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THE MAKING OF EARLY MODERN KOREAN POETRY

by

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Abstract

This thesis is primarily a critical approach to the actual processes of the making of early modern Korean poetry during the period 1896-1929. This period, in which the age-old traditions of poetic songs gave way to the vastly different modes of modern poetry, involves several crucial questions, the correct answers to which are essential to an understanding of the nature and characteristics of modern Korean poetry. The discussion in this thesis centres on clarifying how or by what and by whose efforts early modern poetry was evolved and enriched, and to what extent.

It is a study of first-hand materials, much of which has been unknown to, or neglected by previous scholarship, in which more than two thousand poems have been examined. Of these, about one hundred poems are analysed for their poetic quality and assessed for their significance in the development of modern poetry. Some of the best and most significant have not hitherto been accorded their rightful place in the history of poetry in Korea.

To
The Memory of My Mother.

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Introduction

1. Korea in Early Transition to Modernization

Before 1876 Korea remained practically a hermit kingdom. Though not a primitive nation, it was entirely secluded from the rest of the world except China and Japan. By China it had long been affected in various modes of culture; with Japan it had been maintaining meagre commercial relations through the seaport of Pusan. In the middle of the 18th century, however, Christianity (Catholicism) was introduced into Korea from the West by way of Peking.⁽¹⁾ By the time Regent Taewŏn'gun signed the death warrant of the French priests in 1866, this religion had been fairly widely spread among the people.⁽²⁾

After the middle of the 18th century, foreign sailing vessels, including British and French ships, began to approach the south and the west coasts of Korea in the hope of opening commercial relations with this country. Then, just before 1866, a Russian gunboat, which came across and anchored in the harbour of Wŏnsan, sent a letter to Seoul asking for freedom of trade. Soon after the great persecution was launched by the Regent in February 1866, several foreign attempts were made to open the country but without success. In June an American sailing vessel, Surprise, approached the west coast, and in September, another vessel, General Sherman, sailed up the river Taedong to the city of Pyŏngyang. In October, seven French men-of-war came

(1) The introduction of Christianity into Korea is discussed in the third section of this introduction.

(2) Prior to this year of the great persecution, several kings had already persecuted Catholics, though on a small scale. In fact, the persecution of Catholics began in Korea in the latter half of the 18th century. Cf. Yi Pyŏngdo, Sinsu kuksa taegwan (A Newly Revised History of Korea), Pomun-gak, Seoul, 1972, pp. 454-6.

over and attacked a little fort on the island of Kanghwa on the west coast in retaliation for the killing of the French priests.

Meanwhile the great persecution continued, and when it subsided in 1870, nearly ten thousand Christians had lost their lives.⁽¹⁾

In the following year America sent an expedition consisting of five war-vessels, but the flotilla, after a victorious combat at a Kanghwa fort, eventually withdrew. Then a Japanese flotilla came up and attacked the same west coast in 1873 and withdrew.

At this time the Regent was temporarily pushed aside by Queen Min's faction, and Japan succeeded in getting contact with her men by sending an envoy to Seoul through Pusan. Two years later a Japanese war-vessel, Unyo Maru, approached the west coast and sent a small boat to a Korean town to look for water. A Korean fort, taking them for a Western vessel, opened fire. A company of Japanese troops landed and took the fort. Taking advantage of this collision, Japan, in the following year, 1876, forced Korea to conclude a treaty of peace and friendship with Japan and to open two more seaports, Inch'ŏn and Wŏnsan, to Japan; and Japan in return recognized the independence of Korea. The result was the first official opening of the country.

Yet, this does not necessarily mark the very beginning of some substantial changes that occurred in modern Korea, because, to the Korean people who had long been accustomed to the traditional way of life in a hermit kingdom, this opening of diplomatic and commercial channels brought bewilderment during the early stages of modernizing

(1) In his original work of The Passing of Korea, Doubleday, Page & Co., New York, 1906, p. 118, Homer B. Hulbert said that "nearly two thousand Koreans" were killed or fled to the mountains and froze or starved to death; but this figure is modified to a little more than "8,000" in the revised edition of this work entitled Hulbert's History of Korea ed. Clarence Norwood Weems, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, 1962, vol. 2, p. 211.

the nation. Significant social changes were therefore only to come about 20 years later, in 1894, when the Korean Government proclaimed the Reform Decree (Kabo kyōngjang) which comprised a number of items of social reformation.⁽¹⁾

This is one way of looking at the outset of the modern era in Korean society. For example, Cho Yōnhyōn maintains that the actual turning point did not arrive in Korea until the year of Reform, and thus, he begins his History of Modern Korean Literature with this year. He says:

It is a matter of general agreement among historians to see the start of the modernization process in Korea in the Reform of 1894. If we aptly apply the meaning of the term "modernization" to that of "enlightenment", it is obvious and certain that modernization started in Korea with the Reform of 1894.⁽²⁾

Another scholar of Korean literature, Chōn Kwangyong, holds the same opinion as Cho, saying, "The stupendous reform movement of 1894, known as Kabo kyōngjang, is regarded as the starting point of modern Korean history".⁽³⁾

There is, however, another angle of looking at the beginning of

- (1) To summarize but a few items of the Reform Decrees, civil servants should be widely recruited, regardless of their family-lineage and social class. Civil and military officials should be dealt with on an equal footing. Early marriage should be prohibited: To get married, a male should be over nineteen, and a female over fifteen years of age. Both public and private slavery should be abolished, and human traffic should be prohibited. Porters, actors and tanners should be emancipated from the lowest social status. The old system of recruiting civil servants (Kwagō chedo) should be abolished.
- (2) Cho Yōnhyōn, Hanguk hyōndae munhak-sa (A History of Modern Korean Literature), In'gan-sa, Seoul, 1961, p. 19.
- (3) Chōn Kwangyong, "Modern Literature: Inception of New Literature and Its Circumstances", Korean Studies Today, ed. Yi Sungnyōng, Institute of Asian Studies, Seoul National University, 1970.

modern Korean society. Even though the Reform of 1894 was certainly the first major movement towards a modern Korean society, there had already been some meaningful changes before 1894. Thus, Paek Ch'öl, co-author of the Complete History of Korean Literature, has this to say:

The period from 1880 to the turn of the twentieth century was the age of enlightenment in Korea. Concretely, from 1876 to 1882, and for some years immediately following, Korea opened its doors to several Western countries after having opened them to Japan and America. Thus, the modern age began in Korea as the modern cultures of these advanced countries flowed into this country through this passage wide open to them.(1)

Perhaps, this view is more correct than the other, though he has certainly oversimplified various matters concerning the modernization process. For even before the opening of the country in 1876, there had been a considerable amount of self-awakening in the mind of statesmen and administrators to the necessity of modernizing the country.

Homer B. Hulbert in The Passing of Korea says:

There can be no question that at first the Queen's faction stood for what is generally called progress. It had no special leaning toward China, and having reversed the policy of the regent it stood ready to do whatever was necessary to open up the country to foreign intercourse.(2)

Soon after the opening of the country, the Korean Government made an effort to learn from foreign countries. In 1881, for example, the government sent a group of leading statesmen, including Yi Wŏnhoe, Hong Yongsik and O Yunjung to Japan. Contrary to its pleasing name

(1) Paek Ch'öl & Yi Pyŏnggi, Kungmunhak chŏnsa (An Entire History of Korean Literature), Sin'gu munhwa-sa, Seoul, 1972, p. 213.

(2) Hulbert (1906), p. 120.

of "Gentlemen's Sightseeing Group", its mission was to see and gather information about Japanese governmental, military, industrial and commercial practices and prepare reports to the Korean Government upon its return. According to Harold F. Cook, their reports "amounted to well over 2,000 pages" and they were excellent in terms of quality as well as quantity. The number of these "sightseers" varies from one historian to another, but Cook, whose estimation seems most correct, says it was about sixty.⁽¹⁾

The government then re-organized the Korean Army, raised special troops called Pyölgı-gun, and began training military officers in a modern fashion under a Japanese officer named Horimoto. In the same year, the Government sent another group of 69 students, artisans, officials and attendants, to China. It seems that their primary interests were to learn the making of ammunition and mechanical engineering so that, upon return, they might produce new weapons with which to equip the Korean Army. They arrived in Tientsin in January 1882 and stayed there for about ten months.⁽²⁾

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- (1) Harold F. Cook, Korea's 1884 Incident: Its Background and Kim Ok-kyun's Elusive Dream, Royal Asiatic Society, Korea Branch in Conjunction with Taewön Publishing Co., Seoul, 1972, pp. 35-6.
- (2) Hulbert simply says that "a party of young men was sent to Tientsin under the chaperonage of Kim Yun-sik on a similar errand". (Cf. his History of Korea II, ed. Clarence Norwood Weems, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London, rev. 1962, p. 223.) Yi Pyöngdo says that sixteen young scholars were sent to Tientsin in China under the leadership of Kim Yunsik to acquire knowledge about all the new mechanics. (Cf. Yi Pyongdo (1972) p. 479.) Han Woo-keun says that "twenty yangban scholars and eighteen artisans were finally sent to Tien-tsin in China ... This was the first really effective attempt to modernize the Korean military, and it balanced to some extent the influence of Japan." (Cf. Han Woo-keun, The History of Korea, East-West Centre Press, Honolulu, 1970, pp. 380-1.) For a full account of the dispatch of Korean students and artisans to China, see Martina Deuchler, Confucian Gentlemen and Barbarian Envoys: The Opening of Korea, 1875-1885, University of Washington Press, 1977, pp. 99-101.

However, Yi Pyŏngdo says, "Upon holding the reins of government, Queen Min opened up the country and drew up a treaty of trade relations with Japan and other foreign countries. With this, an enlightenment movement started in certain parts of Korean society."⁽¹⁾

During the period of 12 years immediately following these governmental efforts, up till the Reform of 1894, a chain of dark events greatly thwarted social progress. For example, there was in 1882 the Military Riot called Imo kunnan, and, while the Queen took refuge in the country, and the Japanese were fleeing back to their country, the ex-regent was restored to power. The Queen then sent a secret envoy to China for help. The Chinese General Yuan Shih-k'ai arrived in Seoul with 3,000 troops and banished the regent, taking him to China. The Queen came back to the throne and relations with Japan resumed. Shortly after, in 1884, a radical faction, who had imbibed the spirit of rapid reformation from Japan, and who were now fully supported by the Japanese, attacked the royal palace and seized the King. At this, the Chinese forces still stationed in Korea immediately attacked the Japanese, as well as the radical faction, and drove them out of the country. Thus, Korea was put under the complete hold of China for 10 years until the Japanese troops came back to Korea and defeated the Chinese. These were but the major events that broke out before 1894.

In spite of these obstacles, some kinds of changes took place in Korea in this period. A treaty for trade relations was drawn up between Korea and America in May 1883; in the autumn, a commercial treaty was negotiated with Germany and with the United Kingdom.

(1) Yi (1972), pp. 428-9.

A modern mint (Chŏnhwan-guk), an arms and ammunition manufacturing factory (Kigi-ch'ang), a government publishing bureau (Pangmun-guk), which published Hansŏng sunbo, the first modern newspaper - all these were established in the same year. The years 1884-93 saw the opening of a Methodist church (1884), a central post office (1884), a modern hospital supported by the government (1885), international telegraph lines (1885), a modern public school, teaching, among other subjects, the English language (1886), and so on.

Then came the Reform of 1894, but it was not solely for the benefit of Korean society but also for the interest of Japan as well. The time was just after Japan had defeated China, sweeping away the Chinese troops from Korean territory, and the reform programme was carried on under Japanese supervision. Thus, in The History of Korea, Han Woo-keun says:

A special Reform Council was first of all set up by the new government which was to deliberate all of the reform decrees. Kim Hongjip presided, but he took his cues from Otori Keisuke, the Japanese Minister. The decrees then went through the empty formality of the King's signature and duly became law. This group exercised the supreme power, and no decree was valid without its assent. It began functioning on July 26, 1894, and remained in existence for about six months, endorsing 208 pieces of reform legislation in the first three months.

These laws were devised primarily to destroy the traditional Korean society and establish capitalistic institutions which the Japanese could exploit. There was even a decree against the traditional Korean costume. The laws were devised without any regard for Korean desires or sometimes even for the realities of the situation. Several of the decrees were quite un-enforceable and became dead letters immediately. There were numerous contradictions and absurdities and the people were frequently compelled to obey laws they did not even understand.⁽¹⁾

(1) Han (1970), p. 418.

Seen in this light, the Korean people were unfortunate because they were literally forced to accept their first major movement toward a modern society under the circumstances described above. Yet, the age-old feudalistic tradition was destroyed in the course of this reformation and, rightly or wrongly, they stepped forward to modern civilization.

Events which occurred in the years immediately following the Reform may briefly be summarized. First of all, several mission schools including Ewha and Paeje, modern publishing companies, and newspaper presses were set up. The activities of the Protestant churches, including the translation of the Bible, the compilation of Christian Hymns and Sunday school activities, began to increase.

The Korean Army was again re-organized. Courts of justice and institutes for training judicial officers were established. An institute for training military officers was newly set up about 1897. A series of educational acts proclaimed during the years 1895-99 set up many elementary and secondary schools and some normal schools for the training of teachers. Several private schools, following the example of mission schools, were established with funds provided by voluntary donors in large cities.

In the 1880s and the 1890s, scholars made an effort to achieve a uniformity in the Korean language between the spoken and written styles, because written Korean still relied heavily on the Chinese character. Among the fore-runners of this movement, there were Yu Kilchun, who had returned home in 1882 by way of Europe after studying abroad in America, and Chu Sigyŏng who organized the Kungmun Tongsikhoe (A Club for the Study of Standard Written Korean) with the

staff of Tongnip sinmun (the Independence Newspaper) in 1896.⁽¹⁾

To achieve this uniformity, however, mixed script, i.e., Korean mixed with Chinese characters, was considered best for regular use because at that time the spelling of written Korean was not standardized and the Korean alphabet alone was thought insufficient to replace terminologies formerly written in Chinese characters.

The standardization of written Korean was a matter of urgent necessity for those who would learn, as well as for those who would introduce, new tendencies from abroad by means of books, newspapers and magazines. Accordingly, several grammarians including Kang Wi, Yi Pongun, and Kwŏn Chŏngsŏn made studies of the Korean language for some time, but their works were not published and remained as manuscripts.⁽²⁾ However, Chu Sigyŏng and Yu Kilchun, who continued their studies were able to contribute with their published works of Korean grammar to the standardization of written Korean.⁽³⁾

In 1907, the Ministry of Education set up an institute for the study of the Korean language in its ministry. Though a small organization, this institute made a thorough study of written Korean for about two years and completed a full-length report of several hundred pages, which it submitted to the Minister at the end of 1909.⁽⁴⁾

- (1) Yu Kilchun, after returning home, began to write his travel account, Sŏyu kyŏnmun (Travel Account of the West), which he completed in 1889 and published in 1895. This work became a model of writing in mixed script.
- (2) Their works are Ŭijong kungmunchamo punhae (An Analytical Study of Korean Characters), about 1896, Kungmun chŏngni (A Study of Korean Grammar) in 1897, and Chŏngŭm chŏnghun (A Study of Written Korean) in 1906, respectively.
- (3) Chu Sigyong published Kugŏ munjŏn ūmhak (Korean Grammar and Phonetics) in 1908, Kugŏ munpŏb (Korean Grammar) in 1910, and Marŭi sori (Phonetics) in 1914. Yu Kilchun published Taehan munjŏn (Korean Grammar) in 1909.
- (4) For a full study of the activities of this institute, see Yi Kimun, Kaehwagiŭi kungmun yŏn'gu (A Study of Korean in the Enlightenment Period), Ilcho-gak, Seoul.

Fifteen years after the Reform of 1894, however, Japan, which had by that time defeated China (the Sino-Japanese war of 1894-95) and Russia (the Russo-Japanese war of 1904-05), succeeded in disbanding the Korean Army in 1907 and finally annexed Korea to its territory in 1910.

2. Korean Poetry Old and New

There were two major forms of pre-modern poetry in Korea. One is the sijo (a form of short poem) and the other the kasa (a form of long poem).

The sijo is generally considered to date back to the late Koryŏ dynasty, the end of the 14th century. However, its origin has not yet clearly been explained, much as has been written on it. During the Yi dynasty (1392-1910), the sijo form was quite popular, and especially after the invention of the Korean alphabet in the middle of the 15th century, this poetic form flourished.

As to the physical form of sijo, it consists of three lines, or a stanza of three verses, each usually containing fourteen to sixteen syllables. The total number of syllables occurring in a sijo is about forty-five in the standard sijo form called p'yŏng sijo. (There were two other forms of sijo, ŏt sijo and sasŏl sijo. These two forms may be said to be substandard because they are, in many respects, degradations from the standard sijo form, coming into existence in the late Yi dynasty. They have many more syllables in a line and never conform to the figures given above.)

Each of the three lines of a sijo has a major pause about the centre, and each half of a line has a subsidiary pause about the centre, but these secondary pauses within a half-line are so weak as

to escape the reader's attention. Thus, a sijo line consists of a free combination of three and four-syllable groups (words or phrases), though one, two, five, or six-syllable groups occur in a sijo line not infrequently. A characteristic feature of the sijo form is that the first words or phrase in the third and last line of a sijo is usually made up of only three syllables followed by the longest phrase with five to nine syllables. Yet, this also has many exceptional cases.

Words or lines do not rhyme in the sijo form. As all Korean verse, the sijo does not use accentual stress nor syllable length as a metrical unit. What makes a sijo rhythmic is the occurrence of a combination of three and four-syllable words or phrases. Hence, 3-4 syllable rhythm and 4-4 syllable rhythm are generally regarded as characteristic of the sijo form, but in fact they become the most prevalent syllable-rhythms in all Korean poetry in general.

However, with this generalization alone, one can hardly explain all the irregularities that occur freely in the number of syllables in all groups of words or phrase and, eventually, within the standard sijo form, because the number of syllables in word-groups varies so much that one receives the impression that the sijo is almost formless. Therefore, it seems that to give a plausible definition of the sijo, we have to go to the traditional melody of the sijo to which the sijo were formerly attached, because there must be a close relationship between the structure of the sijo melody and the distribution of words or phrases within a sijo. In this light, I have made a close examination of the sijo form in the second section of the first chapter.

Generally speaking, the first line of sijo introduces a theme into a poem, the second develops it, and the third draws the conclusion to the poem. Hence some scholars would regard each sijo

line as a sort of stanza. However, a single line seems short of a stanza, so they would consider each line as being ambivalent, each line playing both roles of a poetic line and a stanza at the same time. There are other scholars who think that the transcription of a sijo in three lines is a mere convention, which does not seem to fit the form, so they would divide each line into two so that they may have three (two-line) couplets for a poem of sijo. In any case, they seem to agree that a sijo consists of three large units.

The prevailing subject matters of the traditional sijo are nature and love, but other subject matters such as political strife, loyalty, and personal agonies are found not infrequently in sijo. The sijo composers were mostly upper-class people: Confucian scholars, statesmen, government officials, and men engaged in public or military service, but a number of sijo were written by the professional musicians and entertaining girls trained in the arts and literature called kisaeng. The total number of sijo surviving from the Yi dynasty is well over 2,000.

In the immediately pre-modern period, with which we are concerned, about 230 sijo written in the Korean alphabet only were published in a collection under the title of Namhun t'aep'yǒng-ga in 1863. They were later combined with other sijo in an anthology entitled Kagok wǒllyu compiled by Pak Hyogwan and An Minyǒng in 1876. This carries about 700 sijo in mixed script. (Previous collected sijo were later arranged in the order of the Korean syllabary and published by Ch'oe Namsǒn in an anthology with the title of Kagok-sǒn in 1913, which contains about 600 sijo. Another later collection is Sijo-yuch'wi edited and published by Ch'oe Namsǒn in 1928, in which more than 1,000 sijo, mostly from previous collections, are classified according to subject matter.)

In the 19th century, however, sijo seem to have degraded in quality and also decreased in number. Even though the two anthologies mentioned above were published in the 19th century, the majority of good sijo collected in them are the products of the 16th to 18th centuries and the 19th century added little in terms of quality and number. Hence, Richard Rutt has given a brief comment on this:

Where there is no developed criticism, professionalism has its own dangers. Partly because of this, and partly because the expression of the aspirations of the common people posed a threat to the order of society, the nineteenth century marked a decline in the vigor of most Korean arts. In sijo the images became stereotyped - seagulls, peach blossoms, butterflies, bamboos - and elegance, however vapid, came to be more esteemed than content A few of the best examples use a conceit that rivals the English metaphysical poets, but the majority display a bankrupt reworking of the same old ideas.

It was not until the introduction of western verse forms in the first decade of the twentieth century that the sijo was revived.⁽¹⁾

Thus, we may properly assume that the 13 sijo of Pak Hyogwan and the 26 sijo of An Minyŏng are the sole and last contributions made toward the pre-modern sijo in the late 19th century.

Kasa is a form of long poem dealing with a variety of subject matters, such as one's feelings toward a fair lady, a war, religious convictions, travel accounts, moral virtues, personal misfortunes, and so on. There are about 250 long poems written in this kasa form.⁽²⁾ During the Yi dynasty when upper-class people would compose poems in

(1) Richard Rutt, The Bamboo Grove: An Introduction to Sijo, University of California Press, 1971, p. 6.

(2) Chŏng Pyŏnguk, "Outline of Classical Literature", Korean Studies Today, ed. Yi Sungnyŏng, Institute of Asian Studies, Seoul National University, 1970, p. 114.

this form, the length of them was about 100 lines, but when the common people joined in writing long poems in this form in the late Yi dynasty, they grew much longer.

A kasa line usually consists of two groups of syllables (words or phrases) having a fairly regular pause between the two. The two syllable groups are mostly made up of either three and four syllables or four and four syllables, though a group of two or five syllables appears not infrequently in place of a three or four syllable group. Generally speaking, some kasa poems are written in lines of three and four syllable groups, and others are in lines of four and four syllable groups. Hence, 3-4 and 4-4 rhythms may be said to be characteristic of kasa also, though there are a number of kasa poems written in a mixed rhythm of three and four syllable groups.⁽¹⁾

Some scholars claim that the earliest kasa are the poems of Buddhism, such as Sōwang-ga by Naung-hwasang, composed at the end of the Koryō dynasty in the late 14th century; others think that the kasa form started with the song of the pleasures of nature with the title of Sangch'un-gok by Chōng Kŭgin in the early Yi dynasty in the 15th century. In the next three centuries, hundreds of long poems were written in the kasa form, distinguished among which are Chōng Ch'ōl's nature poems, and the poems of Confucianism by Yi T'oege and Yi Yulgok in the 16th century, the poems of loyalty and the poems of humble scholarly life by Pak Inno in the 17th century, and the poem of travel accounts called Kŭngang pyōlgok by Pak Sunu and the poem on Japanese culture entitled Iltong changyu-ga by Kim Ingyōm in the 18th century.

(1) Cf. W.E. Skillend, "'Words from the Heart': An Unpublished Kasa", Tonga munhwa, Institute for the Studies of East Asian Cultures, 1966, pp. 157-84.

In the 19th century, many common people and women joined in writing long poems in the kasa form, and they produced dozens of poems on a variety of subjects, such as Confucianism, natural scenery, country life, travel, the city of Seoul, moral virtues, the "religion of the heavenly way" (Ch'öndo-gyo), and so on. Among these, we can find such kasa as Nongga wölyöng-ga by Chöng Hagyu, Yönyaeng-ga by Hong Sunhak, and Hanyang-ga by Hansan kösa.

In parallel with the two kinds of poetic form explained above, which existed in the main current of pre-modern Korean poetry, there was another which I would mention here because this form, adhering to a strict syllable count, must be related closely to the poetic songs produced later in the transitional period of 1896-1910. It is in this form that the traditional narrative folk songs had been orally composed and chanted for centuries until they were collected and put into print only after the turn of the present century.

It seems that this form was not entirely separated from the main current of pre-modern Korean poetry, but was at times utilized by a certain type of poetic songs such as Naebang kasa in the late Yi dynasty. Hansan kösa's Hanyang-ga is another example in which this form of the traditional narrative folk songs was adopted.

Unlike the other two forms of the sijo and the kasa, this form consists of regular 4-4 syllable lines adhering to a strict syllable count. Among hundreds of traditional narrative folk songs handed down to us, only a small number of them are in the form of regular 3-4 lines, in which case they also adhere to a strict syllable count.

As in the case of Western ballads, the authorship of these traditional narrative folk songs is not known; it is unknown even whether a narrative folk song is a product of one author or it is a work of all community members. These songs deal with a variety of

subject matters, such as farming, weaving, a woman's married life, a husband, a concubine, love, hatred, and so on - all that is closely related to everyday life of the common folk to whom these songs entirely belong.

The ideas expressed in these folk songs are always impersonal and seldom blended with the authors' subjective comment or description; the feelings expressed there are those of the community members among whom the author is just one. In fact, this impersonal character becomes a distinctive feature of these songs just as the case of Western ballads.

The folk song style is, of course, peculiarly of oral character. Parallelism in sound and syntax and the use of repetition, especially, of incremental repetition, which is characteristic of oral literature, is prevalent in these narrative folk songs.

Thus, it is clear that this form is characteristically distinctive from the sijo and the kasa and is closely related to the poetic songs produced during the transitional period of 1896-1910, the question of which is discussed fully in the second section of Chapter I.

Toward the end of the transitional period, however, a young man named Ch'oe Namsŏn, who had studied abroad in Japan for some time, began experimenting with various forms of both traditional and modern poetry, and, upon his return, published his poems in Sonyŏn, a monthly magazine he himself founded and edited from 1908. In fact, the extent of his poetic experiment, which continued for some years after he had come back home, ranged from the conventional form, which adhered to a strict syllable count, to several variations of fixed forms he himself invented and finally to free verse and prose poems.

Thus, his poetry becomes the most significant turning point in Korean poetry, and he is rightly regarded as the father of modern Korean poetry, because it was he who was able eventually to break with the rigid ties of the traditional poetic songs of the Yi dynasty and he who introduced all possibilities of modern poetry into Korea for the first time in the concrete examples of his poems.

Then, in the 1910s, T'aesŏ munye sinbo, a newspaper which published modern Korean poems as well as introducing Western literature into Korea, and Ch'angjo, a pure literary magazine, contributed much to the making of modern Korean poetry. Among those whose poetic works appeared in these literary media, the most distinguished are the four poets - Kim Ŏk (Ansŏ), Hwang Sŏgu (Sangat'ap), Yi Il, and Chu Yohan. Generally speaking, the lyricism and the metaphors and similes which these poets brought to their poems with considerable terseness and freshness in style became the characteristics of the poetry of the 1910s.

In the 1920s, twenty poetic collections and about the same number of magazines were published, and the number of poems produced in this period is well over 2,000. It is in this period that modern poetry achieves such a high standard as to stand comparison with any poems composed thereafter.

The three important collections of the six published in the first half of the 1920s are Haep'ariŭi norae (The Song of a Jellyfish) by Kim Ŏk, 1923, Chosŏnŭi maŭm (The Mind of Korea) by Pyŏn Yŏngno, 1924, and Arŭmdaun saebyŏk (The Beautiful Dawn) by Chu Yohan, 1924. Thus, the two poets, Kim and Chu, who distinguished themselves in the 1910s, continued contributing much to modern Korean poetry, together with Pyŏn, who made his debut in the early 1920s, and with some other poets whose poems appear only in magazines.

Among the 14 poetic collections produced in the second half of the 1920s, there are four important ones: Kukkyōngŭi pam (The Night of the Border) by Kim Tonghwan, 1925, Chosŏn siin sŏnjip (Selected Poems of Korean Poets) edited by Cho T'aeyŏn, 1926, Ch'ōngnyŏn siin paekin-jip (Collected Poems of One Hundred Junior Poets) edited and published by Hwang Sōgu, 1929, and Siga-jip (Collected Poems) edited by Kim Tonghwan, 1929.

However, the two most important collections among the 14 and, in fact, among all the poetic works published in the 1910s and the 1920s are Chindallae-kkot (Azaleas) by Kim Chōngsik (Sowol), 1925, and Nimŭi ch'immuk (The Silence of 'Nim') by Han Yongun (Manhae), 1926, both of which are closely examined in the last chapter of this thesis.

3. The Introduction of Christianity into Korea

It is generally recognized that the Christian Church, especially the Protestant Church, not only took the initiative in establishing modern education in Korea, but also rendered enormous services to the propagation and the standardization of han'gŭl (the Korean alphabet) among the people through its evangelical activities.

On the other hand, many scholars of Korean literature seem to take it for granted that the early Korean Christian hymns, which began to spread, in fact, on a small scale among Korean Christians from about 1887, exercised a great influence upon the making of the transitional poetic songs, the forerunners of modern Korean poetry, produced during the period 1896-1910.

Whether or not the Christian hymns had any direct relation to these transitional poetic songs is closely examined in the first section of Chapter I, but here I feel it necessary to make a brief survey of

Christianity in Korea, from its early introduction to its propagation in the 1890s, in order to see its state and the probable extent of its influence on the poetic songs in the transitional period.

During the Japanese invasion of Korea at the end of the 16th century, Fr. Gregorio de Cespedes, a Jesuit, was sent to Korea to minister to Catholic soldiers in the Japanese expeditionary army. This seems the earliest record of Christianity entering into Korea, but it seems unlikely that Cespedes could achieve anything in terms of introducing the Christian religion into Korea. The general circumstances at that time were never appropriate for a foreign priest to preach the Gospel to the Koreans, who were unwilling to listen to a foreigner who had come over with the invaders. However, among the Korean prisoners of war who were taken to Japan during the invasion, it is estimated that as many as 2,000 became Catholics, and some of them returned home after years of servitude.⁽¹⁾

In the seventeenth century, there were many occasions on which Korean envoys, who travelled to Peking with tribute for the Chinese Emperor, happened to meet the Jesuits at the court and received some Christian books from them.⁽²⁾ When they returned home, their Christian literature must have circulated among neighbouring scholars. The customary sending of Korean envoys to Peking continued in the 18th century, and, in the meantime, Christianity began to sprout in Korea as a sort of group study of the Christian literature brought back from Peking. Thus, William Elliot Griffis, in his Corea, the Hermit

(1) Yu Hongnyŏl, Han'guk ch'ŏnju kyohoe-sa (History of the Catholic Church in Korea), the Catholic Publishing Co., Seoul, 1962, pp. 32-7.

(2) For the detailed account of the travels of the Korean envoys to Peking, see Ibid., pp. 49-50.

Nation, begins an account of the beginning of Christianity in Korea with this remark:

Though some writers have supposed that Christianity was introduced into the Korean peninsula by the Japanese, in 1592, yet it is nearly certain that this religion was popularly unknown until near the end of the eighteenth century. Then it entered from the west, and not from the east. It was not brought by foreigners, but grew up from chance seed wafted from the little green garden of the church in Peking.(1)

Griffis then explains how the ideas of Christianity dawned in the mind of a Korean who was invited to discuss with a group of scholars the new philosophy and religion just brought from Peking.

Ching Young Choe, in his study of Taewŏn'gun's regime summarises the beginning of Christianity in Korea:

One of the most interesting chapters in the history of Catholicism in Korea concerns its origin. Unlike many other lands, where the Christian religion was first brought by foreign missionaries, in Korea it began with a kind of "self-study" of Christian literature by natives.(2)

At that time, a group of scholars including Yi Pyŏk, in their study of philosophy, science, and religion, were drawn by curiosity to the content of Christian literature. Yi and others withdrew into silence and began to peruse the Christian literature. The result was their awakening to the Christian doctrines. They at once began to practice what they had gathered from their reading of the Christian literature. This is the start of Christianity in Korea in 1777.

(1) William Elliot Griffis, Corea, the Hermit Nation, W.H. Allen & Co., London, 1882, p. 347.

(2) Ching Young Choe, The Rule of the Taewŏn'gun, 1864-1873: Restoration in Yi Korea, pub. by East Asia Research Centre, Harvard University, distributed by Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass., 1972, p. 91.

Their religious practice was by no means valid, and in two years' time they began to realize this. They ceased practicing their dubious functions of the ministry and sent a letter to Peking to make inquiries about their validity. As a result, a priest named John Dos Remedios was sent to Korea, but he was forced to return to Peking because of persecution which had just started in Korea. In 1795, however, a Chinese priest, Fr. James Chu, succeeded in entering Seoul. At that time the number of Korean Christians is estimated to have been about 4,000.

Despite persecution, the number steadily grew to more than 10,000 in 1801 and to 23,000 just before the great persecution in 1866. However, more than one third of the entire number of Catholics were killed during the period of the great persecution, 1886-1870. After Korea was opened to foreign nations in the 1880s, the number of Catholics grew to 17,000 in 1890 and to 40,000 in 1898.⁽¹⁾ In 1910, when Korea was annexed to Japan, there were about 73,000 Catholics in Korea.⁽²⁾ (The entire population of Korea at that time is estimated to have been 12 millions.)

The titles of the books and the pamphlets of the Christian literature brought from Peking are unknown to us. We can only conjecture the kind of books in the light of the few titles which appear in the history of the Catholic Church in Korea. In the early 17th century some Christian prayer books were brought to Korea.⁽³⁾ Matteo Ricci's T'ien-chu Shih-i (Veritables Principes sur Dieu) was

(1) Allen D. Clark, History of the Korean Church, the Christian Literary Society of Korea, Seoul, 1961, pp. 38-9.

(2) Yu (1962), p. 998.

(3) Ibid., p. 50.

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one at that time.⁽¹⁾ As to the Christian literature which was read at the time of "self-study" in 1777, Griffis says:

These were translations of the writings, or original compositions in Chinese of the Jesuits in the imperial capital. Among these publications were some tracts on the Christian and Roman Catholic religion, treating of the Existence of God, Divine Providence, the Immortality of the Soul, the Conduct of Life, the Seven Capital Sins, and the Seven Contrary Virtues.⁽²⁾

Towards the end of the 18th century, a Christian book was first translated into Korean, of which Griffis says:

At the capital (Seoul), a learned interpreter, on becoming a believer, multiplied with his own facile pen copies of the books brought from Peking; and it is believed translated from the Chinese the "Explanations of the Gospels of the Sabbaths and Feasts" - the first Christian book in the Corean language.⁽³⁾

It seems true that the Catholic priests had had some printing facilities set up in Korea before the great persecution, for it is said that all the type for printing was destroyed when, during the persecution, the Christian books were searched out and burned in the Supreme Courtyard in Seoul in 1866. However, whether or not these printing facilities had been in use is uncertain, but a considerable amount of Christian literature had been circulated widely and was sought all over the country.

Dictionnaire Coréen-Français (Société du Missions Etrangères de Paris), 1880 and Grammaire Coréenne (ditto), 1881, were published in Yokohama, Japan. These two books were the first fruit of the

(1) Choe (1972), p. 91.

(2) Griffis (1882), p. 347.

(3) Ibid., p. 347.

European efforts on the Korean language.⁽¹⁾

On the other hand, Protestantism was only gradually introduced into Korea in the latter half of the 1880s. Though Protestant missionaries were permitted to enter the country from 1884, their activities were officially restricted for some years to medical service and school education. Besides, missionaries themselves took precautions not to follow the example of exceedingly adventurous Catholic missionaries who had entered Korea long before and met with the great persecution. It was more than one century after Catholicism had started in Korea that Dr. Horace Allen, the first resident missionary of the Protestant Church in Korea, set about his mission with medical service in 1884.

About a half century before this, however, some early efforts had been made to introduce Protestantism into Korea by such missionaries as A.F. Gutzlaff and Robert J. Thomas. The former, a German missionary, approached the west of Korea in the British vessel Lord Amherst in 1834 and distributed copies of the Chinese Bible along the coast and went back to Macao. The latter, a British missionary, came over to the west coast in 1865 and after a short stay went back to China. Then he came to the west coast again in the following year, this time in the American vessel General Sherman, and gave out copies of the Chinese Testament to the Koreans who were on shore watching this vessel sailing up Taedong River toward Pyöngyang. This ship was later burned and the crew, including Thomas, was killed by Korean garrisons in September 1886 near the city.⁽²⁾

(1) Yu (1962), pp. 807-16.

(2) Clark (1962), pp. 40-4.

In the 1870s, John Ross and John McIntyre, missionaries of the Protestant Church of Scotland residing in Manchuria, travelled to the border adjacent to Korea and learned much about Korea from the Korean residents whom they met there. This enabled Ross to set about the translating of the Bible into Korean. With the help of a Korean named Sō Sangyun, he began to translate the Gospel of Luke, which was later printed in Mukden, Manchuria, in 1882.⁽¹⁾ The "Historical Catalogue of the Printed Editions of Holy Scripture" made by T.H. Darlow and H.F. Moule contains a detailed record of the early Korean translations of the Scripture.⁽²⁾ The first part of the record is:

1882. (St. Luke's Gospel) (Mukden.) 1882. 23.5x14.5 cm.

In 1875 John Ross, of the U.P. Church of Scotland Mission at Mukden, came into contact with Koreans on the borders of Manchuria, and began to study their language. In preparing a translation of the N.T. he was assisted by his colleague John McIntyre of Newchwang, and by a Korean named Saw Sang Yun. Saw Sang Yun became 'the first Korean colporteur'. The first draft was made from the Chinese Delegates' version by a Korean assistant named Yi Eung Hyon who used the dialect of North-western Korea, and it was then corrected by the two missionaries. In 1882 an edition (3,000 copies) was printed at Mukden, with type obtained from Japan.

In 1879 the N.B.S.S. agreed to refund the expenses already incurred and to provide the type for tentative editions SS. Luke and John; but J. Ross seems to have published these Gospels independently. Eventually the cost was refunded to him by the B.F.B.S.

5984

Title on cover. Text, 51 ff.; followed by one leaf, not numbered.

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- (1) Allen D. Clark, in his History of the Korean Church, says that the Gospel of Luke was translated into Korean by J. Ross in 1881, whereas Cho Yōnhyōn, in his History of Modern Korean Literature, says the year was 1880. (Cf. the work of the former, pp. 45-8; that of the latter, p. 28.) However, in the light of the "Historical Catalogue" kept by the B.F.B.S., 1882 is correct. Cf. the part of the catalogue quoted.
- (2) This "Historical Catalogue" is preserved in the archives of the British and Foreign Bible Society, London.

— Another copy. Presented by J. Ross, 'Newchwang
24 Mch. 82'.

— Another copy. Presented to N.B.S.S. 1971 (1)

1882. (St. John's Gospel.) (Mukden.) 1882. 23.5x14 cm.

Uniform with No. 5984. Text, 39 ff.; followed by one
leaf, not numbered.

Presented by J. Ross. 'Newchwang 12th May 82.'

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According to the information subsequently recorded in the
"Historical Catalogue", the Korean translation of the New Testament
was completed by John Ross and printed in Mukden at the expense of the
B.F.B.S. in 1887.

Another channel of translating the Scriptures into Korean was
that taken in Japan by the American Bible Society. This society
first translated St. Mark's Gospel with the help of a Korean student
and published it in 1884.

In the following year, Dr. Scranton came to Seoul to help
Dr. Allen who had arrived there the year before and was at that time
working for a government hospital. Rev. Horace G. Underwood and
Rev. Henry D. Appenzeller arrived in Seoul in the same year and started
their missionary work, setting up an orphanage for boys. The first
public Methodist service of worship for Koreans was held in 1887;
soon after, in the same year, both Presbyterians and Methodists had
their first church organized in Seoul. Then, in the following year,
the first Sunday school was organized in Seoul at Ewha Girls' School.

In 1900 the three Bible societies working in Korea - the N.B.S.S.,

(1) "N.B.S.S." stands for the National Bible Society of Scotland.

the B.F.B.S. and the A.B.S. - were united to form one single agency for co-ordination and avoidance of duplication. In the same year, the Ross translation of the New Testament was revised, and in 1910 the Korean translation of the Old Testament was completed and published. Throughout all this period, the circulation of the Scriptures increased. For example, 2,997 copies in 1896 multiplied to 127,269 in 1906.⁽¹⁾

According to The 105th Report of the B.F.B.S., 1909, sixty-eight colporteurs sold 60,581 copies in 1908, against 57,894 in 1907, and 63,829 in 1906, making a total circulation of 162,687 copies in 1908, against 151,230 in 1907, and 127,269 in 1906.⁽²⁾

Apart from these copies of the Scriptures, millions of tracts on the Christian religion were distributed in the first decade of the 20th century. The Testaments, portions of them, and tracts sold and distributed were either in Korean or in mixed script. The exact ratio between the number of those printed in Korean and the number of those printed in mixed script are not certain. However, we can guess an approximate ratio from the way in which copies of the New Testament were actually printed in 1908.

In Korean

In No. 4 type	60,000 copies
In No. 5 type	25,000 copies
In No. 6 type	25,000 copies

In Mixed Script

In Nos. 4 & 5 type	20,000 copies ⁽³⁾
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(1) Clark (1961), p. 125.
 (2) The 105th Report of the B.F.B.S., 1909, p. 352.
 (3) Ibid., p. 354.

The figures given above mean that, while 110,000 copies of the New Testament were printed in Korea, only 20,000 copies of it were printed in mixed script.

In the meantime, the number of Protestants rapidly increased. It is said that about 200,000 were connected with the Protestant Church in 1909.⁽¹⁾ Accordingly, churches, Sunday schools, and the Bible reading classes for adults grew in number.

On the other hand, the early Korean Christian hymns, with which many scholars of Korean literature associate the transitional poetic songs of 1896-1910, were only gradually compiled and published in the 1890s and do not seem to have affected the transitional poetic songs that were first produced and published in Tongnip sinmun in 1896.

Before the publication of the early Christian hymns in Korea, some fragments of Christian hymns in Chinese were known to several Koreans in about 1884.⁽²⁾ These were presumably introduced into Korea through Manchuria where missionary activities had long been carried on by Ross and McIntyre. From 1886 Ewha Girls' School started teaching music classes with some Christian hymns in English. The two earliest churches organized in Korea, Saemunan and Chōngdong, had some simple Christian hymns translated into Korean for use in the service of worship from 1887. Yōngwha Girls' School, established in Inch'ōn by Mrs. George H. Jones, began teaching some Korean translations of Christian hymns in music classes from 1890. However, these activities were conducted on a small scale, and Christian hymns

(1) Clark (1961), p. 143.

(2) Yi Yusōn, Han'guk yangak p'alsimnyōn-sa (The Eighty-year History of Western Music in Korea), Chungang University Press, Seoul, 1968, p. 93.

were not yet introduced even to Korean Christians to any considerable degree.

According to Kim Pyŏngch'ŏl's study of the early Christian hymns and their relation to modern Korean poetry, the first book of Christian hymns in Korean published for use in church is Ch'anmi-ga (Hymns) edited by George Herbert Jones and Louise C. Rothweiler. This booklet, published in 1892, contains only the words of 27 hymns, about all the hymns then in use. The second book of hymns called Ch'anyang-ga (Songs of Praise) was edited by Horace Underwood and published in 1894. This carries 114 hymns with both words and music. The third is Ch'ansyong-si (Poems of Praise), edited by G. Lee and Mrs. Gifford, and was published in 1895 with 54 hymns, which became popular in the northern part of Korea. Each of these contained a greater number of hymns when they were reprinted repeatedly at about three year intervals.⁽¹⁾

In 1908 the Presbyterian and Methodist Joint Hymnal Committee issued Haptong Ch'ansong-ga (The Union Hymnal). From then on, the circulation of Christian hymns greatly increased. It is estimated that the total circulation of 60,000 copies in 1908 grew to 225,000 in 1910.⁽²⁾

To conclude, it seems that, though the Scriptures and Christian hymns spread fairly widely among Korean Christians during the entire period of transition, they had only gradually been circulated in

(1) Kim Pyŏngch'ŏl, "Kaehwa-ki (1890-1900) siga sasange issŏsŏŭi ch'ogi han'guk ch'ansonggaŭi wich'i" ("The Position of the Early Korean Christian Hymns in the History of the Poetic Songs in the Enlightenment Period (1890-1900)", Asea yŏn'gu (Asian Studies)), Institute of Asian Studies, Korea University, Seoul, vol. XIV, No. 1, 1971, pp. 49-106.

(2) Yi Yusŏn (1968), p. 121.

their early stage of publication. We do not have the exact number of the copies of Christian hymns circulating at the time when the first transitional poetic songs were published in Tongnip sinmun in 1896, but we can estimate it to be not more than a few thousands, judging from the number of the copies of the Scriptures circulating at that time, which is 2,997.

Chapter I

Korean Poetry in Transition

1. Some Problems of Transitional Poetry

Scholars of modern Korean literature differ widely in their opinions as to the nature, characteristics, and chronological order of the songs and poems produced during the period of transition, especially, between 1896 which marks the publication of the newspaper Tongnip sinmun and 1908 when the magazine Sonyŏn was published by Ch'oe Namsŏn. Among the scholars who have analysed the poetic works published in this period, there are several widely diverse opinions. They are Paek Ch'ŏl, Cho Chihun, Song Minho, Yun Changgŭn and Chŏng Hanmo.

Paek Ch'ŏl, the first of these, simply regards all the early transitional poetic songs as more or less homogeneous and calls the entire group ch'angga (Songs). According to him, ch'angga is the only form that existed in the period of transition from Old Poetry to the New-style Poetry. In this ch'angga form, he ostensibly includes all the poetic songs published between 1896 and 1908, but he is concerned almost exclusively with the poems and songs published in two newspapers, Tongnip sinmun (1896-1899) and Taehan maeil sinbo (1905-1910), excluding several other newspapers and a dozen journals all of which were published in the same period.

Paek Ch'ŏl gives the following definition and explanation of what he calls ch'angga:

What is ch'angga then? The literal meaning of the word is "a song that is to be sung". Though it is a song, it is neither the kasa nor the sijo which were sung in the past, but it is a song to be sung in a new style to Western music. In other words, ch'angga, which appeared

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in the period of enlightenment, marks the first introduction of Western music into Korea. Modern song-words began to appear with it in Korea ... If you ask about the origin of ch'angga, the answer may be that it comes from Christian hymns ... Hence, in general, we may date ch'angga from the early 1890s. It was after 1896 that ch'angga was set free from the church and school, and began to appear in daily newspapers.(1)

In his statement quoted above, Paek Ch'öl has made observations on some important questions about this poetic transition. No one can dispute the first of his observations because songs which fit this definition of his certainly existed and still exist in Korea. However, his second observation that ch'angga originated from Christian hymns is only partially true, and his third observation of homogeneity of the transitional poetic songs is totally misleading.

Though I would admit that two or three poetic songs published in these newspapers were meant to be sung to the melodies of some Christian hymns and that several have a slight Christian tinge in diction, which we will discuss in detail later in this section, the majority of the poetic songs appearing in all the newspapers and journals published in this transitional period remain traditional and untouched by Western (or Japanese) influences. Their poetic form consists of the strict 4-4 syllable lines which do not allow any syllabic freedom, and their diction remains overwhelmingly conventional and, at times, even archaic; whereas the small number of songs composed in church or mission school, on the model of Christian hymns or Western melodies, adopt various patterns of syllabic rhythm as the structure of melodies dictates, and the subject matter and the content of these songs, of

(1) Yi Pyönggi & Paek Ch'öl, Kungmunhak chönsa (An Entire History of Korean Literature), Sin'gu munhwa-sa, Seoul, 1957, pp. 232-3.

course, differs widely from those of the traditional poetic songs.

Thus, there is a clear distinction in form and content between a large number of poetic songs published in the newspapers and journals and the songs composed and sung mainly in churches and schools. Moreover, those songs which are not traditional but written under the influence of foreign factors may be classified into at least three kinds, each distinct in its original indebtedness, quality, and nature.

The first kind comprises those songs which were composed on the model of Christian hymns, which we may call "church songs" for convenience. Take, for example, the song composed and sung at Saemunan Church in Seoul in celebration of King Kojong's birthday in 1896. This song took its melody from a Christian hymn, or the British National Anthem, "God Save the King (Queen)". The words of this Korean song are similar to those of that anthem. It consists of five stanzas, the first of which runs as follows:

Supernal Lord,
Merciful God,
Look on us with mercy;
Keep this kingdom,
This land:
O, Lord,
Save this land.(1)

A man named Kim Yut'aek composed a song for the encouragement of learning entitled Kwõnhak-ka, which was published in Cheguk sinmun (The Empire News). The subtitle of this song says that it was

(1) All the Korean translations of the songs, poetic songs, and poems that appear in this thesis are my own, made for the purpose of our discussion of various subjects. Hence, in translating, I have tried to preserve the meaning of their original lines while trying to retain their physical forms. In most cases, I find my English translations have become irrecoverably prosaic and convey little more than the meaning, which, though regrettable, was hardly avoidable.

Original texts of poems quoted in translation are given in an appendix after the conclusion of this thesis.

composed to the melody of Christian hymn No. 78 of Ch'ansyong-si (an early collection of 54 Christian hymns first published in 1895).⁽¹⁾

This song is made up of six stanzas, the first of which and its refrain are:

Time flows with no mercy:
Once gone, it does not come again.
The youthful boys of yesterday
Soon become the grey-heads of today.

Refrain

Work hard, work hard;
Work hard at your studies;
Work hard for the country.⁽²⁾

The second kind consists of songs composed on the model of Western melodies. For example, in 1896, students of Paejae School in Seoul sang a song of this kind in celebration of the laying of the corner stone to the Independence Arch. The text of this song was written by Yun Ch'ihō, and the melody was taken by D.H. Bunker, who was then teaching music at the school, from a Scottish folk song, "Auld Lang Syne". The first stanza of the Korean song is:

Holy sons of God for five centuries
Are our Royalty.
The eastern peninsula with high mountains and
crystal waters
Is our homeland.

Refrain

The beautiful hibiscus land of three thousand ri,
Let us Koreans keep it forever.⁽³⁾

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- (1) Ch'ansyong-si enlarged in 1898 has 83 hymns; and when it was enlarged again in 1900, four more hymns were added to it.
 - (2) This song was published on 29 June 1907.
 - (3) Cf. Kim Sehwan, Paejae p'alsimnyŏn-sa (The Eighty-year History of Paejae), Tonga ch'lp'an-sa, Seoul, 1965, p. 187.

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The third consists of songs written after the fashion of some Japanese songs or poetic forms. For instance, in 1908, Ch'oe Namsŏn wrote and published a song in commemoration of the railway built from Seoul to Pusan in 1903. As he later confesses, this song is composed on the model of one of the Japanese railway songs, Tetsudo shoka.⁽¹⁾ Both songs adopt the 7-5 rhythm which had long been characteristic of the old poetic songs of Japan and which was later revived and widely used by the Japanese New-style poetry after 1882, when a tiny collection of new-style poems entitled Sintaisi-shō was published in Tokyo. Ch'oe's song entitled "The Seoul-Pusan Railway Song" begins as follows:

With the resonant sound of the steam-whistle
The train leaves the South Gate behind
And dashed with the force of a speedy wind,
Even faster than the flying birds.⁽²⁾

These three kinds of song constitute a body of songs actually sung in the transitional period. Yet these three kinds are pure songs, and I think it quite proper to exclude them from our examination of the transitional poetry except when they are related in some way to the poetic songs and poems published in newspapers and journals.

Therefore, to sum up this review of Paek Ch'ŏl's account, it is inappropriate to call all the poetic songs produced between 1896 and 1908 ch'angga, and simply assert that they are either based on Western music or originate from Christian hymns. As we have seen, only one kind is related to Christian hymns, and all three kinds are pure songs; but apart from these there are hundreds of poetic songs, some of which

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- (1) Cf. Cho Yŏnhyŏn, Han'guk hyŏndae munhak-sa (A History of Modern Korean History), In'gan-sa, Seoul, 1961, pp. 45-6.
- (2) Ch'oe Namsŏn, Kyŏngbu ch'ŏlto-ga (The Seoul-Pusan Railway Song), Simmun-gwan, 1908.

have the traditional dual quality of poem and song, but others, having lost their quality of song, have become pure poems in this period.

Cho Chihun, however, notices some heterogeneous qualities existing in the origin and nature of the transitional poetic songs, and he divides them into two groups, kaehwa kasa (enlightenment song-words) and ch'angga (songs). According to him, the poetic songs published in Tongnip sinmun and Taehan maeil sinbo are much more song-words in nature than they are proper songs.

This means that they are more akin to the form of the traditional kasa than to the songs newly introduced into Korea through foreign influences during the transitional period. He says that the poetic songs that appear in these two newspapers differ from the traditional kasa only in content. They exclusively express the patriotic and enlightenment spirit of the people.

On the other hand, the ch'angga form, by which he primarily means "The Seoul-Pusan Railway Song" by Ch'oe Namsŏn (1908) and the songs of similar style composed by him and others thereafter, came after kaehwa kasa. Ch'angga do not necessarily keep to the traditional kasa form, but usually adopt the 7-5 or 5-7 rhythm which is originally from Japan. Cho states his opinion thus:

Tongnip sinmun, the newspaper which was first published in 1896 by Sŏ Chaep'il, a former member of the Enlightenment Party at the time of the Kapsin Reform (1894), who had just returned from exile in America, was a great achievement for the enlightenment of the people. He was the first forerunner of the modern culture movement in Korea, and the Independence Society which he led was the vanguard and the mouthpiece of contemporary thought. At that time, there were songs which came out of the mouths of the people. I call these songs kaehwa kasa.

These songs adopt the traditional poetic form of 4-4 rhythm and their content expresses the new spirit of independence, economic self-support, and the love of the

country. These songs began to be published frequently from the third issue of Tongnip sinmun. Some scholars include these songs in the category of ch'angga as in the case of Paek Ch'öl and Cho Yŏnhyŏn, and others regard them as New-style Poems as in the case of Pak Chonghwa. Even though the content of these songs is similar to that of ch'angga or the early New-style Poems, their poetic diction and rhythm are the same as those of Old Poetry. Therefore, I distinguish them from ch'angga and from New-style poems which came after them.(1)

Cho's views quoted above have at least one merit over those of Paek Ch'öl and Cho Yŏnhyŏn, because he is right in not regarding the transitional poetic songs as being one homogeneous form and in classifying them into two distinct groups. However, he has made a mistake in the placement of these two groups in the chronological order of transitional poetry. He has placed kaehwa kasa between Old Poetry and ch'angga, because, in his treatment of ch'angga, he thought only of Ch'oe Namsŏn's railway song and songs of a similar nature, and did not think of the songs that had been composed between 1896 and 1907. Cho says of ch'angga:

The first years of the present century saw the full growth of the movement of new education and culture and decline of national prestige ... The songs made popular in these social circumstances are ch'angga. Above all, ch'angga do not adopt the traditional poetic form of the 4-4 syllable rhythm but new rhythms of 7-5, 6-5, 8-5 and so on. Stanzaic features and repetitional phrases were gradually added to ch'angga so that it became a complete form of song. Melodies, even though of foreign origin, were attached to these songs, and through education they began to spread among the people. Ch'angga became a required subject in Korean schools. The ch'angga form was much influenced by the Korean translation of the texts and the melodies of Christian hymns, which we must not overlook ... The first ch'angga in Korea must be "Kyŏngbu ch'öltoga" ("The Seoul-Pusan Railway Song") by Ch'oe Namsŏn.(2)

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- (1) Cho Chihun, Han'guk munhwa-sa sŏsŏl (Introduction to the History of Korean Culture), T'amgu-dang, Seoul, 1964, pp. 314-9.
- (2) Ibid., pp. 318-9.

Here again, Cho has obviously overlooked ch'angga other than those which started with Ch'oe Namsŏn's railway song. Hence, we can hardly accept the chronological order that he has seen in the transitional poetic songs in which he has placed ch'angga after kaehwa kasa. Reserving the question of the influence of Christian hymns for our later discussion, we may draw only one useful point from his conclusions that there were two kinds of poetic songs, kaehwa kasa and ch'angga, in the transitional period.

Song Minhŏ's views are nearer to Cho Chihun's than to anyone else's. The chronological order he sees in the transitional poetic songs generally coincides with Cho's, but he disagrees with Cho in the notion of kaehwa kasa as immediately succeeding Old Poetry. Kaehwa kasa is the name originally given by Cho to the poetic songs appearing in the two newspapers, Tongnip sinmun and Taehan maeil sinbo, whereas Song Minhŏ claims that the poetic songs published in the first newspaper are different from, and superior to, those published in the second newspaper, even though the latter were composed about ten years later than the former.

Precisely speaking, he maintains that the twenty-two (in fact, they are twenty-six in all) so-called aegukka ("Patriotic Songs") published in Tongnip sinmun (1896-1899) are much superior to what is called Uguk kyŏngsi-ga ("Songs of National Concern and Warning") published in Taehan maeil sinbo (1905-1910), and he names the former kaehwa-si ("Enlightenment Poems") and calls the latter kaehwa kasa ("Enlightenment Song-words"). His explanation of the alleged distinction between these two groups of poetic songs is lengthy, but for our examination I feel it inevitable to quote it in full:

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Kaehwa-si are written in a poetic form which has a 4-4 rhythm, and probably these poems were sung. The 4-4 poetic rhythm comes down from the traditional kasa and sijo of the Yi dynasty. Kaehwa-si entertain the new spirit of the Enlightenment Period in their content but remain traditional in form so that they may be comparable to new wine put in an old bottle. This is a transitional phenomenon appearing in a transitional literature when Old Poetry had not had sufficient time to throw off its conventional rhythms and to provide a new vehicle for the thought and beliefs newly introduced during the enlightenment period. If we ask why kaehwa-si inherited the kasa form among the poetic forms of the Yi dynasty, the answer may be that the 4-4 rhythm was the most basic in Korean poetry and that this rhythm had been popular and had enjoyed much freedom until that time ...

The basic rhythm of kaehwa-si is 4-4, but the poetic form of kaehwa-si in general shows some new features, and in this regard, it is one step nearer to modern poetry than the Yi dynasty kasa was. In comparison with kasa, kaehwa-si has become shorter, as short as an opening part of a kasa, having about ten couplets of 4-4 rhythm ...

A major distinction of kaehwa-si from the Yi dynasty kasa is its stanzaic form. With a few exceptions, nearly all the kaehwa-si of Tongnip sinmun have blank spaces, each of about one line, between stanzas. These spaces mark units in a poem for the convenience of chanting. Hence, we must not regard kaehwa-si simply as a miniature kasa of the Yi dynasty but as an attempt at a new stanzaic form. And, rare as the cases may be, the use of a refrain, an influence coming from Christian hymns that spread among the public before kaehwa-si, began to appear in kaehwa-si. Due to these refrains, the kaehwa-si form lost uniformity but could become the forerunner of ch'angga which followed kaehwa-si ...

Kaehwa kasa is a type of poetic song produced later than kaehwa-si, but they are more old fashioned than the latter. Kaehwa kasa are an imitation of the poetic form of the Yi dynasty kasa, and they were mainly published in Taehan maeil sinbo. To distinguish these from the kaehwa-si of Tongnip sinmun, I name them kaehwa kasa. The content of kaehwa kasa exhibits a more provocative spirit of patriotism than that of kaehwa-si, but the poetic form of the former remains strictly conventional. Hence, in the order of progress in poetic quality among the various forms of transitional poetry, kaehwa kasa occupies the lowest position and above it come kaehwa-si. Then comes ch'angga, the New-style Poems taking the highest position.

This reversal in order of kaehwa-kasa and kaehwa-si is due to the fact that Korean literature in the Enlightenment Period did not grow out of a modernization process of more or less self-supporting development, but had to accept, under the influences of foreign trends, whatever form of expression was convenient. Both kaehwa-si and

kaehwa kasa share the basic 4-4 rhythm, but the former modified its poetic form under influences coming from Christian hymns, whereas the latter stuck to the kasa form of the Yi dynasty without receiving foreign influence. Therefore, kaehwa kasa is the oldest in form among the transitional poetic songs. An additional reason for this inconsistency in order is that kaehwa kasa were written by those who had no regular training in literature and stuck to the conventional poetic form for convenience when they wished to propagate the spirit of enlightenment ... (1)

As has been stated above, Song Minho thinks that kaehwa si are superior in quality to kaehwa kasa, though both types share the traditional 4-4 rhythm, because the former modified its poetic form with borrowings from Christian hymns, while the latter remained strictly conventional. Their writers, with no regular training in literature, were satisfied with the traditional poetic form for they were primarily concerned with propagating the spirit of enlightenment by using a convenient poetic form.

This notion of Song Minho's results primarily from an over-estimation of the small distinctions he notices between the two types. These minor differences, however, are hardly sufficient grounds for a distinction between what he has called kaehwa si and kaehwa kasa, even when they actually exist as he notices between the two.

Song Minho at first has very wisely pointed out that the traditional 4-4 syllable rhythm becomes the basic rhythm in both kaehwa si and kaehwa kasa. This is an essential and significant quality shared by both his two types. After that he directs his attention exclusively to such minor differences as the stanzaic divisions by means of a blank space, the comparative short length, and

(1) Song Minho, "Kaehwa kasa" ("Enlightenment Poetic Songs"), Han'guk munhwa-sa taege (A Survey of the History of Korean Culture) vo. V, Ŏnŏ munhak-sa (History of the Korean Language and Literature), ed. Research Centre for National Culture, Korea University, Seoul, 1967, pp. 913-27.

the use of refrains in kaehwa si.

As a matter of fact, stanzaic divisions by means of a blank space are also found in a number of kaehwa kasa. Though the average length of kaehwa si is shorter than that of kaehwa kasa, some kaehwa kasa are just as short as kaehwa si. Song Minho has mentioned the use of refrains in kaehwa si, but the refrain, which occurs in only one of the total of twenty six kaehwa si, Tongnip-ka ("A Song of Independence") by Ch'oe Pyŏnghŏn published on the 31st of October 1896 in Tongnip sinmun, can hardly be called a distinctive feature of the kaehwa si.

The following are just a few examples of stanzaic divisions by means of a blank space which appear in many kaehwa kasa:

- (1) Kayo ("A Song on the Current Situation"), 30 September to 5 October 1905.
- (2) Myŏnch'ung-ga ("A Song of Encouraging Loyalty"), 5 December 1905.
- (3) An Untitled Song, 7 January 1906.
- (4) Undong-ga ("A Song of Athletics"), 2 June 1906.
- (5) Sibinŭng-ga ("A Song of Twelve Capacities"), 7 June 1906.
- (6) Aeguk undong-ga ("A Song of a Patriotic Movement"), 13 June 1906.

Contrary to Song Minho's observation, the writers of kaehwa si were also not trained in literature, and, as far as I am concerned, no writers of either kaehwa si or kaehwa kasa were other than amateurs at best. Thus, it becomes clear that we can hardly consider kaehwa si as superior in quality to kaehwa kasa, both of which are in fact the same type of poetic songs produced during the transitional period.

The three opinions that we have so far examined, however, raise two very fundamental questions concerning the nature and the

chronological order of the poetic songs produced in the transitional period. One is the question of whether or not there is a relation between Christian hymns and these poetic songs; the other is the question of whether there was a chronological order in which one kind of poetic song succeeded another in a step-by-step progression toward modern poetry.

Each of these three views answers these two questions in the affirmative, though only incidentally. In fact, the hypothesis of an influence of Christian hymns on the early transitional poetic songs has come down to the present without being challenged. The chronological order is somewhat differently viewed from case to case, but all three agree with the notion that A is succeeded by B at a certain point of time, B is replaced by C at another time and so forth until they reach modern poetry at the end of the transitional period.

However, I think both questions should be answered in the negative and will examine them before I go on to discuss the views of transitional poetry presented by Yun Changgŭn and Chŏng Hanmo.⁽¹⁾

The relationship between Christian hymns and the early transitional poetic songs is often erroneously described as one of "influence". In this connection, I think the terms of literary "indebtedness" or "borrowing" may be more accurate, because "influence" means something extraneous which may be traced as pervasive in a writer's mind and which is reflected in his literary works over a long period of time.

At any rate, all three views mentioned above regard the stanzaic divisions by blank spaces and the use of refrain which appear in the

(1) In fact, it is Dr. W.E. Skillend, my supervisor, who first suggested to me that Christian hymns had little influence on modern Korean poetry in general, to whom I owe my initial information on this matter.

poetic songs as direct "influences" from Christian hymns.

In the past, traditional kasa were written and printed in the form of consecutive lines, and there are, of course, no blank spaces marking stanzaic divisions in their physical form. Therefore, it appears that the lack of stanzaic markings in the traditional kasa misled those who maintain that Christian hymns influenced the early transitional poetic forms into believing that stanzaic divisions must have come from Christian hymns.

Kim Pyŏngch'ŏl, who, as a scholar of English literature, had made a study of structural influences of Christian hymns, also reaches very similar conclusions. According to him, Korean Christian hymns were the "motive force" from which all the poetic songs composed in the last decade of the 19th century received a powerful and unique "influence" comparable to that which Ch'oe Namsŏn's songs in the 7-5 rhythm received from Japan. Kim says that these two sources continued nourishing the ch'angga form in the 1920s and the 1930s, and their influences on Korean poetic forms still remain. (1)

The whole basis of his conclusions, however, is the same as that stressed by the others, i.e., the blank spaces marking stanzaic divisions and the refrains that appear in both Christian hymns and the so-called "Patriotic Songs" in Tongnip sinmun (which are called kaehwa si by Song Minho), and the shorter average length of the latter in comparison with both the traditional kasa and the kaehwa kasa in Taehan maeil sinbo. Kim says:

(1) Kim Pyŏngch'ŏl, "Kaehwa-gi (1890-1900) siga sasange issŏsŏŭi ch'ogi han'guk ch'ansonggaŭi wich'i" ("The Position of the Early Korean Christian Hymns in the History of the Poetic Songs in the Enlightenment Period (1890-1900)"), Asea yŏngu (Asian Studies), Institute of Asian Studies, Korea University, Seoul, vol. XIV, No. 1, 1971, p. 105.

Even though they share the 4-4 rhythm with the kasa and sijo of the Yi dynasty, the Patriotic Songs in Tongnip sinmun have some other features that are not found in sijo or kasa.

First of all, these Patriotic Songs differ from sijo in that they have stanzaic divisions. In the case of sijo, there is a division into three lines, initial, medial, and final; but in the Patriotic Songs, a stanza is made up of a couplet of two lines, each consisting of two four-syllable phrases ...

Secondly, another distinction is that the length of the Patriotic Songs, which usually have about ten stanzas, is no longer than the introductory part of a kasa, which is usually extremely long with consecutive lines having no stanzaic feature ... Moreover, still another aspect of the Patriotic Songs which confirms the influence of Christian hymns is the use of refrains in the Patriotic Songs even though there are only a few such cases ... (1)

Here I feel it necessary to warn against a mistake in reasoning which all the scholars who stress the "influence" of Christian hymns seem to have made. They have concluded that similarities between A and B necessarily indicate a definite "influence" from one to the other. Mere similarity between two things does not prove any such relationship between the two. Besides, the degree of similarity which these scholars claim to exist is often exaggerated by their preconceptions.

It is true that the stanzaic divisions of the so-called Patriotic Songs bear some resemblance to those of Christian hymns and that they are seemingly unlike those of sijo and kasa. This, nevertheless, does not prove the assumption that Christian hymns have influenced the structure of the Patriotic Songs.

Traditionally, indeed well into this century both kasa and sijo were printed in consecutive lines. This, however, is a typographical convention subject to change. Publishers have long since ceased to

(1) Ibid., pp. 94-6.

print sijo in this way and now print them in three stanzas, each consisting of a couplet of two short lines.

On the other hand, a great number of narrative folk songs recorded and published in this century are printed either in consecutive lines or in couplets. In either case, these folk songs have clear divisions into stanzas, and I believe that the length of the traditional folk-song tune exactly corresponds to the length of each stanza, or each couplet. (This means that folk-song singers, when they sing a folk song, have to repeat the same tune as many times as the number of stanzas in the folk-song words.)

All this means that the internal structure of traditional poetic songs and folk songs have certain stanzaic features even when they are not shown on their surface because of the conventions of manuscripts or of printing. The Hanyang-ga ("The Song of Seoul") written by Hansan Kōsa and published in 1844 is a conclusive proof of the fact that stanzaic divisions existed in the pre-modern poetic songs of the Yi dynasty and sometimes were apparent in the printed form.⁽¹⁾ This song is printed in distinctive two line stanzas, each line having two four-syllabled phrases, which exactly coincides with the stanzaic features of the Patriotic Songs. It seems that among the traditional poetic songs, and especially among the traditional narrative folk songs, stanzas which are syntactic or sense units are mostly of two lines, each consisting of two four-syllabled phrases.

It is true that many of the early Christian hymns have stanzaic features, but they vary greatly from hymn to hymn. For example, if

(1) Hanyang-ga is preserved in the National Central Library in Seoul, and a later copy of it is kept in the British Library, Department of Oriental Printed Books and Manuscripts.

we look at the eighty-one early Christian hymns collected in the 1895 edition of Ch'anmi-ga (Christian Hymns), the first hymn entitled "Praise God from Whom All Blessings Flow" has two stanzas, each having four eight-syllabled lines. The third hymn, "Oh for a Thousand Tongues to Sing", has four stanzas, each having four lines, but while the first and the third lines consist of eight syllables, the second and the fourth lines are made up of only five syllables. The eighth hymn, "I Love Thy Temple", has four stanzas, each consisting of eight five-syllabled lines. Hymn No. 44, "Rock of Ages Cleft for Me", has four stanzas, each having six seven-syllabled lines; and the last hymn entitled "Gloria Patria" has no stanzaic divisions but consists of six consecutive lines, the length of which varies from four to seven syllables.

In contrast, all but one of the twenty-six Patriotic Songs from Tongnip sinmun have stanzas consisting of two lines, each having two four-syllabled phrases. The one exception, Syöngjyöl songch'ukka ("A Praise for the Holy Season") written by Sin Yöngt'aek and published in the newspaper on 3 September 1896, has the same stanzaic feature but adopts a 4-3 rhythm instead of a 4-4 one.

To conclude, this stanzaic feature of the Patriotic Songs coincides with that of Hanyang-ga and also with that of the traditional narrative folk songs, which will be discussed in detail in the following section, but not with that of Christian hymns. Even the form of sijo, seen as three distinctive units, each consisting of two lines with a 3-4 or 4-4 syllable pattern, conforms to our view that the internal structure of the traditional poetic songs in general has units consisting of two-line stanzas.

21

The question of refrain must be examined because this feature has been so overemphasized by both Song Minho and Kim Pyöngch'öl that it becomes an important ground of their argument for the influence of Christian hymns on the Patriotic Songs. They are aware that refrains rarely appear in these songs, for they use the phrase, "in a few cases", seeming not to realize that in fact only one of the total of twenty-six Patriotic Songs has a refrain.

This one was written by Ch'oe Pyönghön and published in Tongnip sinmun on 31 October 1896.

1

After the creation of the universe,
All five continents are at peace.

Sure is the independence of Korea
In the Far East of the Asian Continent.

Refrain

Only love among the people
Can achieve the lasting foundation
of independence.

It's a joyful, joyful day
When Korea has achieved independence.

It's a joyful, joyful day
When Korea has achieved independence.

The refrain appearing in this poetic song is physically similar to some refrains appearing in many Christian hymns. For example, the 29th hymn of Ch'anmi-ga:

The Whole World was Lost
in the Darkness of Sin

1

The whole world was lost in the darkness of sin,
But Jesus Christ, the light of the world,
Shines with glory as bright as the sun,
Jesus Christ, the light of the world.

Refrain

He shines brightly to you with the light of the day;
He shines afresh with his light to me.
The eyes that were in darkness have seen the light,
Jesus Christ, the light of the world.

The content of Ch'oe's song bears a Christian tinge in two of the lines quoted above:

After the creation of the world,
.....

It's a joyful, joyful day
.....

The refrain appearing in Ch'oe's poetic song is similar in form to those of Christian hymns, but it is open to question whether the appearance of this refrain is entirely due to the influence of Christian hymns or whether it is a convention of the traditional use of repeated phrases in old poetic songs and folk songs, because repeated phrases were not unknown in the traditional poetic songs. Poetic repetitions for various purposes - emotional, rhythmic, functional, contrastive, gradational, emphatic, and incremental - are not infrequent, especially, in traditional narrative folk songs.⁽¹⁾ Refrains were sometimes used in traditional poetic songs. For example, one of the oldest Korean poems surviving, a Koryŏ dynasty song entitled Ssanghwa-jŏm ("A Dumpling Shop") has four stanzas having a refrain:

Tŏrŏdungsyŏng tarirŏdirŏ tarirŏdirŏ tarorŏgŏdirŏ tarorŏ
Kŭi jariye nado chara karira
Wi wi tarorŏkŏdirŏ tarorŏ
Kŭi jandae kat'i tŏmkkŏch'ŭni ŏbtta

(1) Cf. C.D. Pi & M.H. Sym, "Yŏngmiŭi folk balladwa han'guk sŏsaminyoŭi pigyo yŏn'gu" ("A Comparative Study of English and American Folk Ballads and Korean Narrative Folk Songs"), Yŏn'gu nonch'ong (The Journal), No. 2, The Society of Education, Seoul National University, Seoul, March 1972, pp. 169-237.

22

(The first line is meaningless)
To his place I will go to sleep, too.
(The third line is meaningless)
No other place is as dirty as that place to sleep.(1)

Another example is Kamgunŭn ("The Thought of the King's Grace"), included in Akchang kasa, an early sixteenth century collection of the Koryŏ and Yi dynasty poetic songs. This has four stanzas, each consisting of two lines, and a refrain which is common through these four stanzas:

1

The depth of the four seas can be measured with the cable,
But with which cable can we measure the depth of our King's
virtue?

Refrain

May the King live long with boundless blessings;
May the King live long with boundless blessings.
My fishing under the bright moon is due to the
grace of the King.(2)

In the light of this, it cannot be asserted that the influence of early Christian hymns alone contributed to the structure of repeated phrases or refrains in the Patriotic Songs which immediately followed the traditional poetic songs of the Yi dynasty.

Even assuming that transitional poetic songs actually borrowed or learned the use of the refrain, not from the traditional poetic songs of the Yi dynasty at all, but from the Christian hymns of the 1890s, this hardly supports the hypothesis that the poetic form of the transitional period must have been influenced by Christian hymns because a refrain, in fact, occurs in only one among a total of twenty-six Patriotic Songs.

(1) Cf. Kim Hyŏnggyu, Kogayo chuhae (A Commentary on Old Poetic Songs), Ilcho-gak, Seoul, enl. ed., 1974, pp. 321-2.

(2) Ibid., p. 341.

Furthermore, only one of about three hundred poetic songs published in the other newspapers and journals listed below, all of which came out in the transitional period, has a refrain:

Newspapers

- (1) Cheguk sinmun (The Empire News, 1898-1910).
- (2) Hwangsŏng sinmun (The Capital News, 1898-1910).
- (3) Taehan ilbo (The Korean Daily, 1905-1910).
- (4) Taehan maeil sinbo (The Daily News of Korea, 1905-1910).

Journals

- (1) Sŏu (Western Friends, 1906-1907).
- (2) Yaroe (Night Lightning, 1907).
- (3) Taehan yuhaksaeng-hoe hakbo (The Journal of the Society of Korean Students Abroad, 1907).
- (4) Taehan kurak (Korean Club, 1907).
- (5) Taehan hakhoe wŏlbo (The Monthly Journal of Korean Academic Society, 1908).
- (6) Sŏbuk hakhoe wŏlbo (The Monthly Journal of the North-western Academic Society, 1908-1910).
- (7) Taehan hŭnghakbo (The Journal of Korean Studies, 1909).

The only song having a refrain is Kwŏnhak-ka ("A Song for Encouraged Learning") by Kim Yut'aek, which I have already quoted to illustrate one of the three kinds of ch'angga early in this section. The refrain as given is:

Work hard, work hard;
Work hard at your studies;
Work hard for the country.

Thus it is now clear that the use of a refrain never became of significance in the transitional poetic songs, though it sometimes

appears in the ch'angga form.

Another possible approach to the question of whether or not the early Christian hymns have exercised an influence on the early transitional poetic songs in general may be to examine the content of these poetic songs for clues. As an experiment, I went through as many as about three hundred poetic songs published in a dozen newspapers and journals including Tongnip sinmun and Taehan maeil sinbo with a view to discovering all the lines with a Christian tinge in their expressions and I have examined what I have found out with respect to their possible relationship or indebtedness to Christian hymns.

In comparison to the effort I have made in doing this, the results are meagre, as can be seen in the following list. This scarcity, however, supports my negative view of the hypothesis of an influence from Christian hymns.

- (1) To God we pray
For the prosperity of our nation.

(from a patriotic song by Ch'oe Tonsŏng, Tongnip sinmun, No. 1-3)

- (2) Let us pray to God in earnest
For the peace of the nation and for the welfare
of the people.

.....

While on earth our bodies stay,

.....

(from a patriotic song by the Talsŏng church members, Tongnip sinmun No. 1-47)

(3) For our country
Pray to God.

(from a patriotic song by Mun Kyöngho,
a Paejae (Mission) School student,
Tongnip sinmun No. 1-59)

(4) Let us praise, praise,
And praise God.

(from a patriotic song written in
celebration of King Kojong's birthday
sung by Kim Kiböm at church,
Tongnip sinmun No. 1-71)

(5) After the creation of the universe,
All five continents are at peace.

.....

It's a joyful, joyful day
(When Korea has achieved independence).

(from a song of independence by Ch'oe
Pyönghön, Tongnip sinmun No. 1-90)

(6) After the universe was created,
The sun and the moon began to shine;

After they began shining,
All things began flourishing;

After all things flourished,
Mankind became eminent;

.....

All these merits are due
To the wonders of God,

The wonderful wonders
Of the impartial God,

Inexhaustible wonders
For multi-billion years.

It's Heaven that made
All things, all plants and animals;

Heaven alone can annihilate them
And also make them flourish,

And Heaven can even destroy them.
.....

In God's will
These kings cultivate the people,
.....

It is only the Heaven of justice
That may cause their nations to prosper.

(from a poetic song by a physician
upon visiting his seniors in his
native village, Taehan maeil sinbo,
7 January 1906)

- (7) Korean fellows and brethren,
Do not be even slightly discouraged,

For the day is near
When we may recover the help of God.

(from a song of loyalty by Ri Syŏn-
'gyŏng, Taehan maeil sinbo,
3 August 1906)

- (8) On the model of the sages in the Bible,

(from a song to encourage industry
by Chŏng Suwŏn, chairman of a
branch of Tong'a Kaejin Society of
Education, Taehan maeil sinbo,
10 March 1907)

The eight examples listed above are all that seem to have some Christian tinge out of about three hundred poetic songs published in the newspapers and journals mentioned above. However, even some of these may not be related to the texts of Christian hymns but come instead from some stories in the Bible. For instance, No. 8, "On the model of the sages in the Bible". Some others may not have anything to do with Christianity. For example, the word "God" (hananim), which appears in Nos. 1 and 7, does not necessarily mean the Christian God. Thus, only the remaining five examples of

Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6 seem to show an undeniable Christian tinge.

In addition to the context, there is the further evidence that No. 2 was written by a group of Christians at Talsŏng Church, and No. 3 was written by a student of Paejae, a Christian mission school in Seoul. No. 4 was also written in a church and sung by a Christian, No. 5 has a definite Christian tinge in its expression, "... the creation of the universe", and "It's a joyful, joyful day", which echoes an early Christian hymn, the refrain of which starts with "It's a joyful, joyful day / When our Saviour is born". Finally, No. 6 roughly parallels the first part of Genesis, even if it does not come directly from a Christian hymn.

Considering both the form and the content of the transitional poetic songs, cases of actual indebtedness to Christian hymns are so rare and individual that it can hardly be said that Christian hymns were a significant factor in their transition from the pre-modern to modern poetry.

The only other question raised earlier but reserved until now is the one of the validity of the notion that there was a step-by-step chronological order through which Old Poetry went on its way towards becoming Modern Poetry. Between Old Poetry, by which we mean all poetry written before 1895, and Modern Poetry, which is generally considered to have started with Chu Yohan's "The Bonfire" (1919) - this is a fallacy we should rectify because modern poetry started with Ch'oe Namsŏn's "From the Sea, to the Boys" as we shall see clearly in the next chapter - Paek Ch'ŏl mentions only two stages of poetic transition, Cho Chihun maintains that there were three stages, and Song Minho subdivides Cho Chihun's first stage of kaehwa kasa into two, making a total of four stages. The three different chronological orders may be illustrated as follows:

(1) Paek Ch'öl

————→ Ch'angga —————→ New-style Poetry —————→
 (1896-1908) . (1908-1918)

(2) Cho Chihun

————→ Kaehwa kasa —————→ Ch'angga —————→ New-style Poetry —————→
 (1896-1910) (1908) (1908-1918)

(3) Song Minho

————→ Kaehwa si —————→ Kaehwa kasa —————→ Ch'angga —————→ New Poetry —————→
 (1896-1899) (1905-1910) (1908) (1908-1918)

I have already pointed out that ch'angga alone cannot represent the entire period of this poetic transition, not only because there were in this period what is usually called kaehwa kasa that are essentially distinct from ch'angga but because all three kinds of ch'angga, which existed in parallel with kaehwa kasa from 1896, were certainly outside the main current of poetry.

I have also pointed out that Song Minho's kaehwa si and kaehwa kasa are basically the same in form and nature because there is no difference in type worth claiming between these two, suggesting that they are on the whole an extension of the traditional poetic songs of the Yi dynasty.

Besides, the poetic transition in this period does not seem to have taken place in the way any of these three chronological orders has shown above, because, for example, the traditional sijo form did not go through any transformational stage but is still very much alive. In this respect, the two other views presented by Yun Changgŭn and Chŏng Hanmo concerning the chronological order of transitional poetry

are far more convincing, though neither of these seems very accurate.

Yun Changgŭn's views are basically different from the observations I have explained above in that he notices two things going on in parallel with each other in the transitional period. According to him, one is the poetic song which is from the pre-modern poetry, and the other is the song which began when Western music was introduced into Korea for the first time in the 1890s.

In the early years of transition, the former produced kaehwa kasa, which later changed into the New-style Poetry, the forerunner of modern poetry. The latter consists of two divergent subdivisions, one of which is what he calls kaehwa ch'angga ("Enlightenment Songs") and the other is Christian hymns.

The kaehwa ch'angga subdivision was succeeded by the 7-5 rhythm songs which in turn changed into modern songs in the late transitional period. He says that the New-style Poems received indirect influences from the Japanese 7-5 rhythm songs. The Korean New-style Poems and the 7-5 rhythm songs are related, if not directly. The latter were later combined with modern poetry to contribute indirectly towards the forming of a modern poetic form in a regular 7-5 rhythm. Modern songs, popular songs, and school songs are originally from Western music, but they went through the stages of kaehwa ch'angga and the 5-7 rhythm songs.⁽¹⁾

On the other hand, Chŏng Hanmo primarily distinguishes between the two heterogeneous factors, traditional and foreign, both of which, he claims, contributed to the New Poems. This observation is

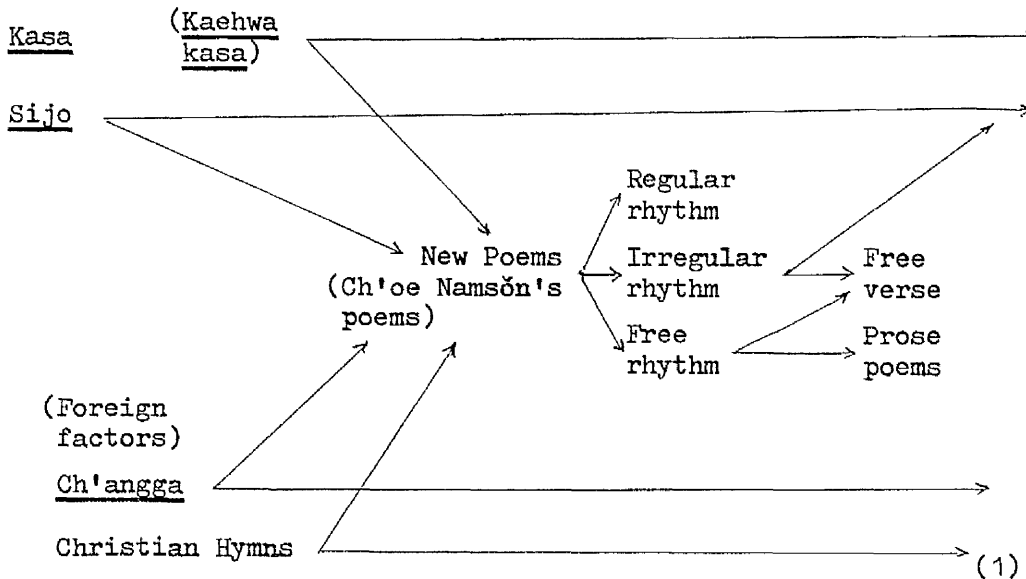
(1) Yun Changgŭn, "Kaehwagi sigau'i ūmunnonchŏk yŏn'gu" ("An Analytical Study of the Rhythms of the Poetic Songs of the Enlightenment Period"), Asea yŏn'gu (Asian Studies), vol. XIII, No. 3, (Serial No. 39), Institute of Asian Studies, Korea University, Seoul, 1970.

similar to Yun's notion of the two divergent divisions found in the transitional poetic songs. Chǒng, however, includes the Japanese poetic influences in the category of foreign factors, which is quite natural, whereas Yun has placed them somewhere between Korean poetic songs and Western music introduced to Korea, regarding them as indirect influences to both the New-style Poems and the 7-5 rhythm songs.

Yet, according to Chǒng, the New Poems that Ch'oe Namsǒn initiated are a focus upon which the two factors, traditional and foreign, converged, so that it was able to produce later the poetic forms of regular, irregular, and free-verse rhythms.

The chronological order of the transitional poetry that Chǒng Hanmo himself has shown, which I would certainly regard as the best among all five we have examined, is:

(Traditional factors)



(1) Chǒng Hanmo, Han'guk hyǒndae simunhak-sa (History of Modern Korean Poetry), Ilchi-sa, Seoul, 1974, pp. 321 & 342.

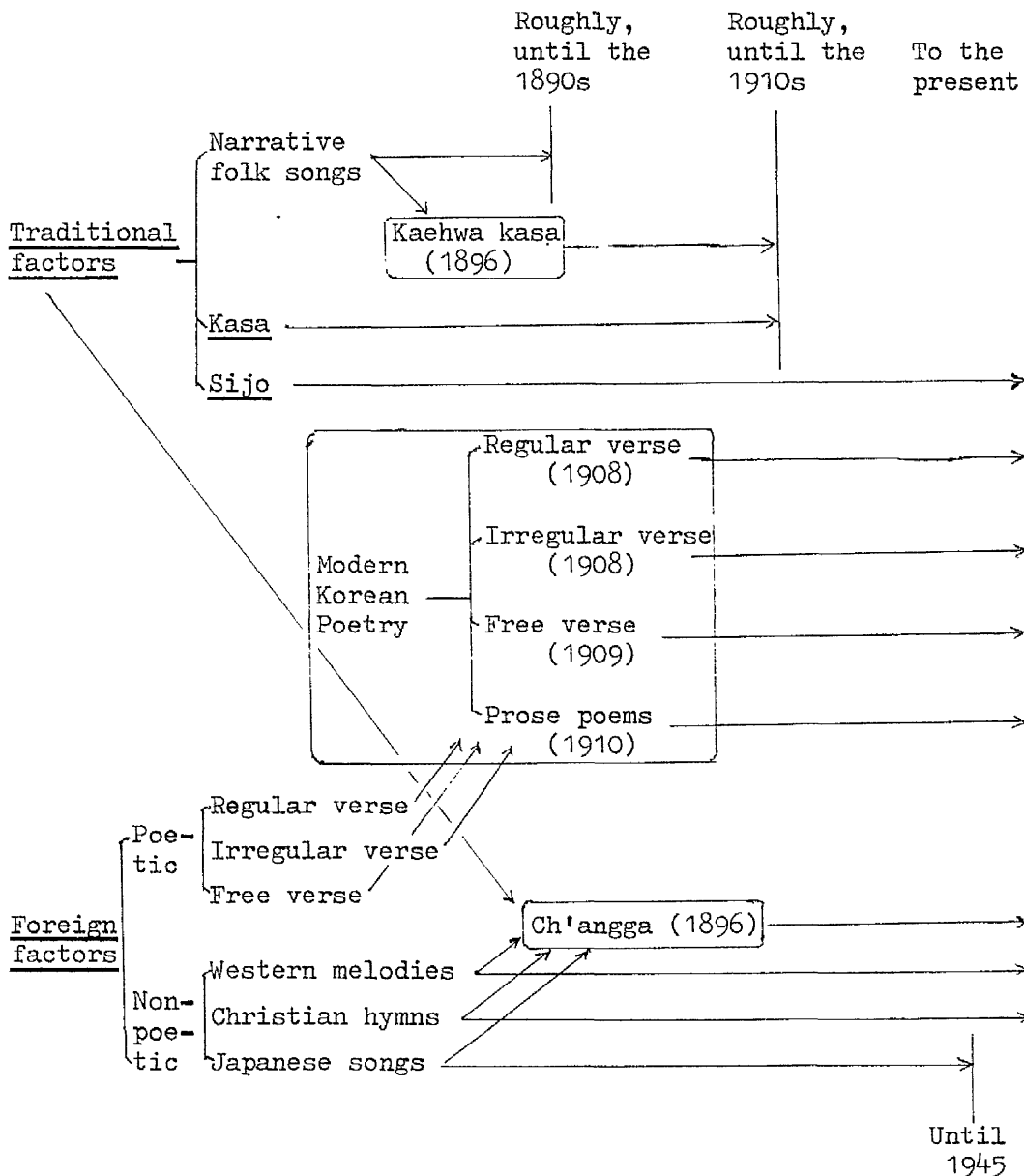
This illustration has some incorrect points: First, the kaehwa kasa may not come from the traditional kasa even though both have the name of "kasa" in common, but from the traditional narrative folk songs. (I am going to discuss this question explaining the close relationship between the kaehwa kasa and the traditional narrative folk songs in the following section.)

Secondly, we have no evidence that ch'angga and Christian hymns have actually influenced the New Poems which Ch'oe Namsŏn initiated in Korea in the first decade of the present century.

Thirdly, poems of irregular verse rhythms certainly existed even after free verse had started in Ch'oe Namsŏn's poetry in 1909. For example, Kim Sowŏl and some other poets wrote a number of such poems in the 1920s, and poems of irregular verse rhythms may not have completely disappeared, while poems of regular verse rhythms are still prevalent in children's verse.

Finally, and most important of all, there were obviously some other foreign factors, more influential than ch'angga or Christian hymns, in this transitional period, which Chŏng's illustration does not show - all the influences of foreign poetry with a variety of forms, regular, irregular, and free, which must have contributed to the making of early modern Korean poetry.

Thus, after having found fault with several scholars who have given their views on this matter of the chronological order of the transitional poetry, I feel an obligation to give my own views, which, I must confess, owe much to the views about which I have been so critical. They may be illustrated as follows:



The major distinctions that my illustration shows are:

First, the traditional kasa and sijo and foreign poetic factors - regular verse, irregular verse, and free verse - have contributed to the beginnings of modern Korean poetry in 1908-1910. Then, the sijo form survived and is still alive today, though the kasa form discontinued sometime during the transitional period.

Secondly, the form of kaehwa kasa, which was closely related to the oral tradition of narrative folk songs and not to the kasa or sijo,

first appeared in Tongnip sinmun in 1896, continued for sometime even in parallel with early modern Korean poetry, but then eventually disappeared.

Thirdly, the three kinds of Korean ch'angga, which started under the influences of foreign non-poetic factors, such as Western melodies, Christian hymns, and Japanese songs, during the period of 1896-1908, are basically songs owing little more than the Korean language to traditional factors. Therefore, they may well be excluded from our discussion of the making of early modern Korean poetry. Western melodies, Christian hymns, and Japanese songs, regardless of their contribution to Korean ch'angga, kept spreading among the Korean people and are still popular among them, except the last which was banned when Korea was liberated from Japan in 1945.

2. The Actualities of the Poetic Transition

If we exclude the ch'angga composed in effect under the direct influences of Western melodies, Christian hymns, and the Japanese songs from our present study of the transitional poetry on the grounds which I have already set out, about three hundred poetic songs usually called Patriotic Songs and kaehwa kasa, published in a dozen newspapers and journals in the transitional period, form the corpus of texts for the examination of the actualities of the early poetic transition from 1896 to 1907.

Hence, the primary and, in fact, the sole aim of my discussion in this section becomes to clarify the nature and origin of this corpus of transitional poetic songs in relation to the traditional factors, such as the sijo, the kasa, and the narrative folk songs, so as to evaluate it correctly in view of the important and controversial

place which it occupies within the transitional period.

Among the transitional poetic songs, the 26 so-called Patriotic Songs, scanty as they may be in number, have often been overestimated, chiefly because they are the earliest poetic songs produced in the transitional period and because they all advocate high causes and present the slogans of the Enlightenment Period, such as national independence, equality of the sexes, hard work, and so on.

Some scholars, including Song Minho, have a high regard for these Patriotic Songs as being the earliest forerunners of poetic transition. Others, who do not have a high regard for them, usually give them first place in the transition toward modern poetry.

However, when we evaluate these poetic songs as literary works of art and do not view them from a socio-political standpoint, they can hardly escape the criticism that they still remain primitive and very monotonous in rhythm and diction - certainly even more primitive and monotonous than the traditional poetic songs of the Yi dynasty.

One of the two fundamental weaknesses of this transitional poetic form to my mind is its rigidness in syllabic rhythm; it seldom allows even a slight amount of freedom, usually sticking to either a strict 4-4 or a 4-3 syllable rhythm. The other is what we may call a dissociation of sensibility in its content. The 26 Patriotic Songs are, in fact, just one kind of enlightenment propaganda, and all the rest of the transitional poetic songs, dealing with some other kinds of socio-political problems, are basically the same as the Patriotic Songs in nature and form, sharing the same rigid syllabic rhythm with the latter.

Chamkkaebose chamkkaebose
Taechosŏn'guk inmindŭra

Kip'iduncham pöndütkaeyö
Chajudongnip towajusye

Hapsimhago tongnyökhaya
Uriinmin pohohase

Chajudongnip haryangimyön
Inminsarang ch'ötchaeroda

.....

These are the first four stanzas of a Patriotic Song written by Kim Ch'yöryöng, an engineer of the Ministry of Agriculture, Commerce, and Industry, and published on 15 September 1896 in Tongnip sinmun, No. 1-70, of which an English translation is:

Wake up, wake up,
Korean people!

Wake up from sound sleep;
Let us help independence.

Let us be united and co-operative
So as to keep our people.

To achieve independence
The love of people is the first.

.....

Compare this with the following song, Aeguk undong-ga ("A Song of the Patriotic Movement"), anonymous, published in Taehan maeil sinbo, 13 June 1906.

Aseaju yeüibangün
Uridaehan punmyönghada

Ch'öngnyöndüra tongp'odüra
Ich'önmanjung tongp'odüra

Pup'aegisang dabörigo
Hwalbaryonggi naeyöbose

.....

The country of courtesy in Asia
Is certainly our Korea.

Young men, fellow countrymen,
Twenty million fellow countrymen,

Cast away the spirit of decay
And display cheerful courage.

.

There is an example of this rigid syllabic rhythm being adopted earlier in the Korean version of The Pilgrim's Progress by John Bunyan, which was translated into Korean with the title of T'yöllo yökdyöng and published at the Trilingual Press in Seoul by Mr. and Mrs. Jas. S. Gale in 1895, one year before the patriotic songs began to appear in Tongnip sinmun. (This is probably the earliest Korean translation of an English literary work ever published in Korea, if we except the translating of the Bible which had been done earlier.) In this Korean version of The Pilgrim's Progress, which covers only about one-third of Bunyan's original, there appear seven pieces of verse that very roughly match verse passages in the original. One of these is:

Saniya	nopttamanün
Öryöunjul	morügenne

Irigase	irigase
Saengmyöngkiri	yöğüiroda

Oenp'yön'gillo	kanüniya
Myölmanghamül	myönhalsonya

Ch'yönsinman'go	hanyönhue
Mujinbongnok	nuririra

(p. 43b)

"This hill, though high, I covet to ascend,
 The difficulty will not me offend;
 For I perceive the way to life lies here:
 Come, pluck up heart, let's neither faint nor fear;
 Better though difficult, the right way to go,
 Than wrong, though easy, where the end is woe." (1)

Four verse pieces out of seven are translated likewise into a strict 4-4 syllable rhythm, two are put into a strict 3-4 rhythm, and the remaining one is put into a mixed rhythm of 3-4 and 4-4 syllables. One of the two which are translated into a strict 3-4 rhythm is:

Tangjange	ponaniri
Sillohi	isyanghada
Hyökhyökhan	syöngdoap'e
Magwiga	tanghalsonya
Sin'gömül	tasippaeyö
Magwiral	p'aemanghane

(p. 68b)

"A more unequal match can hardly be, -
Christian must fight an Angel; but you see,
 The valiant man by handling Sword and Shield,
 Doth make him, tho' a Dragon, quit the field." (2)

As in the case of Hanyang-ga, the author of which is known only by the name of Hansan kōsa, and which was published in 1844, and in some cases of naebang kasa, a strict 4-4 or 3-4 syllable form apparently existed in the Yi dynasty, but it was rare in recorded literature and does not seem to have established itself as a poetic form before the transitional period.

(1) John Bunyan, The Pilgrim's Progress: In Two Parts, London: Henry G. Bohn, York Street, Covent Garden, 1859, p. 60.

(2) Ibid., p. 90.

How then did this strict 4-4 or 3-4 syllable form come to be exclusively adopted all of a sudden in the transitional poetic songs? Why did all the poetic songs published in newspapers and journals in this period adopt no other than this particular form, if we except a small number of Chinese poems and sijo occasionally published in journals?

This question has never been raised because all scholars of Korean literature virtually take it for granted that this transitional poetic form comes from the sijo or kasa or Christian hymns. I think this is chiefly because they do not make a clear distinction between these forms and the transitional poetic form in question.

As far as I am concerned, the transitional poetic form is not related to any of these forms, as they assume, but directly to the form of the traditional narrative folk songs, which had mainly been handed down orally to the generation which saw a nationwide enlightenment movement in this transitional period.

Above all, I think I must clarify here the subtle but characteristic distinctions in form between the traditional sijo or kasa and the transitional poetic songs, to prove that they are not directly related to each other. Then I will explain the unmistakable identity in form and style between the folk-song form and the transitional poetic form.

As is often the case, if we fall on the convenient formula that 4-4 and 3-4 syllable rhythm were basic in the traditional sijo and kasa, and on the fallacy that these two rhythms continued to be characteristic of the transitional poetic songs, we could easily overlook the distinction in form between the sijo or kasa and the early transitional poetic songs. To grasp this distinction I think we should not only consider the basic rhythms but also look at the very

structure of poetic songs as a whole.

First, I propose to examine the sijo form as closely as possible so that we may acquire some clues to its structure. Even though it is true that the basic rhythms, 4-4 and 3-4, are the most frequent rhythms found in the sijo form, this fact alone can hardly define the sijo form, nor does this basic feature explain at all the irregularities of the sijo rhythms, which actually extend from one to about seven syllable groups even in the standard form of sijo called p'yŏng sijo.

Irregularities in syllable rhythm in the sijo are in fact so prevalent that any effort to characterize or define the sijo form would seem to fail. With its irregular rhythms, the sijo does not seem at all to have a fixed form as, for example, the Shakespearean sonnet form or the Spenserian stanza.

Various theories, or, rather, attempts to define or explain the sijo form, from the 1920s to the present, concentrate on defining it as a fixed poetic form, but these efforts have always failed to explain the irregularities of syllable rhythms found in the sijo form. Hence, it seems to me that unless we reach a satisfactory answer to these irregular syllable rhythms, we can hardly define the sijo form.

The earliest observation of the sijo form made by Yi Pyŏnggi and published in Tonga ilbo in 1926 is no more than a rough outline sketch of varied rhythms of the sijo. Two years later he summarized his early observation of the irregular sijo rhythms in the form of a table. This is an elementary study of the sijo form analyzed into phrases, or letter groups.⁽¹⁾

(1) Cf. Yi Pyŏnggi, "Sijoran muŏsin'ga" ("What is the Sijo?"), Tonga ilbo, 24 & 26 November and 13 December 1926; and "Yulgyŏkkwa sijo" ("Rhythm and the Sijo"), Tonga ilbo, 28 November to 1 December 1928.

Other theories of the sijo form, such as those successively held by Yi Ŭnsang, Yi Kwangsu, and Cho Yunje attempt to draw what they call a standard form of the sijo by a statistical approach, the arithmetic mean of the length of each syllable group being the standard.⁽¹⁾ They all regard the sijo form as consisting of three parts, each having four phrases. The standard forms drawn by these writers differ slightly from one another; the one by Cho is:

	1st Phrase	2nd Phrase	3rd Phrase	4th Phrase
<u>Initial Part:</u>	3	4	4/3	4
<u>Medial Part:</u>	3	4	4/3	4
<u>Final Part:</u>	3	5	4	3

Cho observes that the length of the sijo varies from 41 to 50 syllables with an average of about 45. Assuming that his statistics are correct, we could at once question the validity of his standard form when it is presented to define the actual sijo form, because his form as a whole merely shows no more than an arithmetic mean of the sijo. He has not said that most sijo are written in his standard form, but, as a matter of fact, such a standard form as he has presented has misled many people into believing that it is a standard model of the sijo. My rough estimation is that in actuality only about ten percent of the sijo coincide with this standard form, and

(1) Yi Ŭnsang, "Sijo tanhyŏng ch'uŭi" ("A Review of the Short Form of Sijo"), Tonga ilbo, 18-25 April 1928; Yi Kwangsu, "Sijoŭi chayŏnyul" ("The Natural Rhythms of the Sijo"), Tonga ilbo, 2-5 & 8 November 1928; and Cho Yunje, "Sijo chasu-go" ("A Study of the Letter-groups in the Sijo"), Sinhŭng, vol. No. 4, 5 January 1931, pp. 88-119.

the rest deviate more or less freely from it even in the category of p'yŏng sijo, and I think such freedom of syllabic rhythm is characteristic of the sijo form.

Such a standard form as this, abstractly built by means of a statistical approach, may not be related at all to the reality of the sijo form, which does not seem to have had any such standard form throughout its long history, though I admit that after the turn of the present century, modern sijo writers beginning with Ch'oe Namsŏn apparently have in mind a similar standard form on which their sijo are normally based. However, the so-called standard form of the sijo, representing an arithmetic mean of the sijo form, but non-existent in reality in the Yi dynasty, may only hinder us from seeing the real sijo form.

Some recent theories of the sijo form such as those maintained by Chŏng Pyŏnguk and Yi Nŭngu reject the notion of the basic 4-4 and 3-4 syllable rhythms altogether and claim to approach the old verse forms including the sijo and the kasa from an entirely different point of view.

Chŏng, in his "Introduction to the Metrics of Old Poetic Songs", criticizes the validity of the basic 4-4 and 3-4 syllable rhythms prevalent in the traditional verse forms in the light of his statistical examination of the frequency of varied syllable groups actually occurring in both verse and prose.⁽¹⁾ According to him, 3 syllable groups and 4 syllable groups are prevalent not only in old verse forms but in prose and among the Korean words in dictionaries as

(1) Chŏng Pyŏnguk, "Kosiga ūmunnon sŏsŏl" ("Introduction to the Metrics of Old Poetic Songs"), Kungmunhak san'go (Essays in Korean Literature), Sin-gu munhwa-sa, Seoul, 1959, pp. 110-39.

well. Hence, he claims that these two kinds of syllable group are characteristic not only of old verse but also of the Korean language in general and that we should not, therefore, try to define old verse forms by means of this criterion.

His primary observation of this linguistic feature of the Korean language is probably correct, and more or less similar linguistic features may be found in some other languages also. Chǒng, however, has evidently overlooked a small but very important distinction concerning these syllable groups between old verse and prose. While 3 syllable groups and 4 syllable groups are equally dominant in old verse and prose as Chǒng has observed, the sequential 4-4 and 3-4 syllable groups are not so prevalent in prose as in old verse. This is why we can still claim that these two kinds of syllable rhythm are basic in the traditional verse forms.

Paying no heed to this subtle but very significant distinction, Chǒng proceeds to suggest strongly his own view of the physical forms of old verse, which consequently leads to a rather hasty conclusion that two kinds of dactylic metres - a dactylic trimetre and a dactylic tetrametre - are characteristic of old verse forms, the first of these being older than the second. Chǒng believes without reservation that all traditional verse lines can be defined as either trimetre or tetrametre, each alternating one stressed and two unstressed syllables, beginning with a stressed syllable.

As we all know, stress is not a distinctive feature in the Korean language as it is in English and German. It is not recognized by the Korean speaker as an essential signal in the language system. Thus Korean like French contrasts sharply with English, though the Korean speaker ordinarily has a tendency to stress the first syllable of disyllabic or trisyllabic words.

Besides, Chǒng's observation of old verse lines as consisting of 3-3-3 syllables (dactylic trimetres) or 3-3-3-3 syllables (dactylic tetrametres) is a false generalization which can in effect satisfy only a fraction of old verse lines.

An alternative to the theory of the basic 4-4 and 3-4 syllable rhythms presented by Yi Nǔngu, in his "An Alternative to the Theory of Letter Group, or Syllabic Rhythms", deviates far from the actualities of the linguistic features characteristic of Korean.⁽¹⁾ In order to explain the varied length of verse lines with all kinds of irregular syllable rhythms, he goes through a series of conjectures and reaches a conclusion that a total of eleven metres inherent in old verse forms characterize almost all verse forms. They are 2 x 2 tetrametre, 2 x 2 trimetre, 3 x 2 trimetre, a mixed trimetre of 2 x 2 and 3 x 2, 3 x 3 trimetre, and so on.

Since the length of lines in old verse varies greatly even within one poem, none of these eleven metres he has invented normally fits any poem. So, whenever the actual length of some verse lines in a given poem comes short of the metre he has chosen to explain the verse form, he supplies it with some mute syllables at his own discretion, for, otherwise, he can hardly explain any verse form. This seems to me an expedient which gives no insight into the real structure of old verse forms, not to mention irregular syllable rhythms inherent in them.

Therefore, I would propose to go back and have a close look at the sijo form afresh without any prejudice that may come from the

(1) Yi Nǔngu, "Chasugo (ǔmsuyulbǒp) taean" ("An Alternative to the Theory of Letter-group, or Syllabic Rhythms"), Inmun sahoegwahak (Human and Social Sciences), the Journal of Seoul National University, No. 7, October 1958, pp. 199-242.

various views presented by others.

A major premise of the sijo is that it is not a piece of prose. For convenience, if we confine our examination to p'yŏng sijo, all of them have a control over their length, bound to a limit which usually allows about thirty-eight to forty-eight syllables in a poem of sijo. Again, the sijo consists of three parts, or stanzas, initial, medial, and final, each having a roughly identical length. Each part, or stanza is divided by a primary pause about the centre into two half parts, or stanzas; and each half part, or stanza is further divided by a secondary pause about the centre into two quarter parts, or two phrases. Thus a poem of sijo is always made up of 12 quarter parts, or 12 phrases.

Those who have sufficient learning to decipher the sijo text and an understanding of the structure of the sijo form can easily distinguish these three parts, or stanzas of the sijo even when they are presented in an unbroken line covering these three parts. This is chiefly because the sijo consists of three sense units easily distinguishable from one another. For example, take the following sijo: (To all the sijo I am quoting from now on, Chŏng Pyŏnguk's sijo serial number is given in parentheses, unless specified otherwise.)

My horse neighs to go, but my love holds and
never unhands me.

The evening sun sets over the hill, and I have
a thousand ri to go.

My love, do not try to detain me, but rather hold
the setting sun.

(735)

There are, however, some sijo which do not seem to have three sense units but only two. With the same approach as we applied

before, we can discern no more than two sense units in this sijo:

Butterflies fluttering in the throng of a hundred
flowers in the small garden,

Do not sit on every twig that pleases you with
its fragrance.

In the evening glow, the wicked spider comes to
hang his net.

(1205)

There are other sijo which seem to have only one sense unit,
such as the following:

After drink, the taste of drinking water cooled
in the ice hole,

And the charm of sleep when hugging again my love
who would go back at dawn,

These two pleasures of the world I fear lest
others should know.

(1244)

The first line of the second sijo quoted above does not have a
sense unit as such; the first and the second lines put together
complete a sense unit. Consequently, it may be said that this sijo
consists of only two parts as far as the textual meaning is concerned.
Again, in the case of the last sijo quoted above, the entire sijo is
made up of no more than one sense unit.

Thus, it seems clear that what really matters when we are to
distinguish the three parts of sijo is not only the sense units but
also the proportion in length of each part so that relative weight
of each of the three parts is more or less evenly distributed.

Sometimes, the consideration of proportion of length in a poem
of sijo is so important that it completely overrides any syntactic
consideration in its parts. For example:

Nugonwūi nirŭgirai kounnim ipyōrūi

Nalkwa tari kamyōn nijūra hadōn'gego

Nadari hago kalsarok tōuk syōrwō hanora

(504)

The underlined parts, meaning "the days and months of [i.e. "after"] my fair love's parting", can not normally be separated and put into two sijo parts unless a consideration of something other than the syntax of the sijo is much more important. Yet this is an extreme rarely occurring in the sijo form, and normally the consideration of the length proportion for each part or each quarter part, or each phrase of the sijo allows a certain freedom within limits.

Thus, it seems to me that what Richard Rutt has given as variants which occur in the syllable account in each sijo phrase may be regarded as the extent of freedom in the number of syllables given to each sijo phrase. The table of variants he has given is:

First line	2-5	3-6	2-5	4-6
Middle line	1-5	3-6	2-5	4-6
Last line	3	5-9	4-5	3-4
				(1)

Now, as we know that this kind of variation, or rather the freedom in limits in the number of syllables, never occurs in fixed forms of proper poems except in the sijo form and, to some extent, in the kasa

(1) Richard Rutt, The Bamboo Grove: An Introduction to Sijo, University of California Press, 1971, p. 10. In actuality, however, it seems that the extent of the syllable freedom in the sijo is slightly larger than is shown in this table. For example, an 8 syllable group occurs in the second phrase of the first line in Chōng's No. 378; and the first phrase of the last line of the sijo may have up to 6 syllables as in Chōng's No. 2183.

The Standard Sijo Melody

♩ = 90-40

매다 이 앓다 을 또
쓰라 미 쓰다 우 니
산菜 을 밭 다 는 가
壽 頌 을 쓰 다 는 가
우 리 는 부野 에 문혔 으 니
번고 쓴 글

(1)

As recorded here, this melody consists of six musical phrases, each pair of which contains one of the three sijo parts. Hence, all three sijo parts are admitted to this melody, except that the last few syllables are left out of the musical notation because the last phrase is not usually chanted.

Each of the six musical phrases contains a half part, or a half line, of a poem of sijo. While each of the first, the third, and the fifth musical phrases is further divided into two semi-phrases, both the second and the fourth musical phrases are divided into two semi-phrases plus an additional semi-phrase. This additional

(1) This musical notation of Chang Saun's appears in the appendix to Sijo kaeron (Introduction to the Sijo) by Yi T'aegŭk, Saegŭl-sa, Seoul, 1961, p. 450; and Richard Rutt's musical notation appears in his introduction to the sijo given in the previous footnote.

semi-phrase, coming at the end of the second and the fourth musical phrases, falls at the close of the initial and the medial sijo parts. So, the last few syllables of these two parts are prolonged and followed by a pause in the musical notation. The sixth musical phrase, instead of having an additional semi-phrase, possesses a double pause at its end, showing the distinctive close of the entire sijo.

Thus, the musical notation of this sijo melody provides us with some clues to the fundamental structure of the sijo text that we could hardly visualize with the sijo text alone. From the sijo melody, it seems clear that it does not necessarily demand a fixed number of syllables for each of its musical phrases, but always allows room for a few more or a few less syllables. In other words, the musical notation of this sijo melody does not prescribe an exact number of syllables fixed for each of its musical phrases but allows the writer of sijo text to have a degree of freedom in terms of the number of syllables for each of the twelve sijo phrases. The extent of syllable freedom varies from phrase to phrase, in accordance with the bars or the beats within a musical phrase. For example, the very first semi-phrase of the sijo melody allows less freedom for syllables than the second semi-phrase, which is apparent even to the eye of those who have no special training in music.

The sijo writers of the Yi dynasty must have known these features of the sijo melody which allowed them to increase or decrease, within limits, the number of syllables in each semi-phrase in the sijo melody, whenever they felt the necessity to do so. In this sense, I would regard the sijo more as song words than as a fixed form of proper poetry.

The traditional kasa form has also not been clearly defined, nor has it been established whether or not it was associated with any

melody in the Yi dynasty. In the structure of the kasa, however, we notice some basic features that are suggestive of a relationship between the kasa and the sijo.

The basic syllable rhythm of a kasa line is 3-4-3-4, but 3 may frequently be replaced by 4 when one more syllable is necessary. Yet, 4 is not normally replaced by 3. The extent of syllable freedom is 2-6, but the syllable counts other than 3 and 4 only rarely occur in kasa lines. Thus, a usual kasa line is very similar either to the first sijo line or to the second sijo line when these sijo lines conform to the so-called basic standard syllable count, i.e. 3-4-4 (or 3)-4.⁽¹⁾

Ch'ugangŭi paeralt'ago wiruŭi honjaanja
 3 4 3 4

(from Kisŏng pyŏlgok by Paek Kwanghun)

Ch'ŏngch'une pyŏngidŭrŏ kongsane nuŏttŏni
 3 4 3 4

(from Kaeam-ga by Cho Sŏngsin)

Kwansŏ myŏngsŭngjie wangmyŏngŭro ponaesilsae
 2 4 4 4

(from Kwansŏ pyŏlgok by Paek Kwanghun)

Kwandong p'albaegnie pangmyŏnŭl mattisini
 3 4 3 4

(from Kwandong pyŏlgok by Chŏng Ch'ŏl)

Yangjanan ihwailchie talpich'i chŏllohŭllo
 3 5 3 4

(from Miin pyŏlgok by Yang Saŏn)

(1) Cf. Richard Rutt (1971), p. 10.

Secondly, the content and style of kasa lines are similar to those of sijo lines. Thus, individual kasa lines cannot be distinguished from individual sijo lines when they are put together. The following is a mixed group of some sijo and kasa lines:

- (1) Tari habalgŭni samgyŏngi nasiroda
The moon is so bright that midnight is like daylight.
- (2) Nado chamŭlkkayŏ padahal kubŏboni
When I awake also and look down to the sea,
- (3) Paengnyŏnhwa han'gajiral nwirasyŏ ponaesin'go
Who has sent me a white lotus blossom?
- (4) Maehwanŭn pan'gaehago chugyŏbŭn p'urŭrŏtta
Plum blossoms are half open, and bamboo leaves are green.
- (5) Sulmŏkji majahago chunghan maengse-hayŏttŏni
Though I have taken a solemn oath not to drink,
- (6) Musimhan syewŏrŭn murhŭradat hanan'goya
The heartless time flows like a stream.
- (7) Kangt'yŏnŭi honjasyŏsyŏ tinanhaeral kubŏboni
As I stand alone by the river and look at the setting sun,
- (8) Namp'ungi kŏndutburŏ nogŭmŭl het'yŏnaeni
When the south wind blows suddenly and scatters the green,

The first, the fourth, and the fifth are the sijo lines quoted from Chǒng Pyǒnguk's serial Nos. 601, 1822 and 1247, respectively. The second and the third lines are from Chǒng Ch'ǒl's Kwandong pyǒlgok (lines 144 and 123). The sixth comes from Chǒng Ch'ǒl's Samiin-gok. The seventh is from Chǒng Ch'ǒl's Sogmiin-gok. The last is from Chǒng Ch'ǒl's Sǒngsan pyǒlgok.

. As far as individual lines are concerned, between the sijo and the kasa, the style and content and the structure are so similar that even those who are well versed in both forms can hardly tell the difference between them.

It is true that the sijo usually depicts a small, concise poetic idea and expresses it in no more than three lines, equivalent to three kasa lines, whereas the kasa chooses a theme much wider than does the sijo, and describes it in any number of lines from about a dozen to more than two hundred. It is therefore to be inferred that generally the content of a sijo line must somehow be compact, while that of a kasa line is comparatively loose. This difference, however, can hardly be discerned when individual lines are taken out of their context.

Thirdly, the final concluding line of many kasa is structurally identical with the last line of the sijo form. It seems that this similarity has also been known to some scholars, though they have not investigated the relationship between the two forms on the basis of this similarity. As we know, the last sijo line has a characteristic feature that is shared by neither the first nor the middle sijo line, i.e. the largest amount of syllable freedom among all sijo phrases is given to its second quarter line by the tenth semi-phrase of the sijo melody. Thus, this particular semi-phrase alone mainly and frequently admits four to seven syllables, and even nine syllables are

possible.⁽¹⁾ Roughly speaking, this tenth semi-phrase alone allows nearly twice as many syllables as any other semi-phrase in the sijo melody.

Interestingly enough, the last line of many kasa has this feature of multiple syllables in its second quarter line. Notice the concluding lines of several kasa out of many that have this feature:

- (1) Myōngwōri ch'yōnsanmallagūi anibich'oendae ōpta
 The bright moon shines on every one of a thousand mountains and ten thousand villages.
 (Kwandong pyōlgok)
- (2) Nimiya narinjulmorasyōdo naenimjoch'aryō hanora
 My love will not recognize me, but I will follow her.
 (Samiin-gok)
- (3) Kaksinim tariyak'aniwa kujanbina toesyosyō
 Fair lady, transform yourself into the bad rain,
 not into the moon.
 (Sogmiin-gok)
- (4) Sonisyō chyuindaryōnirodae kūdaekūin'ga hanora
 The guest said to the host, "Are you that?"
 (Sōngsan pyōlgok)
- (5) Amot'a paegnyōnhaengrag imanhandal ōtjihari
 At any rate, the enjoyment of pleasure for life
 like this is not bad.
 (Sangch'un-gok)

(1) Ibid., p. 10.

(6) Amona inaettütalligosisimyŏn pægsegyoyu
mansesanggamharira

Whosoever knows my intention may enjoy friendship
for a hundred years, and sympathy forever.

(Manbun-ga)

These closing lines of the kasa are so similar to the last line of the sijo that we cannot tell the difference between them.

Apart from the difference in the length of poem and in the amount of syllable freedom in each quarter line, these two poetic forms are similar to such a considerable extent that I would estimate that the two are somehow related to each other - perhaps the sijo as a short form, and the kasa as a long form of the traditional poetic songs of the Yi dynasty.

In parallel with the traditional recorded poetry of the Yi dynasty, which is represented by the sijo and the kasa, an abundance of oral poetry was produced in the Yi dynasty and chanted by the common folk, who handed it down to us. In this traditional oral poetry, the narrative folk songs in particular have some distinctive features of their own, just as the Scottish border ballads have in their structure and style. The strict syllable count, the impersonal character of style, and all kinds of repetition characteristic of oral tradition - emphatic, emotional, and, especially, incremental - parallelism in sound, syntax, and syllabic rhythm, with few run-on lines, all of which aids the singer of the narrative folk songs in moving from one line to another.

The basic and, in fact, the invariable syllable pattern of the traditional narrative folk songs is a uniform rhythm, which rigidly adheres to a strict 4-4 syllable count with only a very small percentage

of 3 syllable phrases instead of 4 occurring where such variations are inevitable for some reason. Another distinctive feature of the Korean narrative folk songs is their stanzaic form of couplet. It is clearly discernible even when narrative folk songs are printed in successive lines showing no marks of stanzaic divisions. It was only well into the present century that some collectors of traditional folk songs, including Im Tonggwŏn, recorded and published more than a thousand folk songs.⁽¹⁾ The following is the first part of some folk songs among a thousand collected by Im:

- (1) Taratara palgŭndara
 Yit'aebaegi nodŏndara
- Chŏdarimjae nuguirŋgo
 Pangibanga tarillera
- Pangibanga ŏdegago
 Chŏdalttŏnjul chimorŭno

.....

(Ch'ŏb-yo, No. 1)

Moon, moon, bright moon,
 Which Yi T'aebaek played with.

Who is the owner of that moon?
 The moon may be the miller's.

Where has the miller gone
 Not knowing that the moon has risen?

.....

("Song of a Concubine", No. 1)

(1) Han'guk minyo-jip (Korean Folk Songs), ed. Im Tonggwŏn, Tongguk munhwa-sa, Seoul, 1961.

(2) Norũldugo kagin'gana
aldunsaẽui nõksiroda

Kandahandũl ajogamyõ
Ajogandũl ijũlsonya

.....

(Ibyõl-yo, No. 4)

I leave you and go away
But my mind is like a bird's that has
left her eggs behind.

Even if I go, I do not go for good;
Even if I go for good, I shall never forget you.

.....

("A Song of Farewell", No. 4)

(3) Uldodamdo õmnũnjibe
Sijipsamnyõn salgoboni

Siõmõni hasinmalssũm
Yaeyaaga myõnũraga

Chinjuyangban pollyagõdũn
Chinjunamgang ppallaegara

.....

(Namp'yõn-yo, No. 4)

In a house with no hedge nor wall,
When I lived for three years of married life,

My mother-in-law said to me,
"My dear daughter-in-law,

If you want to see your husband,
Go to Chinju River to wash clothes."

("A Song of a Husband", No. 4)

As these lines quoted above clearly show, the traditional narrative folk songs are in strict 4-4 syllable lines having all features characteristic of oral tradition. Every two lines, or a couplet, usually build a sense unit, and there are a few run-on lines

in these folk songs.

On the other hand, the 26 Patriotic Songs published in Tongnip sinmun and all the rest of the transitional poetic songs published in newspapers and journals during the period 1896-1910, the number of which amounts to about three hundred, have clear structural and stylistic features that we have seen, not in the sijo or the kasa, but in the form of traditional narrative folk songs of the Yi dynasty. The first few couplets of some of the early transitional poetic songs, each drawn from a different newspaper or journal, are given below:

(1)	Pongch'yukhase Agukt'aep'yǒng	pongch'yukhase pongch'yukhase
	Chǔlgǒptoda Tongnipchajyu	chǔlgǒptoda chǔlgǒptoda
	Kkotp'wiyǒra Urimyǒngsan	kkotp'wiyǒra kkotp'wiyǒra
	Hyanggiropta Urigukka	hyanggiropta hyanggiropta
	Yǒlmaeyǒlla Pugukkangbyǒng	yǒlmaeyǒlla yǒlmaeyǒlla

.....

Let us celebrate, let us celebrate;
The peace of our country, let us celebrate.

It is joyful, it is joyful;
Independence and autonomy, it is joyful.

Make flowers bloom, make flowers bloom;
In our noted mountains, make flowers bloom.

It is fragrant, it is fragrant;
Our country is fragrant.

Bear fruit, bear fruit;
A rich country with strong army, bear fruit.

.....

(A patriotic song by Tyǒn Kyǒngt'aek, Chemulp'o,
Inch'ǒn, published in Tongnip sinmun,
19 May 1896.)

- (2) Yöbosio Tongp'onimne
 Inaemalssam tūröboo
- Ch'yurösesang ilp'yöngsaenge
 Högogalil muösio
- Hyodyech'ungsin künbonio
 Sanonggongsang saöbilssye
- Uriinsaeng kkumgat'üni
 Hösongsyewöl ötjihalkka

.....

Hallo, my countrymen,
 Listen to these words of mine.

In our life after we were born into this world,
 What are the things we should do before we die?

Filial piety and loyalty are the base;
 Education, agriculture, industry, and commerce
 are our task.

Our life is like a dream;
 We must not spend time for nothing.

.....

(A poetic song by Pak Saenggün,
 published in Cheguk sinmun,
 15 April 1903.)

- (3) Ohwauri hakttodöra
 Kaegyogarül Pullöbosye
- Hwangsangp'eha söngdögüro
 Urihakkyo ch'angsörhani
- Taehan'gwangmu simnyönio
 Pyöngosamwöl mangirira
- Chaksönginjae hasirago
 Kyöngbijigup hasidoda

.....

Oh, my fellow students,
 Let us sing the song of opening our school.

Due to the holy virtue of His Majesty,
 Our school is established.

It is the 10th year of Kwangmu in Korea,
The 3rd month of Pyōngo, a full-moon day.

To grow men of talent,
He has granted the expenses.

.....

(Kaegyo-ga , a song of school opening,
by Ch'oe Pyōnghŭi, published in Hwangsoᅅng
simnun , 24 April 1906.)

(4)	Yōnghwaroda	yōnghwaroda
	Inaejugōm	yōnghwaroda
	Hŭkkach'i	ssōgŭnmaldo
	Chugŭnhue	gumōnilsse
	Kunsagillō	chōnjaengbodōm
	Chisajugōm	yuryōkhaoe
	Chisayōlman	chaljugŭmyōn
	Irhŭngukkwōn	toech'annūnda

.....

It is glorious, it is glorious;
This death of mine is glorious.

Even the words decayed like soil
Become a golden saying after death.

More effective than the war of soldiers
Is the death of a patriot.

If ten patriots die heroically,
It may restore the lost sovereignty.

.....

(Saengyok sayong-ga , A song of the shame
of life and the glory after death, anonymous,
published in Taehan kurak, vol. 1, No. 2,
25 July 1907.)

As is evident in the lines quoted above, the transitional poetic songs including the Patriotic Songs are not only structurally, but also stylistically, the same as the traditional narrative folk songs, which belonged for a long time to the oral literature of the Yi dynasty.

The only difference that we can see in the prevalent expressions of these transitional poetic songs is what we may term in short the enlightenment spirit of the time.

Apart from this change in content, they are in general an extension of the Yi dynasty narrative folk songs and not of the traditional poetic songs such as the sijo or the kasa. What happened to the transitional poetry is that, while the traditional poetic songs of the Yi dynasty were receding, the rigid form of the traditional narrative folk songs, which had originally belonged to the common folk, became a predominant poetic medium, through which the people expressed their enlightenment spirit. There were at that time a dozen newspapers and journals which published these poetic songs for the same purpose of advocating the enlightenment spirit.

Thus, from then on the traditional narrative folk songs lost their oral character and became a fixed poetic form, which flourished throughout the transitional period. As a result, the long form of kasa began to decline from about the beginning of the transitional period, and the short form of sijo was temporarily abandoned, except that a few sijo which had previously been written in the Yi dynasty were published again in some journals such as Yaroe in 1907, until the sijo saw a revival in a modern, fixed form in the 1920s.

Therefore, in the history of modern Korean poetry, a good part of this transitional period ought to be graded as a murky, if not a dark, age, because in this period the main current of the traditional poetry, which had long been flowing down through the Yi dynasty was diverted, and the narrative folk songs could assert themselves, taking advantage of the printing in popular newspapers and journals, and catering to the socio-political trends of the time.

Oral poetry has, of course, some essential features of being

proper poetry, but it is destined for an appeal to the ear. It is primarily an oral phenomenon: its style is largely explained by the necessities of oral transmission. When oral poetry dominates and almost monopolizes the reading public, as it did in the first important transitional era toward modern poetry in Korea, traditional poetry has to suffer. It has to suffer, for instance, from the dissociation of sensibility. The poet ceases to express himself subjectively in his works. The feeling expressed in oral poetry is a community feeling, and the way in which this feeling is expressed is a stifling formula such as we usually come across in the transitional poetic songs.

Taejyosyön'guk	könyangwönnyön
Chajudongnip	kipphasye
T'yöndigane	saramdoeya
Chinch'yungboguk	tyeirini
Nimgunkküi	ch'ungsyönghago
Chöngburül	pohohase
Inmindürül	saranghago
Naragürül	nop'idalse

.....

In the first year of Könyang in Korea,
Let us be joyful of self-supporting independence.

To us men between heaven and earth,
Loyalty and patriotism are the best.

Let us be loyal to our King
And protect our government.

Let us love the people
And hoist aloft the national flag.

.....

("The Words by Ch'oe Tonsöng in Syunch'yönggol,
Seoul", published in Tongnip sinmun,
11 April 1896.)

In comparison with the traditional sijo or kasa, the transitional poetic songs such as the one quoted above are very much inferior in quality. The rigid 4-4 syllable rhythm much restricts free choice of diction, and the frequent use of parallelism in sound and syntax and the various kinds of repetition inherent in oral poetry induce a sort of paralysis of diction and thought in the content of these poetic songs.

Thus, seen from a purely artistic standpoint, these poetic songs produced in the transitional period are on the whole a degradation from the traditional poetic songs of the Yi dynasty, and the spirit of enlightenment newly introduced into the content of these poetic songs is largely irrelevant to the really significant change which started from about 1908.

Chapter II

The Turning Point

1. Ch'oe Namsŏn's Early Experiment with Poetic Forms

In 1907 in Japan a seventeen-year-old Korean student named Ch'oe Namsŏn (1890-1957) began experimenting with a series of poetic forms formerly unknown in Korean poetry. Seven of the dozen poems he produced were published the following year in Taehan hakhoe wŏlbo, the monthly journal of the Korean Academic Society, issued in Tokyo. The remaining five poems together with one of the seven mentioned above were published one year later in Seoul in Sonyŏn, a monthly magazine that Ch'oe himself edited.

In Sonyŏn Ch'oe recollects the time when he first "happened to record what he had been thinking" in verse:

I am not by nature a poet. However, the situation of the times and my circumstances continually tried to make me one, contrary to my wishes; and at first I very firmly and fiercely resisted and refused, but at last I was overcome by them. Thus, three months before the Chŏngmi Treaty (1) was concluded, I took up a pen and happened to record what I had been thinking. With this start I produced a dozen pieces in three or four months. This was at once the beginning of my writing poems and the start of testing the forms of New Poems in Korean(2)

Ch'oe had been to Japan twice, though for a short period, before he wrote for Sonyŏn, and what he recollects in the passage quoted above is related to his second visit to that country about 1907. However, what "the situation of the times and my circumstances" exactly meant to him at that time is not easily postulated in terms of his poetic

(1) The Chŏngmi Treaty was concluded between Korea and Japan in June 1907.

(2) Cf. Sonyŏn, 2nd year, vol. No. 4, p. 3.

concern or experience, nor is the reason why he "very firmly and fiercely resisted and refused" the pressures to become a poet. We can only deduce that "the situation of the times" implies the national misfortune which was taking shape for some years before the Japanese annexation of Korea in 1910, because after a short period of enlightenment, Japanese dominance over Korea increased year by year.

It may also imply a sense of Japanese cultural superiority which he witnessed while staying there. For example, he may have been thinking of the Japanese early modern poetry, or the New-style Poems, that had been flourishing since 1882 when Shintaishishō, the first collection of the New-style Poems, was published by three faculty members of Tokyo University.⁽³⁾

On the other hand, "my circumstances" may have the meaning of his failure or the loss of opportunities for remaining a regular student at a Tokyo middle school at the time of his first visit in 1904 and then at Waseda University at the time of his second visit in 1906. Both opportunities to be a regular student, it is said, lasted only a matter of months due to unexpected mishaps. But then, why did he "resist and refuse" writing poems so fiercely? Perhaps he thought he had no talent for poetry as he says, but a far more convincing reason apparent from his lifelong wishes and activities is that he had ambitions other than merely being absorbed in the debilitating inactivity of writing poetry. He wanted to establish himself as a steersman and messiah of the Korean people. His early eagerness to study Korean history and geography chiefly on his own, his further desire to acquaint himself with the cultures of foreign countries, and

(1) Cf. Sodoyama Masaichi et al., Shintaishishō (Collected New-Style Poems), Maruzen, Tokyo, 1882.

his subsequent efforts to discover and interpret for himself the inherent values of Korea and her people in a worldwide perspective, as is demonstrated in his abundant prose works, are themselves good evidence that supports this assumption.⁽¹⁾

When he eventually began to write his early poems, he was as much an advocate of principles as an explorer of new poetic forms. The main ideology repeatedly expressed in his early poems is the attainment of "liberty". His early poems published in Taehan hakhoe wŏlbo and Sonyŏn include the following lines:

Even if I lose pleasure and splendour, my body and life,
 I will preserve my liberty, and it shall come to me.
 When one possesses all but liberty, all but liberty,
 One will have nothing in the world, and it will become dark.
 For all the splendour observable from above
 I will not trade my liberty.
 Only where the warmth of liberty dwells, life may live;
 The sun rises, the stars rise and the goal is reached.
 If this liberty ceases to attend and not be seen,
 The curtain of fear and the mantle of cares wrap me over,
 The wicked devil with thorny hands pushes me on my back
 And imprisons me into cares, cut off from my joy,
 Driving me from the cosy inside to the weary outside.

from "I Am Not Aware",
Taehan hakhoe wŏlbo, vol. 1, p. 53

(1) For Ch'oe Namsŏn's life and activities, cf. Hong Ilsik, Yuktang Yŏn'gu (A Study of Yuktang), Ilsin-sa, Seoul, 1958.

Liberty! O, Liberty!
 Our nurture.
 Nations
 That would gladly die
 For Liberty
 And do not shun hardships
 Will prosper;
 Their people will thrive
 And will be blessed by Her
 For long.
 Liberty! O, Liberty!
 You nurture my body
 And enliven my spirit also!

from "To the Goddess of Liberty",
Taehan hakhoe wŏlbo, vol. 2, p. 46.

Day and night it flows
 With no rest even for an hour
 Till it reaches the boundless sea;
 It flows unaware of weariness.
 Though they have blocked
 Its midway with gravel
 To obstruct and stagnate its flow,
 It never loses its liberty at all,
 For it either pushes its way through the gravel,
 Or soaks into the sand,
 Or is evaporated by the sun,

.....

Their efforts to block it end in vain:
 With the liberty of flowing unhurt
 It flows with liberty to its destination,
 Day and night, with no rest.

from "A Stream Obstructed",
Taehan hakhoe wŏlbo, vol. 2, p. 56.

Flying and leaping with liberty from their places
 Are due to the sublime force from the good deeds of the righteous.
 To that deep and spacious lake
 And to that wide and extensive sky
 Let us resort and leap with them with liberty as we please.

from the last of the three old pieces,
 untitled and published in Sonyŏn, 2nd year,
 vol. 4, p. 4.

Two of Ch'oe's early poems which appear in Taehan hakhoe wŏlbo, Kŭŭi son ("Her Hand") and Nanŭn kao ("I Am Leaving"), were composed on particular occasions. The former is in praise of a lady's hand which has produced a very fine calligraphy and the latter is his own farewell song. Hence we may notice that these two poems are different in character from the rest of his early poems. In his other early poems, we often come across lines expressing the virtues of justice, fairness, or bravery, as, for instance, in the first two of the three untitled early poems published in Sonyŏn (2nd year, vol. 4) or in Saeng-gakhan taero ("What I Think") in Taehan hakhoe wŏlbo (vol. 2), or lines criticizing the abuses of power, knowledge or wealth, such as in Uri Nim ("Our Man") in Sonyŏn (2nd year, vol. 7).

Yet what is more important than the content of his early poems is the experiment with several poetic forms that he conducted in these poems. He made a deliberate effort to cast off the yoke of traditional poetic forms and make New Poems in forms unknown to Korean poetry before that time. As we have seen in the preceding chapter, there had never been any such attempt to do anything with the forms of Korean poetry before Ch'oe Namsŏn. The variety of his new poetic forms and his daring intent to apply these forms to each of a series of his early poems is quite surprising. His early poems were his first poetic experiments, but some of his new poetic forms look quite modern compared with the conventional forms.

Tentatively, we may classify the new poetic forms that Ch'oe used in his eleven early poems into two groups. The first is comprised of the seven poems consisting of consecutive lines, and the second includes the remaining four poems which have stanzaic features. Each of the seven poems belonging to the first group has a syllabic

rhythm of line differing from one another as follows:

Serial No.	Title	Source	Syllabic Rhythm
1	<u>Morŭne nanŭn</u> ("I Am Not Aware")	<u>Taehan hakhoe</u> <u>wŏlbo</u> , vol. 1	5-5-5
2	<u>Tyayuŭi sinege</u> ("To the Goddess of Liberty")	<u>Taehan hakhoe</u> <u>wŏlbo</u> , vol. 2	5
3	<u>Magŭn mul</u> ("A Stream Obstructed")	<u>Taehan hakhoe</u> <u>wŏlbo</u> , vol. 2	3-3-4
4	<u>Saenggakhan taero</u> ("What I Think")	<u>Taehan hakhoe</u> <u>wŏlbo</u> , vol. 2	4-3
5	<u>Kŭŭi son</u> ("Her Hand")	<u>Taehan hakhoe</u> <u>wŏlbo</u> , vol. 3	4-3-5
6	Untitled , No. 2	<u>Sonyŏn</u> , 2nd yr., vol. 4	5-4-3 & 4-3
7	Untitled , No. 3	<u>Sonyŏn</u> , 2nd yr., vol. 4	3-4-4 & 4-3

All four poems belonging to the second group differ from one another in stanzaic form, as follows:

Serial No.	Title	Source	Stanzaic Features
8	<u>Nanŭn kao</u> ("I Am Leaving")	<u>Taehan hakhoe</u> <u>wŏlbo</u> , vol. 3	3 quintains, each stanza consisting of 4/ 3-4/ 4-4/ 3-4/ 4-4
9	Untitled , No. 1	<u>Sonyŏn</u> , 2nd yr., vol. 4	3 septets, each stanza consisting of 3-4-5/ 3-4/ 3-5/ 4-4/ 3-5/ 3-3-4/ 3-4-4

10	<u>Uri nim</u> ("Our Man")	<u>Sonyŏn</u> , 2nd yr., vol. 7	6 sextains, each stanza consisting of 4-3 syllabic lines
11	<u>Ananya nega</u> ("Are You Aware?")	<u>Sonyŏn</u> , 2nd yr., vol. 7	4 triplets, each stanza consisting of 4-4-3/ 4-4-3/ 3-2

The two lists that I have presented above merely sketch the frameworks with which Ch'oe built these eleven poems. However, when we examine the various forms of these poems one by one and then compare them with the forms that he subsequently adopted in the poems he wrote for Sonyŏn for three years beginning in 1908, we discover a gradational progress or improvement, which started with his early poems listed above, and ran through his subsequent works until he went too far in his prose poems and then retreated to the sijo, where he mainly stayed for the rest of his life.

Even in his very early poems there are definite indications that he was trying to get away from conventional rhythms which still persisted in Korean poetry. There are in his early poems at least four types of initial change or struggle to get away from traditional poetic forms and reach modern poetry. The first type is a very slight modification of a conventional syllabic rhythm by adapting it to a fixed 3-3-4 or retaining a 4-3 rhythm as in the cases of Serial Nos. 3, 4 and 10. The second type brought to his early poems a 5-syllable unit, which is quite unusual in the early transitional poetry as well as in Old Poetry. This type includes Serial Nos. 1 and 2. In the third type he combined a 3-4 or 4-3 syllable rhythm with a 5 syllable rhythm as in the case of Serial No. 5. Finally, in the fourth type he freely chose among diverse stanzaic forms, and

mixed varied syllabic units as in Serial Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9 and 11.

Immediately following these eleven early poems, Ch'oe Namsŏn wrote nearly a hundred poems and songs which are scattered through all 22 volumes of the Sonyŏn magazine published from November 1908 to May 1911. Half of these poems are in the form of sijo, to which he became increasingly attached toward the end of this period, and one poem is written in pure Chinese. The remaining 46 poems and songs are either one of the four types mentioned above or in the form of free verse, or some might object, in no form or prose poems. Some of his later prose poems are hardly distinguishable from prose essays.⁽¹⁾

It is interesting for us to notice in one poet working in a period of poetic transition such a vast degree of gradual progress from traditional poetic forms, through a series of new forms, to free verse and prose poems.

The best way to demonstrate this is to arrange all his subsequent poems and songs in chronological order, and explain his poetic progress, which was not necessarily a stage by stage development, but rather a gradual improvement with temporary and final declines. This can hardly be grasped unless we look into the entire range of his subsequent works, which we may call his middle poetry. The following is a list of his 46 middle poems and songs published in Sonyŏn. The six earlier poems written in 1907, but later published in this magazine are, of course, excluded from this

(1) Since many of the poems which appear in Sonyŏn do not carry their author's name or pen name, some scholars seem to have doubts that some of these poems may not be Ch'oe's original works but either contributions from others or translations of foreign poems. However, we can entirely discard this suspicion because Ch'oe has always given the source in such cases. There are several such cases in Sonyŏn. From our present examination of Ch'oe's poetry, I have, of course, excluded some Western poems translated into Korean. As for the poetic contribution from others, they are discussed towards the end of this chapter.

list. Songs may also be excluded from this list, but I retain them in the list for their physical forms cast light on Ch'oe's poetic forms in general.

(An asterisk before Serial numbers means a song, not a poem. The four types in the right hand column are as already described above, but will be further explained below.)

Serial No.	Title	Year & Volume	Date	Type
1	<u>Haeegesŏ sonyŏnege</u> ("From the Sea, to the Boys")	1, 1	Nov. 1908	4
2	<u>Hŭkkujaŭi norae</u> ("The Song of the Black")	"	"	1
3	<u>Kaŭl ttŭt</u> ("The Meaning of Autumn")	"	"	3
4	<u>Sŏngjin</u> ("The Stars")	"	"	3
5	<u>Uriŭi undongjang</u> ("Our Playground")	1, 2	Dec. 1908	3/4 ⁽¹⁾
6	<u>Sonyŏn taehan</u> ("Boys' Korea")	"	"	3
7	<u>Ch'ŏnman'gil kiphŭn pada</u> ("The Fathomless Sea")	"	"	1
8	<u>Uri undongjang</u> ("Our Playground")	"	"	3/4 ⁽²⁾
9	<u>Pŏl</u> ("Bees")	"	"	3
*10	<u>Kyŏngbu ch'ŏlto-ga ilchŏl</u> ("The First Stanza of the Seoul-Pusan Railway Song")	"	"	3
*11	<u>Hanyang-ga ilchŏl</u> ("The First Stanza of the Song of Seoul")	"	"	3

(1) & (2) These two poems are virtually the same except for a few characters spelt differently from each other. These two poems and a forthcoming poem, Serial No. 16, fall between Type No. 3 and Type No. 4, whereas the poem Serial No. 15 falls between Type No. 1 and Type No. 2.

12	<u>Sin daehan sonyŏn</u> ("The New Korean Boys")	2, 1	Jan. 1909	4
13	<u>Pabpŏre</u> ("Idlers")	"	"	
14	<u>Kkottugo</u> ("On Flowers")	2, 5	May 1909	4
15	<u>Sammyŏn hwanhaeguk</u> ("The Sea-girt Land")	2, 8	Sept. 1909	1/2
16	<u>Taehan sonyŏn haeng</u> ("The March of the Korean Boys")	2, 9	Oct. 1909	3/4
*17	<u>Tan'gun-jŏl</u> ("Tan'gun's Day")	2, 10	Nov. 1909	3
18	<u>Hŭkkujaŭi norae, II</u> ("The Song of the Black, II")	"	"	1
19	<u>Kanan pae</u> ("A Boat in Motion")	"	"	3
20	<u>Pada wiŭi yong-sonyŏn</u> ("The Brave Boys on the Sea")	"	"	3
21	<u>T'aebaek pŏm</u> ("The Tiger of T'aebaek")	"	"	3
22	<u>P'yŏngyang-haeng chungŭi si</u> ("A Poem Composed during a Journey to P'yŏngyang")	"	"	Free verse
23	<u>Abŭraham rink'ŏn</u> ("Abraham Lincoln")	3, 1	Jan. 1910	3
24	<u>T'aebaek-san-ga kŭ-il</u> ("The Song of T'aebaek Mountain, I")	3, 2	Feb. 1910	3
25	<u>T'aebaek-san-ga ku-i</u> ("The Song of T'aebaek Mountain, II")	"	"	3
26	<u>T'aebaek-san-bu</u> ("Ode to T'aebaek Mountain")	"	"	Free verse
27	<u>T'aebaek-sanŭi sasi</u> ("The Four Seasons on T'aebaek Mountain")	"	"	Free verse
28	<u>T'aebaek-sangwa uri</u> ("T'aebaek Mountain and Us")	"	"	3

29	<u>Ttügöun p'i</u> ("The Hot Blood")	3, 3	Mar. 1910	Free verse
30	<u>Nararül ttönan sülp'üm</u> ("Sadness Away from Home")	3, 4	Apr. 1910	Prose poem
31	<u>T'aebaeküi nimül ipyölham</u> ("Parting from My Beloved T'aebaek")	"	"	Prose poem
32	<u>Hwasinül ch'ingsong- hanorago</u> ("To Praise the Goddess of Flowers")	3, 5	May 1910	Prose poem
*33	<u>Tülgukyöng</u> ("Going to the Field")	"	"	3
34	<u>Kkökkin sonamu</u> ("A Pine Tree Broken")	3, 6	June 1910	Prose ⁽¹⁾ poem
*35	<u>Sonyönüi nyörüm</u> ("The Boys' Summer")	"	"	3
*36	<u>Nyörümüi chayön</u> ("Nature in Summer")	3, 7	July 1910	3
37	<u>Nyörüm kurüm</u> ("Summer Clouds")	"	"	Prose ⁽²⁾ poem
38	<u>Ch'önjudangüi ch'üngch'üngdae</u> ("The Staircase of a Church")	3, 8	Aug. 1910	Prose ⁽³⁾ poem
*39	<u>Chosangül wihae</u> ("For Our Ancestors")	"	"	3
40	<u>Talmun-dam</u> ("Talmun Lake")	3, 9	Oct. 1910	3
41	<u>Tolstoi sönsaengül kokham</u> ("I Mourn for Tolstoy")	"	"	3
42	<u>K'ürisūmasū</u> ("Christmas")	"	"	3
43	Untitled , No. 1	4, 2	May 1911	3
44	Untitled , No. 2	"	"	3

(1),(2) & (3) These three poems are in fact "prose essays", even though they are so labelled by the author, which are explained and examined later in this chapter.

45	Untitled , No. 3	4, 2	May 1911	3
46	Untitled , No. 4	"	"	3

In the above list, which I have drawn from Ch'oe's middle poetry, there appear six types of poetic forms starting from Type No. 1, which is little more than a conventional form, through Type Nos. 2, 3 and 4, which brought to Korean poetry in transition a series of new syllabic units or stanzaic forms for the first time, to free verse and prose poems, which may otherwise be called Type Nos. 5 and 6, respectively.

The first impression may be that these six types of form are merely scattered about in the list in disorder. For example, Type No. 3 occurs throughout the list. However, there is some progress in form from a conventional poetic form to modern free verse and prose poems, in that, as we can see, Type No. 1 occurs only in four poems in the first thirteen months and that free verse begins to appear from the end of the second year of Sonyŏn, which is overtaken by prose poems from April of the following year.

Among the six types, Type No. 3 is prevalent. As defined already, this type is made up of lines usually having a 4-4-5 or a 4-3-5 (3-4-5) pattern, which must be related to the Japanese traditional 7-5 syllable rhythm. Ch'oe Namsŏn wrote several poems in this type such as Serial No. 6 in the above list, but otherwise he made use of this form for his ch'angga (Songs). Some of his works composed in this type listed above are in effect songs, as he has specified in the table of contents of Sonyŏn.

Hence, it becomes clear that in parallel with his proper poems, Ch'oe sometimes produced a song in this type in his Sonyŏn period.

Thus, Type No. 3 prevails in the above list. If we exclude all his songs in Type No. 3 from the list of his middle poetry on the grounds that we formerly applied to other songs in general, we come to have a little more clear picture of his middle poetry which shows a gradational transfer from the traditional poetic form, through a series of his New Poems in Type Nos. 2, 3 and 4, to free verse and prose poems.

Before we examine his free verse and prose poems, we must look back and grasp the actual process of poetic change from the traditional poetic form to his free verse. We should remember that he had already been experimenting in his early poems with the first four types before he began to write poems for Sonyŏn in 1908.

Type No. 1 is the least significant among his six types of poetic form with regard to the poetic transition toward modern poetry because it is quite conventional. Type No. 2, however, may be regarded as showing a distinct change for it introduced a 5-syllable unit into Korean poetry. Type No. 3 is, as defined earlier, a combination of a 3-4 (4-3) or 4-4 syllable rhythm with a 5-syllable rhythm. In other words, this is a combination of Type Nos. 1 and 2.

Ch'oe must have been well aware of this particular syllabic rhythm before he used it in his first ch'angga, Kyŏngbu-ch'ŏltto-ga ("The Seoul-Pusan Railway Song"), because, according to Cho Yŏnhyŏn, Ch'oe once explained the origin of this song as follows:

In 1904 the Seoul-Pusan railway was opened, and when I saw it, I wanted to write a song about it. This was because I had seen many songs on the opening of railways in Japan when I was studying there. Therefore, I wrote "The Seoul-Pusan Railway Song" with about thirty stanzas and the opening line of "With the resonant sound of the steam-whistle". It was published and distributed all over the country. This is the first of the songs written

in a 7-5 rhythm; after this, other songs in a 4-4 rhythm began to disappear, and songs in a 7-5, 6-5, or 8-5 rhythm came to replace them.⁽¹⁾

We may come across another statement of Ch'oe's concerning this new syllabic rhythm of "The Seoul-Pusan Railway Song" in an advertisement for this song on the back cover of Sonyŏn, repeatedly printed in advance of its publication for several months beginning with the very first issue:

This book [The Seoul-Pusan Railway Song] aims to teach the geographical aspects of the southern half of the country by means of a song on famous sights and historic remains along the Seoul-Pusan railway which is the main artery of our nation. The rhythm of this song is new and melodious, and its flavour is bountiful and rich.

In Japan, the revival of this 7-5 traditional syllabic rhythm in modern times is officially ascribed to the three co-authors (and co-editors) of Shintaishishō (Collected New-Style Poems), Sodoyama Masaichi, Yadabe Ryokichi and Inoue Tetsujiro, all faculty members of Tokyo University, who published the first collection of the Japanese New-style Poems and western poems translated into Japanese in the same style through the Maruzen bookshop in Tokyo in 1882. It was Inoue who suggested the name of Shintaishi (the New-style Poems), which the rest of them accepted as the title of this tiny collection of poems mentioned above. This undoubtedly is the origin of the name of Shintaishi in Japan, from which the Korean name of Sinch'esi (the New-style Poems) almost certainly comes.⁽²⁾

(1) Cf. Cho Yŏnhyŏn (1961), pp. 57-8.

(2) For the origin of this literary term, "shintaishi" (New-style Poems), cf. Hujimura Tsukuru ed., Nihonbungaku Daijiten (Dictionary of Japanese Literature), enl. & rev., Shincho-sha, Tokyo, 1950, p. 189.

Nearly all the poems and songs which Ch'oe wrote in Type No. 3 (and which contain a 5-syllable unit) seem to owe a debt to the Japanese New-style Poems, for a combination of 3-4-5 or 4-3-5 syllable rhythm was quite unknown in Korean poetry before Ch'oe. Besides, it was in Japan that he wrote one of his early poems, Kūūi son ("Her Hand"), in a 4-3-5 syllabic rhythm, and it must have been about the same time that he was beginning to think about composing "The Seoul-Pusan Railway Song", which is the first Korean song ever written in a 4-3-5 syllabic rhythm.

Ch'oe's poems and songs composed in this syllabic unit must have appealed to the public because a 4-3-5 rhythm must have sounded fresh but familiar to them. The initial 4-3 or 3-4 syllable rhythm, though identical to the Japanese 7-syllable rhythm, had long been known to the Korean people, and the 5-syllable rhythm, which immediately follows it, must have given a sense of relief and freshness because it broke the monotony of the conventional 4-3 or 3-4 rhythmic pattern as a new rhythm.

Besides being a break from the traditional rhythm, Type No. 3 provided ground from which Ch'oe was able to proceed to Type No. 4, which is nearer in form to free verse than any other type except the prose poems that came after free verse. In Type No. 4, Ch'oe cast off the uniformity of lines within a stanza, though he still retained the stanzaic uniformity within a poem.

Ch'oe wrote five of his eleven early poems in Type No. 4 in 1907. They are Serial Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, and 11. After these he wrote three of his middle poems in this type, in addition to the three poems that fall between Types Nos. 3 and 4 in 1908 and 1909. Then he began to write a series of free verses towards the end of 1909.

His first two early poems in Type 4 (Serial Nos. 6 and 7) have four long lines and two short lines but retain a rigid poetic form. His third early poem in Type No. 4, Nanŭn kao ("I am Leaving"), is a short poem about his own leave-taking. It consists of three short stanzas, each having five lines. Though this poem belongs to the category of Type No. 4 because of the lack of uniformity among lines within a stanza, all the lines have the traditional 3-4 or 4-3 syllable rhythm except the first line of each stanza which has a 4-syllable rhythm. It means that in this poem he had not entirely cast off the shackles of the traditional poetic form.

His fourth early poem in this type is the first of a series of the three untitled poems which are simply called "Three Old Pieces" published in Sonyŏn (2nd Year, vol. 4) in April 1909. This poem is made up of three septets. Four out of seven lines in each stanza differ from one another in syllabic length, though the rest of three lines, which are the third, the fourth and the fifth, are identical, each having a 3-5 syllable rhythm. Therefore, we may regard this poem as an example of Type No. 4. To quote the first of its three stanzas:

We have nothing with us,
Neither sword nor revolver;
Yet we are not afraid:
For even the might of iron shafts
Cannot sway us.
We are the goers striding along the main road,
With the burden of justice on our back.

The last of the five early poems Ch'oe wrote in Type No. 4 in 1907 is not worthy of much mention because it is, like the third poem, a short poem of four stanzas expressing a simple sentiment, titled Ananya nega ("Are You Aware?"). In this poem each stanza has a couplet of 4-4-3 syllable unit with an additional 3-2 syllable line.

Without this additional line, this poem would belong to Type No. 1. The content of this poem deals with trivial questions of everyday life.

Thus, we do not yet find any exemplary poem of Type No. 4 in his early poems. Soon, however, we come across some far better poems of this type in his middle poems, which are discussed in the following section.

2. Ch'oe Namsŏn's Middle Poems

Haeegesŏ sonyŏnege ("From the Sea, to the Boys"), the poem first appearing in the initial number of the Sonyŏn magazine published in November 1908, contains an impressive array of diverse combinations of syllabic rhythms in each of its six stanzas.

To many scholars this poem has long been an object of a blind admiration as the first modern poem worthy of the name, and to some others it has become a problem poem, because it has given a false impression of appearing too abrupt, with all its various syllabic rhythms and daring poetic ideas, to those who did not have the opportunity to see Ch'oe's early poems.⁽¹⁾ Some critics even think it an imitation of the English Romantic poet, Lord Byron's "Ocean", a title given to the six stanzas from the last part of his Child Harold's Pilgrimage, which begins with the famous line, "Roll on, thou

(1) The discovery of Ch'oe's early poems published in Taehan hakhoe wŏlbo, which is preserved in Seoul National University Library, was quite recent. In 1970, Chŏng Hanmo came to notice and first mentioned them in a series of articles that he wrote on modern Korean poetry. Four years later he wrote a book Han'guk simunhak-sa (History of Modern Korean Poetry), Ilchi-sa, Seoul, 1974, where he devotes a chapter to Ch'oe's poetry.

deep and dark blue Ocean - roll".⁽¹⁾

To do justice to Ch'oe's poem in question, however, I think it essential to see it both as an individual poem and at the same time as a natural consequence of the early poems in the current of his poetry which runs from Type No. 1, which is little more than a conventional poetic form, to modern free verse and prose poems. To those who see it this way, it will appear to be his most conscientious poem in form and content. Perhaps it would be worth quoting the entire poem here:

From the Sea, to the Boys

I

T'yŏ ... lsŏk, t'yŏ ... lsŏk, t'yŏk, sswa ... a.⁽²⁾
 Strike, break and destroy.
 High mountains and mansion-like rocks,
 What are these? What are these?
 Do you know my strong power, or don't you? I storm
 As I strike, break and destroy.
 T'yŏ ... lsŏk, t'yŏ ... lsŏk, t'yŏk, t'yurŭrŭng, k'wak.

II

T'yŏ ... lsŏk, t'yŏ ... lsŏk, t'yŏk, sswa ... a.
 I have no fears, whatever:
 Those who would wield on earth their strength and might
 Are helpless before me;

-
- (1) For a detailed, critical examination of this unfounded assumption, cf. the writer's "Munhak chakp'umŭi yŏnghyanggwa ch'angjaksŏng: 'The Ocean' gwa 'Haeegesŏ sonyŏnege'rŭl chungsimhayŏ'" (Influence and Originality in Literary Works: with Chief Reference to 'The Ocean' and 'From the Sea, to the Boys'), Yŏngŏ yŏngmunhak (English Language and Literature), The Journal of the English Literary Society of Korea, vol. No. 55, Seoul, Autumn 1975, pp. 34-54.
- (2) This and the following onomatopoeic lines, which are hardly translatable into English, are simply Romanized in the McCune-Reischauer System.

This poem has six stanzas, and there is uniformity among these stanzas. The seven lines in each stanza, however, are not equal in syllabic length. The difference among these lines has a sort of an undulatory sequence in which the first, the third, the fifth and the last lines are comparatively long, while the second, the fourth and the sixth lines are short. In other words, long and short lines appear in turn. The opening and closing lines of each stanza, which are onomatopoeia imitative of the sound of the rolling waves, are the same all through the poem.

The three comparatively short lines in each stanza are usually in a 3-3-5 syllable rhythm, and the two long lines except the onomatopoeic lines are roughly in a 4-3-4-5 syllable rhythm.

As the title of this poem indicates, this poem should be interpreted as a eulogy addressed by the Sea to the "daring and innocent" boys, not as a poem in praise of the Sea itself. The 'I' in the poem is the personified sea, and 'you' (plural) are the things that the Sea confronts.

Through the first five stanzas of this poem, it seems as though the personified sea says nothing but self-praise. This, however, must be regarded as a part of the poet's rhetorical design - a design to bring forth the culmination of the entire poem later in the sixth stanza. The reason why the author of this poem willingly gave the first five stanzas over to unsparing praise of the sea is to emphasize at the end the praise of "daring and innocent" children, which is the central theme of this poem. Thus, the author brings an effective reversal of intent to this poem.

In some other respects also, this poem deserves our praise. The poetic diction is rich, if not yet refined, and the verse style

has acquired an intensity with, for example, the deft use of repetitions and the discreet choice of synonymous words such as "strike, break and destroy". In fact, what we see in this poem is an example of startling success in style and effect unprecedented in the transitional poetry.

However, this poem is not out of line with Ch'oe's previous works for he had experimented with a dozen poems, among which at least five poems, i.e. Serial Nos. 6, 7, 8, 9, 11 (see pages 102-3) are in the same type with this poem, though most of them are undoubtedly inferior. After this poem, Ch'oe produced two more poems of this type apart from the three poems that come between Type No. 3 and 4, before he turned to free verse.

The two poems are "The New Korean Boys" (Serial No. 12) and "On Flowers" (Serial No. 14), both of which have been overshadowed by "From the Sea, to the Boys", though the first is nearly as good, and the latter is even better. Let me introduce these two poems so that we may compare them with "From the Sea, to the Boys".

The New Korean Boys

I

Behold their coppery, sun-tanned faces;
Behold their strong, small hands and feet.
Aren't they a sign
That they are not loafing along?
Their sinews stand out,
And their frames are strongly built.
Aren't they powerful evidence
That they put effort into their tasks?
Yes, yes, that's true, indeed:
Such are
The new Korean boys.

II

With all our devotion to build our strength
 And with all the mind to increase our knowledge,
 What are we going to do and for whom
 In the future?
 Aren't we going to overthrow
 The strong to help the weak
 And to show the truth of the axiom
 That "The final triumph comes to Justice"?
 Yes, yes, that's true, indeed:
 Such are
 The new Korean boys.

III

They have no family of their own
 Nor possessions, whatever:
 Wheresoever they go,
 There is their home.
 The billion people of all the world
 Are their brethren, and all the things
 Breeding on earth are their property;
 And it is thoroughly fair.
 Yes, yes, that's true, indeed:
 Such are
 The new Korean boys.

IV

With enough courage to go forth
 But without the least strength to retreat,
 Their sinewy legs
 Are always stepping forward:
 Though, when beholding the sky, their eyes are bright;
 When looking down, they become so dim
 That they only try night and day
 To find a short-cut upward.
 Yes, yes, that's true, indeed:
 Such are
 The new Korean boys.

Each of the four stanzas of this poem consists of eleven lines
 of a uniform pattern. Within each stanza, the length of lines,
 or the combination of syllabic rhythms in each line, is comparatively
 free except for the first two lines, which in each case have a 5-7

syllable rhythm; and the fifth and the sixth lines, each of which has a 3-4-5 syllable rhythm. The diversity in the length of lines within a stanza puts this poem into the category of Type No. 4.

As far as the poetic form is concerned, however, it is difficult to say whether this poem is better than "From the Sea, to the Boys" because both poems have more or less similar stanzaic features, though it is apparent that the author has applied to the former a structural design different from the one by which he has built the latter. As we have seen, in the latter he used some onomatopoeic lines and alternation of comparatively long and short lines to produce an auditory as well as a visual effect of the rolling waves combined with the onomatopoeic lines.

In "The New Korean Boys", the author employed another scheme, dividing each stanza into three sub-stanzas, the first two of which either raise a rhetorical question or make a short statement to which the third draws a conclusion, which is in the form of refrain. Hence, the first two sub-stanzas are closer in meaning to each other than they are to the third, as is also evident from the indentation in the printed form of the third sub-stanza. Thus, all we can say about the physical structure of these two poems is that they have more or less similar features of Type No. 4, though their structures are not necessarily the same.

While in "From the Sea, to the Boys" the protagonist is the personified sea and the addressees are children, with the culmination of the entire poem coming at the end, following the first five stanzas rhetorically designed to have an incremental effect, in "The New Korean Boys" the poet addresses praises of, or hopes about, "the new Korean boys" to the reader in each stanza, and there is no culmination

of the kind we have seen in the other poem.

Chiefly due to this distinction, the contents of these two poems differ from each other to some extent. The intensity and the scale with which the poet has described the might of the rolling waves through the soliloquy of the Sea and the ardent and sincere wishes with which the Sea would embrace "daring and innocent" children are missing in "The New Korean Boys", which is comparatively simple in poetic description and less intense in narration.

The onomatopoeic lines repeatedly attached to the start and the end of each stanza in "From the Sea, to the Boys" are somewhat monotonous but they do not lead us to such a boring feeling as we get when we read the refrain repeated at the end of each stanza in "The New Korean Boys". Perhaps, it is because a refrain carries a meaning in addition to its sound, whereas an onomatopoeic line gives only auditory effect; usually the semantic meaning weighs on the reader's mind when he hears it repeatedly, in the same way as we are bored by repeated speeches but less so by repeated melodies.

As usual in Type No. 4 poems, the poet achieved a lightness in tone by adopting in these two poems fresh colloquial expressions which could find no place in Type No. 1 or 2.

The second poem of Type No. 4 with which we are to compare "From the Sea, to the Boys" is the two-part poem entitled "On Flowers" published in May 1909, six months after "From the Sea". The entire poem is as follows:

On Flowers

I welcome flowers with joy,
 But I do not welcome them carried away,
 Because my eyes are dazzled by their beautiful postures,
 And my nose charmed with their sweet scents;

necessarily dislike outward beauties, but only when they lack inward riches. The poet knows that attractive appearances are for the most part deceptive and that early immature pomposity usually comes to nothing in the end - a commonplace but precious lesson of life. The poet comes to realize through his intellect that flowers are not so. They do not merely seek transitory glory but devote all their luxurious beauties to the task of creating and breeding seeds for the perpetuation of life on earth.

We should also notice in this poem that flowers, being an embodiment of the spring wind, stand for the "warmth" and "love" that human nature should ever cherish, because without them there will be nothing to control the cutting cold and the cruel hostility that will eventually crush us to death. Thus, flowers become the agents and preservers of life through their sufferings and at the sacrifice of their beauty.

This poem is not, as its title might lead one to think, an expression of simple sentiment but rather a deliberate statement of sincere emotion, beyond the reach of primary sensations, attained through exercise of the intellect. Considering both its form and content, we may regard this poem as the most superior piece of art among Ch'oe's Type No. 4 poems.

Seen in this context, Ch'oe's most controversial poem, "From the Sea", which is the sixth in chronological sequence among his eight poems in Type No. 4, is no more than an early success, followed by "The New Korean Boys", which is nearly as good, and by still another, "On Flowers", which is even more successful.

In September 1909 Ch'oe took a railway journey from Seoul to Pyŏngyang, and when the train stopped for a while at Kaesŏng Station, he looked out of the window to the West Gate of that ancient city and

composed a poem, which appears in his travel account entitled "The Journey to Pyöngyang" published in Sonyön in November 1909. This is a rather long poem consisting of more than fifty lines. I think that this poem marks the beginning of free verse not only in his poetry but also in modern Korean poetry. This important fact has never been remarked upon by anyone who has studied Korean poetry. To quote the first few lines of this poem:

On the shabby pavillion
Sits a shabby A-frame man
With clutched hands before his knees,
Smoking a bamboo pipe.

Over the ridge of Songak Mountain linger the thoughtless clouds,
And under the base of Manwöl Bower green is the grass
with dog's dung hidden in it.
What is he looking at absently?

Long was the Dynasty for half a thousand years,
And prosperous was the Empire first set up
In the beautiful peninsula after the unification
Of the three kingdoms;
But now no shades of it remain.
What is it he is thinking of absently?

.....

This is definitely a free-verse poem where the poet has erased the last remnants of a fixed poetic form that still remain in "On Flowers". Whether or not the poet was conscious of the significance of his accomplishment in this poem, the immense distance between the traditional poetic forms and modern free verse has finally been crossed by this poem for the first time in the transitional period. Regardless of the substance of this poem, it is a monumental work for modern Korean poetry.

In the succeeding lines of this poem, the poet recollects the past glory of the Koryö dynasty (918-1392) and sees its transitoriness

in a shabby porter absently smoking on and on at the old West Gate of the capital of this ancient empire. Here again, the poet looks beyond the present show into the past and associates the two in his intellect. To the reader the shabby porter must appear as a dumb witness of the transitory glory of the Koryŏ dynasty, not merely as a poor wage earner.

Soon after the publication of this poem, Ch'oe wrote three more free-verse poems, two of which were published in Sonyŏn in February 1910, and the third of which was published in the following month.

The first of these three, T'aebaeksan-bu ("Ode to T'aebaek Mountain"), is also a definite free verse poem made up of about thirty lines. For our examination of the content of this poem which is singular in the brevity of its poetic expressions, let me quote the entire poem.

Ode to T'aebaek Mountain

A mountain on earth, or the T'aebaek of mountains?
The mountain of T'aebaek, or the earth of mountains?
Poet, do not ask this;
It is not a matter of urgent praise.

The sky is round, and the earth is flat;
T'aebaek which is our lord shoots up!

Independence, self-support, singularity.

An awl? A firepoker? A writing-brush in the stand?
The spire of glory!

A lightning rod? A flagpole? An electricity pole?
The huge, unsullied arm of the Korean boys
where is amassed all their splendid courage!

Should the heavenly pillar be broken and the earth's
axis be snapped,
This spire would remain undamaged!

Though Samson (a Jewish hero) struck, Hsiang Yu dashed at it,
smiting with a club made by smelting nine cauldrons,
This arm would remain undamaged!

articles having a pointed tip and a specific use in daily life, such as "an awl" and "a fire poker", but he does not necessarily accept these as the precise containers of the image represented by the top of the mountain, which is the reason why he has put a question mark after each of these articles. Only after he has pondered over each of these objects, has he picked what he obviously thinks to be the right word to denote the summit of this mountain. It is "the spire of glory". Then the poet has again undergone a similar process of naming the floating images in his mind such as "a lightning rod" and "a flagpole" in order to discover a correct expression that characterizes the soaring top of the mountain, which is "The huge, elaborate and truebred arm ...".

Granting that the poet has not accepted all the items he has given in the above lines as possible containers of the image of the mountain top, it is quite peculiar and even absurd that the poet should ever think of the possibility of associating the great mountain peak with each of these too small and trivial articles such as "an awl", and then with another series of objects such as "a lightning rod" which have hardly any connection relevant to the grandiose image.

I would say that these objects, which have no refined or artistic connotation associable with the image of the great mountain peak, have not only failed in helping to build an accurate picture of the subject matter of this poem but also served to bring down the whole poem. Small and trivial things, however small and trivial they may be, are well associated or juxtaposed with an immensely great object such as the universe to produce a startling and unexpected effect, especially, in modern poetry. This poetic technique is often used with admirable result. However, the particular objects that Ch'oe has brought to this poem seem out of place, failing to evoke any

emotion attributable to the image of the great mountain.

Besides, in this poem the poet has come to such a point of audacity in his command of the privilege rendered him by free verse, or the complete lack of form, that ambiguity sets in. For example, in the opening lines, he says,

A mountain on earth, or the T'aebaek of mountains?
The mountain of T'aebaek, or the earth of mountains?
Poet, do not ask this;
It is not a matter of urgent praise.

We may at best interpret these two questions as being the short forms of four interrogative sentences, i.e., 1) Is that a mountain on earth?, 2) Is that the T'aebaek of mountains?, 3) Is that the mountain of T'aebaek? and 4) Is that the earth of mountains?

We may also deduce that these questions refer to the greatness of T'aebaek Mountain because of the key word, "praise", in the subsequent lines. Even so, these questions themselves are ambiguous having no direct connotation of the greatness of the mountain. When we look at the original text in Korean, we can easily notice that the first two opening lines of this poem are no more than a play on the word of san (mountain), which appears four times in the middle of these two lines.

Again, in the latter half of this poem, the poet says,

The record of justice will remain;

.

The master of justice it shall be;

These two lines seem to refer to T'aebaek Mountain also, because we have no other object to think of in this poem, but how and why the mountain becomes "the record of justice" and then "the master of

The bold posture of the mountain with one hand held
 out to bar the storm from the Phillipines and with the
 other stretched to shield the gust from the Siberian plain.

"I am a hero!"

Down-dashing cataracts - maple thickets - strong - red.
 The cutting wind, as though boasting its resolution,
 Blowing out from every valley and hollow, forms an alliance
 to sweep with devastation as though driving a thousand men
 and horses.

"Hwiik'! Hwiik'! Wherever I go, there's nothing but quaking
 and surrender! Hwiik'!" (1)

The whole mountain looms aloft unmoved.

This poem is a simple lyric well depicting the landscape
 surrounding the great mountain that even a flock of wild geese hardly
 dares to fly over. The majestic appearance of this mountain forms
 in this poem a striking contrast to its environment where the tropic-
 born storm and the all-destroying Siberian north-wind prevail over all
 but this mountain. After the "Ode to T'aebaek Mountain", this poem
 is another tribute to the stateliness of this great mountain, but
 quite unlike the "Ode", all the subsidiary images in this poem serve
 well to show the greatness of the mountain.

His last poem in free verse is "The Hot Blood" (Sonyön, 3-3).
 In about thirty lines this poem deals with "the hot blood", or the
 force of life, which runs through our veins and nourishes the spirit
 of progress. As described in this poem, it is a sort of immanent
 power, often blind and reckless, which makes us "plan, take in hand,
 proceed, then fail and succeed, and rise in life and commit suicide".
 We cannot oppose this force, but only "think, produce and act". To
 quote some lines from this poem:

(1) "Hwiik" is an onomatopoeia, imitative of the sound of a
 gust of wind.

Our heart is full of the spirit of progress,
 which is like an unstoppable train with boundless force.
 To plan, take in hand, proceed, then fail and succeed,
 and rise in life and commit suicide - this is the
 consummation of our life.
 I will do whatever work lies before me.
 If there is a beauty, I'll love her with all my heart:
 For her beauty makes me love her, and success or
 failure is neither something we can ask or know.

.....

We are only to think, produce and act!
 So long as we have the hot blood and the spirit of progress,
 we cannot but do so.

.....

The blood is an incitant; the heart is a helper: So,
 with our two arms restless, we cannot rest.
 The massive world exists for the small I.

.....

In this poem the poet has made an attempt to sum up the motive force of human existence, the spirit of progress, which is identical with "the hot blood" that circulates in our body. The theme of this poem may look, superficially at least, philosophical. On the contrary, however, the poet has brought to this poem a series of ideas unrelated to the central theme. For example, he first associates "the hot blood" with "the spirit of progress", which is understandable. He then seems to regard it as a sort of blind ambition or reckless passion, and then he even tries to identify it with our fate, which is beyond our control and which does not belong to our free will or willing spirit. In short, this poem does not succeed in giving any clear notion of "the hot blood", and the whole poem lacks logical coherence.

Though there are not a few defects in the content, Ch'oe's free verse is on the whole a remarkable achievement in the history of Korean transitional poetry. It did not come to Korean poetry all of a sudden but only after the four types of fixed poetic forms through

which Ch'oe had steadily experienced his poetic growth.

Through his three poems written in free verse, which we have so far examined, a gradual change in style toward prose poems may be traced. The conciseness and brevity of expression that we saw in his "Ode to T'aebaek Mountain" have almost disappeared from the content of his last free verse, "The Hot Blood", and its lines have noticeably grown longer. In spite of the length of the lines, the diction of this poem remains verse, but prose style sets in in a series of poems which immediately follow this poem.

His first two prose poems appear in Sonyŏn, 3-4. One is "Sadness Away from Home", and the other is "Parting from My Beloved T'aebaek Mountain". After this beginning, he wrote four more prose poems, subsequently published in Sonyŏn. They are "To Praise the Goddess of Flowers", "A Pine Tree Broken", "Summer Clouds" and "The Staircase of a Church".

In "Sadness Away from Home", the lines have grown even longer than those in "The Hot Blood", and prose style prevails in it to such an extent that we may at once notice a clear transformation to a definite prose poem. Prose style becomes increasingly dominant in "To Praise the Goddess of Flowers", and after this poem it grows still more, devours almost the last scraps of poetry and virtually transforms his last three prose poems - "A Pine Tree Broken", "Summer Clouds" and "The Staircase" - into prose essays. Consequently, these three poems can be regarded as a digression from prose poems into essays even though the author of these works apparently considered them "prose poems" since he so labelled them in the table of contents of Sonyŏn. This means there are really only three prose poems out of the six that the author called prose poems.

Thus Ch'oe's poetic progress from the traditional poetic forms

to modern poetry ends with his first three prose poems - "Sadness", "Parting from My Beloved T'aebaek Mountain" and "The Goddess", which were published before June 1910.

From August 1910 on, he ceased to experiment with modern poetic forms including free verse or prose poems, and he merely composed Type No. 3 songs and poems while he increasingly confined himself to the writing of the sijo, which composed the bulk of his poetry for the rest of his life. These songs and poems were published in the last issues of Sonyŏn, and in other magazines published after the discontinuance of Sonyŏn, such as Aidŭl poi (1913-1914), Ch'ŏngch'un (1914-1918) and Kaebyoŏk (1920-1926). Many of the sijo produced in the meantime were collected in Paekp'al pŏnnoe, a collection of his 108 sijo, published in 1926. Other sijo appear scattered in the various magazines mentioned above, and still others were unpublished until they appeared in Yuktang Ch'oe Namsŏn chŏnjip (The Complete Works of Yuktang Ch'oe Namsŏn) published in 1973.

On the whole, among all six types of Ch'oe's poetry, Type No. 4 and free verse (Type No. 5) are the most distinguished, superior addition to Korean transitional poetry. They can hardly be overpraised, either as the works of an individual poet or for the significance of their achievement in the transition towards modern Korean poetry.

Finally, it remains to be asked whether Ch'oe travelled alone across the frontiers of modern Korean poetry in the four years from 1907 to 1910. In all the 21 issues of the Sonyŏn magazine, there are only four poetic contributions by others. The first is by An Ch'angho in Sonyŏn, 2-4, under the title of P'yŏngyang moranbong-ga ("The Song of the Peony Peak in P'yŏngyang"), and the second is

Nongbu-ga ("A Farmer's Song"), composed by an unnamed friend of Ch'oe, published in Sonyŏn, 2-6. We may learn from the editor's brief comment attached to each of these poetic contributions that Ch'oe himself did not regard either of these two poems highly, but hoped that the reader would taste the poetic emotion of amateur contributors expressed in these poems.

An Ch'angho's is a rather lengthy poem consisting of ten stanzas, each having seven lines. The last two lines of each stanza become a refrain which is invariably repeated through all the stanzas. The syllabic rhythm is mainly a 3-4 conventional rhythm except for the fourth, the sixth and the closing lines, which have a 3-3-4, a 4-4-4 and a 2-4 syllable combination, respectively. Hence this poem is similar to one of Ch'oe's Type No. 4 poems. However, since the traditional rhythm, 4-4 or 3-4, prevails and the diction remains archaic in this poem, both the form and the content of this poem have an undertone of a traditional poetic song in spite of the three lines which are either slightly longer or shorter than the other four lines.

Two years before this poem, Ch'oe had already built some poems in a similar form, and when An's poem was published in April 1909, Ch'oe was preparing his "On Flowers", one of his best poems in Type No. 4, which came out in the next month.

"A Farmer's Song", published in 1909, consists of 28 consecutive lines, each having a 6-5 or a 7-5 rhythmic pattern - a pattern usually adopted by Ch'oe in his Type No. 3 songs. It has a content very similar to the traditional folk songs on farmers' life, and it is hardly better than a traditional farmer's song rearranged in Ch'oe's Type No. 3. Therefore these two poetic contributions cannot be compared with Ch'oe's poems, which were certainly much more advanced at that time.

The two other contributions to Sonyŏn were made by Koju, the pen name of Yi Kwangsu (1892- ?), who later became one of the most celebrated novelists in modern Korean literature. They are Uri yŏngung ("Our Hero") and Kom ("The Bear") published in March and June 1910, respectively. In the editor's postscript to the issue of February 1910, Ch'oe says of Koju:

During my recent visit to Japan, there was an occasion we all should welcome for the benefit of the reader. It is a promise made by Mr. Hong, Kain, [Hong Myŏngghi] and Mr. Yi, Koju, who are preparing for the formation and the development of future Korean literary circles, with a further aspiration to stir the world trend of thought, that they would write for our magazine and send us their manuscripts sparing no efforts. We are, of course, very pleased to allocate a central part of the space of our magazine for those two budding talents. We believe that you will not lessen the warmth of your welcome, any more than we will, even if you should come across some occasions when contributions from them impair the beauty of the content of this magazine. We who were in the sorrow of loneliness for a long time are now going to become intoxicated by the wine of union. We realize that we should try harder than ever.

From the comment quoted above, we may learn that the two new contributors, Hong and Yi, were only promising students of literature staying in Japan at that time and that Ch'oe, as the editor of Sonyŏn, was somewhat worried about the quality of the manuscripts that they would write for his magazine, simply because they were not yet established writers.

Except for the two poems contributed by Koju, the two friends of Ch'oe mainly wrote short stories and essays, and translated some Western stories. These include Ŏrin hŭlsaeng ("Young Sacrifice") by Koju in Sonyŏn (3-2, 3 & 5), Sŏjŏge taehayŏ koini ch'anmihan mal ("The Praises of Books by Men of Old") by Kain in Sonyŏn (3-3), Kŭmil ahan ch'ŏngnyŏnŭi kyŏngu ("The Situation of Korean Young Men Today") by Koju in Sonyŏn (3-6), and Sarang ("Love") by Kain in

Sonyŏn (3-8).

The first of the two poems by Koju, "Our Hero", is a free-verse poem with six parts. This is primarily a eulogy of Yi Sun-sin, the famed admiral who valiantly fought against the Japanese navy in the 1590s, but this poem also advocates, beyond the apparent tribute to Admiral Yi, the love of the country - the country that provides the people with "life" and "liberty" and the country which was at that time encountering a crisis which was to lead to its annexation by Japan. The poem includes the following lines:

For this land, my country that embraces our life and liberty,
 I will let my small body be ground,
 And with the clear, bright, hot blood
 Seething in my heart and circulating through my body,
 I will dye the green hills of my country today,
 Now when her destiny is in danger,
 This land, my country which embraces the life and liberty of
 our parents, brothers and sisters,
 All fellow countrymen from the same blood -

The other poem entitled "The Bear" describes a bear that tries to knock down a huge rock with his head. The poet sees in this bear a dauntless spirit to resist to the death the impediments to our will and liberty. Thus, the death of this bear is regarded as an heroic act that other animals usually shun out of cowardice. The last part of the poem sums up the whole point:

When, wandering about the forest (freely on his own),
 This bear sees that tall rock standing arrogantly,
 He suddenly feels an oppressive sensation - the sensation
 of precious self being oppressed,
 And he begins fighting to death - as long as he has
 strength, energy and life.
 Yet he never expects success
 But only exerts his authority to the uttermost.
 I repeat, he never expects success
 But only exerts his authority to the uttermost.
 He is dead; yes, he is dead.
 Had he not done this, he might have lived longer.
 Yet prolonged life is a mechanism, not a life.

Though he has lived only a short time,
 Yet his short life has all been liberty itself;
 He has never bowed to anything but nature's law.
 Bear! O, bear!

The spirit of liberty and independence becomes the central ideal for these poems by Koju. We have seen earlier that the same spirit prevails in Ch'oe's early poems published in 1908. In Koju's "The Bear", however, this spirit is somewhat loosely linked to the act of a bear that recklessly attempts to knock down the rock at the sacrifice of his life. The bear is generally considered as an animal of stupidity with some blind courage of a sort. The author of this poem, however, praises the bear's brute courage very highly as if it were the noble spirit of liberty and independence. When he wrote this poem, Koju may have been associating this bear with the mythical bear of Tan'gun's mother who gave birth to the founding father of the Korean nation.

These two poems by Koju are in free verse, and there are no traces of conventional poetic form in them. Although in his second poem, Koju does not succeed in building any definite poetic idea, both poems certainly look very modern. This modern poetic form of Koju's poems, however, is preceded by Ch'oe's modern free-verse form by four months, because Ch'oe's first free verse, "A Poem Composed during a Journey to P'yŏngyang", was published in November 1909. This means that though Ch'oe had a companion in free-verse writing named Koju, he was far ahead of him.

Apart from the three contributors of poems for Sonyŏn, Ch'oe had no other companions or competitors either in or outside of the magazine. In other magazines and journals published about the same period, except Taehan hakhoe wŏlbo where Ch'oe's early poems appear,

there is not a single poem comparable with Ch'oe's Type No. 4 poems or his free verse. Almost all the poems published occasionally in those magazines such as Sonyŏn hanbando (1906), Taedong hakhoe wŏlbo (1908), Sŏbuk hakhoe wŏlbo (1908) and Taehan hŭnghak-bo (1909) are either hansi (poems written in pure Chinese), sijo or kasa. Other than these traditional poetic forms, we have a few songs in ch'angga form, for example, Nongbu-ga ("Farmers' Song") composed in a 6/7-5 syllable combination published in Sŏbuk hakhoe wŏlbo (vol. 2, No. 15), August 1909.

Ch'oe Namsŏn himself may not have known the full implications of his accomplishment for modern Korean poetry because he abandoned, after some years of poetic experience in modern forms, all the new forms he had invented except the form of a 7-5 syllable pattern and he remained faithful to the sijo. Nevertheless, regardless of the comparatively short period in which he travelled on his own the vast plain from the traditional poetic forms to modern free verse, Ch'oe is the sole progenitor of modern Korean poetry.

Chapter III

T'aesŏ munye sinbo and Ch'angjo

1. General

After the remarkable initiation of modern poetic transition by Ch'oe Namsŏn, Korean poetry saw the publication of two important literary journals which marked the high point of the 1910s. They are T'aesŏ munye sinbo (a newspaper of Western literature and arts, 1918-19) and Ch'angjo (a pure literary magazine, 1919-21).

The role that the first played in the wake of the early poetic transition is often highly evaluated chiefly because it was the first modern newspaper mainly dealing with literary works, and besides, its major interest was the introduction of Western literature into Korean.

The aim of this newspaper is clearly stated in the editorial written by Yun Ch'ihŏ, the publisher, appearing in the first issue.

The purpose of this newspaper is to publish all kinds of famous Western literary works including novels, poetry, prose works, songs and music, the fine arts, and plays translated by great [Korean] writers direct from the original(1)

However, among the contents that actually appear in a total of sixteen issues published weekly for five months from 26 September 1918 to 16 November 1919, non-literary articles, such as 'The First Woman Solicitor in America', 'Edison, the Great Inventor of the World', 'Mr. Nobel and the Nobel Prize', and various advertisements for Oriental drugs, clocks and watches, dental surgery and tailors, occupy nearly half of the entire space of eight to ten tabloid pages of each

(1) 'Editorial', T'aesŏ munye sinbo, No. 1, p. 1.

issue. Among the literary works published in this newspaper, poems which amount to nearly eighty predominate in number, and, contrary to the publisher's first announcement, a half of them are Korean, not Western poems translated into Korean.

As a matter of fact, this literary newspaper did not exclude Korean literature but rather encouraged the reader to contribute his own literary works to it. A letter from the editorial office to the reader that appears on the third page of the very first issue includes the following passage:

We hope you not only read this newspaper with pleasure but also contribute to us your stories, poems, songs, other various articles on literature, and critical essays on the works published in it(1)

The seventh page of the first issue carries still another passage expressing a similar hope before a Korean song published there:

This newspaper aims not only to introduce famous Western poems and songs but also select and publish revisions of old Korean works and new works if there are any which are beautiful and popular.(2)

Thus, it becomes quite obvious that from the start this newspaper was not exclusively concerned with the task of introducing Western literature to the Korean public as its title and the publisher's first editorial must have led them to believe. On the whole, the real value of this newspaper seems to lie as much in its effort to encourage the Korean reader or poet to write some modern poems for

(1) A passage containing a similar content is repeated on page 3 of Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6.

(2) Cf. 'Foreword' to Sin ch'unhyang-ga (New Ch'unhyang Song), No. 1, p. 7, columns 2-3.

himself, as in its attempt to bring some modern Western poetry into Korea.

On the other hand, Ch'angjo, a monthly magazine published by Chu Yohan, publisher and editor, as a Korean literary organ in Tokyo, contains in its nine issues published monthly from 1 January 1919 to 1 June 1921, nearly seventy Korean poems and nearly sixty Japanese poems translated into Korean.

Therefore, through an examination of the Korean poetry published in these two literary journals, I think we may acquire a fair picture of the transitional poetry of the 1910s. Accordingly, this chapter aims to make in the following sections a critical approach to this group of Korean poetry with a view to evaluating the degree of change or improvement that this group as a whole has brought about in terms of poetic transition.

2. T'aesŏ munye sinbo

Among about forty Korean poems published in T'aesŏ munye sinbo, excluding two Ch'unhyang songs composed by H.M. (the initials for Haemong, the pen name for the editor Chang Tuch'ŏl) appearing on page 7 of the first and the second issues, only two poems remain traditional in the sense that they retain the conventional rhythm of strict 4-4 syllables all through the poem. They are "The Gracious Literary Newspaper", a poem dedicated to T'aesŏ munye by Ku Sŏngsŏ, and "The Song of Loneliness" by Yi Il, both of which appear on page 7 of the tenth issue. All the other poems are comparatively free in form, though many of them show stanzaic features.

Poetic qualities vary from poem to poem. There are among them some poems that are so inferior that we can hardly regard them

as verses. Examples of these would be Paek Taejin's poems, "Repentance" (No. 4, p. 7) and "My Gracious Wife" (No. 10, p. 6), Haemong's poems, "Why Thus?" (No. 5, p. 7) and "My Father's Gift" (No. 6, p. 7), Ch'oe Yǒngt'aek's poems, "My Sister's Supplication" (No. 10, p. 6), "To My Son" (No. 12, p. 4), "On My Leaving" (No. 16, p. 7) and "A Fire Set Aflame" (No. 16, p. 7), and Kaesǒng Ŭmgǒsaeng's "A Lazy Student" (No. 16, p. 7).

There are three other poems - Yi Sǒngt'ae's "Leave-taking" (No. 12, p. 5), Yi Pyǒngdu's "Get Away from Transitory Pleasure and Pain" (No. 12, p. 5), and Kyewǒn's "My New Lord" (No. 16, p. 7) - that may not be considered so inferior as those mentioned above but have none of the qualities expected of the transitional poetry of the 1910s.

The fact that these inferior poems could be published at all in T'aesǒ munye and that Haemong is found among the names of the authors of these poems makes us doubt whether he had any editorial principles or standards of selecting literary works for publication. On the other hand, we come to suspect how few poets, professional or amateur, there were at that time who could produce verses as good as we might expect of the period, for all the poems that are comparable to the early transitional poetry produced earlier by Ch'oe Namsǒn are written by only three of the ten authors whose poems are published in this newspaper. They are Ansǒ (the pen name for Kim Ōk), Yi Il, and Sangat'ap (meaning "ivory tower", the pen name for Hwang Sǒgu), all of whom had studied abroad in Japan for some time before they began to contribute to this newspaper.

Among the three, Ansǒ, the most prolific, wrote twelve poems, and several articles and critical essays for this newspaper. He also translated nearly twenty Western poems, mostly Russian and French,

out of the thirty-six published in the newspaper. All his Korean poems have stanzaic features, but otherwise they are quite free in form. None of his poems is conventional in rhythm or diction. Yi Il wrote three poems in quatrain, one of which is in traditional 4-4 rhythm as mentioned earlier, but the two others are free in form apart from the stanzaic divisions. Sangat'ap contributed five poems toward the close of T'aesŏ munye, all of which are free-verse poems and four of which are very short poems.

The characteristic of Ansŏ's poetry, which distinguishes it from other poems, and which had never been seen before him in transitional poetry, is lyricism combined with a sincere emotion. It runs all through his poems, sometimes lightly with hope as in "All the More" and at other times with a sad undertone as in "The Spring Is Passing".

All the More

Though the cold snow covers the winter field,
The trilling songs of birds are heard, all the more;
And even in the endless dark night of the year-end,
Little stars are bright, all the more.

Even on the thick cloud that covers the sky
The sun pours its rays, all the more;
And even with the rough encircling autumn wind
Blends the warmth of the south wind, all the more.

Even in the world full of egoism
Dwells the love of fairness, all the more;
And in the poor sorrowful heart
Merges the hope of comfort, all the more.

(No. 5, p. 6)

The Spring is Passing

It is night,
And it is spring.

The night itself is sad,
And the spring itself is a thought.

Time flows fast;
The spring is passing.

A deep thought flickers,
And a bird cries sadly to that wind.

Dark smoke roams afloat,
And the bell tolls.

The sadness of night with no words,
And the mind of spring with no sounds.

Flowers fall,
And leaves sigh.

(No. 9, pp. 6-7)

As is apparent in the Korean text, the first poem is less free in form than the second. The whole poem is centred around "all the more" which is repeated twice in each of the three stanzas. This repetitional phrase, however, seems to have an incantatory effect on the poem and together with the title of the poem certainly has an appeal to the reader's mind.

The second poem consists of seven couplets of irregular length. In this poem the author depicts the pathos of a spring night not by his personal feelings alone but by a set of objective portrayals of surroundings such as a bird's crying, the dark smoke, the evening bell and the falling of flowers. All of these are components designed to subserve the theme of this poem.

The fourth line of this poem, "And the spring itself is a thought", represents the character of spring time by a brief metaphor where the meaning of "spring" is transferred to "a thought". The function of this metaphor is certainly limited merely implying that spring is the time when one is usually lost in reverie or thought. This, however, is one of the earliest examples of metaphors in modern Korean poetry where the author has associated two seemingly

heterogeneous things by finding an affinity between them.

Not all Ansõ's poems published in T'aesõ munye have this quality. There are, for example, two poems, "A Nap in June" (No. 13, p. 8) and "The Wanderer on New Year's Eve" (No. 16, p. 7), that hardly maintain a similar degree of refinement. In these poems poetic emotion is somewhat crudely presented, which may fundamentally be ascribable to the poor subject matters:

The June daylight
Is unsparingly shining,
And to and from my drowsy eyes
The blue sky comes and goes.

The chirping of insects in the trees and grass
Is faintly heard;
Time flows without words,
And only my nap is endless.

(No. 13, p. 8)

The snow that falls in silence
May not know the New Year's Eve of this wanderer:
Alone and without sleep
I mourn for the night that is deepening.

My bed that no one shares with me
Has no means to thaw the cold:
Dreams afloat the pillow
Merely fade and return.

When alone I stepped out in the snowy night street,
All is in silence and in silence;
And only the faint lamps that pain my eyes
One here, one more there.

(No. 16, p. 7)

These poems do not express any more than simple personal feelings anyone may have in June and at the year-end. The third and fourth lines of the first poem do not give any precise image of what is

attempted to describe. The last two lines of this poem where "time" that flows in silence is paralleled with endless "drowsiness" merely suggest that the poet who is conscious of the flow of time feels some scruples about his drowsiness.

As to the second poem, the second and the third stanzas do not in any way develop the theme of the poem suggested in the first stanza. The cold bed, the snowy night street and the street lamps in the second and the third stanzas do not successfully conjoin to describe any more than a commonplace sensation of the New Year's Eve.

Another snow scene is depicted with much success in one of Ansö's poems entitled "The Falling Snow" (No. 13, p. 8) where the snow falling is represented in a rapid association with "time" and "black hairs":

The snow is falling;
The snow is getting deep.
As though time is racing away;
As though black hairs are turning white.

Thus, snow on fields;
Thus, snow on mountains.
All is snow, on the head;
All is snow, in the mind.

The world of snow;
The head of snow.
Will there be any fire?
Will there be any drug?

Flake by flake it falls;
Flake by flake it gets deep,
As though years are passing, one by one,
As though hairs are turning white, one by one.

Here "the snow" is first associated with "time" (and "the year", a unit of time as appears in the last but one line). The affinity between "the snow" and "time" is clearly suggested - the seasonal falling of the snow accompanies the end of a year and at the same time

ushers in a new year. "The snow" is then associated with "black hairs turning white". One might interpret this, superficially at least, as an image of the snow actually fallen "on the head" as described in the second stanza. This simile, however, seems to have an additional meaning in the background, which is much more significant. "The falling of the snow" that is first associated with the passing of time does not just fall on the head covering the black hairs but eventually turns them into white by gradually increasing white hairs on all our heads. Hence the image of the falling snow has three connections in this poem: from the actual falling of the snow to the passing of time and years, to the black hairs externally turning white by the snow fallen on the head - a characteristic winter scene - and finally to real white hairs gradually put forth by age.

Some of Ansō's more successful lyrical effects are secured by figurative use of brief words and phrases which make it possible for the reader to sense the most intricate feelings of the poet.

When I lie alone on the grass,
The strings of Fancy's lyre in my heart,
touched by your hand, make a tune.

from "The Spring" (No. 9, p. 6)

To compare me, I am like a floating grass
Dancing to the wind on a high mountain,
Or a tuft of seaweed rising and submerging
In the waves singing on the ocean.

from "To Compare Me" (No. 10, p. 7)

The evening that descends on a floral float
Dresses mountains, villages, fields and the seas
All alike with dark clothes
And put all things to rest.

from "A Winter Twilight" (No. 13, p. 8)

The white sails racing in flocks like sheep,

from "A Daughter of the North" (No. 14, p. 6)

In the first example quoted from "The Spring", the delightful and carefree mood of the poet is sensually apprehended through a mental picture of a lyre being played by the fingers of Spring with the tuneful sound reaching our imagination. By means of this metaphor that is most appropriate to the scene, a complete harmony between the poet's mind and the spring is vividly represented.

The second poem, "To Compare Me", is not a very successful poem, but the similes of "a floating grass" and "a tuft of seaweed", repeatedly given to the first and the last stanzas, seem to make up for the second and the third stanzas where the poet expresses his loneliness and helplessness in a more straightforward way. By means of these metaphors, the frailty and triviality of man cast on earth are aptly paralleled with "a floating grass" and "a tuft of seaweed" that are always at the mercy of Nature. To the author of this poem, man is only comparable to these trifles, and we can hardly dispute this when we think of such fundamental questions of man as "What am I?". The consciousness of oneself reflected in these metaphors is not self-derisive, but evocative of a very sincere emotion.

Thirdly, in "A Winter Twilight" the coming of an evening is somewhat ornately described as coming down on "a floral float", but it seems that it has its proper reason. The image of the "floral float" must come from the bright colours of the evening glow that precedes the dusk. As it becomes dusk, this image is associated with that of a floral hearse (in a funeral procession in "dark clothes"). As the evening puts one to sleep that is a kind of rest, so the funeral puts one to an eternal rest. Indeed, the poet mourns for the

passing of youth in the last stanza:

Oh, mournful is the winter twilight!
 The floral spring of youth and the charming dreams of youth
 Have faded away without leaving a trace,
 And the wind blows alone in the wild snowy field.

Finally, a peaceful scene of the sea dotted with white sails in the past is represented through a simile of "sheep" in "A Daughter of the North". Not only the whiteness of the sails but the peace of the sea are transferred to the sheep. Then the blue sea is transformed to a green pasture on which the sheep romp about, and the rowers' songs are transformed to shepherds' songs.

On the other hand, Yi Il's poems have some other characteristics. One of his three poems called "My Song" chants the eulogy of the three functions of his body - the circulation of the blood, the palpitation of the heart, and the cellular propagation:

All the blood that circulates in my body
 Goes round and round and round
 With the temperature of thirty-seven degrees
 For twenty-four hours without ceasing.

The palpitation of life that throbs against the chest
 Beats and beats and beats
 With the same sound of throbbing
 Regardless of the hot or the cold season.

All the cells that have made up my body
 Run and run and run
 Through the long nights and the bright days
 Seeking mates to multiply.

The blood that circulates in my body,
 The palpitation that beats against the chest
 And the cells that run in my body
 Intend to make my own new me.

(No. 10, p. 6)

Because of the physiological aspect which characterizes this poem, this poem looks modern in a way that is distinct from all the other poems published in T'aesõ munye. The central theme of this poem is the force of life seen in each of the three organic functions, which the first three stanzas of this poem describe. The poet, however, does not exploit the theme any further but simply generalizes the three functions in the last stanza. As a result, this poem becomes no more than a very naive observation of a life force despite the author's attempt to look deep into his body.

His two other poems, "The Loneliness at the Seashore" (No. 7, p. 6) and "The Song of Loneliness" (No. 10, p. 7), deal with the loneliness of man, but there is a basic difference in the point of view between the two poems. The first depicts the loneliness of a man standing on a dreary seashore with roaring waves as follows:

The sound of waves beating the rocks
Breeds unutterable terror
And makes my flesh creep
As though the angel of Death were approaching.

Like hungry lions searching for prey,
Roaring near with terrifying cries,
The waves rushing toward me
Raise the terrifying sound of hunger.

.....

A frail life! Such a life
That would never withstand a wave!
Ludicrous is it that all aspiration,
Design and hope hang here.

On the lonely shore, the sound of waves
Rises, minute by minute;
And the throb of life in my heart
Is going to fade far away with the wind.

This is the cry of a lonely man who must have seen the pains,
the sorrow and the nothingness of life on this dreary earth beset

with roaring waves in front and with a formidable wilderness at the back. The sad undertone permeates the entire poem except the very last stanza where he implores a star of hope to guide him along:

Star of hope shining in darkness,
Shine and brighten my way!
I am wandering about with no way to follow
And crying sadly in a dreary land.

The encounter with loneliness, or the nothingness, of life on earth expressed in this poem echoes still undiminished through his third poem, "The Song of Loneliness". In this poem, however, the author has acquired, perhaps through his long inquiry into human life on earth, a philosophic mind to see "loneliness" as his companion for life that will eventually lead him into eternity:

The life of this poor scholar
Floating to eternity
Was in the past adorned
With sorrow, moment by moment.

Who will guide me
When I wander with no way to follow,
And who will give me drink
When I stand crying from thirst?

The stars and the moon are cruel,
And likewise this world
Is cruel and cruel
To me who am floating on.

The moment I have done
With the past wet in tears,
The future with fresh sorrow
Rushes toward me threateningly.

As a half of my life
Was spent in sorrow,
So will the remaining half
Be spent in sorrow?

.....

Would that my soul soar up
From the earth to the sky
And forever become
A crystalline star.

.

My destiny is eternity,
 And there I shall rest.
 I will build a bridge of loneliness,
 And I will cross it into eternity.

Loneliness is spread
 On the way I walk along,
 And the bright moon and the glittering stars
 Are shining on my loneliness.

Loneliness, my companion for life,
 You precede me
 On all the way I go,
 Loneliness, my companion for life.

This is a very peculiar and unexpected way of describing "loneliness" on earth. In the last three stanzas, "loneliness" is associated with stones with which to build a firm bridge leading to a new territory of life that is eternity. The moon and the stars, which were formerly considered as cruel, shine on the "loneliness", which is now essential for his "bridge". With only "loneliness" to accompany him all through his life on earth, he can attain his new estate in eternity. Hence, he addresses "loneliness" as his companion for life. Yi Il's poems have this quality of reflection on life which distinguishes them from many other poems in this transitional period.

The first of five poems composed by Sangat'ap, "The Song of a Hermit" (No. 14, p. 6), is made up of two parts, each having a subtitle, "A Song (to Brother K)" and "A Prelude to New Self". Between the two parts, the first consisting of three couplets is less ambiguous than the second:

Your flesh - the chilly autumn, the solid winter,
You, if once you shut your mouth.

Your soul - the tender spring for budding "truth",
You, if once you close your eyes.

Your eyes - the new moon entering the green gate of darkness,
You, if once you face your love.

The structure of this poem is very simple, and the similarity between couplets reminds us of Ch'oe Namsón's early poem "Are You Aware?" (Sonyón, 2nd yr., No. 7, p. 55). However, the conciseness of diction and the use of metaphor are quite distinct and startling. From the three metaphors given in the first part of this poem, we may draw the character of the poet's friend or colleague called "Brother K" who is solemn and stern when speechless, intelligent and sagacious when meditative, and amiable and romantic in the presence of his love.

The second part of this poem has four sections that are much more connotative than the three couplets of the first part. As its subtitle suggests, it is the song of the poet himself who has been awakened to the new life ahead and is bidding farewell to his past life.

Go to the entrance to the future and listen, soldier,
To the solemn tune of a funeral day, the ode of new self,
That silently and sadly flows
From under the ruins of sensuality and, oh, the setting moon.

My old self charmed with false curios is gone,
And the embryo smiles at the darkness of penitence,
the placenta of trinity -
Nature, life and time.

My new self cries, "Oh, the hard wood of flesh
That is electrified by the gravitation of the higher
self, one self, one self,
My new self's blood flows to and from the beginning and
the end of the world.

To me there is no sadness, no terror and no agony:
 Oh, to the true 'me', death and growing old,
 Except infinite wounds and perdition,
 Are fireworks of harmony and evening banquets."

In the first section, the poet's past life is sharply contrasted to his future life which solemnly and quietly sets in. His past life is viewed as having resulted in "the ruins of sensuality" which is compared to "the setting moon". His future life may not necessarily differ from, or be brighter than, his past life, for it still retains the sad note of irreversible life as is inferred from the word "sadly" in the third line. As we can see later in the following sections, the poet's future can possibly differ from his past only because his mental attitude toward life has changed. He has come to grasp this new belief from the lessons he has drawn from his past life.

In the second section, the poet's old self enamoured with "false curios" is juxtaposed with "the embryo" that is certainly his new self quickening in the womb. By "false curios" may be meant such experiences of life as carnal love or worldly pursuit of pleasure, judging from "the ruins of sensuality" in the preceding section. "The embryo" suffering in the darkness of the womb provided by nature, life and time is mentally maturer than his past self for it "smiles at the darkness of penitence". "Penitence" here seems to have the biblical connotation of man's original sin and of the penitence of his first disobedience to God which brought womankind the pains of childbirth together with misery to all mankind.

The third and the fourth sections are entirely given to the words of the poet's new self, which are very ambiguous. The most we can gather from these sections may be that the new self, which is

now under the strong influence of the larger self, rises above worldly agonies such as "sorrow and terror" and gives a warm reception even to "growing old" and "death" which are certainly subordinate to "infinite wounds and perdition". "The large self" here seems to have a Buddhistic implication of "the function (ponbun) of the universe" or the meaning of "the true (spiritual) self" as opposed to the small (fleshly) self" which is called "soa".

As examined above, the two parts of this poem are radically different from each other dealing with different subjects, though both are written under the common title of "The Song of a Hermit". The second part is much more metaphysical than the first, and it is in some respects more meditative than Yi Il's two poems on the subject of loneliness.

Sangat'ap's four other poems published in T'aesŏ munye are short lyrics dedicated to his young sister. They are "The Spring", "The Night", "Fruit" and "The Nightingale", all of which appear on the 7th page of the last issue. Among the expressions that have some fine quality of lyricism comparable to that of Ansŏ's poems are the following:

The wind blows a flute softly to the trees.

from "The Spring"

All things suffering from fatigue and anguish
Are soothed by the hand of the night
Into quiet sleep, into quiet sleep.

from "The Night"

Oh, the fruit is borne, borne red on the boughs of love.
Time passes clapping "Sing, sing a song".

from "Fruit"

The spring song echoing in the blossoming valley
 Drops softly into my heart,
 Oh, nightingale.
 The daylight melts,
 And Time is intoxicated on its way,
 Oh, nightingale.

from "The Nightingale"

Examples such as the first and the second where the effect is due to a simple contrast of ideas - of "the wind" and "a flute" and of "the night" and a "hand" - may frequently be found in lyrical poems today. Yet at the time of T'aesŏ munye even such contrasts of ideas are only rarely found in verse lines including Ansŏ's which we have already discussed.

In the subsequent examples given above, "Time" is personified through a transference of its abstract meaning to something concrete and alive so that it may "clap its hands", just as a playful child may do, in "Fruit" and may also be "intoxicated" by the echoing song of a bird, like an adult, in "The Nightingale". In either case, "Time" is represented in such a way that it becomes "visible". This is, as we all know, a means of expressing uncommon ideas in an unexpected combination. It is by this that we can achieve a direct sensual apprehension of thought in modern poetry.

3. Ch'angjo

When we look at the Korean poetry published in the magazine Ch'angjo, the first thing that strikes us is that Chu Yohan, who had formerly been unknown, wrote as many as thirty-three poems out of the total of sixty-nine contributed to it by twelve authors in all. In fact, his poems, appearing in all the nine issues of Ch'angjo

except the third, overshadow others' poems.

"The Bonfire", his well-known prose poem carried on the first two pages of the first issue of this magazine, has long been taken to be his first poem ever published. Besides, many of those who would ignore, or rather have little concern for, the significant achievement of early transitional poetry, as attained primarily by Ch'oe Namsŏn, have a tendency to evaluate this poem as a monumental work. They would regard this poem as the first forerunner of the free verse movement in the history of modern Korean poetry.

However, that this poem is not Chu's first work, but only the sixth, and that there are at least five of his poems published earlier in Hagu, has recently been pointed out by Chŏng Hanmo who proposes that we should reconsider "The excessive historical significance accorded to "The Bonfire" for so long".⁽¹⁾ Hagu was an academic journal for Korean students in Japan. It was published in Kyoto in January 1919, one month before the first publication of Ch'angjo in Tokyo. For some unknown reason this journal discontinued publication immediately after its first issue.⁽²⁾

Chu's five poems published in Hagu under the general heading of "Étude" are "The Stream", "The Spring", "The Snow", "A Tale" and "A Remembrance". "The Spring" which is the second poem has five parts that were later collected as independent poems in an anthology entitled Arŭmdaun saebyŏk (The Beautiful Dawn), first published in Seoul in 1924. These five poems, all composed in 1918 and published in Hagu at the beginning of 1919, are very close in time to "The Bonfire" and three subsequent poems - "The Early Morning Dream",

(1) Chŏng Hanmo (1974), p. 297.

(2) A copy of Hagu is preserved in Yonsei University Library, Seoul.

"The White Fog" and "The Gift" - written in January 1919 and published in the first issue of Ch'angjo in February of the same year.⁽¹⁾

Hence, we evidently come to have Chu's five early poems written and published immediately before "The Bonfire", with "The Stream" at the head of the chronological order of publication. Yet, in the chronological order of poetic composition, "The Stream" is preceded by two other poems which I have not mentioned before. They are "Sitting Alone" and "Under the Blue Sky" written in February and December 1917, respectively. These two poems are the earliest in composition, though they were collected only later in The Beautiful Dawn. Therefore, I think it essential, when examining his early poetry, to begin with these two poems before going to the five poems in Hagu and "The Bonfire" and the rest in Ch'angjo.

"Sitting Alone" is a free-verse poem in three stanzas dealing with a strange sentiment of melancholy in the author's mind, the cause of which he hardly knows. The entire poem which is wordy and loose does not express any ideas pertinent to the theme but simply repeats his hope to have a laugh. In this poem there are only two lines that are worth mentioning:

My laugh that is beyond my reach
Is, on the contrary, laughing at me.

In these lines the futility of his attempt to become cheerful and self-derisive consciousness are combined in a way comparable to the use of metaphors in some of Ansō's or Sangat'ap's poems.

(1) All the poems of Chu Yohan collected in Arūmdaun saebyōk (The Beautiful Dawn), Hansōng tosō chusik hoesa, Seoul, 1924, clearly show the date of composition printed at the end of each poem.

His second poem, "Under the Blue Sky", is another example of free verse written ten months after his first poem, in December 1917. This poem with four stanzas describes the liveliness of a bright day very successfully. His style, which had been loose in his first poem, has become lucid and fluent now, and the diction, fresh and concise.

Under the blue sky
The light is full again today,
The warmth lies again today,
And the birds soar up high again today.

Sometimes the lonely roof was wet with the rain,
And sometimes the wind that sensed the setting sun
Murmured on the highest branch;
But now the birds
Wisely stir
Their soft, grey and yellow crests
And the love hidden in their heads,
And disclose their warm hearts
To the world of wonders known to none.

O, this hidden whispering today,
The invisible swing of limbs,
The many winding lines drawn in the beautiful world.
And, above all, you birds, your smooth backs
And the slender and red legs under your wings
Attract my lips.

O, the bright day, the spreading light,
And these beautiful creatures dancing and soaring up
Above these heavy and panting lives.
Beautiful creatures sporting, dancing and soaring up
To forever keep and preserve,
Caress and prolong more and more
The time of joyous tidings,
By moving unbearably
And singing continuously
With all the new might raised today.

Except for the first few lines in which two adverbs, "again" and "today", are repeated three times for the obvious purpose of emphasis, the whole poem is quite terse and lively. It successfully expresses an intense feeling of warm reception to a bright day, which certainly stands for a spiritual resurrection and, possibly, Christmas as inferred from "The time of joyous tidings" (the 4th stanza, ll, 3

& 7) and from the month in which the author, who was of a Christian family, composed this poem.

This bright day is made distinctive by the indirect contrast of rainy and windy days in the past in the first three lines of the second stanza, which have a metaphorical effect of reinforcing the connotations of the bright day. In the last three lines of the third stanza, we have an example of a most sensuous description of lovely birds, a distinctive quality introduced into transitional poetry first by Anso.

Chu's five poems subsequently written in 1918 and published in Hagu in January 1919 are of three types. The first two poems and the fifth, i.e., "The Stream", "The Spring" and "A Remembrance" are pure lyrics, the third entitled "The Snow" is a prose poem that is strictly the same in form and style as "The Bonfire", and the fourth is a narrative poem as the title, "A Tale", indicates.

As for the first type, "The Stream" begins with a rhythm very similar to the 7-5 syllable combination that is dominant in Ch'oe Namsön's songs. From the third line, however, the poet uses longer lines with some additional syllables. Nevertheless, the entire poem is reminiscent of the form of songs introduced into Korea in the early transitional period.

When I dip my feet into the clear water by the sand,
 Dabble the water in the pouring sun rays,
 And on a summer's day make friends with "the time"
 that is flowing to the unknown world
 Along with the ripples glittering with silver scales,

Our joy will remain alone in recollection
 When the new autumn comes again in white array -
 Yet do not cry for the September sun of the clear sky,
 (though it strolls across the ground covered with fallen
 leaves:)
 Pleasant is the whispering that is flowing low into your
 mind and mine.

As quoted above, this poem is simple in content. The idea expressed in it is that the pleasant summer will remain in reminiscence in autumn in spite of the sadness of this waning season with dead leaves on the ground.

His second poem, "The Spring", depicts spring scenes in a series of five parts, each distinct in character but well organized into a whole. The first part is a brief sketch of a mountain spring in three short stanzas, of which I feel no need for comment except for the delightful tune of the language presented in a set of short phrases:

The spring flows
Dancing alone
Through the rocks in a mountain valley.

The spring flows
Laughing alone
Among the flowers by a rugged mountain path.

When the sky is clear
The pleasant sound
Echoes through mountains and fields.

The second part consists of seven lines depicting the swift progress of the spring time with a portrayal of particular scenes:

When the sun smiles over the green buds sprouting
And the wind rises from the thawing earth,
The flower buds silently send their fragrance
Over the soft breasts of the forlorn maiden;
But the more honey-bees cast the shadows of their vibrating wings
And the more the branches swing with young birds perching on them,
The more swift is the dream of spring ...

The third part which is the shortest among the five is only a quatrain. It represents a sentiment of pathos that is closely related to the time when peach flowers bloom. Perhaps this sentiment comes from unrequited love on the part of the maiden who is twice mentioned in the poem in the second and the fourth stanzas.

When peach flowers bloom,
 My heart aches
 For the deep thought
 Is endless.

The fourth part mainly describes the grannie flower, but here again this flower is related to the spring maiden:

In the field across the river
 Grannie flowers bloom.
 Over the field and over the hill
 Grannie flowers bloom.
 The many "smiles"
 Scattered by the spring maiden bloom
 And the blowing wind blooms also:
 Grannie flowers, the flowers of love,
 Spreading the bitter scent
 In the field across the river.

The fifth stanza depicts a sombre scene of a spring evening, the melancholic mood of which is sharply contrasted with the delightful tune of the first stanza. This dusky evening stands for the loss of "spring" and, at the same time, for the loss of a country.

The sun sets,
 It sets beyond the ridge of Rohak Mountain.
 The skylark is silent in its feathers,
 And the fish lie on the bottom of water.
 When on the side of the road where the wind is blowing low
 The shadows of the herd returning home are disorderly,
 Oh, go back to the slope of the hill covered with blue fog,
 Groping for the spring, the thought of the nation,
 To prepare for the agony of another coming day.

Through these five parts, one may experience multiple sentiments of the spring in which the genuine delightfulness of a mountain stream is combined with the doleful sentiment of a young girl and the agonizing remorse of the loss of one's country. To achieve this sensation, the poet has aptly constructed each part with an image

appropriate to it so that the five parts may represent a comprehensive picture of spring. It seems that the success that this poem has achieved is largely due to his discreet choice of subject matter. For example, the mountain stream that is associated with the sensation of pleasure, the peach flower that stands for fresh, carnal love, and the grannie flower which represents the coy sorrow of a broken heart.

The fifth poem, "A Remembrance", is a short lyric referring to a variety of mutually unrelated objects which have added to the poet's reflection on the meaning of life that is on the whole pessimistic. In this poem he has made an attempt to seek a subjective meaning of life from some objective surroundings and natural phenomena.

A broken-winged butterfly
 Creeps among the flowerbeds:
 The sadness of a blue full-moon waning everyday.
 The wind blowing softly the golden hairs - a distressing thought.
 (And, sometimes,)
 The yellow cow; her dark eyes:
 The autumn making the leaves wither and fall - human life!
 Oh, every night when the stars flicker
 The little lambs that have learned grazing
 Remember the hillside ...
 And then only the smothering
 Fog, fog and fog ...

Two of his poems in Hagu remain to be examined. They are "The Snow" and "A Tale". I propose to look into the latter first so that later on we can examine the former in parallel with "The Bonfire", because these two are, as has already been said, prose poems sharing a very similar form and style.

"A Tale" is a long narrative poem dedicated, as is stated in the subtitle of the poem: "To My Young Sister". It tells a story of four maidens who once set about the climbing of a rugged, thorny mountain to pluck rare flowers brilliantly blooming on its peak.

However, three of the four maidens gave up climbing one after another and went back home. Yet the last one never did so and continued her desperate effort to attain the goal. Meanwhile, months and years passed by, and the three girls never heard of her ever again.⁽¹⁾

In the opening lines of this poem, we come across an outstanding personification of the spring presented as a fair lady:

The Spring carrying fresh "days" in her lovely hands
Is coming afoot in a long green skirt.

There are in some other lines of this poem supernatural elements that create suspense and at the same time help to develop this fictitious tale, for example, the mysterious boat coming to the bank of the dark lake without anyone rowing but led by an invisible force and the strange voice echoing from nowhere bidding us to "behold the endless struggle lying in front of you".

Though it gives at first glance the false impression of a semblance of a fairy tale merely for children, it is clear that the author of this tale evidently intends to convey a far more significant and deeper truth than a child could comprehend. If you accepted it as a mere fairy tale, you could hardly find an answer to some fundamental questions about the purport of this tale. Does the poet really present the fourth girl as a paragon of dauntless tenacity? (After all, she was missing and never came back to her companions!)

(1) The narrative character of this poem with some supernatural elements reminds us of p'ansori (Korean classical opera), such as Sugung-ga (The Song of the Water Palace) and, at the same time, of some Western fairy tales such as those written by Hans Christian Andersen or the brothers Grimm. However, I have been unable to find any more specific connection between "A Tale" and any of them. Therefore, whether or not Chu Yohan has been indebted to any of them is open to question.

Or, is he taking sides with the other girls who escaped the danger by having abandoned their attempt?

Basically, it is a story for adults of an unattainable goal of life. True success in life is to labour hopefully towards an unattainable ideal. Whether one will arrive does not really matter, and those who have abandoned this noble attempt together with their aspiration are as good as nothing.

The poet has expressed this idea by the use of a set of images and symbols, which may not easily be grasped if we are concerned with the literal meanings of words alone. First of all, the Spring personified as a fair lady is a giver of life to all creatures. As soon as she comes to the earth, activities of life begin, and the bright morning shows itself over the world. Then "the four maidens with four baskets" that stand for all human beings with certain objectives in life begin climbing the thorny mountain which apparently symbolizes the way of hard life. The sight of the fragrant flowers at the summit of the mountain, the symbol of an unattainable goal for all, attracts the girls' attention. (Cf. the first two stanzas of the poem.)

Before long three out of the four girls come across the dark stagnant water of a lake, a symbol of the perils of life menacing their lives. Two girls cross it by getting on the strange boat moving without anyone rowing, a sort of deus ex machina, or God's grace. Now they find themselves in a pitch-black forest, but they continue making their way toward the brilliant flowers at the top of the mountain for the flowers can still be seen clearly even in the utter darkness. This means that they still embrace an aspiration for the unattainable goal even at the risk of their lives. (Cf. the third and fourth stanzas.)

As soon as they reach the summit, they realize that the flowers are gone and that there is in front of them an even more rugged mountain with more attractive flowers at the top of it. This may symbolically be interpreted as a reference to short-sightedness in human nature in perceiving the unattainable goal of life. It is then that they hear the strange voice bidding them to "behold the endless struggle in front of you", a revelation heard from within. The third girl, however, refuses to comply with it saying, "Oh, do not cheat me any more./ Your monument of foolishness will only laugh at you," thus in suspicion abandoning her attempt. The fourth girl alone continues to pursue the unattainable goal day and night. (Cf. the fifth stanza.)

In the meantime, the three girls, who have abandoned the struggle of life and who are therefore spiritually enervated, cannot perceive the existence of the fourth girl who is still pursuing life on a higher level. (Cf. the last stanza.)

In short, this poem is a narrative parody of human life presented in the form of a fairy tale. In it the author experimented with the symbolic use of words and situations which was quite unique. This experiment seems to have been conducted with much success, but only at the expense of much of his early success in lyricism such as achieved in "Under the Blue Sky" and "The Spring".

We are now ready to make an examination of "The Snow" in comparison with "The Bonfire" which has received undue acclamation. "The Snow" is a four-part prose poem dealing with an early morning scene of Seoul covered with snow. The four parts do not necessarily have a sequential order in time but merely present certain aspects of a winter morning that are distinct from one another.

The first part begins with the sound of "the morning bell" and

follows with a description of the city street along which a funeral procession is passing:

The morning bell tolls; it tolls at dawn in Seoul. The morning covered with the fog is stealthily getting brighter over those high white clouds; but when the streets that have thrown away their cold naked bodies in front of the night are wriggling in an opium dream, when along a Seoul street where even the hot pleasure-seeking breaths sucking the blue bloods of prostitutes under the twinkling red lights over night are getting cold, the feeble trailing note of a funeral song flowing from east to west is fading under the long wind-swept bridge, and when the lamplights out of oil are weak and the streets sigh and flicker with the repeated sighs of the past, the trilling sound of the morning bell echoes from dream to dream. The bell tolls an early morning.

The ugliness of night life in Seoul is successfully portrayed by objective sensual descriptions of street scenes that have a startlingly vivid and intense effect. The sense of moral corruption and barrenness in this metropolis is effectively reinforced by the description of a funeral procession.

The second part deals with the sad sound of the wind blowing through the East Gate, which apparently mourns for the spiritual emptiness of Seoul where the snow falls and melts:

The snow melts; it melts on the high roof of the East Gate. The smell of the blue tiles, the smell of Tanch'ong colours fading, and the cocks' crowing rising from far and near have driven among the broad pillars the goblins that would make noises every night: yet whenever the sound of the wind creeping beneath the Gate sends a sorrowful echo to the dim ceiling, (oh, with what sadness does the wind make such a heartbreaking sound?) listen to the sound of the wind playing a sad flute under the leaves of the wild grapevines growing longer every year on the crumbling stone wall. Blending with the scattering snow, sorrowful the sound that pours down into my mind. Oh, the snow melts; the snow, falling on the green moss, melts.

Notice that the melting of the snow is much stressed here. It is mentioned twice at the start and twice at the end of this part.

Just as the wind represents a mournful sigh, the melting of the snow stands for the tears of sorrow and mourning. These two elements, when combined as in "the scattering snow", become a full mourner of the death of this metropolis. The poet feels it deeply when he says, "Blending with the scattering snow, sorrowful the sound that pours into my heart".

The snow is then associated with the shrieking of a magpie in the next part. Usually, a magpie's shrieking in the morning is taken as a good omen in Korea, but here the case is quite the contrary:

A magpie is shrieking; she is shrieking in the early morning in Seoul. Having lost her way in the snow pouring down on the woods of Sangak Mountain and having lost the landmark that she had made in the cloud dyed in red by the setting sun last evening, the magpie passes shrieking across the early morning of Seoul; she is shrieking.

Here the shrieking of the magpie is no longer a good sign. It is, in fact, a cry of helplessness and desperation. Besides, the magpie does not stay but just flies away from Seoul crying sadly - definitely, the passing away of good luck from the city.

The last part is concerned mainly with the falling of the snow. The snow is associated with images of sorrowful and sinful affairs:

Oh, the morning bell tolls; the snow is getting deep to the distant peals of the morning bell. The broad and narrow Seoul streets are filled with snow. The sorrowful tears of a girl who has never seen her lover and has died have become the snow, and they are falling down. The white peach blossoms not yet fallen even after the last year's spring wind are now flowing down from the hot bosom of a fairy who embraces a sin. The morning wrapped in fog is stealthily getting brighter over those high and white clouds; but the snow pouring with the wind blocks and fills the Seoul streets. Oh, the snow is getting deep. The tears are getting deep. Ceaselessly and endlessly they are getting deep - getting deep ... getting deep

In these lines, the snow is closely associated with the tears of sorrow. This image comes first from a young girl who has died without realizing her hope of seeing her lover and then from "a fairy" (who is probably the same girl) whose tears flow down from her sinful bosom like the petals of peach flowers.

The morning bell that began tolling at the beginning of this poem continues ringing in the last part. This may be a symbolical knell for the loss of morality from Seoul in spite of the bell's usual function of announcing another daybreak. Thus, the whole poem may likewise be interpreted as a symbolic description of mourning for the spiritual death of Seoul.

On the other hand, "The Bonfire", a five-part poem written in exactly the same prose style as that of "The Snow", deals with an April day in P'yŏngyang. It is a description of the fireworks performed on the Taedong River in celebration of Buddha's birthday on the eighth of April by the lunar calendar. In this poem, however, the poet is much more concerned with his personal, emotional responses to the evening scenes of merrymaking and revelling than with the external activities of the people on this particular occasion.

The first part begins with the scene of the sunset followed by the poet's sad feelings.

Oh, the day draws to a close. In the western sky and on the lonely river there is the fading pink glow ...
 Oh, when the sun sets, when it sets, comes again the night in which I weep alone every night under the apricot tree; yet as it is the eighth of April, the noise of the people sweeping along the main road is joyful just to hear:
 Why then can't I forbear the tears in the mind?

Thus, from the start the poet has made it clear that his mind has been suffering from an intense feeling that is quite contrary to the joyful mood of this occasion. He develops this feeling further in

the next two parts:

Oh, the red fireballs dance, dance and dance. When on the gate of the quiet citadel I look down, there are the smell of the water and the smell of the sand. When the bonfires that are champing the night and champing the sky are so covetous as to champ even themselves, a young man who alone embraces this dark heart throws his green dream of the past onto the cold water, but will the cruel ripples suspend its reflection? Oh, flowers, when plucked, must wither, but this mind that is alive is dead at the thought of the love who has passed away. Alas, by all means, shall I burn down this heart in that flame? Shall I burn down this sorrow? When, dragging my aching feet, I went to the grave again yesterday, the flowers that had been dry during the winter were already in bloom, but does the spring of love never come back? I would rather plunge into this water without remorse tonight Then, would there be anyone who would feel pity? ... At this, the firecrackers begin thundering with shooting sparks. When at once I collect myself, the onlookers' shouts seem to me to mock me, reproach me. Oh, I would live in a more intense passion. It is my mind that would live in a more passionate life, unexpectedly panting, even in the smoke congealing like those bonfires or in the agony of the suffocating fire

When in April the warm wind comes over the river, throngs of people loiter in white on the high hills of Ch'öngnyu Precipice and Peony Peak. Whenever the wind comes and blows, the ripples dyed with fire break into a laugh like a madman's, and the cowardly fish are driven into the sand; and at the side of the boat tapped by the ripples come and go the drowsy shapes of "rhythms" - Flickering shadows, bursts of laughter, the song of a young entertaining girl shrieking long under the lamp hung above, and even the sight of fireworks unexpectedly inducing carnal desire are now boring, and the endless drink taken glass after glass after glass, is distasteful now; and when I lie exhausted on the messy bottom of the boat, illogical tears warm my eyes. When the men, who are affected by the ceaseless strains of the double-headed drum, can hardly resist their desire set afire and rush out from time to time to the side of the boat with glittering eyes, and when the dying candlelight that is left flickers against the ruffled hem of the skirt, the rowing sound that squeaks as if it had an intent oppresses my heart more than ever.

The second part expresses the poet's feeling of anxiety and helplessness, which apparently comes from the loss of his love together with his youthful dream. This feeling is contrasted with the jovial mood of the occasion. At the thundering sound of the firecrackers, however, he recovers and begins longing for a life as passionate as firecrackers. In this respect, the bonfires in this poem stand for the passion that the poet earnestly wishes to regain.

He goes on to describe in the third part a scene of boat riding on the Taedong River. Here again, he remains passive toward the drunken revelry even though he has kept company in drinking. He can hardly mix with the people rejoicing and dancing with entertaining girls. His conscience pricks him to shed warm tears, and the squeaking sound of the rowing weighs heavily upon his mind.

The poet brings to the fourth and fifth parts a diversion of his personal mood. Here he urges his long-oppressed craving for a passionate life of love to be vicariously realized in an imaginary young man in a boat coming up the river.

Oh, the river laughs; it laughs. It is a strange laugh; it is the laugh that the cold river laughs at the dark sky. Oh, a boat is coming up; it is coming up. Whenever the wind blows, the boat squeaking in sorrow is coming up.

Row the boat to Nŭngna Island, which is asleep afar; row up the fast-flowing Taedong River. Turn the bow of your boat straight to the hill where your love is waiting barefoot. The cold wind arising from the tips of the waves does not matter. The strange sound of laughter does not matter either. Even the dark heart of a young man who has lost love does not matter to you. "Brightness" never exists without shadow - Oh, do not just miss your definite today. Oh, set fire, set fire tonight to your red bonfire, red lips, eyeballs, and your red tears

This imaginary young man may be regarded as the inner-self of the poet, and the love waiting barefoot for him as an embodiment of the passionate life he has been craving since the loss of his former love.

The view that would interpret this poem as dealing with the poet's sadness over the loss of country instead of the death of his love can hardly be supported by the textual evidence. Whether or not the poet is telling us of his actual experience of suffering the death of his own love does not concern us here. Throughout the poem the protagonist is wailing as a young man for the loss of love and passion, not for the ruin of his country or people by the Japanese. In a sense, there is a combination of negative and positive emotions toward the jovial mood of the occasion. He reveals revulsion toward the gaiety of the mass and a desire to go away from it and at the same time a desire to be assimilated into it. The last part, in which the poet invites an imaginary young man to attain love and passion in his stead, may justly be considered as a reconciliation of these two conflicting emotions as well as the close of the poem.

Thus, "The Bonfire" is just another poem symbolic in nature like "The Snow". These two poems are closely related to each other in style and diction. Each deals with the loss of something spiritual. "The Snow" mourns the spiritual death of a metropolis, and "The Bonfire" grieves for a young man's loss of love and passion. The difference between them is that while the former knells for the spiritual death of a large community in sober melancholy, the latter wails for the loss of love and youth by an individual in intense agony.

The excessive praise hitherto accorded to "The Bonfire" should be lessened, for this poem hardly deserves it. Above all, it is

not Chu Yohan's first poem, but only the sixth. Nor is it the first forerunner of the free verse movement in modern Korean poetry since we have already seen Ch'oe Namsŏn's free-verse poems composed about ten years earlier than this. There is basically no difference between "The Bonfire" and "The Snow", both of which are only minor successes in Chu Yohan's early poetry.

Among his other poems subsequently written and published in Ch'angjo, some show further development of his poetic skill and ideas, and others reveal some of his weaknesses. First of all, let us examine "The White Fog" (Vol. No. 1, p. 3), which includes lines in which "the white fog" is associated with a sound. Notice the first stanza quoted below:

Oh, morning after morning
 The white fog surrounds my house.
 The gently trembling voice, the sweet lullaby
 That passing draws fine ripples in my hollow head:
 That is the secret tune of the gathering fog.

Except for the last line, which seems quite redundant, the poet has made here an unexpected and fine connection of fog and sound. A similar but somewhat awkward metaphor is expressed in a poem entitled "The Gift" (Vol. No. 1, p. 3) which immediately follows "The White Fog". To quote only the first three couplets:

Gently down on the ground falls the snow,
 My love coming down in a white skirt.

In the cold lips of the snow I know
 Burns the red agony of hidden love.

Yet I do not know how to seek her warm heart -
 (Oh, the snow is coming down, that is my love,)

The two attributes in the first couplet, "gently" and "white", may vaguely suggest some affinity between the snow and a fair lady, but

the ideas formed in the other couplets are singularly irrelevant to the image of a lady whom the poet is anxious to embrace.

Chu Yohan sometimes seems audacious in choosing metaphors for his poems for he uses a number of metaphors without elaboration and refinement. The first two stanzas of "Life and Death" (Vol. No. 7, p. 3) consist of words in parallel, which were certainly meant to create some metaphorical effects.

"Life" is the setting sun, the sea of blood,
The strong and clamorous sky.
"Death" is a dawn, white fog,
Fresh breath, a simple colour.

"Life" is a dull comedy.
"Death" is a beautiful tragedy.
"Life" is a flickering candlelight.
"Death" is a shining diamond.

Even more rough comparisons of "the eyes" of a woman and "a forest" and of the same "eyes" and "a stream" appear in similes in a short poem entitled "The Eyesight" (Vol. No. 5, p. 64).

When the eyes of my love that are like a forest
Are exposed to my face,
Encounter my eyes,
My mind trembles like the wind.

When the eyes of my love that are like a stream
Flow in my mind,
Wash my flushed cheeks,
My blood swims like fish.

Therefore it seems that many of his highly figurative poems can hardly achieve great success because some crudity of expression is liable to occur in them. "The Flower" (Vol. No. 5, p. 65) is certainly a rare exception in which "the flower" and "the smile" are combined in a witty way:

The flower blooms; it blooms
 Wherever my love's smile falls.
 When I pluck the flower in my hand,
 Both the flower and the leaves fall away.

When I ever keep in mind
 My love's smile that fell on the ground,
 It has bloomed there into a flower
 And [drives] my burning mind, as it were, mad.

Accordingly, he seems to gain firmer ground in a number of less figurative poems. Apart from his very early poems that we have already examined, there are at least three poems in which he expresses himself more naturally and assuringly. The first of the three is "The Season of the Sun" (Vol. No. 2, pp. 31-32), an ode to summer, which overflows with intense feelings:

A silent flame is burning the sky,
 And fragrant wheat-flowers have filled the earth.
 Treading the hot ground with bare feet
 I am embraced in the awareness of the field.
 When the water in the paddyfield is flashing with the sunlight,
 The descending light and the heat tire my body.
 Sometimes, the slow-chanting song is pleasing to hear,
 And they move with heavy steps seeking a cool shade.

The scorching sun adorns our heads,
 And the gushing spring washes our feet.
 Drooping wild flowers with all the veins swollen by the heat!
 The earth panting in a sweating tension!
 Oh, the sun, the season of the sun, melting the heavy ocean
 And driving all nature of brightness, human life
 Into the endless fire of bellows!

Oh, in such a day my life is seething there
 That I would walk to that yonder mountain ridge along the path
 Smelling of the sweet pine resin that flows on the bark,
 The trail of flowers blooming in the sun in toxic colours,
 And the lane covered with hot red earth.
 I would take a rest there in the breathing grass;
 I would take a rest there in the shade of whispering trees.
 Ah, I am intoxicated as if I lay in a pleasure garden.
 The earth wet with sweat, the wind blowing from the east,
 The wandering clouds, the shower, and the overflowing flood,
 I love them all; I embrace with all my heart this season
 Covered with the earth, the season born out of the earth.
 In the field where the ears of grain are ripening
 And on the soaring mountain top, my mind is dancing and
 my mind is waking from a dream.

Fresh sunlight, raise, raise the golden wind
 And blow me away with my burning brow, cheeks and ears,
 Taking my "mind" to my strong lover.

Streets wet with the dew, shine, shine before me
 To realize your innate force for sure.
 Shine streets that begin waking,
 When panting I walk fast toward the eastern sky burning in fire.

Beautiful dawn, encircle me:
 Pure white fog of the dawn, clean my warm breast
 So that the sweet scent of my clean flesh
 May melt into all my strong lover's heart.

Oh, earth, hold me;
 Bind my bare feet in your tough stalks
 And tumble my plain body down on your grass.

Morning wet with the dew, shine, shine, then
 To reflect my impatient love on his fervent heart.

The repeated use of verbs in imperative mood in the opening line of each stanza clearly suggests the "impatience" of the girl who is anxious to be carried to her lover. In the fourth stanza, however, the girl who has always been so eager as to present herself to her lover comes to lose her courage at the thought of her "plain" body. That is why she entreats the wild grass to stop her by entangling her feet and tumbling her down on the grass. As a result she becomes like a poor animal ensnared in the grass, and in an utterly helpless state she still desires his sympathy. Hence, together with the preceding stanza in which she asks the morning fog to wash her breast, this stanza may well be considered as extremely carnal as well as sensual.

The last of the three poems is "The Spring" (Vol. No. 5, p. 65) having three four-line stanzas.⁽¹⁾ Each of the three stanzas reflects a certain sentiment of springtime.

(1) This poem is not to be mistaken for the five-part poem with the same title published in Hagu that we have already examined.

It is spring. The flow of blood in my flesh,
 As if stirred by a soul I do not know,
 Overflows and gushes up in my fervent heart
 Drowning me in a rapturous dream.

It is a lovable spring. Love,
 The sun shines on your smiling face,
 And I take it for a sunflower opening on dews.
 Don't these yellow buds of willow look pretty to you?

It is an enchanting spring. When the sun sets,
 The glittering lamplight in the park
 Draws a deep silent affection of love.
 Will you not go down to the edge of that lake?

The poet describes in the first stanza a rapturous sentiment of the spring in a sensual way as if it were aroused by a pleasant stroking of his heart. He then depicts the feeling of love and beauty in spring, which makes his lover's face look all the more pretty to him in the second stanza and which gains intensity at the sight of lamplight in the park in the last stanza. The interrogative sentences at the ends of the second and the last stanzas effectively set the whole poem in a dramatic situation in which the lovers take a walk side by side with a background of surrounding spring on the stage.

Our examination so far shows that Chu Yohan's early poems have some merits that we may favourably compare with those of Ansō and Sangat'ap. Although many of his highly figurative poems include seemingly imperfect metaphors and similes of poor quality, his other poems that are less figurative have an intensity and vividness of expression. "The Season of the Sun" successfully represents the author's intense desire to live in the passion of the sun. In his two prose poems, "The Snow" and "The Bonfire", he has achieved a considerable degree of success in a symbolic use of words after his experiments in "A Tale". Among his early experiments, "Under the Blue Sky" is a fine example of his lyricism. He has depicted a

bright day in a lucid and terse style. "The Spring" published in Hagu shows a skill in organizing various scenes of spring into a whole so as to disclose the multiple sensations of the spring in Korea.

Among the rest of the authors who wrote poems for Ch'angjo, we should examine Ansŏ and Sangat'ap. These two authors had already written some of their early poems for T'aesŏ munye, which show some important characteristics of modern Korean poetry which we have already discussed.

All seven lyrical poems of Ansŏ appear on pages 31-33 of the last issue of Ch'angjo which is dated July 1921. The first of these seven poems, "Falling Leaves", consists of five four-line stanzas. It conveys to the one he loves simple feelings aroused by the waning season of autumn. The last two stanzas include lines which bear some resemblance to the last stanza of W.B. Yeats' short lyric entitled "The Falling of the Leaves". The last two stanzas of Ansŏ's "Falling Leaves" and the last stanza of Yeats' "The Falling of the Leaves" are given below:

Oh, my beloved, come close to me.
It is autumn, the time of parting.
And, let us listen to our sound of the falling leaves.
When tomorrow comes, the snow of sorrow will come down also.

That is right. Our two hearts find themselves in the
time of autumn:
Our dreams will receive winter when tomorrow comes.
Before the passion cools down, with hot kisses,
Let us stay up this night.

The hour of the waning of love has beset us;
And weary and worn are our sad souls now;
Let us part, ere the season of passion forget us,
With a kiss and a tear on thy drooping brow.

Ansŏ must have read this poem of Yeats by March 1921 because the Korean translation of it appears among about ninety Western poems that Ansŏ translated and published in an anthology with the title of Onoeŭi mudo (The Dance of Anguish) on 20th March 1921 in Seoul. Between the two poems quoted above there is a similarity in theme; both poems describe dreary autumnal scenes and convey to a lady feelings aroused by them. In both poems the autumn is considered the season of waning passion that eventually brings the time of parting to lovers.

In comparison with Yeats' "The Falling of the Leaves", Ansŏ's poem is very crude in diction and wordy in expression. It contains a variety of emotions which do not necessarily correspond with the theme.

Ansŏ's next poem, "The Sound of Music", has four six-line stanzas. As the title indicates, this poem deals with sorrowful strains of music reminiscent of the long sobs of the violin in Paul Verlaine's "Chanson d'Automne".

At the slow and short
Sorrowful strains
Of the ringing sound of music,
My old faded dreams
Quietly revive,
And my heart aches.

At the quick and slow
Sorrowful strains
Of the pathos-filled sound of music,
The disturbing thoughts
Come afloat silently,
And my tears flow.

At the wide yet narrow
Sorrowful strains
Of the throbbing sound of music,
Waning love
Wakes afresh
And silently makes a smile.

At the very high yet low
 Sorrowful strains
 Of the hidden-flowing sound of music,
 The air of the moonless night
 Faintly vibrates
 And comes round the streets. (1)

In a way, this poem evokes a mood very similar to the pathos of Verlaine's poem. The Korean translation of this French poem is also found in Onoeŭi mudo. Anso's translation of "Chanson d'Automne" is given below side by side with the Korean original of his "The Sound of Music":

Kaŕrŭi mal
 Ppioronŭi
 Nŭrin myŏnginŭi
 Tanjorobŭn
 Aedalbŭme
 Naegasŭm ap'ara

Ulliyŏnanŭn aksŏngŭi
 Nŭrigodo tcharŭn
 Aedalbŭn kokchoe
 Naŭi sŭrŏjin nyetkkumŭn
 Kŭŭkhage sara
 Naegasŭm ap'ara.

Uri chongsorie
 Kasŭmŭn mak'imyŏ
 Natpisŭn hŭimŏlgŭm,
 Chinaegan nyetnarŭn
 Nunap'e ttŏdora
 Aa nanŭn unora.

Aesu kadŭkhan aksŏngŭi
 Pparŭgodo tŏjin
 Aedalbŭn kokchoe
 Twisungsunghan kŭ saenggagŭn
 Koyohage ttŭmyŏ
 Nae nummul hŭllŏra.

Sŏrŏra naŭi yŏngŭn
 Mojin paramkyŏre
 Hŭt'ŏjyŏ ttŏdonŭn
 Yŏgŭie chŏgŭie
 Kalkildo morŭnŭn
 Nagyŏp irŏra. (2)

Kasŭm ullinŭn aksŏngŭi
 Nŏlkodo choptaran
 Aedalbŭn kokchoe
 Sŭrŏjŏganŭn sarangŭn
 Saeropke nunkkaeyŏ
 Kŭŭk'i urŏra.

Sumyŏ hŭrŭnŭn aksŏngŭi
 Ssŏk nopkodo najŭn
 Aedalbŭn kokchoe
 Tarŏmnŭn pamŭi kongginŭn
 Hŭimihage ullyŏ
 Kŏrirŭl torara. (3)

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- (1) Cf. The Korean Romanized text of this poem quoted on the same page.
- (2) Onoeŭi mudo (The Dance of Anguish) ed. & tr. by Ansŏ Kim Ők, Kwangik sŏgwan, Seoul, 1921, pp. 20-21.
- (3) T'aesŏ munye sinbo carries one of Ansŏ's poems with the title Akgun (Music Cluster), which is in fact the same as this poem. Cf. T'aesŏ munye sinbo, Vol. No. 16, p. 7.

Although there are few resemblances between the two poems either in form or in subject matter except for the closing lines of the first and the second stanzas which are the same as each other, one would feel the tone of Ansõ's poem to be very similar to that of Verlaine's. What makes one feel a close similarity in tone, or atmosphere, between these poems when they are apparently different from each other in many other ways? The answer may be found in the fact that both poems deal with a kind of pathetic sound and its effect on the authors' mind. Both authors' responses to this pathetic sound are very similar, as expressed at the end of the first and the second stanzas of each poem.

Thus, in these lines of Ansõ's "Falling Leaves" and "The Sound of Music", we should recognize allusions by means of adaptation to the poetic ideas expressed in Yeats' "The Falling of the Leaves" and Verlaine's "Chanson d'Automne".

Ansõ's five other poems are very short lyrics each having only one or two stanzas at most. Among them two poems, "A Red Kiss" and "A Flower", are worthy of note. The former describes the transience of love in a short stanza consisting of four lines.

On your lips that are like the colour of a peach
Fully ripe in the early autumn sunlight,
One engraves a red kiss
And then erects a gravestone of oblivion.

The earliness of autumn in this poem seems to imply the youth and the virginity of the girl who receives a passionate kiss from her lover. The full ripeness of the peach seems to suggest that the young girl herself is physically mature. The engraving of a kiss on her lips implies more than just a touch or caress by the lips since an act of engraving usually leaves an enduring trace on the material

of the flower. It is in the fourth and the fifth lines then that her death is clearly implied by "The flower ... is gone with the tears, / And thus the sickness is gone from my heart". Her death has relieved him from the sickness of his heart for the obvious reason that she can take no more "sap" from his heart. At the end of the poem, however, the poet admits that his heart was fairer when it was sick for her than the present when he is recovered from the sickness of his heart.

This is about all that we can gather from the seven poems that Ansŏ wrote for Ch'angjo. These poems certainly added some, but not much, weight to the early poems he had written for T'aesŏ munye. "Falling Leaves" and "The Sound of Music" seem to have achieved a degree of success in rendering an atmosphere respectively appropriate to the theme, but they have faults in expression such as redundancy, and unnecessary repetition. "A Red Kiss" and "A Flower" show a good example of terseness in diction and symbolic use of words which are surely to be evaluated as an advance in his poetic technique.

Sangat'ap contributed only two poems to Ch'angjo, both of which appear in the sixth issue, May 1920. The first of the two is a fairly long poem of about fifty lines. Its title "Come, My Love, through the Snow", an imperative with a peculiar sense of invitation, sounds fresh and vigorous. This poem implores his love to come to him by way of a short cut he has made in the snow with his tears:

Now my love has opened her mouth like a red wild flower.
 You wind passing over the river in an intoxicated mood,
 Finely, finely enclose and bring
 The pearl-shaped "words" that come rolling
 Out of her mouth one by one like firefly glows.

awakened from the evil dreams of his past life and from the suspicion against his love, recaptures the real estimation of his love, and at the same time he earnestly solicits his love to "come through the snow". (Cf. the last three stanzas.)

The other poem Sangat'ap wrote for Ch'angjo is a very short lyric with twelve extremely short lines. He has given it the title of "A Short Piece". It contains only one sentence, which hardly seems to express anything of sufficient substance for a poem.

Strange is
The cry
Of a sickly cock
With musty
Voice,
That at the entrance
Of a cave
Covered with soot
Is looking
At the setting sun
That is likely to drop
On the weeds! (1)

This poem, however, brings an unexpected association of the cock's cry and the setting sun, which is ordinarily impossible, with the plausible medium of "the setting sun/that is likely to drop/on the weeds". The cock cries at the setting sun for fear that it should set fire to the weeds. Furthermore, the burning splendour of the setting sun forms a striking contrast to "a sickly cock".

Sangat'ap's poems, scanty as they may be in number, evidently show a growth of his poetic skill in organizing various ideas and putting them into the organic unity of a poem. "Come, My Love, through the Snow" is a typical poem characteristic of this ability

(1) Ch'angjo, Vol. No. 6, p. 46.

to build a poem with interrelated ideas.

Finally, a brief survey of two more poets is inevitable here, not because their early poems that appear in Ch'angjo disclose particularly worthy qualities, but because they are among those poets who subsequently produced poetic works in the 1920s which may have some significance in the making of modern Korean poetry. They are Kim Sowŏl and Ch'unwŏn, whom we have already seen in the guise of Koju in Sonyŏn, each of whom wrote five early poems for this literary magazine.

Kim Sowŏl's five poems appear on pages 77 and 78 of the fifth issue, March 1920. All of them have a fixed form of one sort or another. The first poem, with the title of "The Spring of a Wanderer", and the fourth, entitled "A Longing", share a strict seven-syllable rhythm made up of a three and a four syllable group. The second poem with the title of "The Drops of the Night Rain" and the third, "An Afternoon Weeping" share a strict 7-5 syllable rhythm. The 7 syllable rhythm here also consists of a three and a four syllable group. The fifth poem, entitled "The Spring Hill", has lines in a strict 8 syllable rhythm made up of two four-syllable groups.

It is evident that these poems are his early experiments with syllabic rhythm, a cradle of future success in rhythm with variations of 7-5 syllable rhythms. Due to the priority he has given to syllabic rhythm, the meaning of words is often distorted when he has to shorten or contract them. For example, in "The Spring of a Wanderer" he has to coin short forms of words which are hardly acceptable such as pulsŭtnŭn for purŏsŭch'inŭn and sŭljinŭn for sŭrŏjinŭn.

On the other hand, the feelings and ideas he has expressed in these early poems are usually sentimental, sad and simple. All these poems are centred around the theme of nim, or his beloved, hidden in the ordinary descriptions of surrounding nature such as of the setting sun, mountains, streams, flowers and birds.

None of Ch'unwŏn's five poems published in Ch'angjo has attained any success. In truth, they are very poor pieces, inferior to poems which we have discussed favourably in this chapter. His first poem which appears in the sixth issue (Appendix pp. 1-2, May 1920) is a three-part poem with the title of "Belief". It makes accusations of distrust among mankind. It bases itself on Christian doctrine and sees the origin of human disbelief in Satan "who has sown the seeds of untruth on man's lips" and "planted the root of evil ... in poor Eve of the Garden of Eden". Although intense craving for faith overflows this poem, the entire effect is quite contrary, for this poem fails to evoke similar feelings in the reader. This is chiefly due to the mere display of crude sentiments that, having flowed from the author's heart, can hardly find a place to settle in the reader's mind.

His second poem for Ch'angjo, "The Spring in a Southern Country" (Vol. No. 7, July 1920, p. 1), is a brief sketch of a commonplace daytime scene of spring in a southern country. The last line, "Oh, the spring of a southern country tiring man!", is not properly related to the preceding lines in which the breeze, the willow, the skylark and the sound of a bugle are described.

His third and fourth poems, "You are a Youth" and "Put Forth Your Strength" (Vol. No. 8, January 1921, p. 97), deal with virtually the same theme of youthfulness. Once more the author of these

poems crams both with crude, unorganized feelings put into a series of imperative sentences. The result is doubtlessly the same as in the case of his "Belief", and reminds us of our disappointment with his earlier poems, "Our Hero" and "The Bear".

His last poem is a short piece entitled "Humdrum" (Vol. No. 8, p. 97). Even though he has tried in this poem to describe the theme of "humdrum" in an uncommon way, he does not seem to succeed in his attempt.

When I look around,
Great things are all humdrum.
Look at the sky, the sea,
And the sun coming and going along the same route daily for aeons,
That humdrum sun -
Have you ever seen among us any great one who pretends to
be uncommon?
Great things are all humdrum.

It seems that we have to wait for some time before we can see either of these two authors produce some works worthy of our close examination. The poems which they contributed to Ch'angjo are in no significant sense related as yet with the main current of the modern transitional poetry in the 1910s, which is chiefly represented by the works of the four other poets we have mainly discussed in this chapter - Ansŏ, Sangat'ap, Yi Il and Chu Yohan.

A general tendency clearly found in this mid-transitional period is the considerable decline of the traditional syllabic rhythm together with fixed poetic forms. Except for some poems written by Yi Il and Kim Sowŏl, all the other poems we have examined, and many other poems for which we have no need of close examination, are free verses, though many of them retain stanzaic features and though, of course, both T'aesŏ munye and Ch'angjo have some other poems in a rigid traditional form.

One of the major characteristics that the important authors of this period brought to their poetry is lyricism. It permeates all the early poems of Ansō and many of the others' poems. Lyricism was able to flourish to the extent we have analyzed in this chapter chiefly due to the fact that poetic diction had grown considerably more terse and fresh, and to the frequent use of metaphors and similes, which enabled the poet to bring together seemingly heterogeneous ideas so as to present them in unexpected and often startling combinations. It was also through these media of expression that the poet could describe his emotions in such a way that these emotions would be sensually apprehended.

Another distinctive quality that Sangat'ap and Chu Yohan brought to this period is symbolism, or the symbolic use of words and situations. After his early experiment with it in "The Song of a Hermit", the former could compose lines highly symbolic in meaning in a poem entitled "Come, My Love, through the Snow". In the meantime, the latter produced a series of three poems - "The Snow", "A Tale" and "The Bonfire" - all of which were hardly apprehensible without resort to his symbolism. Owing to this means of complex expression, the range of poetic description is extended while the meaning of poetic lines is considerably deepened, though at times some ambiguity is unavoidable on the part of the reader.

Yi Il, with his two poems on the subject of loneliness, added another quality to the poetry of this period. It is the quality of reflection on human life, or the consciousness of oneself. Sangat'ap's poems also have some of this quality, and perhaps he surpasses Yi Il in depth of meditateness. In parallel with this reflective quality, intense feelings or earnest craving for passion

abound in a number of poems written in this period with Chu Yohan's "The Season of the Sun" taking the lead.

Despite all the effort that the major authors of this period were exerting in their poetry, the majority of the minor authors in both T'aesŏ munye and Ch'angjo hardly seem to have been awakened to the new trends that this mid-transitional poetry brought to their eyes. Furthermore, even the major poets of this period, including Ansŏ and Chu Yohan, do not seem to have been steady enough with the new tendencies to make them their own throughout the course of composing their early poetry. All this seems to me to characterize the poetry of the 1910s.

Chapter IV

The Poetry of the 1920s

1. General

In the 1920s we have a total of twenty collections of Korean poetry published, excluding a collection of sijo by Choe Namsŏn in 1926 and two collections of children's verses, one edited by Ŏm P'iljin in 1924 and the other by The Society for the Study of Children's Verses in Korea in 1929.⁽¹⁾ Sixteen out of these twenty collections consist of the poetic works of individual authors, and the rest are made up of poems chosen from those of a number of poets or students.⁽²⁾

The collection of Kim Ŏk's poems entitled Haep'ariŭi norae (The Songs of a Jellyfish), published in 1923, which comes first in the list of these twenty poetic collections, is in fact the first collection of a modern Korean poet's poetry since the opening of the country to Western influence in the 1880s, although a collection of his Korean translations of 94 Western poems came out two years earlier in 1921.

His name appears twice again in the list, first with Pomŭi norae (The Song of Spring), published in 1925, and then with Ansŏ sijip (The Collected Poems of Ansŏ) in 1929, so that he is the most prolific writer of poetry in this period. However, we have no way of seeing his second poetic collection, Pomŭi norae, and some scholars

(1) Cf. Ha Tongho, "Han'guk hyŏndae sijibŭi sŏjijŏk koch'al, 1-3" ("Bibliographical Studies of the Collections of Modern Korean Poetry, 1-3"), Sin-donga, February 1968, pp. 403-6.

(2) Cf. List 1, "The Poetic Collections Published in the 1920s" which is given at the end of this section.

of Korean literature, including Kim Yongjik, express doubt whether this collection was actually published at all, though we know that an advertisement for this collection appears in one of the magazines published during this period, and that Ha Tongho's list of the collections and anthologies of modern Korean poetry certainly includes it.⁽¹⁾

There are two poets who produced two collections of poetry each during this period, Kim Tonghwan, who published Kukkyöngüi pam (The Night of the Border) and Süngch'öghanün ch'öngch'un (The Youth Ascending to Heaven) in 1925, and No Chayöng who published first Naehoni pult'alttae (When My Soul is Aflame) in 1928 and then Ch'önyöüi Hwahwan (A Maiden's Garland) in the following year.

Apart from those seven poetic collections just mentioned, we have nine individual collections, some of which contain really important poetic works, not only for this period, but also for all the period of modern Korean poetry. They include those by Pyön Yöngno (his pen name being Suju), Chu Yohan, Kim Chöngsik (Sowöl) and Han Yongun (Manhae).

I have been able to obtain photo-reprint copies of all these poetic collections except the four that have not been preserved by anyone known to us. They are P'yehöüi yömgun (The Flames of the Ruin), an anthology of students' poems edited by Yi Segi published by The Association of Korean Students in 1923, Pomchandi wie (On the Spring Grass) by Cho Myönghüi in 1924, Pomüi norae (The Song of Spring) by Kim Ök in 1925 (which I have already mentioned above), and Hükpangüi sömmul (The Gift of a Dark Room) by Kwön Kuhyön in 1927.

(1) Cf. Ha Tongho, op. cit.

Fortunately, it seems that none of those four collections which are now inaccessible are essential for our discussion of poetic achievement in the 1920s, because the authors of P'yehöŭi yömgun and Hŭkpangŭi sŏnmul are not established poets, but students and an amateur poet, the author of Pomŭi norae, Kim Ŏk, may well be evaluated from his other collections, Haep'ariŭi norae and Ansŏ sijip, which are available together with his poems published in magazines, and we may also evaluate Cho Myŏnghŭi's poetry from his poems published in magazines, which are usually inferior.

Among the photo-reprints of all sixteen poetic collections which I have examined closely, I shall have to discuss several poems from each of about seven collections in the following two sections of this chapter, because they are, to my mind, either poems of some success or reference materials of some importance in view of their contribution to the completion of early modern Korean poetry.

Two particular collections of poetry published in the middle of the 1920s distinguish themselves from all the others in many respects. It seems to me that these two poetic collections - one by Kim Chŏngsik (Sowŏl) entitled Chindallae-kkhot (Azaleas) and the other by a Buddhist priest and philosopher named Han Yongun (Manhae) under the title of Nimŭi ch'immuk (The Silence of 'Nim') mark the consummation in the process of making early modern Korean poetry which undoubtedly began with the early poems of Choe Namsŏn soon after the turn of the twentieth century. Therefore, I would like to discuss these two poets extensively not in this chapter but separately in the final chapter of this thesis.

On the other hand, I have been able to examine, mainly by means of photo-reprints, nearly all the poems that appear in all the issues of seventeen important literary and general magazines, out of about

twenty five published in the 1920s.⁽¹⁾ Among them, the magazine having the largest number of volumes published during this period is *Kaebyŏk* (The Creation of the World), 1920-1926, which turned out 72 issues in all, containing about 500 poems. The second largest is *Chosŏn-mundan* (The Korea Literary Circle), 1924-1927, with 20 issues containing about 500 poems, about a half of which are chosen from poetic contributions made by its readers. The rest of the magazines, being shortlived, range from 1 to 8 volumes containing from only a few to about 200 poems at most.

Although the number of the poems that I have read in these magazines is well over two thousand, I have found that they are generally very poor in quality and only a limited number of poems among those composed by established poets are worthy of any lengthy discussion in the following sections of this chapter.

In our discussion of the poems characteristic of the 1920s in the following two sections, I take those poetic collections that were published before the end of 1924 in Section 2, and those published after the beginning of 1925 in Section 3 of this chapter. As to the poems published in magazines published in the 1920s, I will just refer to, quote or discuss some of them whenever I feel the necessity to do so, regardless of their chronological order, in relation to the collected poems of individual authors which I shall mainly be discussing in the following two sections. In this way, I shall be using these poems in magazines as subsidiary materials to support my views on the collected poems and their authors.

(1) Cf. List 2, "The 17 Important Literary and General Magazines Published in the 1920s" which is given at the end of this section.

There are, of course, a number of poems in these magazines that are not in any way related to the collected poems but are significant on their own, such as Yi Changhŭi's "Spring is a Cat" published in the Kŭmsŏng magazine (No. 3, May 1924) and Yi Sanghwa's "Does Spring Come Even to the Stolen Field?" published in Kaebŏk (No. 70, June 1926). For such poems, I shall find places appropriate for them in my discussion of the poetic achievement of the 1920s.

List 1

The Poetic Collections Published in the 1920s

- 1 Haep'ariŭi norae (The Songs of a Jellyfish) by Kim Ŏk,
Chosŏn Book Publishing Co., Ltd., 30 June 1923.
- 2 P'yehŏŭi yŏmgun (The Flames of the Ruin) ed. by Yi Segi,
The Association of Korean Students, 28 November 1923
(not seen).
- 3 Pomchandi wie (On the Spring Grass) by Cho Myŏnghŭi,
Ch'unch'u-gak, 15 June 1923 (not seen).
- 4 Hŭkpang pigok (The Secret Melody of a Dark Room) by Pak
Chonghwa, Chosŏn Book Publishing Co., Ltd., 25 June 1924.
- 5 Chosŏnŭi maŭm (The Mind of Korea) by Pyŏn Yŏngno,
P'yŏngmungwan, 22 August 1924.
- 6 Arŭmdaun saebyŏk (The Beautiful Dawn) by Chu Yohan,
Hansŏng Book Publishing Co., Ltd., 15 December 1924.

- 7 Kukkyöngüi pam (The Night of the Border) by Kim Tonghwan,
Hansöng Book Publishing Co., Ltd., 20 March 1925.
- 8 Saengmyöngüi kwasil (The Fruit of Life) by Kim Myöngsun,
Hansöng Book Publishing Co., Ltd., 5 April 1925.
- 9 Pomüi norae (The Song of Spring) by Kim Ök, Maemun-sa,
28 September 1925 (not seen).
- 10 Süngch'önhanun ch'öngch'un (The Youth Ascending to Heaven)
by Kim Tonghwan, Sin munhak-sa, 25 December 1925.
- 11 Chindallae-kkot (Azaleas) by Kim Chöngsik, Maemun-sa,
26 December 1925.
- 12 Nimüi ch'immuk (The Silence of 'Nim') by Han Yongun,
Hoedong sögwan, 20 May 1926.
- 13 Chosön siin sönjip (Selected Poems of Korean Poets)
ed. by Cho T'aeyön, Chosön t'ongsin chunghak-kwan,
13 October 1926.
- 14 Hükpangüi sönmul (The Gift of a Dark Room) by Kwön Kuhyön,
Yöngch'ang sögwan, 30 March 1927 (not seen).
- 15 Naehoni pult'alttae (When My Soul is Aflame) by No Chayöng,
Ch'öngjo-sa, 16 February 1928.
- 16 Ch'önyöüi hwahwan (A Maiden's Garland) by No Chayöng,
Ch'angmun-dang sögwan, 25 March 1929.
- 17 Ansö sijip (Collected Poems of Ansö) by Kim Ök, Hansöng Book
Publishing Co., Ltd., 1 April 1929.

- 18 Ch'öngnyön siin paegin-jip (Collected Poems of One Hundred Junior Poets) ed. by Hwang Sögu, Chosön sidan-sa, 3 April 1929.
- 19 Siga-jip (Collected Poems and Songs) ed. by Kim Tonghwan, Samch'ölli-sa, 30 October 1929.
- 20 Chayön-song (The Songs of Nature) by Hwang Sögu, Chosön sidan-sa, 19 November 1929.

List 2

The 17 Important Literary and General MagazinesPublished in the 1920s

- 1 P'yehö (Ruins), Nos. 1-2 and P'yehö ihu (a provisional issue), 1920.
- 2 Kaeböök (Creation of the World), Nos. 1-72 (No. 69 not available), 1920.
- 3 Changmi-ch'on (Rose Village), No. 1, 1921.
- 4 Paekcho (White Tide), Nos. 1-3, 1922.
- 5 Kümsöng (Gold Star), Nos. 1-3, 1923.
- 6 Ryöng^dae (Stage for the Soul), Nos. 1-5, 1924.
- 7 Chosön mundan (Korea Literary Circle), Nos. 1-20, 1924.
- 8 Sin chisik (New Knowledge), Nos. 1-5, 1924 (Nos. 1-4 not seen).

- 9 Saengjang (Growth), Nos. 1-5, 1925 (Nos. 2-4 not seen).
- 10 Munye undong (Literary Movement), Nos. 1-2, 1925 (No. 1 not seen).
- 11 Munye sidae (Literary Age), Nos. 1-2, 1926 (No. 2 not seen).
- 12 Haewoe munhak (Foreign Literature), Nos. 1-2, 1927
(No Korean poetry contained).
- 13 Paekch'i (White Pheasants), Nos. 1-2, 1928.
- 14 Sin sidan (New Poetic Circle), No. 1, 1928.
- 15 Chosŏn sidan (Korean Poetic Circle), Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5,
a New Year Edition, and 8 (Nos. 2 and 3 combined, and Nos. 4
and 7 unpublished), 1928.
- 16 Munye kongnon (Literary Forum), Nos. 1-2, 1929.
- 17 Chosŏn munye (Korean Literature and Arts), Nos. 1-2, 1929.

2. 1920-1924

Out of the six poetic collections produced in this period of five years, the three which I would like to examine closely are Haep'ariŭi norae (The Songs of a Jellyfish) by Kim Ŏk in 1923, Chosŏnŭi maŭm (The Mind of Korea) by Pyŏn Yŏngno in 1924 and Arŭmdaun saebyŏk (The Beautiful Dawn) by Chu Yohan in 1924.

Haep'ariŭi norae is made up of 83 poems, grouped into nine parts, and prefaces. The title of this poetic collection Haep'ariŭi norae,

also becomes the title of its second part, but there is no single poem having such a title. Hence, there arises a question - What has the title to do with these poems or at least the nine poems put under the same title in the second part?

Were it not for the foreword given to this collection by Ch'unwŏn (Yi Kwangsu), this question would remain unsolved for long, because we can hardly find any relation between "The Songs of a Jellyfish" and the poems collected there. Thus, Chunwŏn's preface aptly provides us with a point of view from which to see these poems properly. He says:

Life abounds in joy and sorrow; and, especially, today in this country of the people who wear white clothes, there are various matters of anguish, yearning and sorrow. Countless sighs, sentiments, impressions and, at times, cries and laughs and, at other times, resentment and the like which are flowing out from "the living of life" - all these may become our poetry, the poetry of the people of the country where they wear white clothes.

Twenty million people who wear white clothes! It is not a small number at all. Chanting on their behalf the sensations gathered to burn in their mind is the task of the poet.

Our jellyfish, floating over the country of twenty million people who wear white clothes, has composed poems on those things which have touched his body. The Songs of a Jellyfish is a collection of these songs.

The jellyfish will keep floating on the dark sea of three thousand ri singing endlessly of the pain and sorrow that his soft flesh can hardly be able to endure

Thus, it becomes clear that "the jellyfish" here implies the author of these collected poems, and his poems supposedly reflect what has touched his mind on behalf of the Korean people.

Nevertheless, most of the 83 poems collected in Haep'ariŭi norae deal with his private sentiments, such as, over his lost youth and loneliness, not with any emotions and feelings directly related to the mind of the Korean people in general. Some of these

As you are away and absent from me,
 Your heavy words alone come to my mind,
 So that there flows the old tune of bygone days;
 Oh, but I know -
 You have already forgotten me.

This is not a greatly successful poem, and the two-line refrain repeated at the end of each stanza seems to place the whole poem in a mechanical setting, but this refrain has an emphatic effect establishing an antithesis to what has been said by the preceding lines. The use of simile in the second stanza, which associates the poet's restless mind with "a little bird" helplessly searching for his old home, is a method of vivid expression which the poet has developed since the time of his early poems, in order that he may visualize an abstract object such as his mind.

A similar way of describing an abstract thing as if it were a concrete and animate object is secured by him in a poem entitled "Faded Memory" which appears in the eighth part. The first two stanzas of this poem will be sufficient to support my point:

The sorrowful Memory of old
 That, in a dark shade, for ever
 Squats with his head down
 Pondering in silence on ineffectual thoughts.

The Memory that, having come stealthily
 On hushed tiptoe like a sneak thief
 Raises the dust and the wind of the bygone days
 On a quiet mind and vanishes stealthily.

Here I do not think we need any lengthy explanation of what the poet has tried to achieve in this poem except maybe that the somewhat mischievous and sneaking function of an old memory of sorrow is vividly represented by means of a feline image built by a few modifying words and phrases.

Perhaps, among all the poems collected in Haep'ariüi norae, the most successful are the two poems, "Autumn" at the end of the sixth part and "Tears Degraded" which is the title poem of the seventh part. In the first the poet brings together autumn and the thought of his beloved who passed away long since, and in the latter he satirizes by a sort of caricature a lover who has shared out her love among men.

Autumn

Only autumn, just like the thought
Of my darling who died,
Fondly permeates my mind.

By now, all is forgotten - her eyes with a mysterious smile,
Her haggard face, pale and pitiful,
And even her sickly-white feeble fingers;
And what remains fading in memory is but the sweet thought
Fondly unforgettable.

Only the fondly unforgettable thought,
As though chasing worn-out old dreams,
But pours the white light of sharp "repentance"
And the darkly gathering "loneliness"
Into my carefree mind.

Only autumn, just like the thought
Of my darling who died,
Fondly permeates my mind.

Tears Degraded

The lover, who would mistake "love" for apples
But who would cook well,
Skilfully shared out her "dishes of love"
That were no more than a bowlful, into many,
With the skill with which she would peel and divide apples;
And with a sweet tune and a smile on her face
She placed them one by one on flower tables
In front of many men.

No sooner had they eaten the dishes than all changed:
The earth began rotating in vain, and the tears,
A drop of which had been worth a saint's word,
Were at once debased and became
Less than a half penny worth.

As we see, both poems are very short and simple, but they have a quality that immediately appeals to the reader. This is largely due to the terseness in diction and the well-wrought style with which the poet has depicted his thought precisely in each poem.

With a language much more refined than ever, the poet aptly conveys in "Autumn" his experiences of his lover, who must have been dead for long. Relieved now of the first painful memory of her, he naturally feels it as a sort of gentle solace that he once had a sweetheart. However, autumn, among the seasons, with its sickly waning scenery, revives in his mind the memories of her - her eyes, and her fingers, pale and feeble, before her death, like autumn leaves. At this, his mind is stirred in "sharp repentance" perhaps because of his unkindness to her when she was alive, and then he is driven into "loneliness" realizing that he has been deprived of her love that used to light his life in the past. Notice that in the third stanza "the white light of sharp repentance" is contrasted with "the darkly gathering loneliness".

In "Tears Degraded" the poet gives a tragicomical touch to the subject matter by caricaturing a certain type of woman who without any scruple entertains many men with her love in order to please herself by showing off her skill in "love" cookery. According to the poet, she normally has a bowlful of love, which means that a lover, whoever she is, has all her love for only one man she really loves. Once this law has been violated, as described in allegory in the first half of this poem, the result is the change of all moral values and social disorder, with the earth "rotating in vain", as the satire in the second half has it. The tears of repentance with which we could have formerly washed away our sins have become futile and useless.

After Haep'ariŭi norae, Kim Ŏk continued writing poems steadily, and about forty of his poems subsequently composed are found in magazines published from 1923 to 1929: Kaebŷök (Nos. 41, 44, and 45), Ryŏngdae (Nos. 2, 3, and 5), Chosŏn mundan (Nos. 18 and 19), Paekch'i (Nos. 1 and 2), Chosŏn sidan (No. 1), and Munye kongnon (Nos. 1 and 2).

However, during this period, he tended to rely, with his poetic insight and technique sharply diminished, heavily on the conventional forms of poetry and folk songs. Therefore, even though he did produce in 1929 another poetic collection containing 122 poems under the title of Ansŏ sijip (Collected Poems of Ansŏ), few of these poems are comparable to any of his five poems we have just discussed. Therefore, I feel that there is no necessity to discuss his poems any further.

In Chosŏnŭi maŭm (The Mind of Korea) published in 1924, twenty-eight poems composed by Pyŏn Yŏngno (Suju) and an appendix containing eight of his short essays, such as on the English romantic poet, Percy Bysshe Shelley, are collected. Among these poems, only three had earlier been published in magazines. They are "Roaming in the Snow" (Kaebŷök, No. 31, January 1923), "My Darling Whom I Shall Never See in My Life" and "The Snow", both of which appear in P'yehŏ ihu (a provisional issue, February 1924).

It seems that Pyŏn Yŏngno was a well-established poet by that time, and even before, since in 1921, when Hwang Sŏgu published the first number of Changmi-ch'on (The Rose Village), a magazine exclusively dealing with poetry, Pyŏn, one of his co-editors, was asked to write a foreword to it.

Three of his poems that I would like to discuss here are "Non'gae", "Roaming in the Snow", and "Reminiscence Alone". The first of these is a poem of devout patriotism dealing with the heroic deed of a beautiful woman called Non'gae and Namgang, a river at Chinju, where she drowned herself with an enemy general.

Holy rage
Is deeper than religion,
And blazing passion
Is mightier than love.
Ah, on that water
Bluer than a haricot
Flows her heart
Redder than poppy.

Her beautiful eyebrows
Loftily quivered,
And her pomegranate lips
Gave a kiss to Death!
Ah, on that water
Bluer than a haricot
Flows her heart
Redder than a poppy.

The river flowing
Will forever be blue,
And will your flower-like soul
Not be ever red?
Ah, on that water
Bluer than a haricot
Flows her heart
Redder than a poppy.

In this poem, the two colours of "red" and "blue" are obviously contrasted with each other so that both may stand out. The part of Namgang where she is said to have drowned herself is still noted for its cobalt-blue colour so that this factual colour of blue, symbolising peace, freedom, and eternity, may gain strength when put side by side with an imaginary red of her heart and soul. Thus, this poem becomes the eulogy of this intrepid woman who has sacrificed herself for the eternal peace and freedom of her country.

On the other hand, "Roaming in the Snow" and "Reminiscence" show the poet's sharp observation of, and remarkable insight into, nature and man. The first of these runs as follows:

When with a clean empty mind
 I walk on the snow, walk on the snow,
 The white snow comes into my eyes,
 Creeps into my head,
 And permeates my mind;
 It turns my red love into white,
 My yellow cares into white,
 My blue hope into white,
 And my dark hatred into white.
 Unawares I too become the snow, the white snow;
 And, veiled by this companion,
 Falling in a strange curve in the air,
 I drift down -
 To cover the world of "colour" and "shape"
 Where cares and death are born from fairness and beauty,
 Like Vesuvius' volcanic ash
 That fell and covered once beautiful Pompeii!

The first half of this poem is little more than a description of a man roaming in the snow and its effect on his mind, which an ordinary poet might well describe. However, a line which appears about the middle of this poem, "Unawares I too become the snow" arrests our attention with its absurdity. This effect can hardly be unintentional on the part of the poet. What he has subsequently achieved there is, as may already have been noticed, a presentation of his belief that the agony of the human race, which originates from their pursuit of beauty and pleasure in this material world of "colour and shape", ought to be subdued by "the white snow", which of course implies spiritual redemption, in order that they may have peace of mind. The metaphor which the poet has brought to the end of this poem is essential in this connection. Here, the white snow of the foregoing lines has presently been associated with the purgatorial ashes of Pompeii, and the implication of "fairness and beauty" in this poem becomes all the more self-evident.

In "Reminiscence Alone" the poet has manifested his philosophy of reality and reminiscence by an explanation of the relationship between them. We ordinarily pursue reality in this world, but according to him it is something too dazzling for us to keep.

Let all "reality" be covered
 Forever in ivy shades
 That only dewy reminiscence may make it
 Faint in its sad glory.

Life is but a chain of memories, dim and far,
 So, as the torch of "theory" and "fact" shoots us,
 We huddle ourselves up - like an owl
 Exposed to the sun!

So, to see visions more clearly,
 Don't we gently close our eyes?
 In the glory of the brilliant sunset,
 Don't we bow our head with awe?

O, let all "reality" be covered
 Forever in a purple and gold veil
 That only the faint reminiscence may make it live
 Fair and faintly.

We human beings are too feeble to entertain "reality" as it is, because it is glowing like the setting sun which dazzles and blinds our eyes like an owl exposed to the sun. We can only keep the dim memory of "reality" when it has passed away; and conversely, we can never achieve "reality" as it really is.

Hence, we are so made as to store in our mind only faint memories of "reality", such as of the happiest events and the most tragic moments in our life. Should "reality" ever be present to our mind, not "covered in ivy shades" of age and oblivion, we could hardly endure its impact. Such would also be the result if we were constantly exposed to "the torch of "theory" and "fact"". Hence, we come to cherish only the reminiscence of them, of which our life is composed, and which leads us on in our life.

The 28 poems collected in Chosŏnŭi maŭm become Pyŏn Yŏngno's

unique contribution to the poetry of the 1920s, for, as far as I am aware, no magazines published after this poetic collection contain his poems. And, though Chosŏn siin sŏnjip (Selected Poems of Korean Poets) edited by Cho T'aeyŏn and published in 1926 contains six of Pyŏn's poems, four of them come from Chosŏnŭi maŭm and the remaining two poems with the title of "The Sentiment of a Summer Day" and "On a Certain Day" do not possess any qualities worth mentioning.

On the other hand, Chu Yohan continued to produce poems after he had contributed 38 of his early poems to Hagu and Ch'angjo, which we have closely examined in the third section of the preceding chapter. Thus about 20 of his new poems appear in Kaebŏk (Nos. 30, 32, 39, and 44), P'yehŏ ihu (a provisional issue, February 1924), and Ryŏngdae (No. 1, August 1924).

Arŭndaun saebyŏk (The Beautiful Dawn), a collection of Chu Yohan's poems published in 1924, consists of 29 of his 38 early poems formerly published in Hagu and Ch'angjo, all but one of the poems that appeared in Kaebŏk, P'yehŏ ihu, and Ryŏngdae by August 1924, and 18 other poems that have not been published elsewhere.⁽¹⁾ The total number of poems collected in Arŭndaun saebyŏk amounts to 66.

Therefore, our immediate concern here is necessarily his poems in Arŭndaun saebyŏk except those poems which first appeared in Hagu and Ch'angjo and his two earliest poems, "Sitting Alone" and "Under the Blue Sky", which we have already examined in our discussion of his early poems. Hence, we have for our discussion 35 of his poems in this collection composed up to about three or four months before its publication in December 1924.

(1) The remaining poem in these magazines which is not collected into Arŭndaun saebyŏk is "A Pronouncement" ("Sŏnŏn") in Ryŏngdae (No. 1), August 1924, pp. 39-40. This poem is noticeably inferior to his other poems.

Generally speaking, these poems are better than his early poems, and five poems among a dozen he composed in 1923 show a considerable degree of refinement and perfection. I would like first to examine two of these poems, "White Clouds" and "A Soliloquy" and then go on to his more successful poems, "The Farmer", "Someone Calling on Me", and "The Sound of Rain".

White Clouds

Spring is coming, my love;
 Spring is coming
 When I would nestle in the warm thawing earth
 When flocks of crows on the deserted farm
 And even their caws sound pleasing.
 Yonder, flocks of fleece-like clouds,
 The blue sky, the sunshine - O, my love,
 Isn't it spring which forces thoughts of home?

A Soliloquy

Come, my love;
 Here on the hill the grass has come out.
 Here, there are junipers washed green with the rain,
 Butterflies about to come out of their cocoon,
 The warm light, earth, and "snugness".
 And there is clear water to wash your feet.
 Come, when spring is coming,
 To forget all cares and to talk.
 The frogs after a long sleep
 Will romp about on the grass
 With no time to overhear our whispers.
 Dear H, my love,
 Here runs a clear stream to wash your feet.

In "White Clouds", which is but a short piece of only eight lines, the warmth, the freshness, and the peacefulness of the season of spring are effectively portrayed with only a few modifying words, and the redeeming nature of this season is implied by the subjective description of crows' caws. In Korea, the crow is usually considered as a bird of omen, and especially their caws are extremely ominous.

In this poem, however, the hopefulness of spring overpowers it, the poet saying, "... flocks of crows .../ And even their caws sound pleasing". The rhetorical question at the end of the poem is timely in bringing "spring" and one's "thoughts of home" together to enrich the spring scene described in this poem.

Descriptions of more tangible objects of spring, such as the grass, (Chinese) junipers, butterflies, and frogs, are given in "A Soliloquy". With these things around him, the poet invites his lover to join him in the blessings of spring. This poem has a touch of sensuality suggested in some phrases, such as "clear water to wash your feet", "to overhear our whispers", and "snugness" which is put in a pair of emphatic quotation marks in the Korean text.

As we see in these two poems, in a number of poems in Arũndaun saebyŏk, the poet expresses his feelings more naturally than ever, with a great deal of command of poetic diction and style. The crudity of language and some awkward association of ideas, which we could detect in many of his early poems, have considerably diminished, and he is now exploiting some other qualities of modern poetry, as we may see in some of his poems which we are going to examine next.

Let us go on, then, to the three poems we have kept for our discussion of what he finally achieved in his poetry. "The Farmer" is a three-stanza poem describing a farmer who has patience and humble expectation.

After the rain the farmer went to the paddyfield.
The wind, coming down the mountain peak,
Danced away along the steaming furrows of the field
And the ridges of the paddyfield.

A black water-bird flew crying mockingly
From one paddyfield to another.
That the long summer sun shone silently
Was to fathom the farmer's mind.

But our farmer who knew what patience meant,
Proudly drew a long breath
And clearly saw, on the immense field now fearfully green,
Autumn with golden waves fluttering.

Notice that each stanza in this poem establishes a distinct unit - the first is a matter-of-fact description of a farmer going out to his paddyfield where the wind is blowing pleasantly, the second develops the theme of this poem by means of a subjective representation of a black bird and the summer sun by such words as "mockingly" and "to fathom", and the last stanza draws the conclusion so as to close the poem with a definite ending.

The characterization of the farmer is all the more distinct in the last stanza where we can presently see him standing on the edge of his paddyfield and gazing at the green paddy with the patient hope of an abundant harvest in autumn.

With "Someone Calling on Me", the poet has introduced yet another quality into his poetry - a quality of describing seemingly no other than ordinary matters in a mysterious way with a certain amount of suspense.

Someone has come to my window, calling on me.
In the room, "fatigue" weighs heavily on my eyes.
I peep out through a chink in my window
Only to see none but the wind and the night.

Someone has come to my window, calling on me.
But I hesitate to open my window -
For "habit" arouses illogical fears.
Shall I open the window and receive him when the morning comes?

Someone has come to my window, calling on me.
All my body is likely to explode with "expectation".
I get up, decide, and open the window.
The waiting moonlight washes my naked body.

This poem shows an unusual way of expressing the poet's emotional experience of the moonlight reaching his window, so unusual and absurd that one might disparage or totally discard this poem if one

interpreted it literally. The poet, however, presupposes that the reader should accept it figuratively from the outset with its title "Sonnim" (literally, "A Guest"), by which he already allegorizes the moonlight. There may be more than just one way of interpreting this highly figurative poem, and probably no one can pinpoint which is most likely to have been in the poet's mind when he composed this poem. Nevertheless, I would like to attempt to give one; by doing so, I shall be explaining my own views on this poem.

Chu Yohan must have seen⁽¹⁾ the picture, familiar to all Christians in this century, of Jesus standing at someone's ivy-mantled door, with a lantern in his hand and with the other hand raised as he keeps knocking on the door. This picture, based on Revelations 3. 20, figuratively represents an abstract perception of Christianity with its gospel reaching an unbeliever who is as yet hesitant to receive Him because his "habit" arouses somewhat "illogical fears". A similar situation to this has been described in this poem. Then, the last stanza describes what we may expect to see when the someone in the picture might subsequently open the door to his mind, i.e., the exposure of his hitherto shameful mind to the light of the gospel - "The waiting moonlight washes my naked body", as the end of this poem puts it.

Although it may seem that the highly figurative use of expressions here in this poem looks unusual, it is not entirely new to him because he already experimented with some figurative words in such early poems as "A Tale", which we saw in Chapter III.

(1) Chu Yohan's father was a protestant minister to a Korean church in Japan.

Finally, there is "The Sound of Rain", a four-stanza poem, which has received very high acclaim, and which has been given a due place in many anthologies. Apparently, it is a simple poem containing a few metaphors pertaining to rain that are easily understandable.

The rain is coming.
The night has silently spread its wings,
And the rain is whispering on the ground
Like chicks twittering to themselves.

The waning moon was like a thread;
And after the warm wind blew
As if spring were dropping down from the stars,
Today, this dark night, the rain is coming.

The rain is coming.
Like a loving guest, the rain is coming.
I open the window to receive it,
But, invisibly whispering, the rain is coming.

The rain is coming.
In the garden, outside the window, and on the roof,
The rain is coming to tell my heart
Joyful tidings that others may not know.

In the first stanza, the rain is compared to chicks while the night is figuratively described as their mother-hen spreading her wings to protect them. Thus the rain is in harmony with the night, though the one chiefly appeals to our auditory sense and the other to our visual sense.

Then the second stanza makes it clear that the rain is coming on a "dark night", with only the merest sliver of a waning moon (probably symbolizing the hard time under the Japanese regime), but that it is a spring time with warm wind blowing (possibly implying the hope of the restoration of the country). The rain is then associated with "a loving guest" who has not entirely disclosed himself as yet, and the eagerness to receive him on the part of the poet is

clearly expressed subsequently.

The last stanza closes the poem with his confession that the rain secretly conveys to him some good tidings that "others may not know". Here again, the implication is that the sound of the rain in spring, the season of hope and revival, reaches his heart with an intimation that before long his country will see a bright day.

About this poem, Kim Hyönsüŋ in his commentary on modern Korean poetry says:

Therefore this poem does not simply sing of nature, but then, nor does it disclose openly the idea of national freedom and independence. While singing of natural phenomena throughout this poem the author has let his people's expectation, wishes, and hope stealthily but naturally permeate it.⁽¹⁾

This opinion on the dual character of this poem has generally been accepted by scholars of Korean literature including Mo Kiyun who has recently published a comprehensive commentary on representative works of Korean literature, and I see no reason why we should decline it.⁽²⁾ At this point, "the rain is coming", a phrase repeated seven times in this poem, seems to be suggesting this dualism.

In the postscript to Arūmdaun saebyöŋk, Chu Yohan expresses his notion of the art of poetry, which shows the attitude he must have taken toward the writing of poetry. An understanding of it seems so important for the appreciation and the evaluation of his poetry that

- (1) Kim Hyönsüŋ, Han'guk hyöndaesi haesöl (A Commentary on Modern Korean Poetry), Kwandong Publishing Co., Seoul, 1972, pp. 21-3.
- (2) Cf. Mo Kiyun, Han'guk taep'yo-munhak ch'ong-haeje (A Comprehensive Commentary on Representative Works of Korean Literature), Öñö munhwa-sa, Seoul, 1977, pp. 101-2.

I am obliged to quote it in full here:

There are some people who would compose poems with "ideology". Especially among those who advocate the people's art and among those who have a tinge of social revolution, there are such people. Their poems become the songs of "ideology" in eight or nine cases out of ten. The poems collected in this anthology are not made of "ideology" nor have they been written to create "ideology". They are simply the records of occasional undulations of my mind. Hence, all kinds of ideas and emotions have been mixed there. The variety of colours is such that they seem to contradict one another. However, all these colours are an embodiment of part of "me". I think this variety will find conformity with the personality that is "me".

"Be faithful to yourself" - this is my motto of art and life. This "yourself" is not just an "ideology", an "idea", or an "ism" at all. It is a unity comprising all these things. The songs that have faithfully sung of this "yourself" are those collected here.

However, I have two things to confess here. The first is that I have consciously avoided "decadentism". "I" and "society" shall not be separable from each other. Therefore, "my" behaviour, however trivial it may be, shall inevitably have an influence on "society". I hate to give "decadent" and morbid literature to our present society. Hence, I do not like those authors who have a "decadence" tendency, and I myself have taken care to avoid such tendency. I have always sought such things as may be comparable to the quiet yet great power, full of healthy life, which is in all growing plants and trees.

The second confession is that for two or three years I have consciously made efforts to make my poetry draw near the people. As I have said above, while I am not in favour of "the people's poetry" made of "ideology", I think that poetry can essentially approach the people. And, for poetry to do this, the ideas, the emotions, and the language that are contained in it should, I believe, be sympathetic with the mind of the people. Thus, the songs collected in "Wood Engravings", "Thoughts of Home", and the like are in this sense an experiment in approaching the people.

In an essay entitled "To Those Who Would Compose Songs", which is in itself an elaborate critical survey of early modern Korean poetry prior to him, Chu Yohan says of two objectives of the movement of the new poetry:

You will know that the movement of the new poetry which began in this way still remains in its early stage. We who are in this early stage do not have any of the power that an established age has nor the immediate appreciation of a class of general readers nor again the forms of established poetry, but we are now only trying to create new literature with our bare hands. This is difficult but at the same time challenging. What are then the objectives for the future of this new poetry movement? In my opinion there are at least two objectives. The first is to interpret and express correctly the sentiment and thought of the people, and the second is to discover and produce the beauty and the power of the Korean language between us.⁽¹⁾

Thus, undoubtedly, Chu Yohan was sharply conscious of the period he lived in and of the heavy task of the poets, including himself. With the number of successful poems that he had laid before the public, I believe that he had made a great contribution to the achievement of these two objectives that he set out here.

During the period from September 1924 to the end of 1929, he continued writing poems, children's songs, and sijo. I have found 27 of these poetic works in magazines; in Kaebŏk (No. 57), Ryŏngdae (Nos. 2 and 3), Chosŏn mundan (Nos. 1, 6, 7, 11, 12, 13, 14, and 20), Paekch'i (No. 2), Munye kongnon (No. 2), and Chosŏn munye (No. 2).

Twelve of these poems together with 13 other poems, several sijo, and translations of some western poems are later collected in the second part of Siga-jip (Collected Poems and Songs), an anthology of works of three authors - Yi Kwangsu, Chu Yohan, and Kim Tonghwan, published in 1929.

Most of these 27 poems that appear in magazines are not so successful as those which we have discussed above, except, perhaps,

(1) From Chu Yohan, "Noraerŭl chiŭryŏnŭn iege:(Sijakpŏp)" ("To Those Who Would Compose Songs: (Prosody)"), Chosŏn mundan, (No. 1), October 1924, pp. 47-50.

one poem with the title of "Ode to the Country", which I shall have occasion to mention when we examine this anthology at the end of the following section of this chapter.

Apart from those poets whose poems were collected and published during the period 1920-1924, there are several authors some of whom contributed a number of poems to magazines such as Kaebŏk, Chosŏn mundan, Kŭmsŏng, Seangjang, and Munye kongnon. They are Kim Tongmyŏng, Yi Changhŭi, O Sangsun, Kim Sŏksong and Hwang Sŏgu. Here I need to make a brief survey of the first two poets passing over the other three who do not seem to have raised the quality of poetry in this period. (Though some of Yi Sanghwa's poems appear in some of these magazines, I will put them off to the next section because his most successful works, such as "Does Spring Come Even to the Stolen Field?", were first published in the latter half of the 1920s.)

Kim Tongmyŏng's early poems appear in Kaebŏk (Nos. 40 and 42) and Chosŏn mundan (Nos. 15-17), and the number of these poems amounts to a dozen.

Among his early poems, "If you Open the Door for Me", his first poem dedicated to a French symbolist poet, Charles Baudelaire, is not a very successful poem but contains such passionate lines as the following:

Dear master! If you open the door for me
 (The one into your country)
 And cover my heart with thick steel-grey clouds,
 Will I dance like a falling leaf
 To your song that flashes like lightning.(1)

(1) From Kaebŏk (No. 40), October 1923.

Some of his poems published in the 1930s, such as "A Plantine" and "My Mind is a Lake", are still popular and found in many anthologies. Although he began to compose poems in the first half of the 1920s, it seems that he was not well established until the 1930s when some of his collected poems such as Naüi kǒmun'go (My Korean Harp) and P'ach'o (A Plantine) were first published.

Yi Changhüi, who committed suicide in his late twenties, had written about 20 poems, a dozen of which appear in magazines, such as Kümsǒng, Saengjang, Chosǒn mundan, and Munye kongnon. His best poem, "Spring is a Cat", which was first published in Kümsǒng (No. 3, May 1924), was later collected in Sanghwawa Kowǒl (Sanghwa and Kowǒl), a posthumous collection of the poems of Yi Sanghwa and Yi Changhüi published in 1951. "Spring is a Cat" is a very short poem with only four couplets but it displays an astonishing finesse of fresh imagery.

In the cat's soft fur, like pollen,
Gathers the smell of sweet spring.

From the cat's golden-bell round eyes,
Flows the flame of mad spring.

On the cat's quiet closed lips,
Floats cosy spring drowsiness.

Over the cat's sharp stretched whiskers,
Hovers the spirit of green spring.

From the structural point of view, this poem has little to say, but the sharp observation and the proficient skill with which the poet has associated spring with a cat so that they become one in this poem were certainly exceptional in the period of the 1920s. With some well-chosen modifiers that are essential to both spring and the cat, he has achieved here a set of what is called "objective correlatives" without the intervention of his subjective emotions. This is why this poem is still estimated highly.

Before we go over to the next section to examine the poetry of 1925-1929, a comment should be made on Pak Yŏnghŭi and Kim Kijin who were the leaders of the so-called "new tendency movement" in literature from 1923 to 1925 and then of KAPF (Korean Artists Proletarian Federation) from 1925 for several years. They published a series of literary essays advocating class consciousness and strife and attacked "art for art's sake".

This, of course, was accepted as a fatal challenge by writers of what is now called the school of national literature, such as Yi Kwangsu, Kim Tongin, Yŏm Sangsŏp, and Yang Chudong. There followed a severe dispute between these two schools in 1926. Though Yang and Yŏm initiated some efforts to make a compromise between the different ideas held by the two groups, it did not succeed and the movement of proletarian literature persisted until after the turn of the 1930s, when some of the KAPF leaders, including Pak Yŏnghŭi, were converted to "national literature", some others were arrested by the police, and KAPF was eventually dissolved in 1934.⁽¹⁾

Even though this proletarian literary movement was active for no longer than six years, it seems that it contributed to modern Korean literature in some ways. At least, it introduced a new angle from which to look at the society and the people; and secondly, it brought some logic and argument to literary criticism.

However, this proletarian literary movement was conducted much more by means of prose works, such as articles, essays and short stories,

(1) For a detailed account of the proletarian movement in modern Korean literature, see Cho Yŏnhyŏn, Han'guk hyŏndae munhak-sa (History of Modern Korean Literature), In'gan-sa, Seoul, 1961, pp. 293-334 and Chang Tŏksun, Han'guk munhak-sa (History of Korean Literature), Tonghwa munhwa-sa, Seoul, pp. 433-8.

than by poetry. The authors who belonged to the movement of new literary tendency or to the proletarian literary movement or to both, such as Pak Yŏnghŭi, Kim Kijin, Kim Sŏksong, and Yi Sanghwa, wrote a considerable number of poems but most of them are non-proletarian poems. For instance, Pak Yŏnghŭi, who started his literary career as a poet at the time of the Changmi-ch'on magazine in 1921, continued to write what are called "romantic poems" for some years and then went on to write short stories and criticism from 1925. Yi Sanghwa, who participated in both for some time, produced mainly non-proletarian poems.

Thus, it may be said that it is chiefly Kim Kijin's poems and some of Kim Sŏksong's poems that are proletarian among the works of established authors, although there are a number of poems written by amateurs and readers in response to the proletarian movement.

I would like to quote a couple of Kim Kijin's poems which appear in his essays, just to show their character.

On October the fifth, the Sea Leo cries,
The castaway Sea Leo cries in the mountain, in the field,
and in Korea -

Wrapped in dirty white clothes,
The castaway Sea Leo cries with abandon
For the sorrow of the past "meaninglessness"
And out of uncontrollable anger against cruelty.

In yearning for his long-acquainted companions
And deeply for his companions in white clothes,
The Sea Leo, squirming to revive,
Cries; he cries in Korea!

On October the fifth, the Sea Leo cries,
The Sea Leo cries and cries!⁽¹⁾

(1) Korean-English dictionaries usually define "haet'ae" as "a mythical unicorn-lion (as the guardian of the palace against fire)". However, "haet'ae" as thought of by Koreans does not have any horn. Thus, I have quite arbitrarily coined a word when translating "haet'ae" for this poem, which is "the Sea Leo".

This poem was published with an essay under the title of "Standing in Winter, the Ruin of Mind", which appears in Kaebŏk (No. 42). It is an anti-Japanese poem, as is apparent from its style and expressions such as "uncontrollable anger against cruelty" and "his companions in white clothes". Again, the figure "380,000", which appears in the prose passage preceding this poem, must be the number of the Japanese people residing in Korea in 1923, and this poem may also be regarded as proletarian because the same prose passage contains the author's mention of social classes:

... My guess is that our friends in white clothes have certainly been exploited between two social classes. How many friends have died wriggling when being squeezed in between! Whose is two thirds of the peninsula of over 14,300 square ri? Are 17 million lives now at the mercy of 380,000 people or not? (1)

The following is the first half of a poem entitled "The Sigh of the White Handed", which appears in his essay with the title of "Fresh Verdure", published in Kaebŏk (No. 48).

Before my eyes are the Russian youth of sixty years ago
Who, sitting astride café chairs
And boasting of their white arms,
Are shouting, "Go to the people".

Café chair revolutionists,
Your hands are too white!

Boasting of white arms,
They say, "Go to the people",
But in us are the ineffective sighs
Of the Russian youth of sixty years ago!

(1) What Kim Kijin means by the "two social classes" is not clear. Perhaps, they may be the upper and the upper-middle classes of the people who were dominant over the common mass.

Café chair revolutionists,
Your hands are too white!⁽¹⁾

This poem is of course a satire primarily on the poet's contemporary Korean youth who would support the proletarian cause but with only idle talk and sighs. At the same time, it implies that the proletarian revolution is a task that ought to be carried out by the non-white hands of working class people.

Finally, let me quote one more poem with the title of "To the New Street", which is by an obscure author named Ŏm Hŭngsŏp and published in Chosŏn munye (No. 1, May 1929).

Sister -
You and I are son and daughter of the new century:
Why don't you get up with courage?
Look, aren't they calling us
In the street today also?

Sister -
You and I are son and daughter of the new century:
Let us go out to the new street, and to the new street,
To the waves of XX ...
Keeping in step with the dauntless marching.

Sister -
You and I are son and daughter of the new century:
You've no time to make up with powder and perfume;
I've no time to ponder at the desk with my chin on my hand.
Let us go then! Come running out quickly;
Aren't many friends calling us
So in the street?

Even though this movement of proletarian literature with its communist ideology aimed to turn the main current of modern Korean literature to a large-scale social revolution, it failed for various

(1) In Russia there was a movement of populist crusade with its slogan of "Go to the people" (V Narod) in the 1870s, roughly about sixty years before this poem was published in Korea in 1924. It is said that this movement failed because the peasants would not welcome it and the police oppressed it. For detailed accounts, cf. Nicholas V. Riasanovsky, A History of Russia, 3rd ed., Oxford UP, 1977, pp. 419-26.

reasons to win general consent and support, even from the major authors of the day, not to mention the reading public. Among the literary genres, its effect on poetry has never been significant.

3. 1925-1929

Out of the 12 poetic collections that I have studied for this period of 1924-1929, I would like to discuss four with chief emphasis here in this section, and two, Chindallae-kkot and Nimŭi ch'immuk, exclusively in the next chapter. The four collections to be discussed here are Kukkyŏngŭi pam (The Night of the Border) by Kim Tonghwan published in 1925, Chosŏn siin sŏnjip (Selected Poems of Korean Poets) edited by Cho T'aeyŏn and published in 1926, Ch'ŏngnyŏn siin paegin-jip (Collected Poems of One Hundred Junior Poets) edited and published by Hwang Sŏgu in 1929, and Siga-jip (Collected Poems and Songs) edited and published by Kim Tonghwan in 1929.

Kim Tonghwan, who was born in Hamgyŏng North Province in 1901 and studied in Tokyo at Oriental College, made his literary debut with a poem entitled "Pointing to the Red Star with a Finger" recommended and published by Kŭmsŏng (No. 3, May 1924). Before we go to his poems that were subsequently published, I would like to have a look into this poem because it is not only a poem of success but rich in local colour. In fact, this local colour of the northern country where he was born and where he spent his early life has become a prominent factor in many of his poems.

The snow falls every day and night in the northern country;
Whenever the white snow pours down from the grey sky,
We see whitish North Korea submersed in the snow.

In fact, this narrative character in him enabled him to produce two very lengthy narrative poems, Kukkyōngŭi pam (The Night of the Border) and Sŭngch'ōnhanŭn ch'ōngchun (The Youth Ascending to Heaven). The first is found, together with short poems, in his first poetic collection, of the same title, published in spring 1925, and the latter was published in the form of a collection at the end of the same year.

"The Night of the Border", which is the first long narrative poem in modern Korean literature, tells a tragic story of a housewife waiting for her husband who went smuggling a carriageful of salt into Manchuria and a young man who turned out to be her former lover. Her husband is killed on his way back home by mounted bandits as the poem draws to the end, and the last scene is his funeral and burial.

"The Youth Ascending to Heaven" is another pathetic story of a young Korean man and girl who fell in love with each other in Japan. Due to disastrous events that subsequently happened there, they parted from each other. Falsely informed that he died, she marries a young teacher, who soon comes to know that her baby is that of her previous lover and deserts her. The poem, however, closes with a happy ending where the woman is finally reunited with her first lover in a passionate love, which is figuratively described as their ascending to heaven by a mysterious ladder.

As a matter of fact, these two long narrative poems are only significant in that they are the earliest modern attempts at long narrative poetry that show some degree of narrative-dramatic skill. As may be expected of an early work of narrative poetry, both works are inevitably verbose and the tempo of narration in them is accordingly very slow. Besides, the language used in many parts of these works is much less refined than in the case of his short poems.

Going back to his short poems collected in Kukkyǒngŭi pam (The Night of the Border), we may see a few successful poems among the 15 poems in all there, including a very short introductory poem given before the table of contents. ("The Snow is Falling" among these poems is virtually the same, except for the changed title, as "Pointing to the Red Star with a Finger", which we have already seen.)

Two short poems, "The Pukch'ǒng Water-vendor" and "A Pioneer", show their author's insight in discovering unusual meanings in common matters. The first is a sketch of a water-vendor in Pukch'ǒng, a city in Hamgyǒng South Province. At that time, in many provincial cities including Pukch'ǒng, there was no modern system of water supply and often a number of families depended on a public well or two for their drinking water. In many cases, the distance between the public well and their house was quite long, and some families just bought water from a vendor, who would supply them with fresh water every early morning. Thus, his supply of fresh water every morning became essential to them, who in their turn came to look forward to hearing his steps early in the morning.

The Pukch'ǒng water-vendor,
Who comes treading lightly on my dream way,
Briskly pours the cold water at the head of my bed
And stepping on my chest fades away.

When my dream wet with the water
Is calling the Pukch'ǒng water-vendor,
He vanishes with creaking sounds,
Without a trace of his having been.

The Pukch'ǒng water-vendor
Who makes me wait every day and morning.

The first part of this poem is, of course, a hyperbolic expression of the brisk vendor who pours water into a vessel located in the kitchen and goes away with heavy footsteps which echo through the room where

from "beauty and wealth".

Then the poet tells of something else in the second stanza. Overwhelmed by the tragedy of the disaster and astonished and astounded by the thoroughgoing devastation, he realizes an all-surpassing immense power of recreative destruction at work. In this great "baptism of Nature", man is but a paltry thing like a dead leaf "violently shuddering" before an autumn storm.

In the concluding couplet, the poet foresees, beyond the present chaos, the dawn of another day breaking "for regaining" the past glory.

Indeed, this poem is not only one of Kim's best poems but also one of the most successful poems produced in the 1920s. For all the remarkable qualities of this poem, however, it has generally been neglected and has never been collected in modern anthologies, though it was only once collected in Chosŏn siin sonjip edited by Cho T'aeyŏn in 1926.⁽¹⁾

Though Yi Sanghwa's poems were first collected posthumously together with Yi Changhŭi's poems in Sanghwawa Kowŏl, edited and published by Paek Kiman in 1951, about 40 of Yi Sanghwa's poems appear in magazines published in the 1920s, beginning with "A Wail for the End of the World" and "A Simple Melody" in the first issue of Paekcho, published in January 1922. To give the sources of these poems, they are: Paekcho (Nos. 1-3), Kaebŏk (Nos. 54, 55, 57, 59, 61, 65, 67, 68, and 70), Chosŏn mundan (Nos. 6 and 12), Munye undong (No. 2), and Chosŏn munye (No. 2).

(1) It is probably because of the subject matter of this poem that collectors of modern Korean poetry and scholars of Korean literature have long neglected and discarded this poem. However, I think this poem ought to be taken out of its obscurity and be given a permanent place in modern anthologies.

"To My Bedroom", which is one of his early poems, appearing in the third issue of the Paekcho magazine, immediately attracted attention with its intense love and passion addressed to his rather mysterious lover called "Madonna" in this poem. The identity of this "Madonna" has long been controversial, and still it is not clearly known to us. Some would regard it as a symbol of the country, and others consider that it is an object of the poet's dreams or hopes to which he addresses this poem. It consists of 12 couplets as follows:

To My Bedroom

- The most beautiful and
enduring exists only in dreams
- my words

Madonna, even Night is tired now after attending all the
banquets and is going to retire:

Ah, you too, before daybreak, come dashing so hard that your
peach-bosom is laden with dewdrops.

Madonna, please come; leave the eye-bequeathed pearls behind
at home and just come with nothing.

Let us go at once because we are the two stars that hide
themselves somewhere when it becomes bright.

Madonna, I wait trembling in fear in a dark recess of the
street of my mind.

Ah, the first cock crows already; dogs bark; my girl,
do you hear them, too?

Madonna, let us go to the bedroom - to the bedroom that I
myself cleaned overnight.

The waning moon is about to set. The footsteps that I hear
- Oh, are they yours?

Madonna, look at the candle-flame in my mind, that, holding up
a short wick, is entreating, though without tears:

Even by the fleece-like wind it is suffocated and going
to die out in light-blue smoke.

Madonna, come; let us go. The shadow of that mountain gets
here, though without feet, like a goblin.

Ah, what if someone happens to see - my heart beats, my girl,
it is calling you.

Madonna, a day is about to break; come at once before the
 iron-drum of the temple mocks us.
 Hug my neck with your arms; let us go to an old country
 together with this night.

Madonna, no one else will open my bedroom across the one-log
 bridge of repentance and fear.
 Ah, the wind blows; come lightly like the wind; my girl,
 are you coming?

Madonna, alas, have I gone mad, for I hear non-existent sounds?
 As though all the blood in my body, my heart's spring, has
 dried up, my mind and tongue are parching.

Madonna, can we ever forbear to go? If not, let us go,
 and not be dragged to go!
 You are Maria who trust my words; you know my bedroom
 is the cave of resurrection

Madonna, the dream the night gives, the dream we weave, and the
 dream of life that men embrace and roll do not differ.
 Ah, let us go to my bedroom that is not conscious of time,
 like a child's heart, to there that is beautiful and old.

Madonna, the stars' smiles are about to become dull, and the
 dark night-tide is about to recede:
 Ah, before the fog fades away, you must come; my girl,
 I am calling you.

As we clearly see, this is a poem of love and passion, and not
 of patriotism of any sort. Hence the view that would regard "Madonna"
 as a symbol of the Korean country is not only superficial but
 contradictory to the series of ideas and images the poet has given in
 it. As Chǒng Hanmo and Kim Yongjik have pointed out in Han'guk
hyǒndae-si yoram (A Handbook of Modern Korean Poetry), this view does
 not coincide either with the title of this poem or with the ideas
 expressed in such a line as "no one else will open my bedroom across
 the one-log bridge of repentance and fear". (Cf. the 9th couplet
 of the poem.)

According to Paek Kiman, who was a close friend of the poet
 Yi Sanghwa, and who later edited and published Yi's poems posthumously,
 the poet wrote this poem during his three-month vagabondage in

Kangwŏn Province in 1918 when he was 17 years old, before he went to Japan.⁽¹⁾

However, Kim Haktong would not accept Paek's statement on this poem and has instead suggested, in his Han'guk kŭndae-si yŏn'gu (A Study of Modern Korean Poetry), the possible relationship between "Madonna" and the poet's mistress named Yu Pohwa whom he met in Japan in 1923.⁽²⁾

From the textual evidence of this poem, it is almost certain that the poet addressed this poem to a woman, not to his country. Nevertheless, it is unlikely that the poet composed this poem immediately after he had seen her, not later than the summer of 1923, and sent it to Paekcho so soon afterwards that it was published in the third issue of this magazine, which came out on 6th September 1923.

Furthermore, the epigraph of this poem that is, "The most beautiful and enduring exists only in dreams", implies that this poem is addressed to someone of the bygone days whose "beautiful and enduring" image existed only in his dreams. This judgment has led me to another beautiful girl whom the poet had loved before he went to Japan in the early 1920s. Her name was Son P'ilyŏn, and the episode between them is clearly described by Paek Kiman who met them one winter evening sometime between 1920 and 1922. Paek just gives this episode in his "Recollections of Sanghwa and Kowŏl" that appears at the end of Sanghwa and Kowŏl, and he does not suggest any relation

(1) Sanghwawa Kowŏl edited and published by Paek Kiman, Ch'ŏnggu Publishing Co., Seoul, 1951, pp. 145-6.

(2) Cf. Kim Haktong, Han'guk kŭndae-si yŏn'gu (Studies of Modern Korean Poetry), Ilcho-gak, Seoul, 1974, pp. 175-7. Both this poem and another poem of Yi Sanghwa, which is discussed next, has a brief postscript. This seems to be a heading of poems he grouped together, but I am unable to confirm this.

between "Madonna" and Son P'ilyŏn.⁽¹⁾ Provided that there was no third woman to whom the poet felt so deep an affection as to address her a poem in the early 1920s, I think Son P'ilyŏn must be the "Madonna" for whom he composed this poem a couple of years after he had met her.

Though the structure of this poem consists of couplets each without variation beginning with "Madonna", each couplet contains one or more startlingly vivid images made up of superb similes and metaphors. Take, for example, the dew-laden peaches that are instantly connected with her breasts wet with sweat in the first couplet, the bequeathed pearls meaning women's tears and their easy-weeping temperament in the second couplet, the flickering candle flame in his mind holding up the last of the wick meaning the impatience and the urgency on his part in the fifth couplet, the one-log bridge of repentance and fear which lovers must cross even with much difficulty in order to attain the "resurrection" through love in the eighth and the tenth couplets, and so on.

Indeed, these fresh images created in this poem may be comparable to any of those appearing in modern Korean poetry, and I doubt whether there is any other poem where so many successful images are presented at one time.

One of his poems dealing with a leave-taking under the title of "Bidding Farewell" is probably addressed to the same girl he called "Madonna" in "To My Bedroom" because it must be one of his early poems written at about the same time as "To My Bedroom". The parenthesized "Kugo" (old manuscript) under its title shows that it was written early,

(1) Cf. Sanghwawa Kowŏl, pp. 155-6.

though it was published only in 1925 in Chosŏn mundan (No. 6). This means that he had kept this poem unpublished for at least two or three years because we normally call such unpublished manuscripts "kugo". Besides the probable date of production, this poem has virtually the same structure as that of "To My Bedroom", and there are some identical expressions in both poems.

Bidding Farewell

(Old manuscript)

Why, must you and I leave and must we part after all?
I never knew our farewell unknown to us would come between us
who loved unknown to others.

My heart and lips tremble with uprising passion and I cannot
even take breath, let alone words.
Why can't I know your agonizing mind in which our life shall
tonight seem a piece of dream?

Dear lover, look at the heaven; it has collapsed. Look at
the earth; it has crumbled.
Dear lover, does my body look as it did yesterday, and is your
body still alive and sitting beside me?

Why must you and I leave and must we part after all?
Let us rather become the stars that are looking and crying at
each other than part and live with longing!

Is love but a feather-like reed-flower laughing on a
flowing mind?
Does the flower wither in time, fall and decay in time?

Were you but made to receive hatred from others' envy,
and loneliness from their hatred?
Was I but made to hate this penance while being a man who for
happiness ignored their derision?

Dear lover, upon our minds, which have no boundary between them
as when water mixes with water,
Dear lover, a dark shadow glimmers up and down in silence.

I never knew our farewell unknown to us would come between us
who loved unknown to others.
Let us rather become cuckoos crying with blood than be
parted human beings!

Come closer and embrace my bosom; I would like to weave
 our two minds in one pattern.
 Let us welcome the discretion that comes with eyes closed
 between a small shyness and the faith of knowing
 each other.

Ah, that wrinkled face of yours - Is it the pain farewell gives?
 Drive out farewell and come to me.
 Come running to my arms that would embrace only your
 ivory-cross-like waist.

Dear lover, give me your hands; put your wax-coloured hands
 that are visible even in the dark in my hands.
 Dear lover, speak and tell my eyes the silent words
 uttered by dumb mouths.

Why must you and I leave and must we part after all?
 Let us rather plunge ourselves into the sea and become two
 mermaids and live than go mad after we part!

This poem is much less successful than the other, but the two poems, "To My Bedroom" and "Bidding Farewell", are structurally the same, and even their tone, style, and some of their poetic ideas are identical. In fact, the similarity between these two poems is such that I would regard them as twin poems, because in all his poems these two poems alone share it, and I would think that both poems are addressed to Son P'ilyŏn rather than to Yu Pohwa.

One more poem of Yi Sanghwa that we should discuss is, as I have already suggested in the preceding section, "Does Spring Come Even to the Stolen Field?" This poem, which was first published in Kaebŏk (No. 70, June 1926), is generally regarded as his best poem and also as one of the most successful anti-Japanese poems produced in modern Korean poetry. However, except for the first and the last lines, this poem does not look like an anti-Japanese poem, because in all the other lines the author just describes pleasing country scenes in spring and his emotional response to them.

Does spring come even to the stolen field - now others' land?

With the sunlight on all my body,
I just walk along a lane through rice fields that looks
like a part in the hair
Toward where conjoin the blue sky and the green field.

You sky and field that have closed your lips,
Tell me, I am anxious, if you have enticed me or someone else
has called me out:
I do not feel I have come out by myself.

The wind whispers to my ears
And shakes the hem of my coat as if telling me not to halt
even for a step,
And the skylark laughs with delight like a maiden
beyond the hedge.

You field of barley that has graciously grown,
You have washed your flaxen hair in the fine rain
That fell on until after last midnight; I feel my head
refreshed also.

Even on my own, I will walk hard.
The good ditch surrounding the dry rice fields
Dances away alone in a shoulder dance singing a lullaby.

You butterflies and swallows, do not be hilarious
But say "Good morning" to cockscombs and wild hemp-flowers, too.
I like to see all the fields because castor-oiled women
were weeding there.

Give me a hoe in my hand!
I would tread this soft earth that is like a plump breast
Till I sprain my ankle and would shed some good sweat.

My soul darting ceaselessly and boundlessly
Like children who have come out to the riverside,
What are you looking for? Where are you going? How amusing!
Answer me.

Putting on the fresh green smell all over me,
I walk with a limp all day through where the green laugh and
the green sorrow suffuse:
I seem possessed with the spirit of spring.

But now that the field is stolen, I fear spring will
also be stolen.

In the Korean original text published in the Kaebŏk magazine,
there is no space left between the last line and the immediately
preceding stanza so that the final four lines appear to become the

last stanza of this poem. This I think is an error made at the time of composing the type. A space should have been left there, because this poem structurally consists of nine three-line stanzas plus the opening line and the concluding line. If we look at the page on which the latter half of this poem is printed in Kaebyŏk, we can see that at the time of composing the type for it, the typesetter had no space to leave between the final line and the last stanza which immediately precedes it.⁽¹⁾

At any rate, the first and the final lines of this poem are distinct from the rest of this poem in that only those two lines express some antagonism to the Japanese. When contrasted with the pleasing and familiar scenes of the spring field represented by the body of this poem, this feeling of antagonism usually awakens a warm patriotism in the mind of the reader. This is why this poem was cherished by the people in the past, and some people who have a sort of nostalgic attachment still like it very much.

Chosŏn siin sŏnjip (Selected Poems of Korean Poets) edited by Cho T'aeyŏn and published in 1926 contains 2 to 8 poems by each of 28 Korean poets who were apparently treated as established by that

(1) After the first publication of this poem in Kaebyŏk in the form of nine three-line stanzas plus opening and concluding lines, the printed form of this poem changed in Sanghwawa Kowŏl, where this poem appears in eight four-line stanzas plus opening and ending couplets. The stanza beginning with "Even on my own, I will walk fast ..." which is the fifth stanza of this poem, is missing, and the opening and concluding lines of the poem and the last line of each of the remaining stanzas are all divided into two lines. I think it was a serious error, carelessly made by someone who was in charge of the editing or publication of this anthology. From then on, however, the fifth stanza has been recovered in other anthologies containing this poem but its form has again changed into the form of consecutive lines without stanzaic divisions. This, I think, is another mistake made by one editor, and others have simply followed his injudicious example.

time. The contents include the names of many poets who are already familiar to us, such as Kim Kijin, Kim Tonghwan, Kim Ŏk, Yi Sanghwa, Yi Changhŭi, Pyŏn Yŏngno, and Chu Yohan. Most of the poems selected here are from those previously published in magazines and individual poetic collections.

Therefore, most of the poems selected in this anthology have been discussed by us already, are reserved for discussion in the next chapter as in the case of Kim Chŏngsik's poems, or are passed over or discarded by us as unworthy of mention. A few remaining poems which I cannot confirm as having been previously published elsewhere or not, do not seem good enough to be discussed here.

However, Ch'ŏngnyŏn siin paegin-jip (Collected Poems of One Hundred Junior Poets) edited by Hwang Sŏgu and originally published as the 5th, a feature issue of Chosŏn sidan in April 1929 contains a few notable poems or lines among about 120 poems from about 100 young men and women. Even though they are called junior poets in the title and in Hwang's preface to this anthology, they are not established poets at all but are amateurs, young ladies of literary interests, and senior-high school students.

Many of them had already contributed one or two poems to Chosŏn sidan, so their poems appear here and there from its first to third issues.⁽¹⁾ In general, the qualitative standard of their poems is much lower than that of established poets' works. Occasionally, however, we may come across some good lines, as the following:

(1) N.B. The 4th issue of Chosŏn sidan was not published, but it seems that it has been treated as being included in the 5th issue, for the 5th issue, a special edition with far more pages than a normal issue, compensates for the unpublished 4th issue.

Finally, I would like to examine Siga-jip (Collected Poems and Songs) edited and published by Kim Tonghwan in 1929, which is often nicknamed Samin siga-jip (Collected Poems and Songs of Three Authors).

The first part of this anthology contains 40 poems and several sijo composed by Yi Kwangsu and some foreign poems, such as William Wordsworth's "Solitary Reaper", translated into Korean by him. Among the 40 poems, however, eight are not poems at all but short prose works, in spite of the fact that they were regarded as prose poems at the time of collection. In fact, they are really short essays on various scenes that he saw when he travelled in Japan. Therefore, if we put them aside, we have only 32 poems of Yi Kwangsu in the first part of this anthology.

Now, among these 32 poems, about 20 had previously been published in the 1920s in Chosŏn mundan (Nos. 2-5). This means that Yi Kwangsu, who started by writing several poems for Ch'angjo toward the end of the 1910s, did not subsequently produce many poems in the 1920s. By then he was primarily concerned with writing stories, essays, and novels.

In comparison with his poems that appeared in Sonyŏn and Ch'angjo, which we have examined in Chapter II and Chapter III, however, some of his poems produced in the 1920s show a certain amount of improvement in descriptive skills, easily discernible even by laymen.

In all the dormitory rooms, the lights are switched off;
Children, tired with work, in bed
Still think of arithmetic questions,
And some are already asleep.

Holding the housemaster's lantern,
I on tiptoe must look round all the rooms
To see if a door is open
And if some have kicked off their bedclothes.

Dear sons, and daughters!
 Even in a dream, sleep well in peace.
 Your widow-like Korea
 Has only hope of you, children.

I ring the morning bell, children.
 Pitiful it is to wake you from your sweet sleep,
 But wake up. Get up and let us muster a day's strength again
 For widow-like Korea is calling for you. (1)

This poem is simple and lucid, even including the well-placed metaphor of "widow-like Korea", meaning, of course, the country without her sovereignty at that time.

A new quality that Yi has brought into his poetry composed in the 1920s is colloquialism, or, strictly speaking, dialogue, which often puts a whole poem in a dramatic situation. The poems that are entirely made up of dialogue are "A Poor Child", "Eighty Pence", "The Train", and "The Man of Justice".

"A Poor Child" is a short poem made up of a comment supposedly spoken by the poet's wife after they have for some reason declined what charity the poor boy, who managed to get into their garden, begged them to offer.

"Oh, poor child!
 Oh, pitiful!
 As he went out, he just pouted his lips;
 But, once out of the gate, he wails
 Holding the telegraph pole: Oh, pitiful!
 Shall I go out and see?
 You think he's gone now?
 Should have taken him in,
 Poor child!"
 Thus said my wife and wept.

I think this kind of poetic quality had never been exploited by any Korean poet before Yi Kwangsu, though some of Kim Chöngsik's

(1) The title of this poem is Sagam (The Housemaster).

poems contain a few short pieces of dialogue, and Han Yongun's poetry, published shortly afterwards, certainly relies on this quality to a considerable degree.

The second part of Siga-jip contains 25 poems of Chu Yohan, of which 12 were previously published in magazines, as I stated in the preceding section of this chapter. The rest of the poems collected here are not good enough to be discussed favourably, except for one poem with the title of "Let Us Go to the Field". Here I would like to discuss this poem together with his "Ode to the Country" which appears in both Munye kongnon (No. 2) and Siga-jip.

Let us go to the field -
 Passing through streets with many lamplights,
 To the field where only moonlight shines.

When in the market-place quarrels have started
 And under the electric lights wine and song
 Expose all the ugliness of the nocturnal streets.

Let us go to the field -
 Passing across a small bridge,
 To the field where the wind blows,

Where Summer Night on the grass-covered path
 Will receive us with Her naked body;
 Where nothing but whispering millet-leaves
 Will disturb our ears.

Let us go to the field -
 To the field where on the fragrant Earth
 Soul and soul will become one.

Compare this poem with the following:

Come to the country for the country
 Brings us new joys:
 Mellow fruit and red leaves -
 Teeming autumn is now at its height.

Ah, cast away the bloodshot eyes of the city;
 Cast away the drooping shoulders, panting breath,
 And the clamorous streets of loneliness,
 And come, come to the country of green towering mountain-peaks.

It is the time for our deep and silent meditation
 When the moon shines white on the frosted ditches of the field;
 And when, on frozen rivers, bridges, and fisherboats,
 The snow falls down, and melts, and flowers bloom.

Come to the country, to the wholesome country:
 Leave the city of artificiality, darkness, jealousy,
 and cruelty;
 The sleepless city. Make for the moon and stars,
 And leave the idiotic rebelling city.

Songs that fill the fields echo through the hills,
 Sweet-smells and colours spread from hills to fields.
 Lovely spring! Spring when I would embrace and kiss
 Lumps of earth thawing softly in the sun.

.....

In both poems quoted above, the notion of "God made the country, and man made the town" is explicitly voiced by the poet in his own words. The only difference between these two poems is that while the first poem, "Let Us Go to the Field", has some allusions to inducing someone to carnal love, the latter is strictly a panegyric to the pastoral country as well as an accusation of the city. Perhaps, these poems are less elaborate than some of his early poems collected in Arūmdaun saebyōk, such as "The Sound of Rain", "The Farmer", or "Someone is Calling", but still they succeed in conveying to us his notion of modern cities in a simple unaffected language.

The third and final part of Siga-jip contains 36 poems of Kim Tonghwan, at least three of which had been previously published in Chosōn mundan (Nos. 9 and 12). However, most of these poems are unworthy works, but one poem with the title of "Ninety Spring Days" shows some witty imagery.

It is a very short poem having only eight lines, but it somehow achieves two unusual images - the spring as a lewd woman and the poet's mind as a swinging twig.

This standard, however, was further heightened by the poetic works published in Chindallae-~~kkot~~ by Kim Chǒngsik and Nimŭi ch'immuk by Han Yongun, which are going to be examined closely in the next, and last, chapter.

Chapter V

The Achievement of Kim Chǒngsik and Han Yongun

1. Chindallae-kkot

Kim Chǒngsik published 126 poems in Chindallae-kkot (Azaleas) in 1925, but before this collection, about 40 of his poems had appeared in the period 1920-1925 in magazines, such as Kaebyŏk (Nos. 19, 20, 22, 24, 25, 26, 32, 35, 40, and 55), Ryŏngdae (Nos. 3, 4, and 5) and Chosŏn mundan (Nos. 7 and 10). After the publication of Chindallae-kkot, about 15 poems were published in magazines, such as Chosŏn mundan (Nos. 12 and 17), Paekch'i (No. 2), and Munye kongnon (Nos. 1 and 2). Most of his poems published in magazines in the first half of the 1920s are collected in Chindallae-kkot. The total number of poems published either in this collection or in magazines in the 1920s amounts to about 150.

Since 1925, Kim's lyric poems, especially what we may call his "soft" poems in Chindallae-kkot, have appealed to the general public so much that this particular collection has always marked the highest sale-record among all the poetic collections and anthologies ever published in Korea, with more than 300,000 copies sold. Thus, he is often called the poet of the Korean people. They seem to consider that the content of his poetry is easy for them to understand, and that the subject matter of his poetry is more familiar to them than that of other Korean poets.

As a matter of fact, more than half of the poems collected in Chindallae-kkot are not difficult for us to appreciate, because they deal with subjects familiar to everybody, such as love, loneliness, and homesickness, in a simple lyric style. Several of these poems

have made the poet extremely popular, especially among the younger generation. A few extracts from some of these poems will suffice to show the point:

I wish I knew where our beloved nim has gone.
As I have nowhere to place my unhappy mind on,
Everyday I pick grass and throw it onto the stream,
And just try to mind the flowing blades.

(from "Picking of the Grass")

The clear songs of our beloved nim
Forever ring in my mind.

Though all day long I listen at the door,
The sweet songs of our beloved nim
Come to my ears till the sun sets and it gets dark,
Come to my ears till the night falls and I fall asleep.

The melodies rolling gently
Lull me so deeply to sleep;
Alone as I lie in bed by myself,
Softly I fall into a deep sleep.

(from "The Songs of Nim")

Really lonely it is, to go to sleep by myself.
At night I miss you so much that my heart will break,
So much like this
That I fear I shall even forget your face.

(from "The Night")

The moon rising at night in spring and autumn alike,
I knew never before.

That I would thus be broken-hearted for you,
I knew never before.

How to look at the moon, however bright she was,
I knew never before.

That that moon one day would be a grief,
I knew never before.

("I Knew Never Before")

You may not forget but remember;
Get on with life as it is,
Then there will be a day when you may forget.

You may not forget but remember,
Let time go by as it will,
Then you will forget some that you may not forget.

(from "You May Not Forget")

These are but a few examples of Kim's "soft" poems. With regard to his poems as a whole, however, scholars of Korean literature generally agree that Kim's poetry has three characteristics, which are usually said to be: a conventional rhythm derived from folk songs, the ideas that Korean people traditionally cherished, and local colour.

Before I go any further, I would like to discuss each of these so-called characteristics of Kim's poetry to see whether or not we can totally accept them, because to me it seems very important to know precisely what the nature of his poetry is before we make an attempt to analyse or evaluate it.

Cho Yŏnhyŏn, after defining Kim Sowŏl as a "traditional" poet, gives three aspects of Kim's poetry to explain the meanings of "traditional". They are local colour, a traditional rhythm, and traditional sentiments. On the aspect of Sowŏl's traditional rhythm, he says:

The majority of Sowŏl's poems have a certain external rhythm. And, it is mainly the 7-5 rhythm, and, partially, the 3-4 rhythm becomes the base.(1)

Kim Haesŏng in his Studies of Modern Korean Poets, says the following about the physical characteristics of Kim Sowŏl's poetry:

(1) Cho Yŏnhyŏn (1961), p. 441.

The poet who has established a poetic world of his own on the poetic form of "folk songs", which are the base of Korean literature and the mother of Korean poetry, is Sowŏl. As an innate lyricist, Sowŏl matured early and in his early period [of composing poems] was influenced by Ansŏ and wrote many works in the style of the traditional folk songs of the 7-5 rhythm and the 3-4 rhythm(1)

Mo Kiyun also holds an opinion similar to that of Cho Yŏnhyŏn and Kim Haesŏng, and he regards one of Sowŏl's poetic characteristics as "the national rhythm", or "the Korean rhythm proper", which relies heavily on its character of music. Yi Ch'ŏlbŏm, in his extensive survey of modern Korean literature, says that, because of the folk song style, Kim Sowŏl's poetry has been widely read with pleasure among the people. (2)

I think the view explained and quoted above are shared by most scholars and students of Korean literature. At least, I have never seen anyone who has expressed an opinion basically different from them. All these opinions that would admit a close relationship between the rhythm of the traditional folk songs and that of Sowŏl's poems seem to derive from a remark by Kim Ŏk on Sowŏl's poetic form. This was made in his "Recollections of Kim Sowŏl", which is given in place of an introduction to Selected Poems of Kim Sowŏl edited and published by Kim Ŏk in 1935 in memory of the poet, who had committed suicide only the year before. There Kim Ŏk says:

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- (1) Kim Haesŏng, Han'guk hyŏndae siin-non (Studies in Modern Korean Poets), Kŭmgang Publishing Co., Seoul, 1973, p. 115.
- (2) Mo Kiyun, Han'guk taep'yo-munhak ch'ong-haeje (A Comprehensive Commentary on the Representative Works of Korean Literature), Ŏnŏ munhwa-sa, Seoul, 1977, p. 245; and Yi Ch'ŏlbŏm, Han'guk sin-munhak taegye (A Survey of New Korean Literature), vol. 2, Kyŏnghak-sa, Seoul, 1972, p. 116.

If we can divide verse into the form of folk songs and that of poems, Sowöl's poetic talent lay in folk songs. Yet this does not mean that to him there are no other poems but folk songs. In comparison with his folk-song poems, however, the other poems coming out through his intellect cannot escape stiffness, which is regrettable

For some unknown reason, Sowöl himself hated to be called a poet of folk songs and wished to be called just a poet. As a matter of fact, however, he showed an uncommon skill in the form of folk songs. And it was the most natural for him

... indeed, among Sowöl's folk songs there are not a few works which are worth reading over and over with pleasure.

In actuality, however, when we make a close examination of all the poems collected in Chindallae-kkot, some other poems left out of this collection and those composed after the publication of it, we find that there is only a small number of poems which are either based on the traditional 3-4 or 4-4 rhythm or similar to the folk songs in some respects. For example, some of his early poems found only in Ch'angjo, which we have seen in the preceding chapter, show that the poet certainly made an experiment with the traditional rhythm there, and several poems in the 1925 collection, such as "Somebody in the Distant Future", "The Snow-falling", and "Purple Clouds", have some physical similarity to the folk songs.

On the other hand, most of the poems in his collection are either based on the 7-5 rhythm or are free-verse poems. In detail, Sowöl's poems in Chindallae-kkot are of the following six types:

(1) Poems mainly of 7-5 or of 4-3 (3-4) -5 rhythm

"Picking of the Grass", "The Sea", "On the Mountain", "Old Tales", "The Songs of Nim", etc.

(2) Poems with the variations on the 7-5 rhythm

"The End of the Sky", "Tree Buds", "The Stream", "Azaleas", etc.

- (3) Poems having some embedded 7-5 rhythm
 "You May Not Forget", "I Knew Never Before", "An Owl",
 "Smells of a Woman", etc.
- (4) Free verse
 "A Spring Night", "The Night", "The Old Day I Dreamed",
 "The Cock's Crow", etc.
- (5) Poems having a partial similarity to folk songs
 "Someday in the Distant Future", "The Snow-falling",
 "Purple Clouds", etc.
- (6) Poems in couplets
 "Asleep or Awake, Sitting or Standing", "Though the Sun Sets
 beyond a Western Mountain Ridge", etc.

Therefore, I doubt whether we may properly consider Kim's poetry as having the characteristics of Korean folk songs at all, unless we accept the fallacy that the 7-5 rhythm can be one of the traditional rhythms of the Korean folk songs.

In Sowŏl's poems, we frequently come across subject matter in which sentiments such as affection, longing or yearning, loneliness, homesickness, and so on, are explicitly expressed, and the critics and literary historians seem to conclude that these emotions must come from the traditional thoughts of the Korean people.

Though one must agree that pre-modern Korean poetry and folk songs express feelings of joy and happiness less than sorrow and loneliness, such emotions as expressed in Sowŏl's poetry are rather universal and are generally found in all lyric poetry and ballads all over the world.

As to the local colour of Sowŏl's poetry, I must point out that only roughly one tenth of his poems, such as "The Mountain", "A Cuckoo",

"SakjuKusöng", and "Wangsimni", reveal what we may rightly call local colour such as we have seen in some of Kim Tonghwan's poems.

To those who might ask what I think is Kim Sowöl's poetry, I would like to sum up my own views indicated above. In general, his poetry, which is based either on the 7-5 rhythm or on some variations of it or is free verse, deals with human sentiments, such as affection, sorrow, loneliness, homesickness, and so forth, which, being universal, have always appealed to a fairly wide audience. Although his poetry exploits the 7-5 rhythm to a considerable degree with success, it owes little to the traditional rhythm of Korean folk songs, nor does it exclusively contain any traditional ideas proper to the Korean people or any local colour which may be taken as a characteristic of his poetry in general.

Let us examine some of his most successful poems in the category of his "soft poems". (As far as I am concerned, there are in his poetry about 50 poems that we may call "hard" poems, which I will discuss later on in this section.) One of his most celebrated poems is, of course, the title poem of Azaleas. This poem was first published in the 25th issue of the magazine Kaebyök in July 1922, three years before his poetic collection. Hence, it must have been written by Sowöl when he was about nineteen years of age or even earlier.

When you are tired of me
And go away,
I will see you off gently in silence.

From Yak Mountain in Yöngbyön
An armful of azalea flowers will I pick
And strew them on your way.

On the flowers spread
Step by step on your way,
Tread softly as you go away.

When you are tired of me
 And go away,
 Never will I shed tears though I die.

As we see, this is a love poem addressed on the part of woman to her lover. The soft feelings expressed in it have been greatly admired by readers who would see in it a prototype of traditional Korean women. However, it seems to me that this particular woman looks rather like a type of woman whom we may hope to see at all times, and her resolution expressed in the final line seems to reveal a stern discretion which we may expect only of a woman of some culture.

As to the physical structure of this poem, it has four three-line stanzas, each of which is made up of two 7-5 syllable rhythms. Thus, this poem may rightly be said to be based on a variation of the 7-5 rhythm.

In "Invocation" which is another celebrated poem of his, we see something else. It is an unusual poem which relies heavily on the poet's passion uttered in a trembling voice in lines frequently repeated and paralleled. The result is a confession of everlasting love to a lover who must have passed from this world.

The name that is shattered into pieces!
 The name that has vanished into the air!
 The name that is called but has no owner!
 The name that I shall be calling till I die!

To the last I could not confess
 The only word remaining in my mind
 The one whom I loved!
 The one whom I loved!

The red sun hangs on a western mountain ridge;
 Herds of deer are crying sadly, too.
 On the top of a mountain perching far away,
 I am calling your name.

I am calling it till I am overwhelmed with grief;
 I am calling it till I am overwhelmed with grief.
 The voice of my calling echoes forth,
 But too wide is the space between heaven and earth.

If I turn into a rock here as I stand,
 It is the name I shall be calling till I die!
 The one whom I loved!
 The one whom I loved!

This poem deals with the poet's intense personal feelings over the death of his lover, whether she was a real or an imaginary lover. The entire poem except the third stanza just centres upon his passionate cries to her, and the third stanza gives the poem the classical units of time and place, i.e., at the sunset and on the top of a remote mountain.

Although this poem is highly repetitive - ten out of the total twenty lines of this poem are either incremental or emphatic repetitions - the reader, who is more often than not fascinated by the music and touched by the pathos of this poem, does not mind the degree of repetition and just accepts the reiterated sounds as all the more pleasing. I think this is where an artificiality of a poetic structure and that of content cancel each other out to a considerable extent, so that the entire poem becomes unexpectedly natural.

Kim Sowŏl has made a poem out of the legend of the cuckoo orally handed down to us in some parts of Korea. This poem with the title of "A Cuckoo" has some embedded 7-5 rhythm, which is clearly discernible in the original text.

Cuckoo,
 Cuckoo,
 Amabros, cuckoo. (1)

(1) "Amabros" is my arbitrary but deliberate translation of the Korean contracted phrase amuraebi [auraebi], which is a contracted form of a urorabi. Cf. Sowŏl sich'o (Selected Poems of Sowŏl), p. 81. A urorabi is still a short form of a uri orabi (Ah, our [my] brothers). Hence, just as the poet contracted it to auraebi, I have shortened "ah, my brothers" to "amabros".

Our sister who lived on the beach of the Chindu River
 Has come to the village fronting the Chindu River
 And is crying.

Our sister who lived once upon a time
 On the beach of the Chindu River
 Far back in our country
 Died of the jealousy of her stepmother.

To call her our sister,
 Oh, so pitiful.
 Our sister whose body died of jealousy
 Has become a cuckoo after death.

Her brothers, well over nine,
 Never has she forgotten even in her death,
 And, wandering from hill to hill, in grief she cries
 When at midnight deepens all-sleeping night.

Extremely simple as the legendary story may appear in this poem,
 this poem has also attracted the attention of many readers. Here
 again, I think it is largely due to the pathos and the internal rhythm
 of this poem that it has succeeded to such an extent.

A poem which is even simpler in content than "A Cuckoo" has
 greatly been admired by many people, including scholars and critics,
 some of whom claim that it is Sowōl's best poem. It has only four
 short stanzas under the title of "Flowers in the Mountains".

In the mountains flowers bloom,
 Flowers bloom:
 Whether in autumn, spring, or summer,
 Flowers bloom.

The flowers that are in bloom
 In the mountains
 And in the mountains
 Are alone in bloom over there.

Little birds singing in the mountains,
 They love flowers
 And they live
 In the mountains.

Flowers fall in the mountains;
 Flowers fall:
 Whether in autumn, spring, or summer,
 Flowers fall.

Kim Tongni, in "The Distance to the Mountains", which is an essay on this particular poem, simply adores this poem regarding it as "a miraculous perfection" and traces the cause of this perfection in this way:

... in the case of Sowöl's poetry also, if we exclude just one poem, "Flowers in the Mountains", all the rest are unfinished works, and they evidently remain in a form of experimentation as regards their formal structure. Indeed, it is miraculous that among his poems such a perfect product as this "Flowers in the Mountains" has appeared.

As to its formal structure, and especially as to its rhythm, no others' best works that have been produced up to now are comparable with it. More frankly speaking, perhaps it shows the best rhythm that Korean lyric poetry can ever hope to achieve(1)

Kim Haesöng, in his Studies of Modern Korean Poets, praises this poem as "the zenith of rhythm" created by "the talents of a godlike genius".⁽²⁾ I think many others who are less fascinated by this poem than these two still regard it as being superior in quality to other poems, including "Azaleas".

Here I would like to go to the original text of this poem and look into its structure carefully before we interpret the meaning of this poem and evaluate it.

The poetic form of "Flowers in the Mountains" looks like that of "A Cuckoo" to some extent, but the former is much more simple and brief than the latter. In fact, the poem in question has the briefest structure among Sowöl's four-stanza poems. Apart from this brevity in structure, it has some other features that are characteristic of it. For example, the /e/ sound which is

- (1) Kim Tongni, "Ch'öngsangwaüi köri" ("The Distance to the Mountains"), Munhakkwa in'gan (Literature and Man), Paekmin munhwa-sa, Seoul, 1948; collected in Kungmunhak nonmun-sön (Selected Essays in Korean Literature), ed. Kim Yölgü et al., Minjung sögwän, Seoul, 1977, pp. 146-51.
- (2) Kim Haesöng, op. cit., pp. 116-7.

prevalent in this poem occurs ten times at line-end positions and four times elsewhere. The content words "mountains" and "flowers" occur six and eight times, respectively. The frequent occurrences of the same sound and words make this poem all the more simple.

Thus, when we read this poem for the first time, we get little more information than that "flowers bloom in the mountains". However, the two adverbial expressions, "alone" and "over there" which appear in the second stanza, give much significance to the context when we re-read this poem. It is Kim Tongni who first points out the importance of these adverbial phrases, maintaining that they establish in this poem a sense of distance between the poet and the mountain.⁽¹⁾

Apparently, the meaning of "alone" may seem contradictory to what is said in the third stanza because the flowers are not "alone" but with "little birds" singing in the mountains. However, in the poet's subjective point of view, the flowers blooming in the mountains are "alone" - alone in a region unapproachable by him because there is a distance - an irreconcilable distance between nature and man. Man can only hope to be assimilated with nature, but there always remains this distance in between.

Another key word we must not overlook when reading this poem is, I think, the verb "fall" in the last stanza. It is because of this word that the everlastingness of nature is vividly represented by the poet. The two verbs, "bloom" and "fall", having meanings opposite to each other, indicate the endless processes of life-activity in nature. Without this word, the scene of nature

(1) Kim Tongni, op. cit., p. 146.

described in this poem would be very static.

Thus, the entire poem has become a rather lively scene where flowers ceaselessly bloom and fall in the mountains, with little birds singing merrily all the time in the foreground, all of which go in harmony with the background music coming from the light rhythm in this simple poetic form. Indeed, this poem depicts in the simplest possible pattern a lovely scene of everlasting nature as opposed to the human society where man is bound with all kinds of cares and concerns. Therefore, I would estimate it as one of Sowŏl's most successful poems in the category of "soft" poems, though I have no means to evaluate it as his best or second best work.

Since Sowŏl has addressed about half of his poems to his nim, tangsŭn, kŭdae, or kŭsaram, it seems that many scholars and students of modern Korean poetry have seriously thought about the question who his nim or tangsŭn may be. None of them, however, have found a definite answer because Sowŏl's poems ordinarily do not reveal the identity of his nim or tangsŭn very clearly. Therefore, the tentative conclusion they would reach at the end of their quest through the "maze" of Sowŏl's poetry is usually something like the following:

Sowŏl's nim is not clear. It may not be a real animate figure. There is no specific name

However, if we put Sowŏl's words "the loss of nim" in the historical context of "the loss of the country", it will come to have a realistic meaning other than from his personal standpoint. The loss of nim and the loss of the country would not necessarily agree with each other, but we may at least say that the realistic cause of the loss of nim lies in the loss of the country(1)

(1) Mun Tŏksu, "Sowŏle issŏsŏŭi 'nim chayŏn hyangsu'" ("Nim, Nature, and Homesickness' in Sowŏl"), Kungmunhak nonmun-sŏn (Selected Essays in Korean Literature), ed. Kim Yŏlgyu et al., pp. 156-8.

I think this kind of view is both illogical and misleading. Those who have this kind of view do not seem to have looked into Sowŏl's poetry carefully enough, because in his poetry there are definitely several landmarks by which we can distinguish the various types of poems that the poet actually produced, even though he did not say anything clearly about his nim or tangsin.

From evidence and hints I have discovered in the various contexts of a number of poems, I can envisage at least seven types of poem, each of which refers to a particular person whom the poet has had in his mind. The types and the sources of my information are as follows:

Type 1. Sowŏl's mother

A poem with the title of "Old Tales". The nim in this poem is definitely Sowŏl's mother not only because the poet refers to himself in this poem as "chŏ", a polite form of "na", but also because "the old tales" mentioned in this poem must be the same old tales as told to him by his mother. For the evidence of this, compare the poem entitled "Parents".

A number of other poems in which the poet refers to himself very politely and often calls his mother "uri nim" instead of "naui nim", such as "Picking of the Grass", "The Songs of Nim", "The Words of Nim", and, possibly, "To Nim", must deal with the subject matter of his mother, not of his lovers, because the contexts of these poems are close to that of the two poems mentioned above.

Type 2. Sowŏl's wife

An indisputable proof is the poem with the title of "The Couple" which begins with a line, "Oh, my wife, my love!" Here the poet calls his wife "naui sarang" (my love) instead of my nim.

Another poem entitled "Farm" evidently describes the pleasure of the couple's working on a farm.

A number of poems, such as "A Theme Lost", "Hands Clapsed", "A Silent Prayer", and "Distrust", are apparently related to the life of this couple. In these poems, we frequently notice the use of a pronoun "we" which must refer to this couple.

Type 3. The woman whom the poet met in P'yöngyang

The woman in the poem "Changbyöl-li", the name of a district in the city of P'yöngyang, ends with lines, "In the middle of my leave-taking with you/ The rain ceaselessly falls and drizzles". (This poem is collected only in Selected Poems of Sowöl.)

The woman standing under the moon in P'yöngyang in the poem entitled "Moonlight" must be the same woman who appears in the poem mentioned above.

The woman in the poem with the title of "Unbalance" published in Ryöngdae (No. 4) in December 1924 must be the same woman that appears in the two poems mentioned above. This poem begins with the lines, "When you were weeping in P'yöngyang,/ I was in Seoul singing." From a line in the last stanza of this poem, "Today you are a wandering woman", we may regard this woman as one of the entertaining girls called kisaeng whom the poet met in P'yöngyang.

Type 4. The entertaining girl whom the poet met in Yöngbyön

An entertaining girl called Ch'aeran whom the poet mentions in an introductory remark on her song, "An Arm Pillow", which is collected together with his poems in Selected Poems of Sowöl, strongly suggests the possibility of the relationship between the woman in the poem of "You Who Are Crying for Misfortune" and Ch'aeran. This poem appears in Azaleas.

In fact, there are some other poems concerning an entertaining girl, such as "The Powdered Face" and "Smells of a Woman", but we have no way to ascertain whether this is the same entertaining girl or not.

Type 5. The poet himself

In "The day when your mind was light", which is a line appearing in the poem with the title of "On an Autumn Morning", küdae (you) obviously refers to Sowöl himself.

Type 6. The poet's friend

In "You and I, and maybe the girl", a line in the poem "The Powdered Face", küdae is a friend with whom the poet is having a drink.

Type 7. The poet's lover or lovers whose names are unknown but whom he held in much affection

In fact, there are too many poems to list here that either are addressed, or refer, to his lover or lovers, who are not, of course, any of those persons mentioned

above from type 1 to 6. This type of poem includes: "The One Who Comes in My Dream", "The Old Days I Dreamed", "The Snowy Evening", "You May Not Forget", "I Knew Never Before", "Asleep or Awake, Sitting or Standing", "Though the Sun Sets beyond a Western Mountain Ridge", and "The Mind Forgotten".

To conclude, all the poems that I have either mentioned or listed above deal with the poet's personal experiences with someone, mainly a woman. As far as I am concerned, Sowŏl has never composed poems on the subject of "the loss of the country" even including all the rest of the poems which I have not mentioned above.

From now on, I would like to discuss Sowŏl's poems that are not "soft" in nature. Again, for convenience, I will call all the poems that do not rely on sentiment "hard" poems. In Azaleas, there are about 50 poems that are not so "soft" as some of his love poems that we have seen early in this section. It seems that these "hard" poems were totally neglected by readers until about ten years ago, when Sŏ Chŏngju made a comment on some of them in his Modern Poetry of Korea in 1969.⁽¹⁾ Even since then no one has shown any interest in these "hard" poems. I think this is chiefly because of Sowŏl's "soft" poems, which have always prevailed and overshadowed them, and partly because some of the "hard" poems, such as "Delight", "A Cold Evening", and "Loneliness on a Journey (I)", are not only difficult to understand but really ambiguous.

Nevertheless, I would accord some of these "hard" poems even higher estimation than Sowŏl's readers have given to his most celebrated poems, such as "Azaleas" and "Flowers in the Mountains".

(1) Cf. Sŏ Chŏngju, "Kim Sowŏlgwa kŭi si" ("Kim Sowŏl and His Poetry"), Han'gukŭi hyŏndae-si (Modern Poetry of Korea), Ilchi-sa, Seoul, 1969, pp. 56-158.

i.e. "Hands Clasped" and "A Silent Prayer", both of which are poems of a metaphysical nature, showing a state of mind in which the poet has gone further into the world of spiritual rapture, to such an extent that he transcends all his bodily desires.

Out for a walk, just the two of us, the nocturnal light came
to permeate us.
Ah, look at this: The moon has come down through the
overgrown trees.
We had been having a chat while walking; the wind blowing
as it was.

Under the lamplights the streets were pale; against the
dim sky,
A fair fluorescent shadow was seen far away,
And on the grass nearby, dewdrops were twinkling.

The darkness had just deepened; quiet was all around;
By now we did not talk nor did we go any farther
But stood by the roadside face to face with eyes closed.
The peal of a mountain-temple bell, far, far away.
The moonlight has been awake all night.

This is an unusual poem, seemingly very simple but in fact highly symbolic. First of all, what does the title "Hands Clasped" mean, because the clasping of hands is never mentioned in the poem? Apparently, it has a Buddhistic implication of the posture of invocation. However, the couple does not seem to be engaged in a worship of Buddha in this poem. They are standing "face to face" "with eyes closed" in each other's worship. Thus the title of this poem stands for the state of the couple's minds which are in union in a spiritual devotion to each other. Hence the key word is "face to face" in the last stanza, without which the entire poem would have become a scene similar to that of Jean François Millet's "Angelus du Soir".

If we have a close look at this poem, we may realize how the couple has been led to such a transcendental precinct of the spiritual world during their walk on a moonlit night. In the first

stanza, the moon, which "has come down through the overgrown trees" to the earth, is represented as an agent of the sanctifying of their carnal love.

In the second stanza, the scene of the streets and even the sky are "pale" and "dim" due to the moonlight now prevailing on the earth. Dewdrops on the grass, reflecting the moonlight, are twinkling. At the sight of them in the surrounding tranquility, the two lovers' minds are filled with solemn spiritual raptures so that in the third stanza they unawares cease talking and stand still "face to face with eyes closed" in each other's worship. "The peal of a mountain-temple bell", together with the moonlight awake all night in the last line, symbolize their worship of spiritual love and the state of their everlasting blessedness.

Sowöl's command of language has greatly improved, as is apparent in this poem, attaining a remarkable degree of terseness and simplicity and allowing little room for redundancy. Besides, the sonority and the harmony of sound in his diction is just amazing as is attested especially by the last line with recurring /n/ and /ch/ (/j/) sounds as in Mon mon san. Sanjölüi chöl chongsori, which is only to be read aloud very slowly with sufficient pause at the end of each word and phrase.

This poem reminds me of one of John Donne's secular poems with the title of "The Ecstasy":

As 'twixt two equal armies, Fate
Suspends uncertain victory,
Our souls, (which to advance their state,
Were gone out,) hung 'twixt her and me.

And whilst our souls negotiate there,
We like sepulchral statues lay;
All day, the same our postures were,
And we said nothing, all the day.

(the 2nd and 3rd stanzas of
"The Ecstasy")

The other poem, "A Silent Prayer", also describes a state that is similar to, but somewhat different from, what we have just seen in "Hands Clasped". Here the protagonist alone experiences sublimation with his wife who has already gone to sleep.

When, deep in the night, the night air is cool,
Sitting on the window sill, dangling my feet,
I hear the first frog croaking,
Pitiful to see you already gone to sleep alone.

When in thought my body is still, through the dim woods
Shine from a house the lights of an exorcism,
And by and by the prayers fade away with the croaking.
My soul becoming full ... between heaven and earth.

I unawares get up, step forward, and lean on your body
in sleep.
When, motionless again, all things are in silence,
The starlights brilliantly shining down
Guide my body infinitely closer.

In this poem, which is collected side by side with "Hands Clasped" in Azaleas, the tranquility and the starlights of the night have led the meditative poet to the sacred precincts of sublimation in love where, with all his carnal desires subdued and suspended, he feels an infinite closeness to his wife who is asleep beside him.

How unusual it is to witness in Sowŏl, who is still regarded by both scholars and readers as the poet of folk songs ("soft" poems in our expression), such a depth of thought and such a height in poetic skill as he has shown in his "hard" poems, and when he was composing these poems, he was only about twenty years of age. Even Kim Ŏk, who was Sowŏl's senior and teacher in poetry, was simply unable to appreciate what Sowŏl had achieved in his "hard" poems. As Kim Ŏk said in his preface to Selected Poems of Sowŏl, he who could favour only Sowŏl's "soft" poems excluded from this poetic selection as many "hard" poems as possible.

Kim did not understand why "Sowŏl himself hated to be called a

poet of folk songs and wished to be called just a poet", but I think we are now able to answer this question.

2. The Silence of 'Nim'

In 1926, a collection of eighty-eight lyric poems, mostly free verses, was published by Han Yongun under the title of Nimui ch'immuk (Silence of 'Nim') in Seoul. The author was a Buddhist priest and philosopher, with a pen name Manhae, who devoted his life to the Korean independence movement.⁽¹⁾

As early as 1918, however, Han's first poem, "Mind", appeared in a Buddhist magazine called Yusim (Thinking Spirit), of which he was the editor. It is a short prose poem of 14 lines dealing with a basic concept of Buddhist philosophy, the absolute attribute of mind which generates rather than just perceives all things in this world.⁽²⁾

While serving his prison sentence after his active participation in the Movement of the Declaration of Independence in March 1919, he wrote a short three-stanza poem in the traditional 4-4 syllabic rhythm of Korean folk songs. This poem entitled "To Plant the Hibiscus" was published in September 1922. It is a poem of patriotism propagating the spirit of national restoration and the native culture in such lines as "I will cut away the cinnamon tree/ And plant the hibiscus" on the moon brightly shining through the prison bars.⁽³⁾

(1) For his biography, see Pak Nosun and In Kwŏnhwan, Manhae Han Yongun yŏn'gu (A Study of Manhae Han Yongun), T'ongmun-gwan, Seoul, 1960.

(2) Yusim, No. 1, September 1918.

(3) Kaebŏk, No. 27, September 1922.

As far as the poetic form and descriptive skill are concerned, these poems are much inferior to those collected in the Silence of 'Nim', but it seems reasonable to assume that Han steadily improved himself in writing poetry during the first half of the 1920s until the publication of about ninety poems in his single most important poetic collection in 1926.

With few exceptions, all these poems are love poems expressing his intense affection toward his nim that is the object of his poetry.⁽¹⁾ In most cases, the poet's nim, whoever it may be, has been removed from him for reasons not clearly stated to the reader.

In pre-modern and even in early modern Korean poetry, what is meant by nim was usually a human being, male or female, to whom the poet consistently addressed himself. For instance, in the case of Hwang Chini's sijo, her nim was a nobleman she loved, Chŏng Ch'ŏl's nim in his kasa was his monarch, and Kim Sowŏl's nim was either his mother or one of his lovers.

In Han's poetry, however what he means by nim does not seem to represent one definite object of his love or yearning, but rather seems vaguely to embrace more than just one object at a time. This is why a number of scholars have come to express diverse opinions as to the identity of Han's nim, which is still controversial.

Cho Yŏnhyŏn says that Han's nim is not confined to a mere lover but sometimes becomes Buddha, Nature, or the fatherland expropriated by imperialist Japan.⁽²⁾ Cho Chihun regards Han's nim as a unity

(1) All poems that appear in the Silence of 'Nim' are related, directly or indirectly, to his love of nim except a poem with the title of "On Reading Tagore's Poem, 'The Gardener'".

(2) Cho Yŏnhyŏn (1961), p. 434.

of the Korean people and Buddha, and Pak Nosun, who wrote A Study of Han Yongun in collaboration with In Kwŏnhwan, sees it as a complex body of what Buddhists call "all living things" that may embrace a lover of the opposite sex, the people, and plants and animals.⁽¹⁾

Quite contrary to these, Chŏng T'aeyong in his study of modern poets asserts that Han's nim is neither Buddha nor a woman but his fatherland that was under the Japanese at that time.⁽²⁾ Kim Haktong, who has reviewed all these opinions in his studies of modern Korean poets, considers that the identity of Han's nim must be understood as "the source or the essence of life" in him, which persisted not only in his literature but throughout his entire life.⁽³⁾

On the other hand, Kim Uch'ang, who has recently published an essay on this particular poet, would regard Han's nim as a sort of "limiting pole" saying:

... we should rather take the "beloved" in his poems as a limiting pole in the dialectical movement of existence in the ambiguous arena of truth and untruth. If the "beloved" refers to the nation, it does not represent the nation as a static entity but points to the nation as it should become, free and independent, as contrasted with the nation as it is enslaved. It stands for the people, free and fulfilled as against the people as they are oppressed and unfulfilled. It may also stand for truth, but not as it has become the law of the world but as the truth of the world yet to be realized. In other words, the beloved is not an object of devotion as it is already constituted but the moving object or the haunting possibility of an object beyond the movement of negation.⁽⁴⁾

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- (1) Cho Chihun, "Han Yongun-non" ("A Study of Han Yongun"), Sajo, No. 10; collected in Cho Chihun chŏnjip; (3) Munhak-non (Complete Works of Cho Chihun; (3) Essays in Literature), Ilchi-sa, Seoul, 1973, pp. 262-6.
- (2) Chŏng T'aeyong, "Hyŏndae siin yŏn'gu (3)" ("Studies of Modern Poets, No. 3"), Hyŏndae munhak, No. 29, May 1957, p. 192.
- (3) Kim Haktong (1974), pp. 54-9.
- (4) Kim Uch'ang, "Han Yongun: The Poet in Time of Need", Korea Journal, vol. 19, No. 12, December 1979, pp. 4-12.

It seems to me that each of these opinions expressed on the identity of Han's nim except Chŏng T'aeyong's bears a certain amount of truth in it. Han's nim differs from the nim of his predecessors in two respects. First, Han's nim, who usually appears in his poems as a lover, cannot be identified with a real person, because his nim is a purely imaginary character he has employed to set up a love relation between him and his ultimate object of love. Secondly, this unreal character of his nim usually stands for his ultimate object of love, such as his nation, Buddha, or truth, beyond the surface meaning of his poems. In this sense, the object of Han's love or devotion has variability or multiplicity.

Han Yongun himself has suggested what he means by nim in "Unnecessary Remarks", which he has given in place of a preface to the Silence of 'Nim'.

Not only "nim" is nim, but everything one yearns for is nim. If all living things are Sakyamuni's nim, philosophy is Kant's nim. If the nim of the rose is spring rain, Mazzini's nim is Italy. Nim is not only the one I love but also the one who loves me

As for me, I write these poems in the yearning for the lambs that, having lost their way back, are wandering in the open fields in the gathering dusk.

Though Han's definition of nim here is highly figurative, we may realize that he has certainly broadened the conventional sense of nim to such an extent that it may embrace an object, whether animate or inanimate, that one really loves. The love in this wide sense is reciprocal between the lover and the object of love. Again, we may deduce from the last sentence of the preface that he has written these poems in his concern about the wandering "lambs" that obviously represent all Korean people who, having lost their country, were suffering at that time.

With this clue from his "Unnecessary Remarks", we may proceed to examine some of his poems, to see what he actually means by his nim, and how he has developed various subjects of his love or devotion with this central symbol, which he has employed as an agent of the ultimate object of his everlasting love.

First of all, there is in the Silence of 'Nim' a number of poems in which the beloved whom the poet calls nim doubtlessly implies the Korean people or the country. In this type of poem, the poet usually warns or solicits his nim not to be deluded by the enemy and expresses his loyalty and love toward his nim. For example, in "Do Not Go", the speaker in the poem entreats her nim not to go over to the enemy thus:

Those are not Love's wings wishing to embrace
a lovely baby who, with its expressive pouting lips
and bowing head in its mother's breast, wants sweet
affection, but the enemy's banners.

That is not Mercy's halo but the glaring light
of Devil's eyes.

.....

Oh, nim, my nim who is thirsty for comfort, turn
back; don't go there; I hate it.

The music of the earth has fallen into sleep in the
shade of the hibiscus;

The dream of light is diving beneath the dark sea.

The fearful silence is giving a stern lesson to
the whispers of all things.

Oh, nim, my nim who is to be intoxicated with
the flower of a new life, turn back; don't go there;
I hate it.

.....

There is no sky in that country.

Shadowless people are making a war in that country.

The great time advancing with a key of life to all
things in the universe in accordance with the stern
rule that surpasses all measurement has stopped in
that country.

Oh, nim, my nim who regards death as an aroma,
turn back; don't go there; I hate it.

In another poem, "I Saw You", the speaker assumes herself to be a poor woman who has lost her husband, and, having nothing to eat, visits her neighbour to borrow some food. Here the speaker addresses the object of her love as tangsin, an equivalent to nim intimately used between husband and wife.

I cannot forget you since you went away
Not so much for your sake as for my own.

As I have no land to till and sow, I have no harvest.

When I have nothing for supper and went next door to borrow some millet or potatoes, the householder said, "Beggars have no personality. Those who haven't got it, have no life. Helping you is a sin."

Turning back at these words, I saw you in my pouring tears.

I have no house and for this and for some other reasons, I have no family register.

"Those who have no family register have no civic rights. What use is chastity to you who have no civic rights?" said the general who tried to violate me.

The moment after I resisted him, my rage toward others was turning into sorrow for myself, I saw you.

Oh, ethics, morality, and law are only the smoke of sacrifice at the altar of sword and gold, I realized.

When I wondered whether I should seek eternal love, or blot out the first page of man's history, or make myself drunk, I saw you.(1)

Again, in "Is It True?", a similar subject of a love relation between two lovers, and the tragic incident caused by the intervention of a third person between them, who has deprived one of them of the other, are described by the poet.

Is it true, nim? Tell me honestly.
I hear the people who took you away from me say to you, "You have no nim". Is it true?

(1) It is known that Han persistently refused to have his family registered under the Japanese regime so that, because of this, his daughter could not attend school, and he himself taught her at home.

So, you would cry where no one knew, and when someone saw you, you would turn your cry into a smile, I hear. Is it true?

While one's cry is unbearable, not being allowed to cry as one likes and turning into a smile are more bitter than the taste of death.

.....

Is it true, nim? Tell me honestly.

I hear the people who took you from me said to you, "We'll find you your nim". Is it true?

So, you said, "I will live by myself", I hear. Is it true?

Then I cannot but vent my anger on them.

I will mix my little blood with my hot tears and spread them on their blood-thirsty swords, and I will cry, "This is the nim of my nim".

In the three poems we have seen above, nim or tangsin is undoubtedly the speaker's male beloved or husband who has been taken away from her by someone else. "Nanün siryöyo" meaning "I hate it", which repeatedly appears in the first poem, is an idiomatic expression usually uttered by women to protest about something to their lover or husband. In the second poem, the general would assault her who is destitute after the loss of her husband. The entire tone of the third poem with an anxious woman's inquiry, "Is it true?", and the living of a single life vowed by her nim suggest that the speaker's nim is her husband.

However, all these are what have been described on the surface of these poems. The first poem as a whole discloses beyond its surface meaning the wicked plots of the enemy country and gives a warning to the Korean people against the enemy's future evils. The second poem tells the tragedy and the humiliation that the Korean people have been undergoing during the dark age of submission and expresses their intense desire to restore the sovereignty. In the third poem, the poet dexterously reveals his anxiety over his country that has been taken by Japan, his worries about the possibility of

his people's losing their nationality under the Japanese people who would find them "a new nim", and finally his anger toward the enemy country.

Therefore, even though these poems may externally seem genuine love poems addressed by the speaker to her lover, they are in fact an indictment sought by the heart-stricken poet for the sake of his fellow countrymen.

The reason why the poet should have shrouded the poetic theme with a sort of dubious lover and the relation between the speaker and her nim seems to be that he primarily intended to produce a work of art by means of poetry, and not to make political propaganda. Besides, if he had overtly exposed the ultimate object of his love and the anger toward the enemy who has taken it, his poems could not have been circulated among the people due to censorship.

Hence, the poet who had his poetic theme established in his mind must have felt the necessity to conceal them in his poems so that they would be revealed only gradually to the reader.

Let me go now to the "Silence of Nim", that is the title poem of his collection, to see how he expressed his love toward the ultimate object of his affection in this most celebrated among all his poems:

Nim has gone away; oh, my beloved nim has gone away.
She has even deserted me and walked away along the
trail made toward the maple woods breaking the green
mountain hue.

The old oath, firm and bright as a flower of gold,
became cold, cold dust and has been blown away by a breeze
of a sigh.

The sharp memory of the first kiss has turned round the
finger of my destiny, stepped backward, and vanished.

I have become deaf by nim's sweet-smelling voice
and become blind by her flower-like face.

As even love is an affair of man, I was not unconcerned
and off my guard about our parting from the time we met, but
it has come all unexpected, and my startled heart bursts
with a new sorrow.

Yet, since I know that making a spring of useless tears out of parting is an act of breaking love by myself, I have carried the force of unruly sorrow and poured it down on the crest of a new hope.

As we worry about parting when we meet, so do we believe in reunion when we part.

Oh, nim has gone away, but I have never sent her away.

A love song that cannot repress its own tune circles round nim's silence.

Apparently, this is a confession of a lovelorn man who speaks out the bitter agonies of his broken heart and the resolution to overcome this misfortune. Yet, this poem is also highly figurative and has a far more important meaning than the one stated above. Although, in the opening and concluding lines, the poet repeatedly says that nim has gone away, who is his nim is not clear to us at all. Therefore, we are obliged to discover it by working out some similes, metaphors, and key words we may find in this poem.

In the second line, the poet states figuratively that the aftermath of his nim's parting is the breaking of "the green mountain hue", meaning that the mountains have lost their green hue when his nim has gone away. As Kim Sŭnghyŏn says, this kind of metaphor is only rarely used in Korea when one would imply some nationwide disturbance. "The green mountain", of which the Korean word p'ŭrŭn san may be written in the Chinese letters as ch'ŏng-san or ch'ŏng-gu, seems to stand for the land of Korea. Again, "the maple woods" in the second line, toward which his nim walked away from him, may stand for the country of Japan. "The old oath, firm and bright as a flower of gold", another metaphorical expression appearing in the third line, seems to suggest the Declaration of the Korean Independence of 1919 to which the poet himself added "The Three Articles of Pledge".⁽¹⁾

(1) Kim Hyŏnsŭng (1972), pp. 32-7. For "The Three Articles of Pledge", see Pak Nosun and In Kwŏnhwan (1960), pp. 323-5.

Perhaps a more illuminating clue for interpreting the theme of this poem as of a public character comes from the plural "we" in one of the concluding lines, because we ought to take this personal pronoun as "all of us" in the given context of the present tense, not just as "the poet and his nim".

Thus, we may come to realize that this poem is, in fact, a plea for a more lofty and sublime cause, such as for the restoration of sovereignty, than just for one's private unrequited love. In all the poems we have discussed so far, the poet establishes a sort of pseudo-love-relation between himself and his nim or tangsin on the surface, but ultimately he speaks of something else.

In this light, it seems quite reasonable to interpret many of his poems in the same way. For example, in "My Ways", the poet expresses his longing to be taken under the love and protection of his sovereignty, and at the same time makes it clear that he would rather die than be enslaved by the enemy country. In short, this poem enunciates the spirit of "Give me liberty, or give me death".

.....

But my ways are but two in this world:
 One is the way to be embraced by nim,
 And the other is the way to be embraced by Death.
 For, if I am not to be embraced by nim, any other
 way is more steep and painful than the way of Death.
 Oh, as for my ways, who has made them?
 Oh, no one but my nim in this world can make my ways.
 If nim has made my ways then, why did he make the
 way of Death?

"Come to Me" is a poem that appears toward the end of the Silence of 'Nim', in which the poet earnestly entreats his tangsin to come at once and, at the same time, makes a firm resolution to defend his tangsin against the enemy at the risk of his life. In this comparatively short piece of poem having only 21 lines, tangsinün,

tangsini, or tangsinüi is repeatedly used 24 times, though its English equivalent "you" or "your" actually appears here two times less due to the restrictions in English usage. The highly repetitive use of this particular word seems hardly unintentional because it does make a remarkable emphatic effect on the theme of this poem, which may rightly be termed as an earnest desire to be united with his nim and with no one else.

Come, it is time for you to come, come at once.
Do you know when it is time for you to come? The
time for you to come is when I expect you.

Come to my flower bed. In my flower bed, flowers
are in bloom.
If there is someone chasing you, hide in the flowers.
I'll become a butterfly and sit on the flowers that
hide you.
Then the man chasing you cannot find you.
Come, it is time for you to come, come at once.

Come into my arms. In my arms there is my soft breast.
If there is someone chasing you, bow your head to my
breast.

Though my breast is soft as liquid when you touch it,
it becomes a gold sword or a steel shield when you are in
danger.
Should my breast become a fallen flower trampled by
a horse's hoofs, I'll not let your head be taken off my breast.
So, the man chasing you cannot touch you.
Come, it is time for you to come, come at once.

Come into my Death. Death is always ready for you.
If there is someone chasing you, stand behind my Death.
In Death, vanity and omnipotence are one.
Love in Death is boundless and imperishable.
Before Death, warships and batteries become dust.
Before Death, the strong and the weak become friends.
So, the man chasing you cannot seize you.
Come, it is time for you to come, come at once.

In the first of these two poems, the poet declares that he must either embrace his nim or die, and there is no third choice in this world; in the latter, he solicits his tangsin, who is apparently away from him and in some kind of danger, to come back to be reunited with him. In these poems, however, we have no way to tell whether his

nim or tangsin is definitely a male or a female lover except that "my soft breast" in the second poem is suggestive of a female. In a number of poems similar to these, it does not seem that the poet has deliberately been concerned to distinguish between the sexes of his nim or tangsin. It seems that such a distinction is unimportant to the poet as long as his poems reveal by means of their surface love-relation his earnest wishes for what his nim or tangsin stands for.

In all the poems that we have examined above, Chǒng T'aeyong's views on the identity of nim, which would regard it solely as the fatherland, may seem to be on firm ground, because it invariably stands for such in them. There are, however, a number of other poems in the Silence of 'Nim' whose nim or tangsin does not seem to fit in Chǒng's views at all. For instance, the nim whom the poet extols in "Nim's Face" seems to refer to a woman he was yearning for or possibly symbolizes Buddha, but certainly not the fatherland.

The remark that nim's face is "beautiful" is not proper, because the word "beautiful" refers to man's face, and nim is too beautiful to be said to belong to man.

Why nature has sent such a beautiful nim to man I have no way to know, however hard I may think.

I guess I know, because there is no peer of nim in Nature.

Where is a lotus flower that is like nim's lips, and where is a white gem that is like nim's skin?

Have you seen on a spring lake the ripples that are like nim's eyes, and heard from morning lights the fragrance that is like nim's smile?

Heavenly music is the echo of nim's songs; beautiful stars are the embodiments of the look of nim's eyes.

Ah, I am nim's shadow.

Nothing but nim's shadow is comparable to nim.

The remark that nim's face is beautiful is not proper.

When this poem is compared with a series of four pieces of sijo which the same poet wrote under the title of "Ch'u ya mong" ("An Autumn Night Dream"), it may reasonably be assumed that both "Nim's Face" And "An Autumn Night Dream" are addressed to a lady for whom the poet felt a good deal of affection and admiration. To quote only the first two pieces of sijo:

When, startled by the sound of autumn night rain,
I awoke, it was a dream that I had had.
Nim who came to me had vanished, and the lamplight
is faint.
I long to dream it again, but hardly can I get to sleep.

Cruel was the sound of rain that awoke me needlessly.
Where has nim's touch gone, and why do I grip the hem
of my quilt?
No use to clean the traces of tears on my pillowcase. (1)

In another poem with the title of "A Hymn", the poet pronounces the eulogy of one of the Buddhist saints, which is unmistakable from its style and context:

Nim, you are the gold-grain refined a hundred times.
May you be blessed with the heavenly love till
mulberry roots turn into corals,
Nim, love, the first step of the morning sun.

Nim, you know well that justice is weighty and gold
is light.
Sow the seeds of blessing in the beggars' barren field,
Nim, love, the hushed sound of the ancient paulownia.

Nim, you love spring, light, and peace.
May you be a Buddhist saint of mercy who sheds tears
on the breast of the weak,
Nim, love, the spring wind upon the sea of ice.

(1) Han Yongun chŏnjip - 1 (Complete Works of Han Yongun; vol. No. 1) ed. by the Compilation Committee, Singu munhwa-sa, Seoul, 1973, p. 92.

Finally, in the Silence of 'Nim', there are still some other poems in which nim or tangsin is so elusive that we can hardly identify it. Take, for example, "Wherever", in which the poet comes across his tangsin everywhere as if it were a supernatural being:

When in the morning I draw water in a basin to wash my face, you become the ripples in it and soothe my face as if it were a poor baby.

When I walk on a flower hill to forget my cares, you become the spring wind blowing through the flowers and touch my carefree mind with flower scent.

When, tired of waiting for you, I lie in bed, you become a quiet, dim light and carefully cover my little shame.

Since you are everywhere I glance, I have closed my eyes and found you above the clouds and beneath the sea.

You have become a smile, hidden in my mind, and kissed my closed eyes, saying mockingly, "Do you see me?"

The nim that the poet sees everywhere as described in "Wherever" may be interpreted as Buddha or, as Song Uk says in his commentary on the Silence of 'Nim', as one's spiritual awakening to the truth behind visible things. In fact, Song Uk sees widespread Buddhistic implications in many of Han's poems collected in the Silence of 'Nim', though non-Buddhists including myself usually find it very hard to understand and accept many of these implications.⁽¹⁾

Here, Chŏng T'aeyong's claim concerning the identity of Han's nim inevitably loses validity, and Kim Uch'ang's views on the question of nim do not seem to hold fast to the facts of Han's ultimate nim, because Kim not only underrates the Buddhistic reference in Han's nim but also tries to maintain that nim stands for

(1) For Buddhistic implications in the Silence of 'Nim', see Song Uk, Han Yongun sijip nimŭi ch'immuk chŏnp'yŏn haesŏl (A Commentary on the Complete Poems of Han Yongun, the Silence of 'Nim'), Kwahak-sa, Seoul, 1974.

At least, two things are clear from the statement the poet has made in "My Song" on the nature of his poems. One is that he has deliberately cast off the conventional syllabic rhythm which restrains rather than prompts the natural flow of feelings, and the other is that, just as his nim's face has its own beauty, his poems have a kind of tune which is intrinsic in them, as opposed to the external syllabic rhythm of traditional Korean poetry.

Thus, in many of his free-verse poems, we may perceive, consciously or unconsciously, a rhythmic flow that is characteristic of his poetry. When the reader repeats them, reading them aloud, he is often fascinated by an invisible rhythm inherent in lines as though he were bound by a spell. I think that this incantatory effect of his lines created by the unmetrical but natural rhythm of his poems owes much to his poetic style with his poetic diction, carefully chosen, and his imagery and symbolism created by deep thought and wit.

I would like to quote just a few lines from some of his poems to show the extent to which the poet has successfully represented his poetic ideas in a flow of natural rhythm, though I regret the effect of original lines is irredeemably reduced in their English translations:

Oh, nim has gone away, but I have never sent her away.
A love song that cannot repress its own tune circles
round nim's silence.

(from the "Silence of Nim")

Whose footprints are those paulownia leaves silently
falling through the windless air with vertical ripples?

(from "We Never Know")

I gathered grapes duly ripe with the autumn wind and
the morning sun and brewed them for wine; their brewing
scent dyed the autumn sky.

(from "Wine")

In the concluding lines of the "Silence of Nim" which are
quoted above, the poet's irrepressible love towards his nim is conveyed
by means of a sort of image so that the reader may perceive nim's
silence and his love of nim as if they were concrete objects, such
as a rose and a butterfly that is circling round the flower.

In the opening lines quoted from "We Never Know", the poet's
keen observation of paulownia leaves falling through the air making
"vertical ripples" has enabled him to associate these "ripples" with
his nim's "footprints" left forever in his mind. Even through the
windless air, leaves do not fall straight down to the ground but
flutter down by themselves leaving behind "vertical ripples", which,
though invisible, remain in an observer's imagination forever, just as
nim's "footprints" leave an unfading memory in his mind. Thus, the
poet sees in the falling of paulownia leaves the unfading memory of
nim's "footprints".

In the opening line of "Wine" quoted above, the sweet-smell of
brewing wine is brought together with the wine-blue colour of the
autumn sky. The metaphorical effect here is that a plentitude of
the smell of wine hanging in the air is to be felt at once by the
reader through his visual as well as through his olfactory sense.

It seems that Han was well aware of the various functions of
colloquialism so that he produced very effective lines in the right
places in a number of his poems. For example, the following
quotations aptly convey, with brief phrases embedded in them, the
anxious mood of the protagonist who pleads something urgently to his

or her nim.

Oh, nim, my nim, who is thirsty for comfort, turn back,
don't go there; I hate it.

(from "Do Not Go")

Is it true, nim? Tell me honestly.

(from "Is It True?")

Come, it is time for you to come, come at once.

(from "Come to Me")

Apart from the stylistic features, Han's poetry shows an amazing degree of intellectual depth through his dialectic logic and conceit. We have never seen such a quality brought into poetry elsewhere in modern Korean poetry. This depth, which is comparable with that of the 17th century British metaphysical poets such as John Donne, must come from his meditative life that he led as a Buddhist philosopher and priest. In "A Zen Priest's Sermon", the poet confutes the Zen priest as regards the bond of love:

I attended a Zen priest's sermon.

"Don't suffer from the chain of love but break it, and your mind will become cheerful", said the Zen priest in a loud voice.

He must be very foolish.

He was ignorant that, while painful it is to be tied by the chain of love, you will have more pain than the pain of death if you break it.

The bond of love is loosened when tightly tied,

And the great deliverance is won in restraint.

Nim, lest your rope of love binding me should be insufficient, I have given you twice as much rope of loving you.

John Donne, in one of his holy sonnets, prays to the three-

personed God to enthrall him for otherwise he shall never be free.

.
 Take me to you, imprison me, for I
 Except you enthrall me, never shall be free,
 Nor ever chaste, except you ravish me.(1)

"Make Me One with You", is another poem of conceit where Han expresses his embarrassment when his nim, who has taken away his heart, gives him only pain. According to him, nim's gift of pain given to him is useless unless he has his heart to feel or love it. Hence, the poet makes a compromise with his nim in this way:

Nim, if you will take my heart, take it with me who
 own it and make me one with you.
 If not, give me not only the pain but all your heart;
 and also give me yourself who own it and make yourself
 one with me.
 If not, return my heart and give me pain;
 Then, with my heart, I'll love the pain you give me.

In "Do Not Suspect", the speaker asks her nim not to suspect her while he is away from her. The poetic idea expressed here is that if her nim keeps suspecting her, she cannot endure the agony and she will die. The poet, however, does not say this in a straightforward statement, but in a euphemism in which the speaker declares that she will have to cancel her sin of grieving over the absence of her nim with her nim's fault of suspecting her. This cancelling of her grief with her nim's suspicion means her death because, as she says in this poem, the grief of yearning for her nim is none other than her life, that is to say, an integral part of her life.

(1) John Donne, "Batter My Heart", Complete Poetry and Selected Prose, ed. John Hayward, The Nonesuch Press, Bloomsbury, 1929, p. 285.

.....

Should there be a sin in me, it is my "grief" of yearning for you.

For it goes contrary to the earnest request you made when you kissed me over and over and went away saying, "Don't grieve for me but fare you well".

Yet, forgive this, above all.

For the grief of yearning for you is none other than my life.

If you would not forgive me, I will be punished later the number of times flowers fall in a stormy dawn in spring.

I will not refuse the corporal punishment of being entwined by the rope of your love.

I will also take whatever punishments you mete, yielding in ten thousand ways under your stern laws of love.

But if you lay suspicion on me, I will counterbalance your fault of suspicion with my sin of grief.

.....

In "The Measurement of Love", the poet finds a paradox of love that the sorrow of love grows in direct proportion to the amount of love between lovers.

The more the quantity of delightful and beautiful things, the better;

But it seems that the less the quantity of your love, the better.

Your love is something that lies between you and me; So to measure the amount of love, we have no way but measuring the distance between us.

If the distance between us is long, the amount of love will be large; if it is short, the amount will be small.

But then, while your small love made me smile, your large love makes me cry.

Who has said that if one goes far, one's love also becomes far?

If love has become far since you went away, what is it but love that makes me cry day after day?

In a poem entitled "The Very First Nim", the poet describes the essential nature of nim, with whom one must part some time or other. Nim basically differs from either "I" or "a passerby" because "I" has no parting and "a passerby" has no meeting, whereas

nim has both of them. Thus, both meeting and parting are considered by the poet as essential phenomena eventually happening between nim and the one who loves nim. Hence, the poet not only does justice to parting but also turns it into a promise to meet nim again with more delight.

.

So, it is not nim but I that, having met, never part;
It is not nim but a passer-by that, having parted,
never meet again.

As for nim, we worry about parting when we meet,
and we promise to meet again when we part.

.

So, it is not nim that we do not meet, nor is it nim
that does not part.

Nim gives us a smile when we meet and tears when we
part.

The tears of parting are better than the smile of
meeting, and the smile of reunion is better than the tears
of parting.

.

However, in another poem, "Parting", the poet ponders again the question of parting between lovers, and compares it with that of dying, which may be chosen as an alternative on the part of those who shall be suffering from the absence of their nim, finally reaching a John Donnian conviction that true love is imperishable and knows no parting, because it transcends time and place.

.

To love one's love dearer than one's life, one cannot
die.

For the sake of true love, living in pain is a greater
sacrifice than dying;

Parting is the greatest pain and reward to one who
cannot die because of love.

.

So, one cannot forget one's love in death, but
remember it in parting.

.

And true love knows no place:
 True love loves not only lovers' embrace but also
 their parting.

And true love knows no time:
 As true love is ceaseless, parting is only of lovers'
 flesh, and love is imperishable.

.....

In the early 17th century, John Donne expressed exactly the same belief at the end of a song beginning with "Sweetest love, I do not go,/ For weariness of thee," - a song he wrote for his wife, Ann More, before he went abroad to Europe.

.....

They who one another keep
 Alive, ne'r parted be. (1)

(Here, to "keep alive" means, as one of Donne's commentators has paraphrased, to love one's lover as dearly as one loves one's life.)

Han Yongun goes back to the subject of parting between lovers and glorifies the function of parting in a short poem with the title of "Parting Is the Creation of Beauty". In this poem, he sublimates it so highly as to declare it a begetter of beauty:

Parting is the creation of beauty.

The beauty of parting is not in the immaterial gold of the morning, nor is it in the warpless sable satin of the night, nor in deathless, eternal life, nor in the unfading blue flower of the heaven.

Nim, if it were not for parting, I, having once died in tears, could not rise to life again in a smile; oh, parting!

Beauty is the creation of parting.

In the postscript to the Silence of 'Nim' with the title of "To the Reader", the poet expresses a modest estimation on his poems:

(1) Ibid., pp. 12-13.

Readers, I feel ashamed of appearing as a poet before you.

When you read my poems, I know, you will sorrow for me and also for yourselves.

I have no intention that my poems be read by your children and grandchildren.

By that time, reading my poems would be like sitting in a flower grove in late spring, rubbing a dry chrysanthemum, and holding it to your nose.

I do not know how far the night has advanced.
The heavy shadows of the Sŏrak Mountains are thinning out.
Waiting for the dawn bell, I put aside my pen.

(The night of the 29th day,
August 1925. The end.)

Even though the poet says that he has no desire that his poems be read by future generations, his poems have continuously been read by the public, including many scholars and critics, many of whom consider him as one of the greatest poets Korea has ever produced. Among them, Song Uk has observed that the Silence of 'Nim' contains poems that are far better and more fresh than those which claim to be poems today.⁽¹⁾

To sum up, Han Yongun has successfully expounded in the Silence of 'Nim' the profundity of love that is an eternal subject of imaginative literature. Whether it is his love of the people or the nation, or Buddha, or the truth that his poetry has ultimately represented, it has undoubtedly extended the limit of poetic description with his dialectic, conceit, and subtle play of argument and wit so that poetry may aptly disclose feelings most complicated and often too elusive for it to convey.

The poems collected in the Silence of 'Nim' are modern in every respect. The choice of diction, fresh and precise, the free-flowing

(1) Song Uk, Sihak p'yŏngjŏn (A Critical Approach to Poetics), Ilcho-gak, Seoul, 1963, pp. 295-6.

rhythm of lines, natural and effective, and the metaphors and imagery, witty and clear, all that are found in it surpass those of his contemporary poets.

In fine, his erudition in Buddhist philosophy, his insight of seeing into, and behind things, and his poetic genius, have made it possible for him to grasp and convey the significant bearings of spiritual love so that his poetry becomes, in Song Uk's words, "the testimony of love".⁽¹⁾

(1) Song Uk (1974), p. 443.

Conclusion

After having written much in detail on the various subjects and problems of the making of early modern Korean poetry in the preceding chapters, now I have but brief remarks to make here as a conclusion.

First, hundreds of the early transitional poetic songs, including the Patriotic Songs and the Songs of National Concern and Warning which were predominant in the period 1896-1910, are not evidently the earliest products significant of modern poetic transition, nor are they any improvement on the sijo or the kasa which were the representative poetic songs of the Yi dynasty, though they are still erroneously taken for such by most scholars of Korean literature. In fact, they are undoubtedly an extension in print of the traditional narrative folk-songs of the Yi dynasty handed down orally to the generation which, inspired by the nation-wide enlightenment spirit of the time, picked them up to be ready-made vehicles for their socio-political feelings.

Hence, they are not only structurally, but also stylistically, identical with traditional narrative folk songs, both of which in fact stick to a rigid syllable count and share all the characteristic features of oral literature including incremental repetition. What are expressed there in these transitional poetic songs are community feelings in the form of the propaganda of uniform slogans such as of self-support, independence, industry, loyalty to the king, equality of the sexes, and so forth.

Therefore, I call this early transitional period "a murky age", because in this period the main stream of poetry was diverted and

suspended, and narrative folk songs prevailed at the expense of individual poetic sensibility. When reviewing this unfortunate period in retrospect, however, I am inclined to suppose that it had its own merit of making a sort of negative contribution towards the making of modern poetry, because it was in this period of poetic vacuum that experiments for new poetic forms, and eventually for free verse, were effectively conducted with understandably less attachment to the forms of traditional poetic songs, and with a good part of the road towards modern poetry ahead cleared by the absence of traditional poetry.

Secondly, early modern Korean poetry was not evolved through the processes generally assumed by scholars, such as influence from Christian hymns, but largely by the efforts of several individual poets, among whom Ch'oe Namsŏn took the initiative. Indeed, he is rightly called the father of modern Korean poetry because it was he who introduced a series of new poetic forms and then free verse into Korean poetry for the first time toward the end of the first decade of the present century. His early poem of remarkable success, "From the Sea, to the Boys" published in 1908 and his first poem of free verse, which is in effect the first free-verse poem in modern Korean poetry - a poem appearing in his travel account entitled "The Journey to P'yŏngyang" published in the following year - are monumental works of modern Korean poetry, though the latter has never been remarked upon by any scholar.

Then the 1910s saw the publication of the two important literary journals, T'aesŏmunye sinbo and Ch'angjo, which took the lead in advancing the transitional poetry to a considerable degree. Among the poets who wrote poems for the first journal, Kim Ŏk, whose poetry is noted for its lyricism, seems to have had a great influence on his

juniors including Sowŏl Kim Chŏngsik who became one of the leading poets of the 1920s.

Yi Il's poems which appear in T'aesŏmunye are scanty in number, but they have a peculiar quality of meditation or reflection on life, which was quite unique at that time; and the several poems Sangat'ap Hwang Sŏgu contributed to this literary newspaper show a skilled use of imagery and symbolism.

In Chu Yohan's early poems, which are dominant in number and quality both in Hagu and Ch'angjo, lyricism and symbolism become characteristic features. Two of his early poems, "The Snow" and "The Bonfire", both of which are in fact the same type of highly figurative poem rich in symbolism, achieved a good deal of success. However, some of his other poems subsequently published in the second magazine that are less figurative, such as "The Season of the Sun", seem to have attained firmer ground, showing further development of his descriptive skill and poetic ideas.

Nevertheless, the poetry of the 1910s as a whole can hardly be said to have awakened sufficiently to the new trends that these major poets of the mid-transitional period introduced in their poetry, because all the other authors, many of them amateurs, who continued to remain traditional and who do not seem to have had an appreciation of new poems, could not produce any poems worth mentioning.

Thus, it was only later, in the 1920s, that Korean poetry could achieve a fairly high standard generally among the many poetic works published either in individual collections or in magazines or in both.

Among those who produced poems of success in this period, distinguished are Kim Ōk whose collection Haep'ariŭi norae contains a number of fine poems of lyricism, Pyŏn Yŏngno who published several notable poems of sharp observation and insight in Chosŏnŭi maŭm,

Chu Yohan who continued to produce even better poems in Arūmdaun saebyök, and Kim Tonghwan whose poems show local colour and intense passion in Kukkyōngŭi pam.

Among the poets whose poems were published only in magazines in this period, Yi Changhŭi who wrote "Spring Is a Cat" and Yi Sanghwa, whose nim in his poem "To My Bedroom" is still controversial, seem to have contributed no less to the making of early modern Korean poetry than those mentioned above.

However, early modern Korean poetry could not have achieved such a high standard if it had not been for the superb contributions made by the two other poets, Kim Chōngsik and Han Yongun, in the middle of this period.

In his "soft" poems collected in Chindallae-kkot, Kim displays a remarkable array of lyrical poems, and in his "hard" poems he reaches such a depth of thought and such a height of poetic skill as to be comparable to any modern Korean poets.

On the other hand, Han Yongun presented his everlasting love towards his nim in nearly a hundred poems collected in Nimŭi ch'immuk. The profound philosophy of life, expressed in these poems in a language refined and powerful, with all his witty imagery and symbolism and with his subtle play of conceit and argument, has been unsurpassed by any.

Hence, it may be said that while Ch'oe Namsŏn is the father of modern Korean poetry, Han and Kim are the two poets who successfully accomplished the process of making early modern Korean poetry.

Original Texts of Poems Quoted in Translation

높으신 삼주님 (上主님) 37
 자비로운 삼주님
 공홀히 보소서
 이 나라 이 땅을
 지켜 주옵시고
 오 주여 이 나라
 보우 하소서

(교총황제 축가)

뜻수갓흔 세월 스정 업슴으로 38
 한번 지나가면 다시 안오네
 엇그젓그날의 청춘소년들도
 오들날에 잠간 빅발이로세

후 령

힘을 습시다 힘을 습시다
 공부 위하어서 힘을 습시다
 나라 위하여서 힘을 습시다

(전학가)

성조신혼 오백년은 38
 우리 황실이요
 산슈고려 동반도는
 우리 보국일세

후 령

무궁화 습천리 화려강산
 조선사람 조선으로 기리보존하세

(배재학성 애국가)

구령차게 도하난 기적소래에 39
 남대문을 등디고 떠나나가서
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텨디만물 창효후에 51
 오쥬구역 텨덩이라

아세아쥬 동양중베
 대조선국 분명흐다

후 령

독립괴초 장구술은
 군민생의 데일이라

깃분날 깃분날
 대조선국 독립흔날

깃분날 깃분날
 대조선국 독립흔날

(최명헌 독립가)

테이십구 세샹다어두워 빛엿섯더니 51

일

세샹다어두워 빛엿섯더니
 세샹의날빛예수요
 히빛곳치붉은영화빛쳤네
 세샹의날빛예수요

후 령

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날빛 차자 네게 밝히오
물계 그 빛 내게 빛젧소
어둡든 눈 지금 밝으오
세상의 날 빛 예수요

(찬미가 29 장)

- 1. 四海바닷 기피는 달줄로 자히리어니와
 님 의 덕澤 기피는 어닌줄로 자히리잇고

53

후 령

享福無疆하샤 萬歲를 누리소서
享福無疆하샤 萬歲를 누리소서
一竿明月이 亦君思이샷다

(感君思)

- (1) 우리나라 흥흥기를 55
 비는 이 다 하늘님씩
 (최동성 애국가)

- (2) 하늘님씩 성심기도 55
 국티평과 민안락을

 룩신세상 잇을 새에

 (달성희애 애국가)

- (3) 우리나라 위하라면 56
 하나님씩 기도하야
 (문정도 애국가)

- | | | | |
|-----|--|---|----|
| (4) | 경축하세
하느님의 | 경축하세
경축하세
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| (5) | 런디만물
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...
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일월이
만물이

만물이
사람이
...
고공을
하나님의

조화로다
지공무스

억천년
무궁하신

초목금수
니시기도 | 런연후에
싱겨잇고

싱긴후에
번성하교

성훈후에
키흔엇고
...
말흔진디
조화시라

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훈아님의

억만년이
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만물들을
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술 먹고 醉후한 後의 열음솜의 찬 승녕과
 새 벼님 가려거든 고쳐안고 짐든 맛과
 世間의 이 두 滋味는 능이 알가 흐노라

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박과 영화와 몸과 목숨은
 이러 바려도
 나의 다유는 보던 홀디며
 타다 볼 디니
 다유한 아만 다유한 아만
 갖디 못하면
 그의 세상은 아모것 업고
 캄캄 하리라
 하늘우에서 내려다보는
 모든 영화를
 다 들 디라도 아니밧구네
 나의 다유와
 사똥한 다유 잇난곳에만
 성목이 살고
 해가뜨이고 별이 돌아서
 목덕 일우네
 다유미 다유 밧셀 쓴어서
 볼수 업스면
 두려움 당막 근심 휘당이
 내몸을 덮고
 가시 손가딘 모딘마리가
 내등을 밀어
 덜거름에서 격덩족으로
 답아가두고
 련한안에서 곤흔밧그로
 미러내리네

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(보르네 나는)

님아! 님아!
 우리의 양식,
 님을 위해
 죽기 달기고
 어려운 것을
 피하디 만난 —
 나라는 성코
 인민은 흥해
 오래가 도록
 그복 받으리.
 님아! 님아!
 내 몸 기르고
 덩신 사기도
 살너 두노나!

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(님의 신에게)

밤이나 낮이나 도리틀틀
 한시도 한각도 쉬디만코
 한업난 바다에 가기사디
 곤한틀몰으고 흘너가네
 가다가 똥노에 사람들이
 고이게 한다고 도약돌노
 흐르디 못하게 막앗스나
 데 님도 곰도 일터만네
 돌 틈을 쏘러서 나가던디
 모래로 심벼드러가던디
 빛발에 싹러볼나가던디

 막던니수구는 헛닐되고
 흐르난 님은 삼함업서

99

명 원히 다 유로 갈 곳 가네 99
 밤에 나 낮에나 쉬디 안코
 (막은 문)

自由로 제곳에서 날고 씬은 99
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 집고 큰 저면 못에 거침 업시
 넓고 긴 저 空中에 마음대로
 그와 갖히 다니고
 쉼노 도록 함시다.
 (무제)

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 칼이나 룩혈포나 —
 그러나 무서움 업네.
 鐵杖같은 形勢라도
 우리는 못지 못하네.
 우리는 울흔것 짐을 지고
 큰길을 거러가 난 者 남 일세.
 (동작 三篇 중에서)

海에게서 少年에게 113

—
 터····· 큰 석, 터····· 큰 석, 턱, 싸····· 아.
 싸린다, 부순다, 문허바린다.
 泰山같은 좁은 외, 鎊峯같은 바위시 돌이나
 요것이 무어야, 요게 무어야.
 나의 큰 힘, 아나야, 모르나야, 호롱사디 하면서,
 싸린다, 부순다, 문허바린다.

터.....리 썩, 터.....리 썩, 턱, 튜르릉, 콧. 113

二

터.....리 썩, 터.....리 썩, 턱, 썩.....아。
 내게는, 아모것, 두려움 업서,
 궤上에서, 아모런, 힘과 權을 부리던 者라도,
 내 앞헤 와서는 썩썩 못하고,
 아모리큰, 물건도 내게는 행세 하디 못하네. 114
 내게는 내게는 나의 앞헤는,
 터.....리 썩, 터.....리 썩, 튜르릉, 콧。

三

터.....리 썩, 터.....리 썩, 턱, 썩.....아。
 나에게 덜하디, 아니한 者가,
 잇속싸디, 업거던 [잇거던] 통과 하고 나서 보아라。
 秦始皇, 나팔룬, 너의 들이냐,
 누구 누구 누구냐 너의 亦是 내게는 굶히도다,
 나허구 겨르리 잇건 오나라。
 터.....리 썩, 터.....리 썩, 턱, 튜르릉, 콧。

四

터.....리 썩, 터.....리 썩, 턱, 썩.....아。
 도고만 山모를 依支하거나,
 豆시 쌀 갓흔 덕은섬, 손시 벽 만한 甕을 가디고,
 竈속에 잇어서 영악한 테를,
 부리면서, 나혼다 거룩하디 하난 者,
 이리듬 오나라, 나를 보아라。
 터.....리 썩, 터.....리 썩, 턱, 튜르릉, 콧。

五

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터-----르썩, 터-----르썩, 턱, 쇠-----아.
 나의 섹필이는 한아잇도다.
 크고 길고, 널으게 뒤덥은 바 더푸른 하날.
 터것은 우리와 틀림이 업서.
 덕은 是非 덕은쌘 온갓모든 더러운것 업도다.
 도싸위 世上에 도사람 터럼.
 터-----르썩, 터-----르썩, 턱, 튼르름, 광.

六

터-----르썩, 터-----르썩, 턱, 쇠-----다.
 터世上 더 사람 모다미우나,
 그우에서 썩 한아 사랑하난 일이잇스니
 膽크고 純精한 少年輩들이,
 才류 터럼, 憤열게 나의 품에 와서 안김이로다.
 모나라 少年輩 입맛터 두마.
 터-----르썩, 터-----르썩, 턱, 튼르름, 광.

新大韓少年

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一

검불새 걸은 저의 얼굴 보아라
 억세게 덕근 저의 손발 보아라
 나는 즐고 먹지 아니 한다는
 標的 아니냐.
 그들의 힘스 줄은 튼불거지고
 그들의 싸-----대는 썩버러 졌다
 나는 힘드리난 일이 잇다는

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 몰타 몰타 果然 그러타
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全部의 誠心 다드려 힘 기르고 117
 全部의 精神 다써 智識 느려서
 우리는 將次 누를 爲해 무삼일
 하라 하니냐
 弱한놈 어린놈을 도을양으로
 強한놈 넘어서려 『最後勝捷은
 正義로 도러간다』 나 밝은 理致를
 보이려 함이 아니냐
 몰타 몰타 果然 그러타
 新大韓의 少年은
 이리하니라。

三

그에겐 저의 眷屬이나 財産의
 私有한 것은 아모것도 다 업시
 四海八方 제 품이 가난대가
 저의 집이오
 一天下 億萬姓이 모다 兄弟오
 싸우려 生殖하난 온갓 品物이
 저의 財産 아닌 것이 업난듯
 至極히 公平하더라
 몰타 몰타 果然 그러타
 新大韓의 少年은

이러하니라.

117

四

압흐로 나갈勇은 넉넉하야도
뒤흐로 물늘힘은 조금도 업서
새새한 그다리는 아오새던지
내여 드되엿고

하발을 물너봄엔 그눈밭어도
나려다 보난것은 아주어두어
밤낫위로 물너가난 새른길
힘써 차질썩이러라.

올타올타 果然 그러타
新大韓의 少年은
이러하니라.

셋 두교

119

나는 싯을 질겨 맛노라.
그러나 그의 아리싸운 태도를 보고 눈이 얼이며
그의 향기로운 범새를 맛고 코가 반하야
精神 업시 그를 질겨 따짐 아니라.

다만 칼날갓흔 北風을 더운기운으로써
人情 업난 殺氣를 깃흔 사랑으로써

120

代身하야 밋구어
새가 거린 어름밧헤 놀니고 되도어릴 눈주멍에 外무쳐 잇던
億萬 목숨을 건지고 집어내여 다시살니만
블바람을 表辱함으로
나는 그를 질겨 맛노라.

나는 싯을 질겨 보노라

120

그러나 그의 平穩 기운 먹음은 옷난 얼굴 흘니머
그의 富貴氣象 나타낸 盛한 모양 람하야
초췌 업시 그를 질겨 봄이 아니라.

다만 것모양의 고은것 大양 실상이 적고
처음 서술 壯한것 대개 뒤싯업난中

오죽 혼자 特別히

若于榮華 苟安 치도 아니고 許多魔障 격그면도 급히리 안고
億萬 목숨을 만드려 느려내며 길히 享할바
씨열매를 保有 함으로
나는 그를 질겨 보노라.

허술한 門樓 위에

122

허술한 支搨人軍이 난졌네

두손을 무릎막혀 맞잡고

곰방대에 단배를 리우면서

松岳山 連山 위에 마음업난 구름이 오락가락하고

滿月 窟地窟 아래엔 개췌 감춘 풀로기가 두르르룩하도다

그가 얼업시 보낸것이 무엇인고?

年々年 王業이 길기도 하거니와

三國을 統一 하야 처음으로 高麗한 率島에 帝國을 세우니

또한 盛하도다

그러나 지금은 거렁자도 업구나

그가 얼업시 생각하난것이 무엇이노?

(평양행 중의 시)

太白山 賦

123

地球의 山 —— 山의 太陽이냐?
 太白의 山 —— 山의 地球냐?
 詩人아 이를 못지말라.
 그것이 緊하게 讚頌할것 아니다.

하날人面은 휘둥그레고 땅人바닥은 덩그러질한데,
 우리님 —— 太白이는 웃둑!

獨立 —— 自立 —— 特立。

솜곳? 火着? 筆筒의 붓?
 榮光의 尖塔!
 避雷針? 旗人애? 電桿木?
 온갖 아름다운 勇이 한테로 뭉라여 된 朝鮮男兒의
 至精大西후의 큰 팔썩!

天柱는 불어지고 地軸은 억거져도,
 사썩엿다 이 尖塔!

삼손 (유대國勇) 이 쳐도, 項羽가 칼쳐도 —— 九鼎을 독여서
 뭉치를 만들어 가지고 ㅅㅅㅅㅅ ㅅㅅㅅㅅ
 사썩엿다 이 팔썩!

地球面의 물이 다 말으기 ㅅㅅ지,
 正義의 記錄은 오직이리라.
 그리하여 어두운 世上의 燈塔이 되야 사람의 지식의
 큰 길을 비추여 주리라.

太陽이 재스덩어리 되기까지,
 正義의 主人은 반다시 이리라.

124

그리하여 어이 [머] 닭의 날개가 되야 발발 세탄 병아리를 124
 덤벼주리라.

아아 世界의 大主權은 永遠히 이 尖塔 — 이 팔썩에
 걸린 노리개로다.

하늘 人面은 후웅그런코 山峯은 평터짐한데,
 우리님 — 太陽이 는 못둑.

地球의 山 — 山의 太陽이냐?
 太陽의 山 — 山의 地球이냐?
 詩人아 이를 못지말라.
 그것이 緊하게 讚頌할것 아니다.

秋

127

하날은 紗..... 밧고, 灰..... 언하고, 한 一字.
 眼下에 남이 업난듯 儼全하게 웃둑.
 세록소리는 四方에서 나지만,
 그의 뒤에는 지나가난 기억이 세가 업다.
 치웁다고 더웁다고 궁둥이를 오리조리하난 기억이.
 아니 넘기나? 못넘나?
 한손은 南으로 내미러 墜리된 羈島의 暴雨를 막고
 한손은 北으로 새쳐 시베리아 曠野의 烈風을 가리난
 그勇猛스러운 相.

128

「우리는 丈夫로다」!
 나리질난 瀑布 — 죽어진 柵欄 — 못세고 — 새발갸고.
 우리 果斷性 보아라 하난듯한 칼날갸흔 바람은,
 千軍萬馬를 모반듯하게 無人之境으로 지치라고 끌마다
 주렁마다 한데 合勢하난도다.

「휘이익! 휘이익! 내가 가난 곳에는 결코 降服하지 128
아니 하난 着 업지! 휘이익!」
그의 全體는 언제던지 쓰씩 업시 웃쑈.

129
우리의 胸宇에 그득한 것은 限업난 動力으로 거칠것 업시 나가난
瀟車와 갖흔 前進心 이로다.

經營하고 着手하고 進行하다가 失敗·成功하고 立身·殺身하고
이것이 우리의 生涯를 絃索한 사실 이로다.

일이라고 잇스면 하리라!

어엿보것 잇스면 외 마음을 다 박려 相思 하리라 그가
어엿부니싼 나리노 相思한 쑈이리 이루고 못이름은 우리의
무를바도 아니노 알바도 아니라.

우리는 다만 생각할 쑈, 만들 쑈, 할 쑈!
쓰거운 피나 前進心이 잇기사리는 그리하리 아니 하라 하야도
아니 할 수 업서.

피는 煽動, 마음은 助勢, 그리하야 두 팔이 들먹들먹
가만히 잇슬순 업다
대한 世界는 소한 나를 爲 하야 잇도다.

(쓰거운 피)

生命, 自由 품은, 이다 — 내 나라 爲 하야, 134
五尺 短軀 이몸, 가루를, 만들고,
心臟에 쓸, 으며, 全身에, 도라가난,
맑고, 밝고, 쓰거운, 이 내 피로,
三千里 靑邱를, 물의리리라!

父母、兄弟、姊妹 — 한디, 난혼, 우리 同胞, 134
 生命、自由 됨은, 이싸 — 내나라의 運命이,
 危機 — 變換 이싸 오날날 —

(우리 英雄)

이꿈이 수풀을 단이다가 (自由로 自由로) 134
 倥然히 석반 저 높은 바위를 보매
 문득 제가 그의 壓迫을 뵈안듯하야 — 貴重한 自我가
 그의 壓迫을 뵈안듯하야,
 목숨을 내어 부치고 싸움이라 — 힘이 잇난새까지 힘이
 잇난새까지 목숨이 잇난새까지.
 그러나 그는 成功을 期함을 안이오,
 다만 自我의 權力을 最高點에 세지 伸長함이라.
 다시말하노라 그는 決코 成功을 期함을 안이오,
 다만 自我의 權力을 最高點에 세지 伸長함이라,
 그는 죽엇도다 그러도다 그는 죽엇도다.
 그가 이리하지 안이엇든들 그의 목숨은 더 좀 길었스리라.
 그러나 좀 더긴 그 목숨은 목숨이 안이라 機械니라.
 그가 비록 短命하게 죽엇으나 그러나 그러나, 135
 그의 삶은 一生은 全혀 全혀 自由니라
 그는 일즉 自然의 法則以外에는 自我를 억압적 업나니라.
 곰아! 곰아!

(곰)

오 히 러

141

찬노이 거 [겨] 울들을 던허도
 오히러 서는 쇠소리 들리며, 어두
 운 — 싯업는 금음 밤에도
 오히려 적은 별빛이 빛는다.

하날을 덥혀싼 새구름에도
오히려 희는 그빛을 노으며, 것출
게 휩싸는 가을 바람에도
오히려 다사한 샅풍이 석긴다.

141

가득한 리기의 찬세상에도
오히려 공명의 사랑이 잇으며, 익
들은 가난한 가슴속에
오히려 위로의 희망이 잠겼다.

봄은 간다
밤이 도다
봄이다.

141

밤만도 애 앓는데
봄만도 싱각인데.

날은 새바르다
봄은 가나다.

142

김흔 싱가 [각]은 아득이는데
저—바람에 석가 읊히운다

검은뉘 새터돈다
종소리 빛긴다.

말도업는 밤의 설음
소리업는 봄의 가슴.

꽃은 떨어진다
 잎은 탄식한다

142

六月의 낮빛은
 밤김업시 비취는데
 감기며오는 눈에는
 푸른 하늘이 왔다갔다.

143

수풀밖의 버레소리,
 회 [회]미하게 들리는데
 새는 말도 업시 가고
 낮잠만 쉴이업다.

(채의 낮잠)

소리도 업시 나리는 눈은
 遊子の除夜나마 알으랴,
 김허가는 밤을 다만 혼자서
 자지도 못하고 설어 흥니다.

143

기다려도 울사람 쫓차 업는
 잠자리야 차다한들 엇제랴,
 베리우에 셔도는 솜길은
 멀었다 갓싸왔다 흠뻑이리.

눈오는 밤거리에 혼자나서니
 모든것은 교묘에 또 교묘한
 눈을 맴히는 희미한 등불만
 여귀에 한아 저귀에 또 한아.

(除夕의 遊子)

눈이 나린다
 눈이 싸힌다
 歲月이 달아가는 듯
 黑髮이 희어오는 듯。

144

이리흐야 들에도 눈
 이리흐야 산에도 눈
 눈썹이다 머리에 도
 눈썹이다 마음에 도。

눈의 세상
 눈의 머리
 불이니 밋스랴
 藥이니 밋스랴。

한송이 두송이 나린다
 한송이 두송이 싸힌다
 한해또한해 지내가는 듯
 한타또한아 희어오는 듯

(나리든 눈)

풀밭우에 홀로 누으면
 심각의 가슴 거문고줄 그대의 손
 에 다쳐 소리나도다。

145

(봄)

나의 몸을 비기면 바람에 흩추는
 뉘흔뉘의 싯풀의 그것과도 갓흐며,
 큰바다의 노리흐는 물결우에서
 섰다. 잠겼다흐는 새와도갓다。

145

(나의 몸을 비하면)

셋 수레를 타고 나리는 밤은 145
 山이나 고을, 들이나 또 한 바다에
 다 갖치 검은 옷을 입힌다.
 아리 혼야 모든 것은 安寢에。
 (겨울에 황昏)

羊인 듯 무리지어 닳는 白帆 146
 (北邦의 새봄)

아々 설어라, 겨울의 黃昏 — 147
 적[절]름의 셋봄, 절름의 고희솜은
 슬어져 자취꽃차 바이 업는데
 것들은 눈 들에는 바람만 분다。
 (겨울에 황昏)

내 몸을 도는 모든 피 147
 二六[四]時를 씌침 업시
 三十七度의 熱을 가지고
 돌고 돌고 또 돈다

胃廓에 치는 生命의 波動
 치운 더운 새를 모르고
 쫓는 하는 갖은 소리로
 치고 치고 또 친다

내 몸을 만든 모든 細胞
 깊은 밤이나 밝은 낮에
 繁殖하려고 對象을 차르며
 쫓고 쫓고 또 쫓는다。

나의 몸을 도는 파 147
 나의 骨廓을 치는 鼓動
 나의 몸에 섞는 細胞
 나의 새나를 지으려다。
 (나의 노래)

바위를 치는 물결소리에 148
 말할수업난 恐怖心이 생기고
 죽음이 便者가 압력으로 오듯
 全身에 소름이 쭈뼛 싹친다。

주린 獅子가 먹을 것 차르러
 무서운 소리 치며 오난 것 갓치
 나를 向해야 다라드난 물결도
 주린 양으로 무서운 소리다

- - - - -
 弱한 生命! 물결 하나라도
 對抗치 못할 이런 生命!
 여기에 理想 目的 希望 全部가
 달니여 잇으니 可笑롭다。

孤獨한 海岸에 물결소리만
 一刻 또 一刻에 읊다가고
 내 가슴에 치는 生命의 鼓動은
 바람에 불니어 떨니가련다。

(海岸의 孤獨)

暗黒을 빛치난 希望의 별아
 내길을 빛치워 밝혀주모 [오]!
 갈바를 모르고 彷徨할씨
 寂寞한 곳에서 슬피울씨

149

(滿岸의 孤獨)

永遠으로 흔니가는
 貪慾로의 적은 生命
 瞬間마다 悲哀로써
 過去生活 裝飾했다

149

갈길 몰나 彷徨을씨
 누가 나를 引導하며
 목말 나셔 서서울씨
 누가 나를 마셔 주랴

별과 달이 無情은것
 그라 갖치 이世는이
 흔니가는 나에게도
 無情은고 [?] 하다

눈물로써 겨스過호
 두로지닌 그瞬間에
 시로悲哀 가진 將來
 威脅하며 따라온다

人生折年 지닌 生活
 悲哀로써 지딘스니
 다시折年 남은 生活
 悲哀로써 지너려나

.

地上에서 靈魂이
 空中으로 날너가셔
 水晶같은 별은나아
 永遠하게 되고싶다

.

나의 갈 곳 永遠이오
 永遠에서 쉬러온다

150

孤獨으로 다리 붓코 150
永遠으로 건너간다

비가거리 가는 길에
孤獨으로 떠노히고
맑은 달과 빛은 별이
네孤獨을 빛치운다

生涯의 빛 네孤獨아
내가가는 그 길에
네가먼저 앉섯고나
生涯의 빛 네孤獨아

(孤獨의 歌)

頌 (K兄의 歌)

151

君의 肉 — 冷한 가을, 固한 겨울,
君아, 그대 한 번 입다르면.

君의 靈 — 「眞理」의 싹나오는 變한 봄
君아, 그대 한 번 눈다드면.

君의 眼 — 靑의 綠門 에 드는 新月.
君아, 그대 한 번 戀人과 何하면.

新我의 序曲

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勇士야 들으라, 未來의 巨口에 나가 들으라
官能의 廢址, 噫, 落日의 冥으로
고요히, 哀달게, 울너 나오는
尊한 舊日의 曲 — 新我의 頌.

爲의骨董에 寫한 말근나는가고 151
 嬰兒는 懺悔의 闇 — 三位一體의 胎에 類笑한다.
 自然。人生。時間。

新我는 불으리라 「오오 大我의 引力에
 感電된肉의 剛木 一我、一我야、
 新我의 血은 世의 始와 終과에 흘러나가고, 흘러오다.

나에게 哀愁업다, 恐怖업다, 苦惱업다, 152
 춤의 「나」無限의 傷과 滅는 밧게,
 噫, 死와 哭는
 調和의 花火일다, 夕宴일다」라고.

(隱者의 歌)

나무, 나무에 바람은 연한 피리부다 153
 (봄)

피곤과 惱에 부닥이던 藕有는 153
 밤의 손바닥에 어리만지며
 고요히자다, 고요히자다
 (밤)

아 여름은 열니다, 사랑의 가지에 153
 붉게 열니다.
 「노래하라, 노래하라」교 새는 손벽
 치고가다.
 (열매)

솟갠골에 울리는 봄소리 154
 북드럽게 가슴에 방울 새러지다

아, 쇠소리야 154
 白日은 녹(溶)고
 새는 가는 길에 醞酏한다
 아, 쇠소리야
 (簫)

나의 우슴은 내 손이 밋지 만은 데서 156
 도리여 나를 웃고 밋서요
 (홀로 안저서)

푸른 하늘 아래 157
 오늘 또 벗치 찾다,
 오늘 또 더움이 있다,
 오늘 또 새들이 노히 썬다.

엇던 새는 외로운 짐승이 비에 저졌다.
 또 언젠는 가장 높은 가지우에
 저른 해를 느끼는 바람이 증얼거렸다.
 그러나 지금 새들은
 재빛과 누른빛의 보드러운 머리 털을,
 그속에 숨긴 사랑을,
 지혜롭게 흔들며
 아모도 모르는 巽象의 세계에
 그들의 더운 가슴을 내여 준다.

오, 이 날 이 감혼 귀속말,
 보이지 안는 활개 침,
 아름다운 누리에 그려내는 여러낫 굵은줄,
 또한 새여 더욱 너의 밋그러운 관등이
 내려 밋헤 가늘고 붉은 다리가

나의 입설을 잇는다.

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아, 밝은 날, 퍼지는 빛,
 두렵고 갓분 목숨우에
 춤추고 소사 오르는 곱다란 生物,
 이 날에 한갓 새 힘을 도노아,
 결 [견] 될수 업시 움직여서,
 근침 업시 노래하여서,
 더, 더, 깃본 소식의 시대를
 싹날사지 두어 두려고, 간직하려고,
 쓰다듬고 기르려고 —
 놀썬고 춤추고 소사오르는 곱다란 生物들이여。

(프론 하늘 아래)

모래밭 말근물에 발을 잠고고
 내리쬐는 햇비체 물장구 치며
 녀름날 銀비늘로 번득이는 물결을 따라
 알수업는 누리로 흘러가는 「시대」를 동무삼으면,

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또다시 새로운 가을이 흰옷 입고 물새에
 우리의 깃뚝은 홀로 追憶에 남으리 —
 그러나 무지말라 하늘 말근 九月해 (서러진 내루님쓸에 헤매나)
 나죽이 너와 나의 맘으로 흐르는 속색이 즐겁도다.

(시 내)

샘물이 혼자서
 춤추며 간다
 산골작이 돌림으로

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샘물이 혼자서
우스며 간다
힘한산길 냇사이로。

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하늘은 말근데
즐거운 그소래
산과들에 울니운다。

도다나오는 파란 엄우에 해가 우스며
바람은 풀니기 시작하는 상우에서 내려날새
눈물겨운 처녀의 말근한 가슴우에
소리엄시 셋봉오리, 향리를 보내나,
쿨 [살] 벌이 떨어지는 지쳐져 [기] 기름자 치고
어린새 나라안은 가지 흔들닐사로 [록] —
봄의 씩흔 새바르다 -----。

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복와 [사] 씻이 되면
가슴 알주도다
속생각 너머나
한업슴으로。

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강건너 벌판에
할미씻 된다
벌건너 재덤어
할미씻 된다。
봄쳐녀 썩리고간
수업슨 「우슴」 과여나
부는 바람조차 되여나

강 건너 벌판에
 쓴냄새 퍼치는
 할미꽃 사랑꽃.

160

해가진다
 료학산 봉어리로 해가진다。
 깃속에 종달새 소리업고
 고기들은 물미레 업드렸도다。
 가만히 바람치는 길가에
 도라가는 소떼의 기름자 어즈러울새,
 아스푸른안개 세는 멧기슭으로
 봄을 더듬어 도라가라, 나라 마음이며,
 선오는날의 괴로움을 예비하러。

(봄)

지쳐키 부러진 나뭇
 꽃밭 사이에 기며
 싹터런 보름달 날마다 으즈러지는 서름。
 솔솔솔, 숲빛털을 부는바람——속상한생각。

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(또, 잊던새는)
 노란 앞소, 삼안눈동자,
 나무잎 말나떨리는 가을——人生!
 아아 밤마다, 별이 컴벅거리면
 풀꽃은 양색기,
 베편을 못니저하며……。
 그뒤에는 다만 숨막히는
 안개와 안개와 안개——。

(記 憶)

고운 손에 새로운 「밭」을 든 봄이
초록색 긴치마를 입고 거리 옵니다.

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(이야기)

민경이 운다. 장안 새벽에 민경이 운다. 165
안개에 싸운 아침은 저노푼 회구름 위에서 남모르게 밭가오지
마는, 차디찬 버스몸을 밤의 아페 내여 던지는 거리거리는 阿堵의
숲속에서 허기적 거릴새, 밤을 새워 반짝이는 사발간 등불 아래 노는게
집의 푸른피를 싸는 歡樂의 더운 입김도 식어져갈. 장안의 거라
를 東西로 흘러가는 舞臺나가는 노래의 가-는 餘韻이 바람치
는 긴다리 미르로 스러져 갈새, 기름마른 등불이 힘업고 길은 한
숨소리로 過客의 嘆息을 거둬하면서 엄박 거릴새, 숲속에서
숲속으로 웅웅하는 민경소리가 울니 어 간다. 새벽고하는 민경
이 울니 어 간다.

눈이 녹는다. 東大門 노푼집응우에 눈이 녹는다. 헝기랏갈 냄새,
밭가가는 舟楫냄새, 멀리 갯가이 내려나는 닭소리에 밤과다
숙씩이는 독감이 새들도 아음드리 기둥사이로 스러졌건마는,
門 아래로 기여드는 바람소리는 아직도 悽愴한 反響을 어둑
신한 天井으로 보낼새 피[마]다. 아아 무슨 서름으로 가슴
맥힌 바람소리를, 드르라. 저기 얼어제가는 돌담정에서,
해마다 버티나는 머루님아래서, 바람이 슬프게 부는 피리소리
를. 흐러지는 눈에 석겨서 슬픈 그 소리가 나의 마음속에 부어
내린다. 아아 눈이 녹는다. 셋따란 덧기우에 서러지는 눈이
녹는다.

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사치가 운다. 장안 새벽에 사치가 운다. 三井山 나무수풀에 피붓
는 눈에 길을 일고서, 어제 저녁 지는해 사발간 구름에 標해 두었던

길을 잃고서, 눈오는 장안 새벽을 사치가 울며간다. 사치가 운다. 166

마음 인정이 운다. 은은히 내려오는 신경소리에 눈이 새운다.
 장안에 넓고 조분 길이 눈에 메운다. 빙글 돌고 죽은 계집의
 서름에 겨운 눈물이 눈이 되어 내린다. 번갯해 봄바람에 지고 남은
 흰복숭아꽃이 꿩꿩은 산녀의 쓰거운 가슴에서 흘러내린다. 안
 개에 새운 아픔은 저노픈 흰구름 위에서 날모르게 발가오지 마는,
 바람조차 퍼붓는 눈은 장안거리를 가로막고 의로 메운다. 마
 눈이 새운다. 눈물이 새운다. 그칠업시, 낫업시, 새운다—
 새운다... 새운다...

(눈)

아아 날이 저문다. 西便 하늘에, 외로운 강물우에, 스러져 167
 가는 분동빛 들..... 아아 해가 저물면 해가 저물면, 날마다
 살구나무 그늘에 혼자 우는 밤이 쏘오것따는, 으들은 회음이라
 태일날 큰길을 물밀어가는 사람소리는 듣기만 하여도 흥성시러운
 거를 워나만 혼자 가슴에 눈물을 참을수 업는고?

아아 춤을 춘다, 춤을 춘다, 싹벌건 불덩이가, 춤을 춘다. 168
 잠겨 한 城벽 우에서 내려다보니, 물냄새 모랫냄새, 밤을
 새물고 하늘을 새무는 햇불이 그래도 무어시 부족하야 제몸
 사가지 불고 쓰들새, 혼자서 어두운 가슴품은 절은 사람은 過去
 의 퍼런꿈을 찬강물우에 내며 던지나, 無情한 물결이 그
 기름자를 멈출리가 이스랴? — 아아 벽에서 시들 [들] 지
 안는 싹도 업것따는, 가신님 생각에 사라도 죽은 이 마음이야,
 예라 모르겠다, 저불썰로 이 가슴 태와 버릴가, 이 서름살라
 버릴가 어제도 아픈 발 쓸면서 무덤에 가보았더니 겨울에는

말라던 햇이 어느덧 되엇더라 라는 사랑의 봄은 또다시 안도라 168
 오는가, 찰하리 속시언이 오늘밤이 물속에 그리면 행여나
 불쌍히 녀겨 줄이나 이슬가 할적에 둥, 탕, 불씨를 날니면
 서 튀어나는 매화포, 월덕 精神을 차리니 우주구 서드는 구경
 쏘의 소리가 저를 비웃는 듯, 우짖는 듯. 아스 좀더 強烈한 熱
 情에 살고있다. 저괴저햇불처럼 엄격는 煙氣, 숨떡히는 불
 쏘의 苦痛속에서라도 더욱 쓰거운 삶을 살고있다고 뜻있게 가
 슴두근 거리는 것은 나의 마음。

四月달 다스한 바람이 江을 넘으면, 清流碧, 모란봉 노퍽
 언덕우에, 허어허케 흐늑이는 사람세, 바람이 와서 불적마다
 불비체 물든 물결이 비친우음을 유스니, 짐만흔 물고기는 모래
 미테 드러백이고, 물결치는 냇슌에는 조름오는 「니즘」의
 形像이 오락가락 — 얼린거리는 기름자, 날어나는 우슴소리,
 달아논 등불미테서 목청껏 길게새는 어린기생의 노래, 뜻
 있게 情慾을 잇고는 불구경도 인제는 겁고, 한잔 한잔 쏘한잔
 쏘법슨술도 인제는 실려, 저저분한 냇미창에 맥업시 누으면
 새닭모르는 눈물은 눈을 데우며, 간단업슨 장고소리에 겨운
 男子들은 때스로 불니는 慾心에 못견디어 번득이는 눈으로
 냇가에 썩여나가면, 뒤에 남은 죽어가는 촉불은 우그러진
 치마것우에 조를 때, 뜻잇는 드시 씨적거리는 배것게 소리
 는 더욱 가슴을 누른다。

하스 강물이 웃는다, 웃는다, 小舟상한, 우슴이다, 차디찬
 강물이 艸々한 하늘을 보고 웃는 우슴이다. 아스 배가 물나온 169
 다, 배가 오른다, 바람이 불적마다 슬프게 슬뜨게 씨적거리는
 배가 오른다。

저어라, 배를 멀리서 잠자는 嶼羅島까지, 물살시바른 169
 大洞江을 저어오르라. 거기 너의 愛人이 맨발로 서서
 기다리는 언덕으로 꽃추 너의 뱃머리를 돌니라. 물결
 신에서 내려나는 추운 바람도 무어시리오, 怪異한 우습
 소리도 무어시리오, 사랑 일흔 靑年의 어두운 가슴속도 너의
 게야 무어시리오, 기름자 업시는 「발금」도 이슬수업는 거슬—。
 오오 다만 네 確實한 오늘을 노치지 말라。
 오오 사로라, 사로라! 오늘밤! 너의 발간 햇불을, 발간
 입설을, 눈동자를, 또한 너의 발간 눈물을-----。

(불노리)

아아 아츰마다 아츰마다 171
 하하한 안개가 집을 들너쌌니다。
 보드럽게 떨어지는 목소리, 나의 뺨머리에
 가느른 물결을 그리고가는 단 릴라바이
 그거시 모혀드는 안개의 秘密의 曲調을시다。

(하아한 안개)

눈—은 빛는다, 가만히 쓸우에 171
 흰치마를 입고 내려오는 나의 愛人이。

가는 안다, 겨눈—의, 찬 입설속에서
 숨어잇는 사랑의 불근 피로움이 쓸는거슬。

그러나 나는 그의 터운 속을 차질줄을 모른다—
 (오오 눈—이 내려온다, 나의 愛人이)

(선물)

「生」은 夕陽, 霞의 바다
 強하고 요란한 하늘이어
 「死」는 黎明, 흰 안개
 새싹한 呼吸, 素朴한 色彩。

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「生」은 보기 싫은 喜劇,
 「死」는 아름다운 悲劇,
 「生」은 펄럭이는 초사불,
 「死」는 빛나는 金剛石。

(生과 死)

森林가른 님의 눈이
 나의 얼굴에 쓰일새,
 나의 눈과 마주칠새,
 나의 가슴은 바람가치 떨립니다。

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시내물가른 님의 눈시결
 나의 가슴속을 흐를새,
 나의 불근 새뱀을 씨슬새,
 나의 되느 물고기가치 험칩니다。

(눈시결)

씻이된다, 님의 우습이
 떠러지는 곳마다 씻이된다。
 그씻을 손으로 씻겼더니
 씻도 입도 다떠러졌다。

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쌍에 떠러진 님의 우습
 마음속 기리 간직했더니

고속에 피어나 씻이 되며
이 라는 속을 미칠 듯이.

173

(꽃)

말업슨 불길은 하늘을 태우며,
향긋러운 밀싹은 땅을 채웠다.
뜨거운 흙을 버는 발로 밟으면서
드들의 感覺 속에 나는 안긴다.
눈물이 햇비처럼 비취며 번득이면
나려오는 그 빛과 뜨거움은 몸을 곤하게 한다.
때때로 느리게 부르는 노래도 귀에 즐겨우며,
사람들은 서늘한 그늘을 차자 무거운 발을 옮긴다.

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푸른 太陽은 우리의 머리를 치장하고,
소사오르는 샘물은 우리의 발을 씻는다.
모든 血管은 더위에 불어물나, 머리속으린 드들 씻이여!
쌈뜨르는 緊張에 혈덕이는 땅!
오호하여, 무거운 바다를 띄우고,
모든 발금의 自然을, 人生을
그침없는 풀무속에 집어넣는 해의 시절이여!

오— 이러한 날에 나의 生命은 저의 쓸토다,
저의 산우에 거러가리라. — 나무껍질을 흐르는
향긋잇는 송진냄새와, 햇비처럼 피어난
빛푸른 씻이길들, 더운 벌겍흙의 길들,
거기서 나는 쉬리라. — 숨쉬는 풀미레,
거기서 나는 쉬리라 — 수근거리는 나무그늘,
아— 마치 즐거운 뜰에 잇는 것가치
나는 취하였다. — 삼베인 땅을, 東편에서 부러오는 더운 바람을,

서태니는 구름을, 소낙비를, 넘치는 洪水를, 173

나는 사랑한다. 나는 마음껏 셔안는다 — 흠에 무친 시절을.

흠에서 피어낸 이시절을.

이삭 넘어가는 벌판에서, 소사오른 山꼭닥이에서.

마음은 흥추며, 마음은 몹신다.

꼭씩 내음새가내음을 들너싼다. 174

숨은것 업시 하늘에 빛나는 單純한 드을!

어지 [러]운 벼리 [벌] 새, 눈부시는 흰치마.

아 ~ 나는 천노히 것은 네조본길을

나의 愛人の 가슴인가 의심한다.

해여, 바람이여, 지금, 내가슴에 넘쳐오라.

플우물에 제르노한 팔을 썩드리는 이상한 대장쟁이 처럼.

사른 熱情으로 나의 가슴을 달구리라.

드른바 해마다 勇敢한 불근개, 해를 물어감가치

지금나는 이 말은한 두손을 그불속에 너으리라.

偉大한 季節이여, 나를 위하여 채리는 靑靑한 잔치에

모직하나인 내불꽃의 「말」을 술으로 색이리라.

나는 네푸르른 바람에 쉬는것보다.

네 달섬한 피곤을 맛보는것보다.

다만 네가슴에 더욱쓰거운 「말입슴」의 길을 불로 닦으리라.

오 ~ 모든사람의 너름이여.

질기고 질긴, 쓴을수업은 사랑의 시절이여.

엇더한 光彩만흔 새벽에.

꿈待하는 나의 마음을 시러가려 하느냐!

기리 불에 새운 너의 偉大한 祖國으로. —

(해의 시절)

새로운 햇비치여 숲빛바람을 너르켜, 너르켜,
 나의몸을 부러가라, 환々달은 니마를, 싹을, 두키를,
 나의 강한 愛人의게 나의 「뜻」을 가져가면서.

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이슬에 저즌 길이며, 빛나라, 빛나라, 나의아페,
 스스로 가진힘을 의심업시 새닫기위하야.
 빛나라, 잠새기 시작한 거리거리며,
 불빛는 東便 하늘로 숨차게 거리갈때에.

아름다운 새벽이며 들너싸라,
 희고흰 새벽안개며 더운젓등을 세스라,
 나의 색갓한살의 단념새가,
 모든 강한 愛人의 가슴속에 독아들기 위하야.

하々 생이며 붓들라, 나를,
 너의 질긴 풀줄기로 나의 벼슬발을 매여
 시언치 마는 이몸을 너의 풀바테 쓰러업지르라.

이슬에 저즌 아침이며, 빛나라, 빛나라, 그대에
 안락가운 나의 사랑을 쓰겨운 그의 가슴에 비취기 위하야.

(아침 處女)

봄이외다, 내살을 흐르는 파줄기를
 었던 魂이와서 흔드렸던지
 쓰겨운 가슴에 넘치고 스사를나
 恍惚한 꿈속에 내 몸을 새바칩니다.

176

사랑스러운 봄이외다, 님이며
 당신의 웃는얼굴에 해가 비취여

이슬에 피어나는 햇빛인가 하나이다. 176
당신은 이 노란 벼들머음이 끊지 아릅니사.

靈感 하는 봄이외다. 해가 저무러
公園에 반짝이는 電燈 빛이
소리없는 사랑의 기쁨을 씁니다.
당신은 저 못가로 내려가보지 아릅니사.

(봄)

아는 나의 사랑아. 갓싸히오거라. 177
只속은 가을, 흐러지는 새리라.
그리하고 落葉의 우리의 소리를 들서다.
明日이변은 애끓은 눈도 너리리라.

그리한다. 가을의 새를 만난 우리의 두가슴,
明日되면 겨울을 마즐 우리의 꿈,
熱情이 식기前, 쓰거운 키스로
오늘 이 밤을 함의 밝해보서다.

(落葉)

첫가을의 해볏에 부르익은 180
복숭아 빛과도 갖른 그대의 입살에
사름은 붉은 키스를 색여라.
그리하고는 忘却의 硃碑를 세워라.

(붉은 키스)

이름도 물을 씻이여

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내가슴의 다사한 고흔水氣을 마시고
 더운아침에 새빨하게 피인
 이름꽃차 알수없는 씻이여,
 내가슴은 이 때문에 病 들었서라,
 내가슴은 이 때문에 죽으러 했서라.

그러나 가을, 成熟의 落葉의 때는 와서,
 바람은 뒤설네며, 서리는 내려라,
 씻은 설날새러라, 아름답고도 설머라,
 이름물을 씻은 울음과 함외 갖서라,
 이리후야 내가슴에는 病이 갖서라,
 病이 갖서라, 病든 내가슴의 끝앗음이며.

(씻)

지금愛人이 빨간베꽃 갖치입버렸다,
 江우를 술醉한 氣味로 지내는 바람아,
 愛人의 그입으로 한아, 들 굴너나오는
 반티불 (螢火) 갖흔 眞珠形의 「말」을
 곱게, 곱게 휩싸오너라.

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아々 愛人아, 너와나의 사회에는
 懷疑에 퍼진 큰들이 隔해있다,
 그곳에는 鉛色의 눈이 싸히고, 싸려온다,
 아々 愛人아, 지금이야 말노 네가 볼 때다.

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갈대꽃 (荻花)의 물근거림자에 부딪쳐도
 傷하고, 울기 쉬운 내 마음은
 지금울고, 아々 胸骨이 불어오르도록 또 울어.

蠟燭液 갖흔 뜨거운 눈물노

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너도 볼수 업고, 나도 갈수 업는 눈속에
적고, 적은길음길 (徑路) 을 만드려다,
눈안으로, 눈안으로 愛人아 오너라.

아아 봄저녁의 나뭇 (蝶) 갖치

네 愛의 단花 舞에

집개로 잡아뜯어도 떨어지지 않는 만큼
즐겁게, 부스리 박었던 내마음은
이렇게 크고, 벅찬눈에 업히어
운다, 운다 愛人아, 나의 全存在를 갖흔 愛人아.

내마음이 추위도, 더위도 모르던

네 輝麗한 꽃밭 갖흔 그 품으로

생화를 내며, 내풀노 떠러진지가

날자로 말하면 九百九十五日,

아아 내눈물이 嵐풍에 쓸 (退潮) 니기前,

눈안으로 눈안으로 愛人아 오너라.

아아 이곳은 내 靈魂의 露宿場 일다.

달은 아무것도 업는 空虛한 모래언덕우에 곱갯하며,

魔國의 저자의 디디한 歡樂에 中毒된

다만 울뿌의 弱한 病熱의 마음은

어렴풋히 눈떠, 曠野의 넷꿈의 터 (趾) 로

눈물에 가로 말녀 (逆捲) 오는

愛人의 벅흔 그 괴로운 「말」의 觸合으로

「生의」 뭇樣의 言語를 듣는다, 아아

눈안으로, 눈안으로 愛人아 오너라.

愛人아, 너는내 全生涯의 한 「모델」이다. 183
 同時에, 너는내 生命에의 한 天才畫家이다.
 나의 晝間의 幻燈갓치 倏然하고, 싸른
 半獸, 半鬼의 조각々의 過去는
 그것이모주리 人間으로 태여
 네가슴안의 玲瓏한 遊園에
 浮遊한 「를에 映肖像」이 되어 걸너 있다.

아아 너는나의 全存在의 秘書官이다.
 아아 너는나의 全存在의 發動機이다.
 나의 生涯는 네의 손에 依하여 記錄되며
 나의 客車갓흔 實在는
 네의 愛의 火力에 依하여 달는다.
 愛人아, 네의 눈은
 나의 生命의 路程을 記며,
 愛人아, 네의 입은
 나의 生命의 노래라 (歌劇) 며,
 愛人아, 네의 언저던지 싹뚝한 손은
 나의 너의게 받드는 頌歌, 愛의 玉盤을 달다.
 아아 눈만 [안]으로, 눈만 [안]으로 愛人마 [아] 모 [오] 너라.

(노으로 愛人아 오너라)

185
 鷓鴣의
 어귀 (入際) 에서
 소리의
 惝恍스런
 病鷓鴣가
 스펀에

幸福의 醜態, 陰鬱의 생각은 잊속 그대를 돌너싸고 201
 웃업는숨으로 疲困한 「人生」을 끊게 하여라.

빛갈업게도 그개를 숙이고, 默想에 고요한 가을이여,
 冷落을 소곤거리는 落葉의 비노래가락은
 들을것처, 넓다란 맘의 세계에도 벗겨들어,
 곳곳마다 「죽은맘」의 葬事에 한갓 분주하여라.

흰옷을 입고, 고요히 눕엿는 겨울의 에비스 女神이여,
 汗毒만 남고, 눈물흔적꽃차 업는 너의 눈가에는
 아모리 워 [함]어진 愛人을 그림계 찾는 빛을 띄여서도
 쓸데꽃차 업서라. 한때 인사랑은 돌길의 업서라.

(四季의 노래)

그대의 흐뭇여 우는소리에 쌀어나오는 201
 무겁은 그말은 니즐수가 바이업서,
 설제도 외롭계 빛겨울기는 하여라,
 아々 그러나 나는 아노라. —
 그대는 벌서 나를 빛고잇서라.

하로날의 길거리에 헬금하여진 糞穢의
 빛갈도 업는 수풀속에서 넷깃을 차즈며,
 아득이며 도는 小鳥와 갓치 맘이 복기기는 하여라,
 아々 그러나 나는 아노라. —
 그대는 벌서 나를 빛고잇서라.

잊속 그대는 내것을 떠나 잊지만으며, 202
 그대의 무겁은말만이 가슴에 숨여들어
 지내간날의 넷曲調가 노래하기는 하여라.

아~ 그러나 나는 아노라.— 202
 그대는 벌써 나를 잊고있서라.

(別後)

언제나 어둠은 그들속에서 202
 쏘구려고 안자선 머리를 숙이고
 고요도하게 하얏는 생각에 잠겼는
 냇날의 서럽은 悤憶。

좀도적 좀처럼 삼가는 발거름으로
 삼씩 와서는 잠잠한 맘우에
 지내간 그날의 문지와 바람을
 니르켜 붓코는 살씩 업서 지는 悤憶。

(죽은 悤憶)

가을 203

그저 가을만은
 돌아가신 냇님의 생각처럼
 살들하게 가슴속에 숨여들어라.

밋속이야 야릇하게도 웃음을 썬눈이나
 헬금하게 파리한 가이도업는 그얼플과.
 하얏케도 病的의 연악한 손가락이나마.
 그나마 다 잊기워지고, 남은것이란
 살들하게도 잊지못할 달금한 생각뿐。

살들하게도 못니를 그생각만은
 업서저 다한 냇숨을 쏘는듯시도.

날카롭음 「귀웃춤」의 하얀빛과
어둑하게도 모혀드는 「외롭음」을
하소연한 맘속에 부어노출시킬。

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그저 가을만은
가신님의 넷생각처럼,
꽃빛게도 가슴속에 숨여들어라。

低落된 눈물

203

林檎과 사랑을 混同하는
솜씨 좋게 料理를 만드는 愛人은,
林檎알을 벗겨 조각조각 나 [난] 호든 솜씨로,
한그릇밖에 안되는 「사랑의 料理」를
골고롭게도 솜씨있게 난호아서는
급은 노래가락에 微笑를 띄우며,
여러사람의 압히 노힌 歔歔우에
한그릇식 한그릇식 내여노했습니다。

여러사람들이 그料理를 먹었을 때부터
모든것은 一變하여 地球는 쓸데없이 돌아가게 되며,
以前에는 한방울이 聖者의 말과 갖튼
그만큼한 價値가 있던 눈물이 갑자기 低落되야,
그때부터는 눈물한방울에 五錢도 못가게 되였습니다。

거룩한 분로는
공교 보다도 깊고

206

불빛은 情眼은

206

사랑보다도 강하다

아, 강남콩 싹보다도 더푸른

그물결우에

양귀비 싹보다도 더붉은

그마음 흘녀라.

아릿압든 그娥眉

좁게 흘 [흔] 들니우며

그石榴 속가른 입설

「죽음」을 입맛추었네!

아, 강남콩 싹보다도 더푸른

그물결우에

양귀비 싹보다도 더붉은

그「마음」 흘녀라.

흐르는 江물은

기러 < 푸르리니

그대의 싹다운 흔

어이 안이 붉으랴

아, 강남콩 싹보다도 더푸른

그물결우에

양귀비 싹보다도 더붉은

그「마음」 흘녀라!

(論 介)

꿈
꿈계 비인 마음으로

207

눈위를 거르면 눈위를 거르면

하얀 눈은 눈으로 드러오고

머리속으로 기여들어 가고
 마음속으로 공여들어 와서
 붉은 사랑도 하얘지게 하고
 누르든 걱정도 하얘지게 하고
 푸르든 희망도 하얘지게 하며
 검은 미움도 하얘지게 한다
 어느덧 나도 눈이되어 하얀 눈이되어
 흐릿한 曲線을 火空에 거리우며 나리는
 동무측에 휩싸이여 내려간다 —
 곱고 아름다움으로 근심과 죽음이 생기는
 「色彩」와 「形態」의 世界를 덮히려。
 아름다움은 「폼페이」를 나리덮흔
 에이스썩스 火山의 재가리!

(雪山逍遙)

모든 「現實」은 永遠히
 아이비 (藤)의 그늘로 가리워져라
 그리하여 이슬가른 追憶.만이
 그의 슬픈 光榮 가운데서 昏絶케 하여라.

또이란 그윽하고 먼 기억과 기억과의 連鎖인것분。
 그리하여 「理論」과 「事實」의 해불이
 우리에게 쓰일때, 우리는 음치러진다 —
 허벗에 내치여진 솔땀이 모양으로!

그림으로 幻像을 더分明히 보려고
 우리는 눈을 곱게 감는것이 아니냐?
 夕暮의 燦然한 光榮 가운데서는
 우리는 경虔하게 고개를 숙이지안느냐?

아, 모든 「現實」은 永遠히 < 208
 보라빛 金빛의 眞本眞으로 가리워져라
 그리하여 아렴풋한 追憶만이
 곱게 그윽하게 살게 하여라!
 (追憶만이)

흰 구름

210

봄이 옵니다 님이어. —
 사똥하게 풀린 땅에 푹 안기고 시픈
 목은 밤하에 가마커 세
 그 우름 소리까지 곱게 들리는,
 봄이 옵니다.
 저기 햇슴가든 구름세,
 푸른 하늘, 햇빛, — 오, 님이어,
 고향생각 몹시나는 봄이 아님니사.

흔 잣 말

210

님이어, 오시오,
 여기 언덕에 풀이 도닷소.
 여기 비에 씻기어 푸른 향나무,
 썩덕이 버스라는 나뭇,
 사똥한 벼, 흙, 「교지낙함」이 있습니다.
 또 그대 발을 씨슬 맑은 물이 있습니다.
 오시오, 봄오는 동안
 모든 근심 닛고 니애기 하러.
 오랜 잠에서 깨어난 머구리는

푸러진 풀밭에 뉘노라기 210
 우리 켓속을 벗드를 새도 업겠지요.
 전시오, 넘어어,
 여괴 그대 발을 씨슬 맑은 시내가 흐릅니다.

비개인뒤에 농부는 논에 나갔다. 211
 바람이 산봉오리로 내려와서
 김오르는 밭이랑과 논드렁으로
 춤을 추며 지나갔다.

검은 물새가 논에서 논으로
 놀리는듯이 소리치면서 나라갔다.
 지나간 너름해가 말엽시 쓰이는것은
 농부의 속을 헤아려 보려는 것이다.

그러나 기다릴줄 아는 우리 농부는 212
 자랑하듯 긴한숨을 드리마시고
 시방은 무섭게도 푸르른 넓은밭에
 금빛 물결이 흐누일 가을을 확실히 보았다.

(농부)

창밭계 손님이 와서 나를 찾는다. 212
 방에는 「퇴판」이 내눈을 잠기려한다.
 나는 창문틈으로 밧겨를 엿보았스나
 바람과 밤밭계는 아모도 업다.

창밖게 손님이 와서 나를 찾는다. 212
 그러나 나는 창문을 열기를 주저한다 —
 「버릇」이 싸닭업는 무서움을 주기때문예.
 아침이 되거던 창을 열고 손님을 마질가.

창밖게 손님이 와서 나를 찾는다.
 나의 몸몸이 「기다림」으로 터질듯하다.
 나는 니러션다, 결심한다, 창을연다.
 기다리던 달비치 나의 버스몸을 씻는다.
 (손 님)

비가 옵니다 214
 밤은 고요히 짙을 버리고
 비는 쓸우에 속색입니다
 물내 짙거리는 병아리 가치.

으지러진 달이 실낱 갖고
 별에서도 봄이 흐를썩이
 사썩한 바람이 불더니
 오늘은 이 어두운밤을 비가 옵니다.

비가 옵니다.
 다정한 손님가치 비가 옵니다.
 창을 열고 마즈러 하여도
 보이지 안게 속색이며 비가 옵니다.

비가 옵니다
 쓸우에 창밖게 짐웅에
 남 모를 깃분 소식을
 나의 가슴에 전하는 비가 옵니다.
 (비 소 리)

살뜰한님이여! 당신이 만약 내게 門을 열어 주시면 218

(당신의 나라로 드려가는)

그러고선 鐵灰色의 둥근구름으로 내 가슴을 덮어 주실 것이면
나도님의 번개 같은 노래에
落葉 갖치 춤추겠 나이다.

(당신이 만약 내게 門을 열어 주시면 雲도레르에게)

솟가루와 가리 부드러운 고양이의 털에 219
고운봄의 香氣가 어리우도다.

금방울과 가리 호동그란 고양이눈에
밋친봄의 불길기 흐르도다.

고요히 다물은 고양이입술에
폭은한 봄졸음이 서터돌아라.

날카롭게 쏙새든 고양이수염에
푸른봄의 生氣가 쏙돌아라.

(봄은 고양이로다)

시월(十月)은 初달새 해태가운다. 221

쫓겨난 해태가 山에서 운다. 들에서 운다. 月兪羊서 운다 —

새뭇은 흰옷으로 몸을 사고서,

지나간 냇날의 「無意味」가 슬퍼서,

오늘의 塵待의 憤怒를 못익여

쫓겨난 해태가 목을 못코운다.

오래동안 지내든 동모가 그리워
 흰옷 입은 동모가 몹시 그리워
 다시 살어나고자 발버둥치면서
 해태가운다. 悔恨 서운다!

221

구월은 초닷새 해태가운다
 해태가 울어 해태가 울어!

(「마음의 疏離 겨울에서서」 중의 시)

카페 — 椅子上에 걸터앉아서
 희고 흰 팔을 뽀내어가며
 「우. 나로 — 드!」 라고 서들고잇는
 六十年前의 露西亞靑年이 눈앞에 있다.....

222

Cafe Chair Revolutionist,
 너희들의 손이 너머도 희고나!

희고 흰 팔을 뽀내어가며
 입으로 말하기는 「우. 나로 — 드!」.
 六十年前의 露西亞靑年의
 헛된인 嘆息이 우리에게 있다 —

Cafe Chair Revolutionist,
 너희들의 손이 너머도 희고나!

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(百手の 嘆息)

누나야 —

223

너와 나는 새世紀의 아들과 딸이다

봄이라고 개나리 셋보려몬손님을
 눈발귀에 실어뜯게도 南國에 풀녀보내느니

225

白熊이 울고 北狼星이 눈쌔실 일 때마다
 제비가는곳 그림어하는 우리네는
 서로 부둥켜 안고 赤雲을 손싸락질 하며 氷原에서 춤추느니 —
 모닥불에 빛회는 靑邦人の 새파란 눈알을 보면서

北國은 춥어라. 이추운밤에도
 江덕에는 密輸入馬車의 지나는 소리 들리느니
 어름쌔갈리는 소리에 방울소리는 잠겨지면서

오. 저눈이 쏜 내리느니 보—만눈이
 北塞으로가는 移舍순짐우에
 말엄시할박갓흔눈이 잘도 내리느니

(赤雲을 손싸락질 하며)

새벽마다 고요히 꿈길을 밟고와서
 머리마테 찬물을 화—되빛고는
 그만 가슴을 드덕면서 멀리 사라지는
 北靑물장사。

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물에 저준솜이
 北靑물장사를 부르면
 그는 새끼걱 새끼걱 소리를 치며
 온자취도 업시 다시 사라진다。

날마다 아침마다 기대려지는
 北靑물장사。

(北靑물장사)

눈이 몹시 퍼붓는 어느해 겨울이었다. 228
 눈보라에우는 당나귀(驢馬)를 밧살고 豆滿江역까지 오니,
 江물은 얼고 그위에 흰눈이 석자나 쌓였었다.

人跡은 업고, 해는 지고 —
 나는 몇번이고 도라서러 망서리다가
 大膽하게 어름장 쌓인 江물우를 건넜다.

올때 보니
 北塞으로가는 移徙군들 손에
 넓다란 新長路가 만들어 노렸다.
 지난밤 건너든 내외곡 길우에다 —

(先驅者)

물결! 228
 國土의 언덕을 스치며지나는 바다물결,
 새빨간 燈臺불을 물고뿔는 물결에도 밤마다 물결,
 새리며, 부쉬며, 노래부르며
 白沙場에 달너드는 삼—한밤 바다물결,
 몹시 焦燥하며 그리고 勇敢스러운 先驅者처럼, 229
 늘, 불길이되야 다름에도 밤에도
 哮吼하며 紅靄壁에 달너드노나.

그래도 울어라, 물결이어, 旋風 만난 大海原가치
 울대로, 스를대로, 힘껏
 그래서 이싸우百姓의 식은마음을 새빨가게 태여라,
 산용장이 灼熱해 춤출때
 그로서 아름답다운다이 것싸는 소리들니리.

아. 밤마다 저녁마다 國土의 언덕을 스치며 지나는
 밤바다 물결이어,
 五六月三伏에 마개새는 麥酒瓶가치
 를 쓸어올너라. 기운있게!

(물 결)

오호. 東京이어, 230
 落日에 외싸여 大地에 업대여우는 냇날의 都府여,
 잿속에 파묻친 燦然한 殿堂과 樓臺에 吊辭를 드리는 市民이어,
 애달퍼라 이 「文明의 沒落」을 바라보는 서러운 그눈이어,
 이제는 黃金과 美人을 직히든 냇날의 騎士는
 倉庫를 내던지고 廢墟의 祭壇을 向하여 挽歌를 부르노나.
 아하. 梧桐馬車에 실니워 墓地로 向하는 「文明의 末路」여,
 美와 富와에 袂別치안을수업던가. 오호. 東京이어.

아하. 냇날의 東京이어!
 大地의 우는 소리 — 火氣, 火焰, 泣, 사람의 反逆, — 그래서
 屈從—發狂—哄笑—呼泣.
 아하. 東京이어! 이렇게 慘慘하게 人類의 記憶을 불살나버리는
 이날을 想像이나 하였던가.
 歷史再造의 偉大한 힘압해 우두두셔는 可憐한 罹災의 市民을
 그려려나 보았던가.

아하. 한 냇날의 策筭에 告別하는 城砦여,
 大自然의 洗禮에 嗚咽하는 市民이어!
 울기를 拭치고 웃기도 그만두어라,
 힘은 모든것을 超越하는 무엇이다.

그러라 힘이다! 지나간 냇날을 奪還함에는 오직 크다면 힘이
 잇을뿐이다.

아. 人類類여, 黎明前에 선 東京의 悲壯한 우름소리에 230
 고요히 고요히 듣는 귀를 가져라.

— 大震災 나던 때 —

(災 廢墟)

나의 寢室로

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『가장 아름답고 오랜 것은 오솔삼죽에만 빛서라』 — 『내갈』

『마돈나』 지금은 밤도, 모든 목거지에, 다니노라 癡困하여 돌아가려는 도다.
 아, 너도, 먼동이 뜨기 전으로, 水蜜桃의 네 가슴에, 이슬이 맺도록 달려오느라.

『마돈나』 오렴으나, 네 집에서 눈으로 遺傳하든 眞珠는, 다 두고 몸만 오느라,
 쌀리가자 우리는 밝음이 오면, 어대리도 모르게 숨는 득벌이어라.

『마돈나』 구석지고도 어둔 마음의 거리에서, 나는 두려워 서며 기다리노라.
 아, 어느 듯 첫눈이 울고 — 못개가 것도, 나의 아씨여, 너도 듯느냐.

『마돈나』 지난 밤이 새도록, 내 손수 악가운 寢室로가자, 寢室로!
 낡은 달은 사바지려는데, 내 귀가 듣는 발자욱 — 모, 너의 것이냐?

『마돈나』 얇은 심지를 더우 잡고, 눈물도 업시 하소연하는 내 맘의 螢불을 보라,
 羊蹄가든 바람결에도 窒息이 되어, 말포른 변기로 서지려는 도다.

『마돈나』 오느라 가자, 암산 그림애가, 독감이 처럼, 발도 업시 이곳갓가이오도다.
 아, 행여나, 누가 볼는지 — 가슴이 쫓겨나, 나의 아씨여, 너를 부른다.

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『마돈나』 날이 새려다, 쌀리오렴으나, 寺院의 외벽이, 우리를 비웃기 전에
 네 손이 내 목을 안어라, 우리도 이 밤과 가리, 오랜 나라로 가고 말자.

♣ 마돈나, 귀우침과 두려움의 외나무다리 건너 잇는 내寢室 열어도 업느니! 233

아, 바람이 불도다. 그와가리가볍게 오렝으나, 나의 아씨며, 네가 오느냐?

♣ 마돈나, 가엾서라. 나는 미치고 말았는가. 업는 소리를 내키가 들음은 —, 내몸에 피란피 — 가슴의 샘이, 말라버린 듯. 마음과 목이 타려는도다.

♣ 마돈나, 언젠들 안갈수잇스랴. 갈테면, 우리가 가자, 신을러가지 말고! 너는 내말을 잇는 마리아 — 내寢室이 復活의 洞窟임을 네야 알년만....

♣ 마돈나, 밤이 주는 삶, 우리가 먹는 삶, 사람이 안고 끄는 목숨의 삶이 다르지만하니, 마, 어린애 가슴처럼 歲月 모르는 나의寢室로 가자. 아름답고 오랜 거기로.

♣ 마돈나, 별들의 웃음도 흐려지려하고, 어둠밤 물결도 자자지려는도다, 아, 안개가 살다지기 전으로, 네가 와야지, 나의 아씨며, 너를 부른다.

離別을 하느니..... (舊稿)

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엇지면 너와 나 서로야겠으며 아모래도 우리는 난호야겠느냐?

남몰리 사랑하는 우리사이에 우리몰리 離別이 울줄은 몰겠사랴.

씩두로 모르는 情狀에 가슴과 입설이 쓰러 말보담 숨결조차 못쉬노라.

모든밤 우리들의 목숨이 씩결가치보일 애타는 네맘속을 내어어 모르랴.

愛人아 하늘을 보아라 하늘이 사라졌고 땅을 보아라 땅이 꺼졌도다

愛人아 내몸이 어제가치보이고 네몸도 아즉 살았서 내겨레 안겼느냐?

엇지면 너와 나 서로야겠으며 아모래도 우리는 난호야겠느냐.

우리들의 난호여 생각고사느니 차라로 바라보며 우는 별이나 되자!

사랑은 흘러가는 마음우레서 웃고 잇는 가비엿은 갈대꽃인가. 236
 스대가오면 샛송이는 고라지며 스대가가면 스러졌다 석고마는가.

남의 기림에서만 미움(음)을 얻고 남의 미움에서는 외롭만 바들바들이엿드나.
 후福을 자저션 비웃음도 모르는 스闊이면서 비품行을 실어할 나이엿드나.

愛人아 물에다물란듯 서로의 사이에 도境畧가 업든 우리마음우흐로
 愛人아 짐은 거름애가 오르락나르락 소리도 업시 얼린그리도다.

남몰리 사랑하는 우리사이에 우리몰리 離別이 울줄은 풀랏서라.
 우리들이 난호여 사람이 되느니 차라로 되물음우는 沈黙이나 되자!

오렴으나 더갓가히 내가삼을 탄으라 두마음한가각으로 얼어보고십다. 237
 자그맛한 붓그림과 서로아는 밋봄사이로 눈감고오는 放任을 마지하자.

바 주름 접힌 네얼골—離別이 주는 哀痛이냐 離別은 썩고 내게로오느라.
 象牙의 十字架가튼 네허리만 더위잡는 내달안으로 달려만 오느라.

愛人아 손을 다고 어둠속에도 보이는 蠟色의 손을 내손에 쥐여다고.
 愛人아 말해다고 빙어리입이 말하는 沈黙의 말을 내눈에 밀러다고.

엇지면 너와나 스어나야갓스며 아모래도 우리는 난호야갓느냐?
 우리들이 난호여 밋치고 마느니 차라리 바다에 싸저 두머리人魚로나
 되여서살자!

지금은 삼디쌍—새맛진 들베도 봄은 오는가? 238

나는 온몸에 해살을 밧고
 푸른한을 푸른들이 맛부튼 곳으로

가름아 가름 논길을 사다라 땀속을 가듯 거러만 간다.

238

입술을 다문 한울아 돌아
내 맘에는 내 혼자 온 것 갖지를 안쿠나
네가 슬었느냐 누가 부르느냐 답답워라 말해다오.

바람은 내 귀에 속삭이며
한자욱도 섰지마라 옷자락을 흔들고
종조리는 울타리 밖의 아씨가리 구름위에서 반갑다웃네.

고맙게 잘자란 보리밭아
간밤 자정이 넘어 나리든 꿈은비로
너는 삼단가름머리를 삼았구나 내 머리조차 갑본하다.

혼자라도 갖부게나 가자
마른 돈을 안고도는 착한 도량이
젓떡이 달라는 노래를 하고 제 혼자 엇게춤만 추고가네.

나비 제비야 삼치지마라
맨드렘이 들마솟에도 인사를 해야지
아주사리 기름을 바른이가 지심매든 그들이라 다 보고십다.

내 손에 호미를 주여다오
살썸 젓가슴과 가름 부드러운 이흠을
발목이 시도록 밟어도 보고 조흔삼조차 흘리고 십다.

강가에 나온 아해와가리
삼도 모르고 솟도 업시 닷는 내혼아
무엇을 찾느냐 어디로 가느냐 웃어웁다 답을 하려무나.

나는 온몸에 꽃내를 띄고 238
 푸른 웃음 푸른 설음이 어우러진 사이로
 다리를 절며 하로를 걷는다 아마도 봄신령이 접했나보다.

그러나 지금은 — 들을 새앗겨 봄조차 새앗기겠네

(새앗긴 들에도 봄은 오는가)

죽엽고근심스런 긴밤의 神秘를 헤치고 241
 새벽빛이 떠오른다
 시집가는 시악새 갖치고 곱게 丹粧하고
 五色이 玲瓏한 새벽노을이 터지는구나
 그 우흐로 빙그레 무스며 아름헛살이 퍼진다
 시골에 서울에 그리고 사뭇싸지
 지금껏 어둠에 못쳤든 모든 物象은
 大우의 큰강과 쓰우헤 그려진 畫面처럼 울릉불통썩렸이 소사모른다
 모든 形體가 굵은 線 가는 線으로 奔走히 自畫像을 그리면서

(아름이 캣단다)

봄은 간다 241
 바람업는 들가에
 진달내뺨은 스러진다

봄은 간다
 귀엣은 사람의
 눈동자 밋헤
 알기어엣은
 수수색기를 남겨두고

(봄은 간다)

寄 宿舎의 모든 房에 불들은 켜지었다 242
 工夫에 疲困한 아희들은 니불속에서
 다직도 算術問題를 생각하고 있다
 더러는 벌써 잠이 들었다.

나는 舍監의 燈火를 들고
 발소리 만나게 모든 房을 들어야 한다
 或 序門이 열리지나 아니 하였나
 니불을 차던지나 단었나.

귀여운 아들들아, 딸들아! 243
 솜이라도 平安하게 잘들 자거라.
 寡婦와 가든 너희 朝鮮이
 너희를 낮게 무엇을 바라랴 아희들아.

나는 새벽종을 친다. 아희들아
 애처러운 너희들의 단잠을 깨오거니와
 일어나거라. 일어나 하로의 힘을 또 길우자.
 寡婦와 가든 朝鮮이 너희를 부르나니.

(舍監)

「메그 불상해! 243
 메그 불상해!
 나갈 때에는 입만 빗죽거리더니
 대문밖에 나서서는 전신사대를 살(벗) 들고 엉엉우는 구려
 메그 불상해라!
 나가 볼가요?
 벌써 갔슬가요?
 테리고 드러올것을

불쌍해!」

243

안해는 이러케 말하고 울었다.

(불쌍한 아이)

드들로 가사이다 —

244

등불만흔 거리를 지나서

달빛만 잇는 드들로。

장터에는 싸움이 버러졌고

전등불미테는 술과 노래가

밤의거리의 보기실흔것을

모도 나타 내는 새

드들로 가사이다 —

조고만 다리를 지나서

바람부는 드들로。

풀로 업힌길에 『녀름밤』이

버스몸으로 마저주는곳

수수님의 속색이는 소리밭게

우리의 키를 어즈러일것 업는곳

드들로 가사이다

결혼과 결혼이 『사』의 향귀우에

하나이되는 드들로。

(드들로 가사이다)

던원으로 오게, 던원은 우리에게
 새로운 깃뚝을 가져오나니.
 닉은 열매와 불끈 입사귀 —
 가을의 풍성은 지금이 한창일네.

244

아아, 도회의 뿔쭈선 눈을 버리고
 수그러진 여개와 가쁜 호흡과
 아우성치는 고독의 거리를 버리고
 푸른봉아리 소사오른 던원으로 오게, 오게.

달이 서리본 밧도랑을 희게 비취고
 어러 부른 강물과 다리와 어선우에
 눈은 내려서 녹고 또 싹필적이
 우리들의 기피 또 고평히 묵상할 새일세.

245

던원으로 오게 건강의 던원으로
 인공과 암흑과 시기와 잔혹의 도회
 잠잘줄 모르는 도회달과 별을 향하야
 어리석은 반항을 하는 도회를 쉼나오게.

노래는 드슬에 가득히 산에 울려나고
 향기와 빛같은 산에서 드슬로 퍼져간다
 아름다운봄! 양지에 보드랍게 풀린
 흙덩이를 쉼안쇼 입마추고 시픈 봄.

(田園頌)

봄날이 간다
 못견대기 가슴을툭치고 웃고섰든봄날이
 淫奔한 瀉女가치
 마니갈듯 벌서발을돌녀라

246

봄은 싯살에 왔다가 바람스레 가던가? 246

우스라는 이 마음은
 쇠소리 나라난 뒤 杻楊 버들 아지가치
 虛空을 向하야 건네만 쏘노나.

(九+春光)

그리운 우리 멍은 어디 계신고 249
 가엾은 이 내 속을 들곳 없어서
 날마다 물을 따서 물에 던지고
 흘러가는 일어나 맘에 [해] 보아요.

(풀따기)

그리운 우리 임의 맑은 노래는 249
 언제나 제 가슴에 젖어 있어요

긴 날을 문 밖에서 서서 들어도
 그리운 우리 임의 고운 노래는
 해지고 저무도록 귀에 들려요
 밤들고 잠드도록 귀에 들려요

고히도 흔들리는 노랫가락에
 내 잠은 그만이나 깊이 들어요
 고적한 잠자리에 홀로 누워도
 내 잠은 포스르히 깊이 들어요.

(임의 노래)

나 보기가 역겨워
가실 때에는
말없이 고히 보내 드리 우리다

영변(寧邊)에 약산(藥山)
진달래꽃
아름따다 가실 길에 뿌리우리다

가시는 걸음 걸음
놓인 그 꽃을
사뿐히 즈려 밟고 가시옵소서

나 보기가 역겨워
가실 때에는
죽어도 아니 눈물 흘리우리다
(진달래)

산산히 부쳐진 이름이여!
허공중에 헤어진 이름이여!
불러도 주인 없는 이름이여!
부르다가 내가 죽을 이름이여!

심중에 남아 있는 말 한 마디는
글끝내 마자하지 못하였구나.
사랑하던 그 사람이여!
사랑하던 그 사람이여!

붉은 해는 서산 마루에 걸려있다.
사슴의 무리로 슬피 운다.

떠러져 나가 앉은 산 위에 255
나는 그대의 이름을 부르노라。

설움에 겹도록 부르노라。
설움에 겹도록 부르노라。
부르는 소리는 비켜가지만
하늘과 땅 사이가 너무 넓구나。

선 채로 이 자리에 돌이 되어도 256
부르다가 내가 죽을 이름이어!
사랑하던 그 사람이어!
사랑하던 그 사람이어!

(호돈 (招魂))

접동 256
접동
아무 [우]래비 접동

진두강 (津頭江) 가람 가에 살더 [던] 누나는 257
진두강 앞 마을에
와서 읍니다

옛날, 우리 나라
먼 뒤쪽의
진두강 가람 가에 살더 [던] 누나는
이북 어머니 시샘에 죽었습니다

누나라고 불러보려
오오 불 설워

시새움에 몸이 죽은 우리 누나는
죽어서 접동새가 되었습니다

257

아름이나 남아 있던 으름동생을
죽어서도 못 잊어 참아 못 잊어
야삼경 남 다 자는 밤이 깊으면
이 산 저 산 몸아 가며 슬피 읊니다

(접동새)

산에는 꽃피네
꽃이 피네
갈 봄 여름 없이
꽃이 피네

257

산에
산에
피는 꽃은
저만큼 혼자서 되어 있네

산에서 우는 작은 새도
꽃이 좋아
산에서
사노라네

산에는 꽃지네
꽃이 지네
갈 봄 여름 없이
꽃이 지네

(산유화 (山有花))

우리 두 사람은

264

키 높이 가득 자란 보리밭, 밭고랑 위에 앉아서라.
일을 마치고 쉬는 동안의 기쁨이여.
지금 두 사람의 이야기에는 꽃이 필 때.

오오 빛나는 태양은 내려 쏘이며
새 무리들도 즐거운 노래, 노래 불러라.
오오 은혜여, 살아 있는 몸에는 넘치는 은혜여,
모든 은근스러움이 우리의 맘 속을 차지하여라.

세계의 끝은 어디? 자애의 하늘은 넓게도 덮였는데
우리 두 사람은 일하며, 살아 있었서.
하늘과 태양을 바라보아라, 날마다 날마다,
새라 새로운 환희를 지어내며, 늘 같은 땅 위에서.

다시 한 번 활기 있게 웃고 나서, 우리 두 사람은
바람에 일리우는 보리밭 속으로
호미 들고 들어 갔어라, 가지런히 가지런히,
걸어 나아가는 기쁨이여, 오오 생명의 향상이여.

(밭고랑 위에서)

나들이. 단 두 몸이라. 밤 빛은 배여 와라. 265
아, 이거 봐, 우거진 나무 아래로 달 들어라.
우리는 말하며 걸었어라. 바람은 부는 대로.

등불 빛에 거리는 체적 하여라, 희미한 하늘 라인에
고히 밝은 그림자 아득하고
푹도 가까운 풀밭에서 이슬이 번쩍여라.

밤은 막 깊어, 사방은 고요한데
 아마적, 말도 안하고, 더 안가고,
 길가에 우두커니, 눈감고 마주서서.
 먼 먼 산, 산길의 걸 쯤소리 달빛은 지새어라.

265

(합장 (合掌))

이숙한 밤, 밤기운 서늘할제
 홀로 창턱에 걸어앉아, 두 다리 늘이우고,
 첫 머구리 소리를 들어라.
 애처롭게도, 그대는 먼저 혼자서 잠드누나.

267

내 몸은 생각에 감잠할때, 희미한 수풍로서
 촌가의 맥맥이 제지내는 불빛은 새어오며,
 이므로, 비단수도 머구리와 함께 갖아져라.
 가득히 차오는 내 심령은..... 하늘과 땅 사이에.

나는 무심히 일어 걸어 그대의 잠든 몸 위에 기대어라
 움직임 다시없이, 만리 (萬籟)는 구적 (俱寂) 한데,
 히요 (熙耀) 히 내려비추는 별빛들이
 내 몸을 이끌어라, 무한히 더 가깝게.

(묵념 (默念))

272

그것은 어머니의 가슴에 머리를 숙이고 자리 44 한 사람을 바드라고
 비죽거리는 입설로 表結構하는 어엽본 다기를 싸안으라는 사랑의 날개가
 아니라 敵의 旗발입니다

그것은 慈悲의 淨光光明이 아니라 번득거리는 惡魔의 눈 (眼) 빛
 입니다

.....

마소 님이어 慰安에 목마른 나의 님이어 거름을 돌리시어 거리를 272
가지마시어 나는 시려요

大地의 음력은 無窮花 그늘에 잠드렸습니다
光暈의 삶은 검은바다에서 잠약질합니다
무서운 沈黙은 萬像의 속살거림에 서늘이 푸른 敎訓을 나리고
있습니다

마소 님이어 새生命의 뜻에 醉하라는 나의 님이어 거름을
돌리시어 거리를 가지마시어 나는 시려요

.

그나라에는 虛空이 업습니다
그나라에는 그림자업는 사람들이 戰爭을 하고 있습니다
그나라에는 宇宙萬像의 모든生命의 외스대를 가지고 尺度를 超越한
森嚴한 軌律로 進行하는 偉大한 時間이 停止되었습니다
마소 님이어 죽음을 芽香이라고 하는 나의 님이어 거름을 돌리시어
거리를 가지마시어 나는 시려요

(가지마시어)

당신이 가신 뒤로 나는 당신을 이룰수가 업습니다
싸닭은 당신을 위하나니 보다 나를위함이 만습니다

273

나는 갈고심을 쌓이 업슴으로 秋收가 업습니다
저녁거리가 업서서 조나감자를 썩러 이웃집에 갔더니 호수는 「거리는
人格이 업다 人格이 업는 사람은 生命이 업다 너를 도와주는 것은 罪惡이다」
고 말하셨습니다

그말을 듣고 도리나를스대에 쓰더지는 눈물속에서 당신을 보았습니다

나는 집도 업고 다른 싸닭을 겸해야 民籍이 업습니다
「民籍업는 者는 人權이 업다 人權이 업는 너에게 무슨 貞操냐」
하고 凌辱하라는 將軍이 잇셨습니다

273

그를抗拒한 뒤에 남에게대한 激憤이 스스로의 숨음으로 새하는
추리那에 당신을 보았습니다

아아 외갓 倫理, 道德, 法律은 칼과 黃金을 祭祀지내는
烟氣인줄을 아셨습니다

永遠의 사랑을 바들스가 人間歷史의 첫페이지에 잉크칠을
할스가 술을 밭 [마] 일스가 망서릴 때에 당신을 보았습니다

(망신은 보았습니다)

그것이 참말인가요 님이여 속임업시 말씀해야 주서요 273

당신을 나에게서 새내아서간 사람들이 당신을 보고 「그대는 님이
업다」고 하얏다지요

그래서 당신은 남모르는곳에서 울다가 남이보면 우름을 우슴으로 274
변한다지요

사람의 우는것은 견딜수가 업는것인데 울기조처 마음대로 못하고
우슴으로 변하는것은 죽엄의 맛보다도 더쓴것입니다

.

그것이 참말인가요 님이여 속임업시 말씀해야 주서요

당신을 나에게서 새내아서간 사람들이 당신을 보고 「그대의 님은
우리가 구하여준다」고 하얏다지요

그래서 당신은 「獨身生活를 하겠다」고 하얏다지요

그러면 나는 그들에게 분푸리를 안코는 견딜수가 업습니다

만치안한 나의 피를 더운 눈물에 석거서 피에목마른 그들의 팔에
얹리고 「이것이 님의 님이라」고 우름석거서 말하것습니다

(참말인가요)

님은 갓습니다 아아 사랑하는나의님은 갓습니다 275

푸른 산 빛을 새치고 단풍나무숨을 향해야만 적은 길을 거러서
참어설치고 갓습니다

黃金의 빛가리 곳고 빛나든 옛鹽醬은 차의찬 씨알이 되야서 275
한숨의 微風에 내려갓습니다

날카로운 첫 「키스」의 追憶은 나의 運命의 指針을 돌너노코
뒤스 거름쳐서 사라졌습니다

나는 향긋로운 님의 말소리에 귀먹고 섯다운 님의 얼굴에 눈
머렸습니다

사랑도 사랑의 일이라 맛날때에 미리 써날것을 염너하고
경계하지 아니한것은 아니지만 리별은 섯빛의 일이 되고 놀난가슴
은 새로운 숨에 터집니다

그러나 리별을 쓸데업는 눈물의 源泉을 만들고 마는것은 스스로
사랑을 새치는 것인줄 아는 사랑에 것잡을수업는 숨의 힘을
몸겨서 새희열의 정수박이에 드러부엿습니다

우리는 맛날때에 써날것을 염너하는 것과 가리 써날때에
다시 맛날것을 멧습니다

마스 님은 갓지마는 나는 님을 보내지 아니하엿습니다

제곡조를 못이기는 사랑의 노래는 님의 沈黙을 흠싸고 품니다

(님의 沈黙)

. 277

그러나 나의 길은 이 세상에 들밭게 업습니다

하나는 님의 품에 안기는 길업니다

그러치 아니하면 죽엄의 품에 안기는 길업니다

그것은 만일 님의 품에 안기지 못하면 다른길은 죽엄의 길보다
힘하고 괴로운 사랑업니다

마스 나의 길은 누가 내엿습닛가

마스 이세상에는 님이 아니고는 나의 길을 내일수가 업습니다

그러테 나의 길을 님이 내엿스면 죽엄의 길은 왜 내섯습냐고

(나의 길)

오서요 당신은 오실 때가 되었서요 어서오서요 278

당신은 당신의 오실 때가 언제인지 아심닛가 당신의 오실 때는
나의 기다리는 때입니다

당신은 나의 싹밭헤로 오서요 나의 싹밭헤는 싹들이 피여 잇습니다
만일 당신을 조처오는 사람이 잇스면 당신은 싹속으로 드러가서
숨으십시오

나는 나비가 되야서 당신숨은 싹 위머가서 만것습니다
그러면 조처오는 사람이 당신를 차질수는 업습니다
오서요 당신은 오실 때가 되었습니다 어서오서요

당신은 나의 품메로 오서요 나의 품메는 보드러운 가슴이 잇습니다
만일 당신을 조처오는 사람이 잇스면 당신은 머리를 숙여서 나의
가슴에 대입시오

나의 가슴은 당신이 만질 때에는 물가리 보드러움지마는 당신
의 危險을 위하야는 黃傘의 갈도 되고 金剛鐵의 방패도 됩니다
나의 가슴은 말스굽에 밟힌 落花가 될지면정 당신의 머리가
나의 가슴에서 碎러질수는 업습니다

그러면 조처오는 사람이 당신에게 손을 대일수는 업습니다
오서요 당신은 오실 때가 되었습니다 어서오서요

당신은 나의 죽엄속으로 오서요 죽엄은 당신을 위하야의 準備가
언제든지 되야 잇습니다

만일 당신을 조처오는 사람이 잇스면 당신은 나의 죽엄의
위에 서십시오

죽엄은 虛無와 顯能이 하나입니다

죽엄의 사랑은 無限인 同特에 無窮입니다

죽엄의 압헤는 軍艦과 砲臺가 씌을어 됩니다

죽엄의 압헤는 強者와 弱者가 벗어 됩니다

그러면 조처오는 사람이 당신을 잡을수는 업습니다

오서요 당신은 오실 때가 되었습니다 어서오서요

님의 얼굴을 「어엽부」라고 하는 말은 適當한 말이 아닙니다 279
 어엽부다는 말은 사람 사람의 얼굴에 대한 말이고, 님은 사람의
 것이라고 할 수가 업을 만치 어엽부 사답입니다

自然은 멋지하여 그러케 어엽부님을 사람으로 보낸는지 아모리
 생각하여도 알 수가 업습니다

알것습니다 自然의 가운데에는 님의 싹이 될 만한 무엇이 업은
 사답입니다

님의 입설가를 運說이 어데잇서요 님의 살벚가를 運說이
 어데잇서요

몽湖水에서 님의 눈시결가를 잔물시결을 보앗습닛가 아츰
 벚에서 님의 微笑가를 芳香을 드렸습닛가

天國의 音樂은 님의 노래의 反響입니다 아름다운 별들은 님의
 눈빛의 化現입니다

아스 나는 님의 그림자여요

님은 님의 그림자밖게는 비길 만한 것이 업습니다

님의 얼굴을 어엽부다고 하는 말은 適當한 말이 아닙니다

(님의 얼굴)

가을밤 빗소리에 놀라 깨니 꿈이로다.

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오셨던 님 간곳없고 등잔불만 흐리구나.

그꿈을 또 꾸라한들 잠못 이루어 하노라.

야속다 그 빗소리 공연히 잠을 깨노.

님의 손길 어디가고 이불귀만 잡았는가.

베개위 눈물 흔적 씻어 무삼하리오.

(秋夜夢)

님이여 당신은 百鍊이나 鍛鍊한 金결입니다 280
 썩나무 穢리가 寶珠가 되도록 天國의 사랑을 바답소서
 님이여 사랑이여 아흔뱃의 첫거름이여

님이여 당신은 義가 무거웁고 黃金이 가벼운 것을 잘 아십니다
 거리의 거친바닥에 福의 씨를 穢리옵소서
 님이여 사랑이여 옛 椿桐의 숨은 소리여

님이여 당신은 봄과 光明과 平和를 조아하십니다
 弱者의 가슴에 눈물을 穢리는 慈悲의 菩薩이 되옵소서
 님이여 사랑이여 어름바다에 봄바람이여

(讚頌)

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아침에 이러나서 세수하라고 대야에 물을 떠다노으면 당신은 대야
 안의 간은물사결이 되야서 나의 얼굴 그림자를 불쌍한 아기처럼 얼너줍
 니다

근심을 이룰수가 하고 雲동산에서 거닐 때에 당신은 雲새이를 슬쳐모는 봄
 바람이 되야서 시름없는 나의 마음에 雲향기를 무쳐주고 감니다

당신을 기다리다 못하여 잠자리에 누엇더니 당신은 고요한 어둔빛이
 되야서 나의 잔부신령을 살쌀이도 덮혀줍니다

어데라도 눈에 보이는데 마다 당신이 계시기에 눈을 감고 귀를 귀와
 바다맛을 차져 보았습시다

당신은 雲雀가 되여서 나의 마음에 숨엇다가 나의 감은 눈에 입
 마추고 「네가 나를 보느냐」고 囁弄합니다

(어 데 라 도)

나의 노래가 락의 고저장단은 대중이 업습니다 282
 그래서 세속의 노래곡조와는 조금도 맞지 않습니다
 그러나 나는 나의 노래가 세속곡조에 맞지 않는 것을 조금도 애착어
 하지 않습니다

나의 노래는 세속의 노래와 다르지 아니하면 아니되는 새악입니다
 곡조는 노래의 缺陷을 억지로 調節 하려는 것입니다
 곡조는 不自然한 노래를 사람의 思想으로 도박쳐놓는 것입니다
 참된 노래에 곡조를 부치는 것은 노래의 自然에 忤逆입니다
 님의 얼굴에 단장을 하는 것이 도르려 험이되는 것과 가리 나의
 노래에 곡조를 부치면 도르려 缺點이 됩니다

(나의 노래)

아스 님은 갖지 마는 나는 님을 보내지 아니 하얏습니다 283
 제곡조를 못이기는 사랑의 노래는 님의 沈黙을 힘싸고 듭니다

(님의 沈黙)

바람도 업는 풍중에 垂直의 波紋을 내이며 고요히 서러지는 283
 오동닙은 누구의 발자취 임닛가

(알스수 업서요)

가을바람과 아침벚에 마치맛게 익은 향긋로운 포도를 사서 술을 284
 비젓습니다 그 술고이는 향긋는 가을하늘을 물드림니다

(葡萄酒)

아스 님이어 慰安에 목마른 나의 님이어 거름을 들너서요 285
 거귀를 가지마서요 나는 시려요

(가지 마서요)

그것이 참말인가요 님이어 속임없이 말씀해야 주셔요 285

(참말인가요)

오셔요 당신은 오실때가 되얏셔요 어서오셔요 285

(오셔요)

나는 禪師의 說法을 드렸습니니다 285

「너는 사랑의 쇠사실에 목겨서 苦痛을 맞지 말고 사랑의 줄을
싣어라 그러면 너의 마음이 질거우리라」고 禪師는 큰소리로 말
하얏습니니다

그 禪師는 어지간히 어리석습니니다

사랑의 줄에 목겨운것이 압흐기는 압흐지만 사랑의 줄을 싣
으면 죽는것보다도 더 압흔줄을 모르는 말입니다

사랑의 束縛은 단々히 얼거매는것이 폭러주는 것입니다

그럼으로 大解脫은 束縛에서 벗어나는것입니다

님이어 나를 얽은 님의 사랑의 줄이 약할가버서 나의 님을
사랑하는 줄을 끊드렸습니니다

(禪師의 說法)

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님이어 나의 마음을 가져가랴거든 마음을 가진나한지 가져가셔요
그리하여 나로하여금 님에게서 하나가되게 하셔요

그러치 아니하거든 나에게 고통만을 주지마시고 님의 마음을 다
주셔요 그리고 마음을 가진나한지 나에게 주셔요 그래서 님으로
라야금 나에게서 하나가되게 하셔요

그러치 아니하거든 나의 마음을 돌려보내 주셔요 그리고 나에게
고통을 주셔요

그러면 나는 나의 마음을 가지고 님의 주시는 고통을 사랑하것
습니니다

(하나가 되야 주셔요)

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나에게 죄가 있다면 당신을 그리워하는 나의 「숨」입니다
당신이 가실때에 나의입술에 수가 업시 입마추고 「부대 나에게
대하여 숨어하지 말고 잘잇스라」 고한 당신의 간절한 부탁에
違反되는 사담입니다

그러나 그것만은 용서하여주세요
당신을 그리워하는 숨은 곧나의 生命인 사담입니다
만일용서하지 아니하면 後日에 그에 대한 罰을 風雨의 봄새벽의
落花의 數만치라도 받것습니다

당신의 사랑의 동아줄에 휘감기는 身體罪도 사양치 안것습니다
당신의 사랑의 面目法 아래에 밀만가지로 服從하는 自由罪도 받것습니다

그러나 당신이 나에게 의심을 두시면 당신의 의심의 허물과
나의 숨의 죄를 맞비기고 받것습니다

.

(의심하지마세요)

질겁고 아름다운일은 물이 만할수록 조흔것입니다 287
그런데 당신의 사랑은 물이 적을수록 조흔가벼요
당신의 사랑은 당신과나와 두사람의 사이에 잇는것입니다
사랑의 물을 달야면 당신과나의 距離를 測量할수 받게 영습니다
그래서 당신과나의 距離가 멀면 사랑의 물이 만하고 距離가 가까
우면 사랑의 물이 적을것입니다
그런데 적은사랑은 나를 웃기더니 만한사랑은 나를 울립니다

누라서 사람이머러지면 사랑도머러진다고 하여요
당신이 가신뒤로 사랑이머러졌으면 날라다날라다 나를물니는 것은
사랑이 아니고 무엇이여요

(사랑의 測量)

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.
 맛나고 리별이 업는것은 님이 아니라 나입니다
 리별하고 맛나지만는것은 님이 아니라 길가는 사람입니다
 우리들은 님에 대하여 맛날 때에 리별을 넘겨하고 리별할 때에
 맛남을 괴약합니다

.
 그럼으로 맛나지만는것도 님이 아니요 리별이 업는것도 님이 아닙니다
 님은 맛날 때에 우습을 주고 떠날 때에 눈물을 줍니다
 맛날 때의 우습보다 떠날 때의 눈물이 조고 떠날 때의 눈물보다
 다시 맛나는 우습이 쫓습니다

(最初의 님)

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.
 生命보다 사랑하는 愛人을 사랑하기 위하여는 죽을 수가 업는 것이다
 진정한 사랑을 위하여는 괴롭게 사는 것이 죽음보다도 더 큰 犧牲이다
 리별은 사랑을 위하여 죽지 못하는 가장 큰 苦痛이요 報恩이다

 그럼으로 사랑하는 愛人을 죽음에서 잊지 못하고 리별에서 생
 각하는 것이다

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그리고 진정한 사랑은 곱이 업다
 진정한 사랑은 愛人의 抱擁만 사랑할 뿐 아니라 愛人의 리별도 사
 랑하는 것이다

그리고 진정한 사랑은 때가 업다
 진정한 사랑은 間斷이 업서 2 리별은 愛人의 肉뿐이요 사랑은
 無窮이다

(리별)

리별은 美의 創造입니다

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리별의 美는 아침의 바람 (颯) 엮는 黃金과 밤의 물 (糸) 엮는
검은 비단과 죽엄엮는 永遠의 生命과 시들지만은 하늘의 푸른 꽃
에도 엮습니다

님이여 리별이 아니면 나는 눈물에서 죽었다가 우슴에서 다시
사러발수가 엮습니다 오호 리별이여
美는 리별의 創造입니다

(리별은 美의 創造)

讀者여 나는 詩人으로 여러분의 앞에 보이는것을 부끄러합니다 290
여러분이 나의 詩를 읽을 때에 나를 숨어하고 스스로 숨어할 줄을
알니다

나는 나의 詩를 讀者의 手裏에까지 托하고 싶은 마음은 엮습니다
그때에는 나의 詩를 읽는것이 느린봄의 싹싹물에 안저서 마른 菊花
를 비벼서 코에 대히는 것과 가를는지 모르것습니다

밤은얼마나되얏는지 모르것습니다

雪嶽山의 무거운 그림자는 엮어감니다

새벽종을 기다리면서 북을 던집니다

(乙丑 八月二十九日 밤 싹)

(讀者에게)

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