanese Literature in Other Countries* (1996), a collection of literary works in the Japanese language written outside the Japanese territory during the age of Japanese imperialism, the notion of an integration among Japan, the Japanese people, the Japanese language, and Japanese literature started to unravel (Nishi 181). An increased interest in Japanese language literature in colonial countries after the publication of Kurokawa So's literary anthology, the existence of Korean literature in Japan closely related to this colonial literature, and the emergence of non-Japanese native bilingual writers, such as Minae Mizumura and Ian Hideo Levy demonstrate that Japanese literature does not have to be integrated with Japan, Japanese people, and the Japanese language.

Despite the active research on Japanese language literature in colonial countries since the late 1990s, studies have focused primarily on great Korean and Japanese writers. Such studies act to complement Japanese literature. There is therefore a need to explore literary works written by Japanese writers in Joseon, which have been excluded from the literature of colonial Korea. Such research may reveal the entire picture of Japanese language literature in colonial countries. The present study aims to examine Japanese language literature in Korea since the early 1900s through the relationship between Japanese magazines, Japanese translations of Joseon literature, traditional Japanese poetry, and Japanese language literature, which were the major areas of Japanese literature during the Japanese colonial era. Because a large amount of Japanese language literature written by Joseon people has emerged since the Manchurian Incident in the 1930s, this study will

investigate the characteristics of Japanese language literature in Korea before this period through the review of the formation and development of Japanese language literature.

2. The Publication of Japanese Language Magazines in Colonial Joseon and the Development of Colonial Literature

In a strict sense, Japanese language literature in colonial Korea refers to the literary phenomena that occurred after the forced Korea-Japan annexation in 1910. However, Japanese writers had been creating and distributing Japanese works in Korea for some time before annexation. This means that Koreans who read Japanese literature existed even before the Japanese colonization of Korea. Japanese collective migration to Korea occurred with the opening of the Busan, Wonsan, and Incheon ports to Japan after the conclusion of the unequal Japan-Korea Treaty of 1876. Responding to Japan's colonization fever, the number of Japanese residents in Korea drastically increased from 2,066 in 1880 to 171,543 in late 1910, the year of Korea-Japan annexation.

Between the *Japan-Korea Treaty* of 1905 and the 1910 Korea-Japan annexation, Japanese settlement corporations or Japanese resident organizations were established in major regions in Korea, and those regions were given Japanese names (Takasaki 96). With the formation of Japanese communities in major regions in Korea, Japanese media sources, such as newspaper *The Chosen Shinpo* (December 1881), were also created in places in order to represent the interests of Japanese residents and create a network among them (Ri 5). At first, Japanese language newspapers played the role of a network in Japanese communities in Korea. As the number of Japanese residents drastically increased after 1900, Japanese language magazines emerged in Seoul and Busan. Approximately seventy magazines were already being published in the 1900s. Among these, the following magazines actively published Japanese language literature: *The Corean Telegraph Newsletter* (December 1902-December 1903), *The Corean Peninsula* (November 1903-May 1906), *The Chosen Hyoron* (1904), *The Corean Industrial* (1905-1907), and *The Corean and Manchurian Industrial* (1908-1914). These Japanese publications generally took the form of a general-interest magazine. Although the structure varied by magazine, each had several special columns (literary page), such as short stories, literature, and included Japanese language novel extracts, literary criticisms, poetry, Tanka or Haiku, Chinese poetry, and essays.

A key question here is what led to the creation of these literary columns and works. Some Japanese scholars advocated that Japanese literature should be settled

in Korea. Through Japanese literature, they tried to build “superior” Japanese cultural communities in Korea, which were distinguished from “non-civilized” Joseon communities. Such proponents of a stronger Japanese literature presence in Korea also espoused a paradigm of an absence of Joseon literature. Their logic was that in an absence of original Korean literature or art, Japanese language literature needed to be transplanted and cultivated in Korea. This logic clearly shows the colonialist nature of early Japanese language literature, with claims that Joseon required civilization through the transplantation of imperial Japanese culture (Jung 387-412). This colonialist nature of Japanese language literature based on an Asian peace logic and the transplantation into Joseon logic was revealed in *Joseon Pyeongron* declaration that aimed to represent the opinions of the Japanese residing in Joseon and establish a long-term plan for the 100 years of Japan. The same attitude feature in the publication of *Joseon* magazine that actively justified the colonization of Joseon, which was represented by the residency-general ruling for Koreans and the world, and advocated the civilization of Joseon by decorating barbaric Korea with civilization.

Thus established, Japanese language literature in colonial Korea broadened and stabilized after the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910. Along with the oldest and the most viewed Japanese language magazines published in Korea during the 1910s, *The Chosen Review* (1913-1943) and *The Chosen and Manshu* (1912-1941), there was a flurry of publication of Japanese language literary works. The fact that even *Korea Education Research Association Magazine* (1915-1923) featured literary and novel columns clearly shows this phenomenon.

During this decade, perhaps because Korea had been colonized by Japan, Japanese residents in Joseon attempted to produce serious criticisms about literature and comprehensively manage the formation of Japanese language literature in colonial Korea. With a focus on Japanese language authors who had been active since the early years, they wrote a series of criticisms that constitute an abridged history of Japanese language literature in Korea. Japanese writers residing in Joseon longed for the birth of a brand of Joseon-based Japanese language literature that could showcase the local character. They began to write criticisms that encouraged the creation of such literary works. In literary columns, there were also a number of novels with a colonial Joseon setting, reflecting this writing trend.

In the early 1920s, novels began to highlight the hierarchical relationship between landlords and tenant farmers, and even featured unscrupulous landlords, as can be seen in a quote in a literary column of a Japanese language magazine, “That bastard is a hypocrite....He doesn’t have any real love for tenant farmers.

He is an anachronist who considers us, tenant farmers, Russian serfs or slaves. I cannot work under such a bastard anymore” (Yamaguchi 17). These works clearly showed a hierarchical conflict between capitalists and laborers rather than focusing on the ethnic discrimination between Japanese and Joseon people. Underpinning such literary works was the intensification of labor issues and the emergence of the proletarian literary trend in Japan. However, it can be said that Japanese regrets about and awareness of the national independence movement of Joseon that occurred in March 1919 also affected the creation of those literary works.

In addition, the late 1910s had seen not only an increase in literary works written by Joseon-based Japanese authors, but also in literature produced by Japanese authors residing in Manchuria or who used a Manchurian setting. These diverse Manchuria-related writings included a novel about migration from Joseon to Manchuria.

Therefore, during the 1910s and 1920s, Japanese language literature in Korea was regarded as colonial literature based on a new land and its local color. In an active response to this conceptualization Japanese language magazines also published localized colonial literature and extended the themes of literary works in diverse ways. Moreover, in 1925, with the publication of a literary coterie magazine of premedical students at Keijo Imperial University, *Seiryō*, highly educated Korean writers, including Jino Yoo, Hyoseok Lee, and Jaeseo Choi, emerged and published Japanese language literary works. After this preparation period, a number of Joseon writers began to create Japanese language literary works in the mid-1930s.

3. Japanese Translations of Joseon Literature and Learning about Colonial Joseon

As shown above, a variety of Japanese language literary works were created and distributed in Korea from the early 1900s. In the formation of this Korean Peninsula-based Japanese language literature, Japanese translations^① of Joseon literature played an important role. The translations were significant for a number of reasons. First, they reflected changes in Korea-Japan relations and colonial policies. Moreover, they showed the political nature of (translated) literature. In addition, they were the first foreign translation of traditional Joseon literature. Finally, they formed a part of the origin of modern Korean literature.

The Japanese translation of Joseon literature prior to 1930 can be categorized into three key periods. The first period is from the *Seikanron* (Japan’s debate regarding the invasion of Korea) of the 1870s to Korea to the Russo-Japanese War

(1904-1905). The period was marked by a trend of Japanese translations of Joseon literature, visible in the first general-interest Japanese language magazine published by a Japanese residing in Joseon, *The Corean Peninsula* (1903-1906). At the time, Joseon was in the spotlight as a new target for Japanese investment. The potential to provide privilege led to a Korean language publication boom. Japanese people wanted to obtain information about Joseon required for trade, business, or war. This Japanese interest in Joseon was heightened by their nation's victory of the Sino-Japanese War and the Russo-Japanese War. However, there were insufficient publications to provide information needed for their political and economic purposes or settlement in Joseon. To meet demand, the magazine *The Corean Peninsula* was published. This magazine encouraged Japanese who were planning to enter the Korean Peninsula to migrate to Joseon, and provided information about economic benefits and settlement in Joseon.

Joseon literature was also translated into Japanese to introduce the tradition and culture of Joseon. For example, regarding the underlying meaning of the translation of the *Chunhyangjeon*, Husanoshin Ayukai said that the work provided a solid depiction of the static states of Korean officials and women. This assessment reveals the Japanese perception of Joseon literature and the significance of its translation. This translation purpose also affected methods. Only a rough summary or a shortened version of Joseon literature was translated, as shown in the following comment, On this occasion, the reporter tries to introduce general Korean novels through several translations of the summaries of Korean novels, including the aforementioned *Chunhyangjeon*. Therefore, the article was mainly about the author's ideals. For *Chunhyangjeon*, only its title was mentioned for this purpose. The unique cultural phenomena of Joseon were explained using detailed footnotes. Therefore, it can be said that Japanese translations of Joseon literature were practical and functional translations. Such translations used abridged or liberal translation methods for the purpose of introducing the customs and culture of Joseon.

The second period of Japanese translation of Joseon works occurred around the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910. Japan gave a strong display of its imperialism after the forceful Korea-Japan annexation. It founded the Japanese Government General of Korea to take over the legislative, administrative, judicial, and military commandships of Joseon, and expanded its territory and forces. The first governor Masatake Terauchi attempted to disseminate the Japanese language to Joseon people in order to nurture loyal and honest imperial subjects who could serve Japan well, such as practical workers, low-ranking officials,

and clerks. However, since the number of people who could read Japanese was only 0.5% of Joseon population in the early colonial period, it was difficult to use only the Japanese language for controlling the education and administration of Joseon. Therefore, immediately after the Korea-Japan annexation, the Japanese Government General of Korea began to teach the Korean language to Japanese educators and officials who were responsible for the education or administration of the Joseon people. Under this circumstance, a large number of Joseon literary works were published magazines such as *The Corean Industry*, *The Corean and Manchurian Industry*, *The Chosen and Manshu*, and *The Chosen Review*. *The Chosenin* was particularly active in the translation of Joseon literature. A variety of Joseon literary works, including popular songs, folk songs, children's songs, traditional poetry, proverbs, new style poetry, novels, and unofficial historical stories, were translated in this magazine. It is unique that unlike previous practical and functional translations these translations of Joseon literary works used literary translation methods, which pursue the parallel writing of original texts, the use of dialects, the delivery of cadence, and literal and complete translation, to preserve as much as possible the texture of the original language. The original Korean poems were Namseon Choi's *Taebaek Poetical Works* (Sonyeon, 1910), *Taebaeksanga*, and *Taebaeksanbu* ^② (Shinmungwan, 1910). *The New Style Poetry of Joseon* was the first modern free verse whose structure of lines and verses completely deviated from a set pattern. The translation and publication of this work showed Japan's interest in the modern literature of Joseon. Thus, this pure interest in Joseon literature not as an information source but as literature itself was relevant to Japan's Korean language education policy for Japanese educators and officials. The last period of Japanese translation of Korean literary works is the cultural policy period from the 1920s to the early 1930s. Two characteristics marked Japanese translations of Joseon literature during this period. First, the stabilization of the colonial policy brought Japanese language literature or translations by Japanese-speaking Joseon intellectuals. Second, efforts to translate Joseon literature were led by the Japanese government. During this period, numerous modern literary works of Joseon were translated into Japanese, including the representative modern Korean writer Kwangsu Lee's *Kashil* and *Yujeong*, Iksang Lee's *Tree of Spirits*, Dongin Kim's *Potatoes*, Jinkeon Hyun's *Hometown and Piano*, Seohae Choi's *Starvation and Slaughter* published in *Joseonshiron* (1926). In addition, the special Joseon literature issues of *The Osaka Mainichi Newspaper*, including *A Collection of Stories by New Writers in the Korean Peninsula* (1934), *A Collection of Short Stories by Joseon Writers* (1935), and *A Collection of Stories by Women Writers in*

the Korean Peninsula (1936), were also published. In the 1920s, some modernist poets and Korean authors of the magazine published by the Keijo Imperial University, *Seiryō* attempted to test Korean as a modern language. They also translated their work into Japanese or created literary works directly in Japanese. A spontaneous classical literature publication project was carried out. Classical literary works of Joseon were also translated into Japanese and published in several Japanese books, including *Popular Joseon Novels* (1921), *Seonmanchongseo* (1922-1923), and *Masterpieces of Joseon Literature* (1924).

Under the support of the Japanese Government General of Korea, these classical works of Joseon were systematically collected, recorded, and translated into Japanese by government officials or professors of Keijo Imperial University. The purpose of this project was shown in *Popular Joseon Novels* published by Jayutogusa. Hajime Hosoi stated that *Popular Joseon Novels* was published in order to understand Joseon, which Japan should guide and lead with the great spirit of Japan-Joseon harmony as a brother country, under the watchful eye of the international community. However, *Popular Joseon Novels* actually emphasized Joseon's subservient attitude towards China or corruption in the ruling class of Joseon. Japan criticized the nature of the Joseon people and traditional cultural values of Joseon as the harmful consequences of Confucianism, which was a forced belief from China for Chinese convenience in ruling Joseon. That is, unlike its stated purpose—promoting harmony between Japan and Joseon by understanding the unique nature and culture of Joseon people, Joseon literature was rearranged, modified, and bluntly interpreted in the translation process. These translations stressed the difference between China and Japan, and thus, Japanese translations of Joseon literature were used for colonial learning and the development of ideologies needed for the rationalization of colonial ruling. These distorted or altered translations of Joseon literary works were distributed to Japanese communities in Joseon and Japan. They formed the images of Joseon people and culture, and some of them were even included in traditional Japanese culture. For example, a children's tale of Joseon, *Marriage of Mice (The Chosen and Manshu)*, 1924), which had been translated into Japanese by Tomo Imamura, was retranslated into Korean (by Jeongim Park) and introduced to Korea as an old tale of Japan. In addition, the distorted Japanese translation of Joseon literature also affected Joseon intellectuals who could speak Japanese. It became the source of modern Joseon literary works, and some of them have even been canonized as traditional literary works of Joseon up to this day. For instance, the narrative structure and characters of *Seokgatap Legend*, whose national spirit was well known to have been inspired by Jinkeon

Hyun's novel *Muyeongtap*, had its origins in the Japanese translations of Korean literature, *The Legend of Gyeongju* by Kintaro Osaka (*The Chosen*, 1921) and Play: *Muyeongtap Story* by Yoshimitsu Hamaguchi (*The Chosen and Manshu*, 1924).

As described above, Japanese translations of Joseon literature during the colonial period before the 1930s established the colonial learning trend, switching its purpose, target, subject, and method depending on changes in Korea-Japan relations and colonial policies. This clearly shows how translated literature was utilized for politics. At the same time, it was the starting point of introducing Joseon literature and culture to other countries. Japanese translations of Joseon literary works also became a part of the origin of modern Korean literature, and some of them were even included among traditional Japanese literature. The various problems inherent in the Japanese translations of Joseon literature cannot be solved by a single country, whether Korea or Japan. This issue should be handled using a de-boundary research approach.

4. The Development and Role of Traditional Japanese Poetry in Korea

The section above provided a brief overview of Japanese language literature in Korea. However, the mainstream of Japanese language literature that was continuously created throughout Korea from even before the Japanese annexation of Korea to the end of Japanese colonization era was traditional Japanese short poetry, such as Tanka, Haiku, and Senryu. In particular, Haiku and Tanka absorbed diverse discussions about traditional Japanese poetry that occurred during the Meiji period. They were even reflected in Haiku and Tanka of Joseon, and became a major genre of Japanese language literature in Korea.

Prior to 1910, Tanka and Haiku in Korea were already key genres of Japanese language literature. Rooted in Gyeongseong (Seoul) and Busan based on literary associations that were not developed in other genres, Tanka and Haiku were created through public contests offered by literary columns of the media. Later, they became a literary communicative device among Japanese residents of Joseon. Early Tanka and Haiku contained a sense of anxiety and alienation experienced by people who had migrated from Japan—from a center or inland—to Joseon—an edge or outland.

A flag of surrender in the midday heat, which seems to belong to Russian troops

(日盛りや露軍に見ゆる投旗)

To Housaien, a year has passed since my ill wife went back to my country

(芳哉園へ病む妻を国に護りて年越へむ)

Ten years have passed in Joseon, and I am going to be an old man
without any friend in my hometown

(韓ぶりて十年過ぎなば故里に知る人も無き翁とならむ)

Standing in an open field with a flag, I can understand the feeling of
Hideyoshi who gained a victory with a smile

(麾あげて大野に立てば秀吉が笑んで勝得し心慰はる)

These works from the early 1900s are good materials through which to learn the nature of Japanese residing in Joseon. In addition to their depiction of the Japanese dream of a manly takeover of the continent, as shown through their setting in the Russo-Japanese War and the Japanese colonization of Joseon, these works contain an uneasy sense of alienation. In addition, some Tankas cited Japanese mythology and classics, strengthening the psychological bonds and sense of cultural superiority of Japanese residents of Joseon. For Haiku, *kigo* (季語, seasonal words) were required elements. Haikus in Joseon often tried to seek Joseon-style sources, but there was no development in Joseon-style *kigo*. During this period, traditional Japanese poetry appeared as a mainstream of literature in various media, but it was only a sporadic attempt to show the nature of Joseon.

As unique sources and scenery and customs of Joseon were the subject of *Senryu*, a form that had flourished in Joseon during the 1910s, numerous literary clichés on the characteristics of Joseon emerged. The Joseon-published *Chosen Senryu* (1922), the first book of Dozaemon Ryukenshi, who came to Joseon in 1911, clearly shows how traditional Japanese poetry developed in Joseon during the 1910s after the Japanese annexation of Korea. According to this book, *Senryu* columns were published in various Japanese language newspapers and magazines in early 1910s Joseon. Among a total of 300,000 phrases, approximately 4,600 were selected and included in the *Chosen Senryu*. Although *Senryu* was considered as having the weakest literary value and foundation among traditional poetry forms, it was pretty popular at the beginning of the twentieth century. This enables us to guess the greater popularity of Haiku, which had wider distribution through contests and literary columns offered by newspapers or magazines unlike *Senryu*. Although it is very difficult to find in Korea existing Haiku and *Senryu* works similar to those of Japan, there is a record that they were already included in specialized magazines, published throughout Joseon. Based on the existing record, during the 1910s, the *kigo* of Haiku could not be specialized in Joseon, whose weather differed little from that of Japan. In fact, *Senryu*, which focuses primarily

on personal matters, was able to convey the characteristics of Joseon by depicting its social conditions, scenery, and customs.

The Japanese authorities, including the Japanese Government General of Korea, who had executed unauthorized reign over Joseon during the 1910s, began to practice cultural governance after the March First Independence Movement of Joseon in 1919. Consequently, Japanese language poetry became wide spread in the early 1920s. In other words, the Japanese language poetry circle gained the ability to publish regular magazines based on its strong literary associations, and this brought a dramatic change in the literary world of colonial Korea. This trend was largely led by Japanese Tanka writers who came to Joseon in the early 1920s. In particular, it is worth noting the range of social intercourse of Japanese residents in Joseon, which was revealed through the magazine *Shinjin* and activities of Shinjin Association, a literary association that strived to become the power of the Tanka literary circle in Joseon.

The Potonamu Association published the first Tanka magazine *Potonamu* in Joseon in 1922, and it became a vehicle for most Tanka writers in Joseon until early 1923. However, in July 1923, in partnership with Morio Ichiyama, a businessman with a wide circle of acquaintances, Gyotai Hosoi launched the magazine *Shinjin*. Although *Shinjin* was a newcomer, it succeeded in becoming mainstream in the Tanka literary world in Joseon through a series of special articles related to Joseon. The first issue of *Shinjin* resonated with Tanka writers not only in Joseon but also in Japan (Aikawa 15-17). Published in Joseon while the printing business in Tokyo was suffering due to the Great Kanto Earthquake in 1923, the quality of *Shinjin* was high enough to surprise the central Tanka literary circle in Japan both in terms of content and printing.

Shinjin used two methods to influence the Joseon literary world during the 1920s: a special project related to traditional Joseon poetry and the promotion of cooperation and solidarity with Japanese writers residing in Joseon in other fields. It is very important to note that these two methods were also devised by Morio Ichiyama, who had striven to establish the Tanka literary world in Joseon ever since the publication of *Shinjin*. In early 1926, Ichiyama carried out a special project to collect the opinions of Japanese major Tanka writers about the shape of the Tanka literary world in Joseon. He discovered that the majority of Japanese Tanka writers wanted to see the unique characteristics of Joseon. He therefore later led a project on traditional Joseon poetry (such as folk songs and ancient songs) through *Shinjin*, following the first method described above. The second method of *Shinjin* was collecting literary works from a variety of Joseon and Japanese writers who decided

to contribute their writings to its special issues, responding to the request of Morio Ichiyama. The contributors included writers, professors, teachers, journalists, critics, pottery researchers, folklorists, poets, Haiku writers, landscape gardeners, and painters, who were the leading cultural figures in Japan and Joseon.

In these special issues, the connection between traditional Japanese poetry and Joseon folklore is visible in the interface between *Shinjin* Association and the Namsan Senryu Association in the late 1920s. This interaction involved the participation of Tomo Imamura in special research on Korean folk songs. Imamura, a representative Senryu writer affiliated with the Namsan Senryu Association, continuously presented Joseon related sources and authored several tomes about Joseon folklore. The decade's research on traditional Joseon poetry and ethnicity was led by Ichiyama of *Shinjin* by collecting literary works from Japanese elites residing in Joseon in diverse fields. This research was also connected to the Haiku and Senryu circles and Joseon folklore. This was the prosperous period in research on traditional Joseon culture. During the Joseon boom after the 1930s, various attempts were made to identify the local characteristics of Joseon in each literary field. Traditional Japanese language poetry forms, such as Senryu, Haiku, and Tanka, had been illustrating this local flavor since the 1910s. After the creation of the *Shinjin* in the 1920s, the traditional Japanese poetry world, which had barely maintained the publication of professional magazines by trial and error through local association activities, completely changed tack to dominate the field of identifying local characteristics. Although originally aimed at representing Joseon in the field of Tanka, the *Shinjin* continuously produced Ichiyama's special issues that attempted to explore traditional Joseon poetry, ethnicity, and folklore. Through these efforts, the *Shinjin* played a leading linguistic and cultural role in establishing local Joseon characteristics not only in the fields of Haiku and Senryu, but also in ethnology, folklore, and folk arts from the late 1920s to the 1930s.

5. Conclusion

This study examined the beginnings and development of the literature of Japanese residents of Joseon from early modern times to 1930. The literature analyzed in this research had not previously been included in evaluations of Japanese literature or even colonial Japanese language literature. Even before the Japanese annexation of Korea, Japanese language newspapers and magazines had already been launched in major Japanese communities in Joseon. It is apparent that Japanese language literature in the early twentieth century was formed around the literary columns in these media.

Under the pretense of understanding the customs and culture of Joseon as a ruler of a colonial country, these Japanese language media in Joseon translated Joseon literary works into Japanese and used them as colonial learning tools. Here, it should be pointed out that Japanese translations of Joseon literature, which were supposed to be a literary act, were used for various political means by Japanese elites. The canonization of these Japanese translations as traditional Joseon literature is yet a problem in current academic circles.

Moreover, traditional Japanese language poetry emerged through, developed in, and disappeared from the literary columns of Japanese media in early twentieth-century Joseon. Based on strong literary associations, Japanese writers residing in Joseon made attempts to express Joseon through Japanese poetry, using Tanka, Haiku, and Senryu, at times independently and sometimes in solidarity.

These Japanese language literary activities in Joseon were carried out with a close connection with both domestic and international literary worlds, such as those of Manchuria and Taiwan. After the 1930s, the development of Japanese language literature became complex due to diverse literary and cultural phenomena, and because of its sensitive response to local issues. Therefore, without understanding the whole picture of Japanese language literature and culture during this period, it is impossible to identify and interpret literature and the culture of East Asian countries (including Japan, Joseon, Manchuria, and Taiwan) from a modern perspective. Almost a half-century history of Japanese language literature in Joseon, which continued until colonial liberation in 1945, should be investigated not from a single country's perspective but from an East Asian perspective. This investigation requires a border-crossing research method rather than a subdivided and closed-border research method for more accurate examination. Based on this critical thinking, the academic association East Asia and Contemporary Japanese-Language Literature was founded in 2013. An international journal, *Border Crossings: The Journal of Japanese-Language Literature Studies*, was also published in 2014, and a variety of border-crossing studies have been conducted through it.

【Notes】

① Takayuki Nakane defined translations by Joseon writers during the 1930s as “an intermediate step toward creation,” “a pre-creation writing method chosen by Joseon writers, who lack creating ability”, or “a pre-creation writing method commanded by the Japanese Government General of Korea.” See Takayuki Nakane. *Cultural Magazine Representing “Joseon”* (Tokyo: Shinyosha, 2004) 243-63.

② Although their outcomes cannot be easily predicted, there were some excellent attempts: *The Chosen Haiku Anthology* (1930) and A Collection of Haiku poems: *The Chosen* (1930) in the field of Haiku; *The Chosen: A Collection of Tanka Poems* (1934), *The Chosen Natural Features Tanka Collection* (1935), and *A Collection of Tanka Poems: The Chosen* (1937) for Tanka; and *The Chosen Natural Features Senryu Anthology* (1940) for Senryu.

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