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Transnationalism at the Margins: Zainichi Koreans, Japanese, and Cross-Cultural Theater

DISSERTATION

submitted in partial satisfaction of the requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

in East Asian Languages and Literatures

by

Eun Young Seong

Dissertation Committee:
Associate Professor Serk-Bae Suh, Chair
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2019

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DEDICATION

To

my parents

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FIELD OF STUDY

Zainichi Korean history and culture, Migration, Transnationalism, Postcolonialism, Theater and performance

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Transnationalism at the Margins: Zainichi Koreans, Japanese, and Cross-Cultural Theater

By

Eun Young Seong

Doctor of Philosophy in East Asian Languages and Literatures

University of California, Irvine, 2019

Professor Serk-Bae Suh, Chair

This dissertation analyzes cross-cultural theater and performance vis-à-vis Korean history and culture co-produced by Zainichi Koreans and Japanese in the twentieth century. While contextualizing the cultural production processes in relation to Korean and Japanese historical incidents, I examine primary texts, such as theater scripts written by Zainichi Korean and Japanese writers. In doing so, this dissertation exemplifies the complex nature of their transnational interactions at three margins: a gray zone of the Japanese empire between Koreans and Japanese; spaces of incomplete cultural productions; and regions beyond Korea and Japan. These marginal spheres of Japan offer a potential space for both Japanese and Zainichi Koreans to transcend the (post)colonial hierarchical relationships between the colonizer and the colonized and between the majority and the minority. I argue that cultural hybrid theater and performance engendered by cross-border interactions between Zainichi Koreans and Japanese can generate and expand marginal yet productive spheres of Japan, in which both peoples simultaneously participate in the process of decolonization. By bringing recognition to the transnational spaces of theater and performance productions at the margins, this dissertation broadens the analytic

frameworks of Zainichi Korean culture and history without confining them only to the matters of a specific language, identity, or community.

Introduction

A Korean woman in traditional clothing sits in the Yūrakuza theater with her granddaughter to watch a new operatic version of an old Korean folktale. As she peels a tangerine, she watches the heroine die. She moans in spite of herself because of this sudden death of the heroine after so much torture and even her tearful reunion with her husband. She and her granddaughter leave the theater in disappointment.[1] On November 20, 1948, Korean immigrants in Japan flocked to a theater to see the opera *Chun Hiang*. While many Korean viewers were agitated like these two women, the Korean and Japanese co-producers of the opera smiled tenderly with a sigh of relief. Soon after the end of Japanese colonial rule, why did Korean immigrants in Japan produce an opera and change the original story's happy resolution to the tragic death of the heroine? This neglected corner of history sheds light on the transnational efforts of Zainichi Koreans and Japanese to create cross-cultural theatrical works and other artistic performances vis-à-vis Korean history and culture in the twentieth century.

Zainichi Koreans are Koreans who migrated to Japan during the colonial period and their descendants who remain in Japan to this day. A massive migration of Koreans to the Japanese archipelago has its roots in Japanese colonization. The population of Korean immigrants, who were mostly low-wage laborers, began increasing in the 1920s. The ethnic community, or "the Zainichi Korean society," in which Korean immigrants collectively lived, was established during the period.[2] In the community, Zainichi Koreans ran small businesses which included Korean restaurants and also operated cultural organizations. When the Japanese empire was collapsed in

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[1] This is a fictitious scenario based on magazine articles that portrayed Koreans' reactions at the premiere of *Chun Hiang*. Seki Tadaakira, "Opera *Chun Hiang* no koto," *Teatoro* (February 1949): 52; Takagi Tōroku, *Ai no yasōkyoku* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1985), 251.

[2] Tonomura Masaru, *Zainichi Chōsenjin no rekishigakuteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 2004), 101.

1945, there were about two million Korean immigrants in Japan. The majority of the people repatriated to their homeland by 1946; a third of them remained in Japan for various reasons including political turmoil and economic instability in the Korean peninsula.

"Zainichi" consists of two Chinese characters, "在" (*zai*), which means "to be," and "日" (*nichi*), which is an abbreviation of "Japan" (日本, *Nihon*); "Zainichi" literally means "being/residing in Japan." In postwar Japan, Zainichi Koreans have been referred to as Zainichi Chōsenjin (在日朝鮮人), Zainichi Kankoku-Chōsenjin (在日韓国・朝鮮人), Zainichi Kankokujin (在日韓国人), Zainichi Kanjin (在日韓人), Zainichi Korian (在日コリアン), or Zainichi (在日).[3] Those terminologies, which can be generally interpreted as "Koreans (residing) in Japan" in English, have different connotations regarding nationalities, migration timelines, political beliefs, ideological orientations, and so on.

In *Zainichi (Koreans in Japan): Diasporic Nationalism and Postcolonial Identity*, John Lie has provided a possibility of exploring the multifaceted individual identity of Zainichi Koreans beyond a bounded and static concept of identity. Lie examines "a postcolonial, diasporic identity" of Zainichi Koreans, rejecting the assumption that Zainichi Koreans exist as a homogeneous group of an ethnic minority in Japan.[4] Rather, Lie argues that Zainichi Korean experiences are diverse according to their divergent backgrounds regarding gender, regions of residence, education, and generation. Thus, those varied terminologies which refer to "Zainichi Koreans" in Japanese illuminate not only the complexity of political circumstances, such as Japanese colonial rule and the division of Korea, but also the diversity of Zainichi Korean consciousness and identity. Depending on who is doing the defining or which group this definition is referring to, the assignment of the term "Korea" changes. This term can refer to South Korea, North Korea, the two Koreas, or the Korean peninsula which occasionally connotes the undivided Korea to which Zainichi Koreans belonged when they moved to Japan during the colonial period. Unlike the constantly shifting terms for Korea when defining "Zainichi Koreans," the first word "Zainichi" has been stagnant. Does this indicate that the "Japan" within the concept of Zainichi Koreans never experiences change? Or, could it mean that "Japan" in these terms only designates the physical space of the Japanese archipelago and is not associated with any sort of historical, political, cultural, or linguistic orientations? In order to clarify the complexity of cultural interactions between Japanese and Koreans, I focus on the marginal spheres of Japan, in which the two peoples appear simultaneously, rather than rigidly positioning them in the hierarchical relationship between the majority and the minority.

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[3] During the colonial period, Zainichi Koreans were also referred to as Senjin (鮮人), Zai-Naichi Senjin (在内地鮮人), Hantōjin (半島人), etc., which connoted Japanese discriminatory consciousness against Koreans.

[4] John Lie, *Zainichi (Koreans in Japan): Diasporic Nationalism and Postcolonial Identity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2008), x.

Studies of Zainichi Korean history and culture have mainly elucidated discourses of their legal status and political movements,[5] language and literature,[6] and identity,[7] in close relation to the competing politics between Japan, South Korea, and North Korea. Scholarship on Zainichi Korean literature often pays attention to the tension that Zainichi Korean writers have dealt with in order to preserve and represent their ethnic identity despite the cultural and psychological pressures to assimilate into Japanese society. At the same time, in this framework, Japan continuously appears as the center that politically and socially marginalizes Zainichi Koreans. However, if we focus too excessively on this framework, it can eventually reinforce a dichotomous idea of mutually exclusive spaces for Japanese and Zainichi Koreans. I am not denying the importance of acknowledging how the Korean minority status has been constructed in Japanese society. What I am concerned with is that the binary idea can be problematic when it simplifies the complexity of the interactions between the two peoples as if they are inherently and continually confronting.

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[5] Changsoo Lee and George De Vos, *Koreans in Japan: Ethnic Conflict and Accommodation* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *Exodus to North Korea: Shadows from Japan's Cold War* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2007); Jaeeun Kim, *Contested Embrace: Transborder Membership Politics in Twentieth-Century Korea* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2016).

[6] Melissa L. Wender, *Lamentation as History: Narratives by Koreans in Japan, 1965-2000* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005); Christina Yi, *Colonizing Language: Cultural Production and Language Politics in Modern Japan and Korea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018).

[7] Sonia Ryang, *North Koreans in Japan: Language, Ideology, and Identity* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1997); John Lie, *Zainichi (Koreans in Japan): Diasporic Nationalism and Postcolonial Identity* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, and London: University of California Press, 2008); Cindi Textor, "Radical Languages, Radical Identity: Korean Writers in Japanese Spaces and the Burden to 'Represent'" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 2016).

A recent dissertation by Cindi Textor offers a fresh perspective on how the language of Zainichi Korean literature can be repositioned beyond the dichotomy between Japanese and Korean. Textor examines several Japanese-language literary texts written by Zainichi Korean writers Kim Sŏk-pŏm and Kin Kakuei. According to Textor, they carried "the burden" to represent Korean identity, avoiding falling into "the double bind" of essentialism and assimilation.[8] She argues that Korean writers who were under the influence of imperial and post-imperial Japan attempted not to reproduce essentialist ideas of Korean particularities, which would strengthen a hegemonic idea of Japanese mainstream literature, while at the same time confronting assimilation. She especially highlights an imaginary space of Korean writers to represent a particular Korean identity that transcends the binds of assimilation and essentialism. She carefully illustrates how the Korean writers who wrote in Japanese tried to create a space to maintain Korean subjectivity by destabilizing a hegemonic form of modern Japanese language and literature. I interpret the attempts to find this space as a decolonization process performed by the Korean writers. Then, my question is, within the discursive space of decolonization, how should scholarship deal with the Japanese?

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[8] Cindi Textor, "Radical Languages, Radical Identity: Korean Writers in Japanese Spaces and the Burden to 'Represent'" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Washington, 2016).

In *Lamentation as History: Narratives by Koreans in Japan, 1965-2000*, Melissa Wender provides a significant glimpse into the mutual collaboration between some Zainichi Korean and Japanese literary intellectuals for Zainichi Korean legal struggles, while elucidating the social marginality of Zainichi Korean people in Japanese society.[9] Wender examines "a symbiotic relationship" between Zainichi Korean literary works and political discourses in their legal struggles for civil rights. Their struggles countered the hegemonic ideology of imperial Japan whose remnants could be seen in social discrimination.[10] She probes into the works of literary writers and critics who have played a crucial role in defending Zainichi Koreans in trials by constructing legal arguments which directly cited postcolonial theories.[11] In doing so, for example, she shows that Suzuki Michihiko, a scholar of French literature, who was sympathetic to Zainichi Korean issues, actively worked with Koreans in the advocacy of Kim Hŭi-ro, who killed two *yakuza* members and took thirteen hostages for eighty-eight hours at an inn in Shizuoka in 1968. This case sheds light on the marginal interactions between Japanese and Zainichi Korean intellectuals, which does not diminish the fact of social discrimination against the Korean minority, but tacitly reveals a possibility of finding an in-between space in which Japanese people also appear outside the "center" of Japan.

My dissertation takes as its point of departure the concept of "minor transnationalism," which was proposed by Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih.[12] Lionnet and Shih cast a critical gaze upon a fixed scholarly framework of transnationalism which assumes that the ethnic cultural particularity of minorities inevitably and incessantly "engage[s] with and against majority cultures in a vertical relationship of opposition or assimilation."[13] Instead, the concept of minor transnationalism encompasses "minor cultural articulations in productive relationship with the major (in all its possible shapes, forms, and kinds), as well as minor-to-minor networks that circumvent the major altogether."[14] Contemplating the prospective implications of the idea of minor transnationalism, I look into several cases of the complex and dynamic cultural interactions between Zainichi Koreans and the Japanese which occurred within the marginal spheres of Japan. I especially examine the cross-cultural productions of theatrical works and performance pieces co-produced by the two peoples, which involved a possibility of transcending the hierarchical relationship, which could be ultimately connected to the process of decolonization.

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[9] Melissa L. Wender, *Lamentation as History: Narratives by Koreans in Japan, 1965-2000* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005).

[10] Ibid., 13.

[11] Ibid., 28.

[12] Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih, "Thinking through the Minor, Transnationally," in *Minor Transnationalism*, ed. Françoise Lionnet and Shu-mei Shih (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005), 1-23.

However, it is important to understand the specific characteristics of Japanese colonialism and its decolonization process in order to clarify the implications of transnational yet marginal interactions between Zainichi Koreans and Japanese. In a roundtable discussion with Zainichi Korean and Japanese scholars, Mitani Taichirō, a Japanese political historian, provides considerable insight into what should be achieved in the process of decolonizing, or de-imperializing, Japan.[15] He points out that if a decolonization process is necessary for the former colonized, Koreans or Taiwanese, needless to say, the Japanese colonizers also need to dismantle themselves from the imperial status.[16] However, Mitani argues, the Cold War disrupted the decolonization of Japan.[17] Under the American-led Allied occupation, "Japan was decolonized" to the extent that the process would not hinder the United States from taking advantage of the economic structure, which the Japanese empire had constructed in Asian countries, in order to confront the Soviet Union and China.[18] Thus, Mitani describes what the decolonization of Japan meant as follows:

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[13] Ibid., 7.

[14] Ibid., 8.

[15] Mitani Taichirō, Yi Yonsuku, Komori Yōichi, and Kang Sangjung, "Naze ima posuto koroniarizumu nanoka?" in *Posuto koroniarizumu*, ed. Kang Sangjung (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2001), 6-28.

[16] Ibid., 14-15.

[17] Ibid., 14; Mitani Taichirō, *Kindai Nihon no sensō to seiji* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1997), 76-77.

> For Japan, decolonization was part of the demilitarization [process]. It naturally resulted from the fact that Japanese colonization was led by military authorities. Therefore, in the case of Japan, the influence of decolonization, which would be distinguishable from [that of] demilitarization, was relatively weak within domestic society. That is to say, the particular issues of decolonization were dissolved by the general issues of demilitarization. Moreover, decolonization overlapped with the progress of the Cold War. The political and economic reconstruction of Japan . . . should have satisfied the demand of the Cold War. The fact affected the decolonization of both Japan under the occupation and the former colonies of the Japanese empire. For the Cold War strategy, [the decolonization of Japan] was resolved to the extent that it would not impede the role of Japan in the Cold War.[19]

Mitani's argument implies that decolonization was incomplete in Japan due to Cold War politics. The Cold War allowed Japan to maintain the social structures which were linked to the former imperial system, except the military administration.

Mitani also highlights the continuity of "the spiritual power" (*seishinteki na kenryoku*), which was the essence of colonial rule, in post-imperial Japan.[20] In discussing the conscious connectivity between imperial and post-imperial Japan, Mitani underlines that "the result of the assimilation policy" of the Japanese empire has modified Japanese consciousness in post-imperial Japan.[21] Even though the configuration of the Japanese empire was "heterogeneous," it at the same time erased a sense of the heterogeneity through political practices of assimilation.[22] Mitani concludes that "the result of the assimilation policy, which made [people] consider the heterogeneous configuration as homogeneous," still remains in Japan.[23] In the roundtable discussion, Kang Sangjung, a Zainichi Korean writer and political scientist, agrees with Mitani's opinion. Kang asserts that "for Japan, the relationship between the self and the other was not clearly divided" due to the assimilation policy.[24] Thus, he points out, "the fact that the division is extremely ambiguous . . . lingers in current problematic issues with regard to [Japan's] treatment of Zainichi Koreans (Zainichi Kankoku-Chōsenjin) and Taiwanese in Japan who are the legacies of [Japanese] colonialism."[25]

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[18] Mitani Taichirō, Yi Yonsuku, Komori Yōichi, and Kang Sangjung, "Naze ima posuto koroniarizumu nanoka?" in *Posuto koroniarizumu*, ed. Kang Sangjung (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2001), 15.

[19] Mitani Taichirō, *Kindai Nihon no sensō to seiji* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 1997), 76-77.

[20] Mitani Taichirō, Yi Yonsuku, Komori Yōichi, and Kang Sangjung. "Naze ima posuto koroniarizumu nanoka?" in *Posuto koroniarizumu*, ed. Kang Sangjung (Tokyo: Sakuhinsha, 2001), 24.

[21] Ibid., 14.

[22] Ibid.

Kang's articulation illuminates an important and distinctive aspect of the mode of marginalizing Zainichi Koreans in Japanese society. The minority status of Zainichi Koreans appears not only within visible discriminations against them, but also in Japanese consciousness that does not clearly recognize them as "the other." This contradictory structure of marginalization resembles the assimilation practice of the Japanese empire, *naisen ittai* (Japan and Korea as a single body). Japanese colonial authorities eagerly tried to "make Koreans loyal imperial subjects" especially after the Second Sino-Japanese War occurred in 1937, suggesting that Japan and Korea would be one body.[26] However, Japan also needed to vindicate its discrimination toward Koreans by stressing differences between the nations. Thus, as Miyata Setsuko, a Japanese historian, argues, Japan emphasized the different levels of Koreans and Japanese as imperial subjects.[27]

This ambiguous colonial hierarchy persists in the status of the Korean minority in Japan. Tonomura Masaru, a Japanese historian, points out that "[after Japan's defeat,] most of the

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., 23.

[25] Ibid.

[26] "Dōchiji kaigi ni okeru sōtoku kunji," in *Yukoku kunji enjutsu sōran*, ed. Department of Secretariat Archives in Governor-General of Korea, 196.

[27] Miyata Setsuko, "'Naisen ittai' no kōzō: Nicchū senka Chōsen shihai seisaku ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu," *Rekishigaku kenkyū*, no. 503 (April 1982): 9.

Japanese people thought that it was natural for Zainichi Koreans to go back to Korea."[28] Or, "even if there were some [Korean] people who remained in Japan, [the Japanese] did not consider them members of Japanese society who had the same [civil] rights as the Japanese."[29] From the late 1960s to the 1990s, Zainichi Koreans obtained certain rights with regard to employment and social security through their social movements organized mainly by second- or third-generation Zainichi Koreans. However, Tonomura argues that the Japanese "generously" accepted the demands of Zainichi Koreans at the time for the following reason:

> The abolition of discrimination occurred because the Japanese did not consider Zainichi Koreans as menaces to Japan due to the relatively stable relationships with neighboring countries during this period. In addition, the Japanese, who became the middle class (*chūryū*) during this period of high-speed economic growth, were able to be [financially] stable.[30] At the time, the Japanese considered Zainichi Koreans, who demanded to abolish [social] discrimination, as "quasi-Japanese" (*jun-Nihonjin*), who were not different from the Japanese and who would assimilated into Japan—not as people who would support nationalism engendered in Korea . . . or strongly claim their own culture.[31]

From the late 1960s, when the second generation of Zainichi Koreans accounted for more than two-thirds of the Zainichi Korean population,[32] they were considered as "quasi-Japanese" who were eligible to receive certain social security and job opportunities. As Tonomura acutely criticizes, however, this "generosity" of the Japanese to Zainichi Koreans was conditional and thus unstable.[33]

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[28] Tonomura Masaru, "Nihonjin wa 'Zainichi Chōsenjin mondai' o dō kangaete kitaka?" *Yōroppa kenkyū*, no. 14 (2014): 56.

[29] Ibid.

[30] Tonomura points out that "during this period, most of the Japanese became affluent due to the high-speed economic growth. The Japanese acquired the common sense that they could receive certain social security. The government also made several policies to enhance social welfare for . . . the discriminated people (*hisabetsu minshū*). As a result, most of the Japanese considered themselves as the middle class." Tonomura Masaru, "Nihonjin wa 'Zainichi Chōsenjin mondai' o dō kangaete kitaka?" *Yōroppa kenkyū*, no. 14 (2014): 58.

[31] Ibid., 58

[32] In 1950, the number of Zainichi Koreans who were born in Japan already began to exceed that of Zainichi Koreans who were born in Korea. In 1969, the number of second-generation Zainichi Koreans was around 437,000, which occupied 72 percent of the Zainichi Korean population. For detailed analysis, see Table 4.1 in Chapter 4.

The aforementioned opinions of the Zainichi Korean status indicate that in the decolonization process, Zainichi Koreans need to be reconsidered as the other, who is a legitimate member of Japanese society, regardless of their identity, consciousness, or Japan's political and economic circumstances. Moreover, the process should promote mutual movement between Zainichi Koreans and Japanese in order to avoid the risk of the exclusion, or re-marginalization, of Zainichi Koreans. Homi Bhabha's concept of cultural hybridity offers us a crucial point of departure for investigating Zainichi Korean-related cultural works in regard to the decolonization process.[34] Bhabha illuminates his idea of cultural hybridity not as a combination of cultural differences, but as a passage, or an interstice, between them. This interstitial space should contain recurring movements, which is the act of both going beyond and returning to the present, in the process of developing new designations of identity. Bhabha articulates the movement that occurs in the in-between space as follows:

> 'Beyond' signifies spatial distance, marks progress, promises the future; but our intimations of exceeding the barrier or boundary—the very act of going *beyond*—are unknowable, unrepresentable, without a return to the 'present' which, in the process of repetition, becomes disjunct and displaced.[35]

The act of going beyond does not generate any valuable meaning until an identity, as presence, is transformed in the movement of going beyond and returning. The in-between passage, which embodies cultural hybridity, creates the possibility of "entertain[ing] difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" beyond fixed identifications.[36]

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[33] Ibid., 59.

[34] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

[35] Ibid., 5-6, italics in the original.

Echoing Bhabha's insight into a cultural hybridity, this dissertation questions the possibility of decolonization between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans by analyzing their transnational interactions at three margins: a gray zone of the Japanese empire between Koreans and Japanese; spaces of incomplete cultural productions; and regions beyond Korea and Japan. The margins that I examine here refer to the interstices in which "the intersubjective and collective experiences of *nationness*, community interest, or cultural value are negotiated."[37] The interactions at the in-between spaces, which represent spatial distance between differences, can be antagonistic, conflictual, or consensual.[38] This dissertation focuses on Zainichi Korean and Japanese co-productions of theatrical and performance pieces vis-à-vis Korean history and culture in order to illuminate the act of "going beyond." I combine textual analysis with historical investigations of cultural interactions between the Japanese and Koreans in order to chronologically explore multiple case studies of, for example, competing interpretations of the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn* spanning from the colonial to the postcolonial periods. I also analyze Shin'ya Eiko's solo performance staged from the 1970s to the 2010s. In doing so, I argue that cultural hybrid theater and performance engendered by cross-border interactions between Zainichi Koreans and Japanese can generate and expand marginal yet productive spheres of Japan where both peoples participate in decolonization. Cultural hybridity can be differentiated from assimilation only when it reifies multiple others who respond to one another.

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[36] Ibid., 5.
[37] Ibid., 2, italics in the original.
[38] Ibid., 2-3.

Thus, this dissertation especially tracks the production processes in order to elucidate the complexity of transnational interactions between various individuals.

The first marginal sphere to consider is a gray zone of the Japanese empire in which Zainichi Koreans and Japanese—especially leftist figures—adapted the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn* into various forms, such as operas, plays, and a dance piece. The attempts to produce diverse versions of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* during the colonial period show the ambiguous, not necessarily conflictual, interactions mainly between the colonizer and the colonized. The Japanese empire strictly controlled communist activists during the 1920s through the 1940s. In the situation, Japanese members of the proletarian movement either cooperated with the colonial authorities or resisted. Even though Japanese communists generally supported Zainichi Koreans, who were mostly the working class, the Japanese figures were occasionally involved in Japan's imperial project, which was against the colonized. In *Recasting Red Culture in Proletarian Japan: Child, Korea, and the Historical Avant-Garde*, Samuel Perry highlights "[p]roletarian cross-cultural alliances between Korean and Japanese workers" during the colonial period. He points out that the proletarian cultural movement had the limitation to support the lives of Koreans not because of "the failure of communism . . . to accommodate different races, ethnicities, or minority experiences," but because of "the dominant modes of Japanese culture and the particular history of Japan's colonization of Korea, with which the proletarian movement was ineluctably connected."[39] Nevertheless, Perry argues, Japanese works of poetry and fiction in the proletarian movement contributed to the expansion of class analysis to embrace a broader range of Korean experiences under the Japanese empire. The ambivalent position of Japanese leftists, either as the colonizer or the oppressed in the empire, needs much further analysis on the historical implication of their activities with other minority groups, such as Korean immigrants in Japan. In addition to fellow communist members, there were some Japanese artists who were enthusiastically interested in Korean culture and had close relationships with Korean artists during the colonial period. What, then, were the legacies of these relationships between Koreans and Japanese after the fall of the Japanese empire? How did these interactions at the margins of the empire affect the decolonization process of the former colonizer and colonized?

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[39] Samuel Perry, *Recasting Red Culture in Proletarian Japan: Childhood, Korea, and the Historical Avant-Garde* (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014), 128.

The second question of this dissertation concerns the meaning of the collaboration practices for incomplete theatrical works and performance pieces, which were planned by Zainichi Koreans and Japanese. There were a number of collaborative plans to make theatrical works and performance pieces that failed due to the difficulties stemming from political, financial, or social circumstances in Japanese and Korean history. For example, in this dissertation, I trace how the opera *Chun Hiang*, which was made by the collaboration of Zainichi Koreans and the Japanese, has been forgotten after the Japanese-language version premiered in 1948. Despite the successful premiere, the goal of staging the English-language version of the opera outside Japan and Korea was never achieved. This dissertation restores such forgotten efforts of Japanese and Zainichi Korean artists whose original plans, rather than fulfilling their goals, left certain legacies. What does the failure of cultural productions imply in the discourses of decolonization and transnationalism? Are the interactions between Korean and Japanese producers, artists, actors, and staff in the incomplete productions separate from current transnational flows of culture?

The third research question explores the possibility of analyzing Zainichi Korean history and culture as a contact zone of broad historical, social, and cultural subjects—for example, migration, gender, and racism in academic discourses—not limited to Japan and Korea. How can

Zainichi Korean experience as a large ethnic minority group in Japan be interpreted in global and transnational contexts of understanding? The geographical national boundaries tend to be the borders of disaster narratives, which mainly present victims' experiences of wars and natural disasters. In *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970*, Yoshikuni Igarashi reveals how the Japanese memories of the Asia-Pacific War were discursively constructed through bodily images.[40] His book sheds light on the success of the professional wrestler Rikidōzan whose Korean background was not publicly revealed. According to Igarashi, Rikidōzan, who fought against American wrestlers, achieved an "astonishing success" in 1950s and early 1960s Japan because of "his articulation of nationalism through his bodily performance for the defeated nation."[41] His bodily performance particularly restored the broken pride of the Japanese "by casting Japan as a victor in the bloody fight against its adversary, the United States."[42] Igarashi points out that "Rikidōzan had to repress his own otherness in Japanese society" for his role in defending Japan from the United States.[43] He goes to further argue that:

> His Korean identity was discursively transformed into that of a Japanese in the binary positions between Japan and the American other. Signs of Japan's colonial past were repressed in order to sustain the drama he created in the wrestling ring . . . In this drama, Japan could not be rescued by a former colonial subject: that job was reserved solely for a Japanese hero.[44]

Igarashi's analysis illuminates an example of war narratives which have often excluded the bodies of aliens including immigrants in the discourse of domestic recovery while enhancing nationalism throughout the country in the time of crisis. Zainichi Koreans have been the victims not only of Japanese colonialism, but also of wars, atomic bombs, and earthquakes, within Japan. Such events provoke a rethinking of the transnationality of bodies beyond ethnic consciousness and language. There were several studies on Zainichi Korean experiences during the calamity of the Great Kanto Earthquake.[45] Even though the studies on the 1923 earthquake disaster have focused on the massacre of Koreans, they do not clearly indicate the transnational implication of Korean bodies. Through my analysis, I consider how their transnational, yet Korean, bodies should be remembered in the historical narratives of Japan. I specifically show how a Japanese actress presented the narrative of a Zainichi Korean woman in her solo performance which accommodates the two bodies of the narrator, the Japanese actress and the Zainichi Korean protagonist.

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[40] Yoshikuni Igarashi, *Bodies of Memory: Narratives of War in Postwar Japanese Culture, 1945-1970* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000).

[41] Ibid., 122.

[42] Ibid., 125.

[43] Ibid., 126.

[44] Ibid.

This dissertation comprises four chapters to answer the aforementioned questions about the marginal interactions between Zainichi Koreans and Japanese. The first chapter, entitled "Toward a New Affiliation: Competing Interpretations of the Korean Folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in Colonial Korea," examines new reading paradigms of the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn* under Japanese colonization. The folktale has frequently motivated transnational cultural productions between Koreans and Japanese during and after Japanese colonial rule, which I examine in Chapters 2 and 3. As a prehistorical analysis of the transnational interactions, this chapter explores how literary and political intellectuals of Korea and Japan during the colonial period respectively envisioned new affiliations for Koreans through competing, yet occasionally connected, reinterpretations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. Korean intellectuals, including nationalist and leftist writers, attempted to inspire readers to imagine a new society beyond the Confucian social order through their modern interpretations that challenged conventional ways of understanding this nationally symbolic literary piece. In contrast, Japanese colonial officials confined this classical literary piece in the framework of a Korean past to tighten their control over Koreans during Japan's wartime mobilization. This reading practice by colonial officials, which I call the colonial interpretation, prevented open interpretive practices of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* that could continuously produce new values of classical Korean literature. With its historical and thematic literary power, along with its popularity, *Ch'unhyangjŏn* attracted intellectuals from both Korea and Japan and was used to newly affiliate Koreans with either modern Korea or imperial Japan depending on varying political and social intentions in the early twentieth century.

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[45] J. Michael Allen, "The Price of Identity: The 1923 Kantō Earthquake and Its Aftermath," *Korean Studies*, no. 20 (1996): 64-93; Sonia Ryang, "The Great Kanto Earthquake and the Massacre of Koreans in 1923: Notes on Japan's Modern National Sovereignty," *Anthropological Quarterly* 76, no. 4 (2003): 731-748; Lee Jinhee, "Kwandong taejijin ŭl ch'udo ham: Ilbon chegug ŭi pullyŏngsŏnin kwa ch'udo ŭi chŏngch'ihak" ["Commemorating the Great Kantō Earthquake: *Futei Senjin* and the Politics of Mourning in the Japanese Empire" (English title provided)], *Asea yŏn'gu*, vol. 51, no. 1 (Spring 2008): 53-96; Byung Wook Jung, "Migrant Labor and Massacres: A Comparison of the 1923 Massacre of Koreans and Chinese during the Great Kanto Earthquake and the 1931 Anti-Chinese Riots and Massacre of Chinese in Colonial Korea," *Cross-Currents: East Asian History and Culture Review*, no. 22 (March 2017): 30-53.

The second chapter, "In a Gray Zone of the Japanese Empire: Variations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* by Murayama Tomoyoshi," focuses on Murayama Tomoyoshi's varied strategies to adapt *Ch'unhyangjŏn* for a wide range of cultural productions during the colonial period. Murayama was a Japanese figure who led the proletarian theater movement. The analysis of Murayama's enormous efforts to produce multiple pieces of the folktale presents a gray zone that shows his contradictory collaborations with Koreans and the Japanese empire. He worked with Korean writers, artists, and staff in order to make plays, operas, a dance piece and a film which variously interpreted *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. Furthermore, he published a novel written about the internal conflict of a Japanese protagonist, whose career path is similar to that of Murayama. Through portraying the protagonist's trip to Korea, this novel vividly shows Murayama's sensitivity to the reaction of Koreans to his producing of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. In particular, Murayama delineates the uneasiness of Korean audience members at the Japanese-language theatrical version of the folktale due to their attachment to the Korean language. As his “sincere” response to his Korean audiences, Murayama tried to produce a Korean-language film in 1939. However, his script for the film embodied the risk of enhancing Japanese colonization while contradictorily containing a scene which could imply the grief of Koreans because of their separation from their country. Murayama also tried to create two operatic versions of *Ch’unhyangjŏn* in Japan and Korea during the colonial period. Despite Murayama’s close and broad connection with Korean artists, his interpretation of *Ch’unhyangjŏn* was occasionally ambiguous enough to support Japanese colonization. His plans for different adaptations of the folktale often failed due to political, financial, and social circumstances. Even though the failures of the productions buried the complexity of Murayama’s activity in oblivion, the incomplete projects left legacies to the postcolonial transnational flow of culture between the two nations.

The third chapter, “The Death of Chun Hiang in the Opera *Chun Hiang*: Freedom to Reimagine Korean Culture after the End of Japanese Colonial Rule,” crosses the scholarly boundaries that have limited Zainichi Korean cultural products within the borders of Japan and Korea. The project of producing the opera *Chun Hiang* soon after the collapse of the Japanese empire questions the possibilities and impossibilities of cultural collaboration of Zainichi Koreans and Japanese to go beyond the geographical national boundaries. In 1946, the League of Koreans in Japan, which was established in October 1945, initiated the ambitious project to create a new English-language interpretation of *Ch’unhyangjŏn* with Japanese artists, such as Takagi Tōroku and Murayama Tomoyoshi, aiming to present it internationally. They replaced the original happy ending of the folktale with a tragic conclusion: the heroine’s death. The opera *Chun Hiang* embraced a legacy of the Japanese empire through its behind-the-stage collaborations between Koreans and Japanese during the colonial period. However, at the same time, Zainichi Koreans began to imagine new ways to participate in a global community through transnational interpretations of Korean folk culture.

The fourth chapter, "Outside Storyteller: Movement between the Two Bodies of the Narrator in Shin'ya Eiko's *Shinsetaryon*," figures Shin'ya Eiko's solo performance *Shinsetaryon* as a cultural hybrid performance piece which enacts Bhabha's idea. Shin'ya Eiko, a Japanese actress, produced the solo performance which narrates an eighty-year-old Zainichi Korean woman in 1973. This chapter shows that *Shinsetaryon* concurrently presents the two women, the Japanese actress and the Zainichi Korean protagonist. I especially highlight how the two bodies of the narrator upset the fixed idea of the boundaries of historical narratives, languages, spaces, and time frames. After completing the first script, Shin'ya did not merely repeat the same performance, but revised her script and acting through reflecting dialogues with Zainichi Korean audiences, reading Korean history books, and learning Korean songs and vocabulary. In the process of combining her historical memory with the memories of Zainichi Koreans, Shin'ya did not try to assimilate the protagonist. Rather, she recognized her sense of distance from the protagonist, which allowed her to keep moving between herself and the protagonist, in order to develop her own hybrid performance.

Chapter 1.

Toward a New Affiliation: Competing Interpretations of the Korean Folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in Colonial Korea

Introduction

This chapter examines new reading and writing paradigms of the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn* (*The Tale of Ch'unhyang*) in the early twentieth century. As a piece of oral literature with no distinct origins or author, it has been continuously adapted into various forms, such as novels, dances, musicals, plays, and films. Specifically, I analyze two interpretive practices in relation to *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in colonial Korea: First, the modern interpretation by Korean intellectuals from the 1910s to the mid-1930s and second, the colonial interpretation by Japanese colonial authorities in the late 1930s. Echoing Edward Said's *The World, the Text, and the Critic*, I argue that modern Korean writers and Japanese colonial officials respectively aimed to consolidate Koreans in a new affiliation, which was either modern Korea or imperial Japan, through challenging conventional ways of understanding classical literature.

In his study, Said probes the nature of a new way in which people formed social bonds during the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century. During that period, writers portrayed the difficulty of "filiation," the "natural continuity between one generation and the next," in the society of high modernism.[1] Thus, the necessity of producing an alternative form of human relationship, which Said proposes as "affiliation," consequently arose.

> What I am describing is the transition from a failed idea or possibility of filiation to a kind of compensatory order that, whether it is a party, an institution, a culture, a set of

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[1] Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 16.

> beliefs, or even a world-vision, provides men and women with a new form of relationship, which I have been calling affiliation but which is also a new system.[2]

Affiliation can be regarded as a "community" through which newly validated cultural forms tie people together.[3] Literary critics play a particularly crucial role in either authenticating the legitimacy of the new cultural system or examining the affiliative culture, which occasionally reproduces filiation or strengthens that new community.[4]

In the early twentieth century, new affiliations for Koreans were imagined as modern Korea or as the imperial polity of Japan by literary and political intellectuals. Korean intellectuals who pursued the project of constructing modern society during this period envisioned different ties of Korean people beyond the Confucian social order in the Chosŏn period. Moreover, Japanese colonialism brought about a serious impediment to the filiative continuity between Koreans, for example, by forbidding the people to use Korean names that they inherited from their parents. At the same time, Japan attempted to attach Korean people to a newly created system of imperial Japan, *naisen ittai* (Japan and Korea as a single body).

Regardless of the context in which *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was written, the storyline can be outlined as follows: Ch'unhyang, the daughter of a courtesan (*kisaeng*), and Mongnyong, the son of a local governor, fall in love and marry in secret in the city of Namwŏn during the Chosŏn period. However, Mongnyong has to leave Namwŏn with his family because his father is assigned to a new position in the capital. Mongnyong studies hard to keep his promise that he will become a government official and meet Ch'unhyang again. Meanwhile, the new local governor, Pyŏn Hakto, who is captivated by Ch'unhyang's beauty, importunately asks her to be his concubine. The heroine, who is loyal to her husband, does not accept Pyŏn's proposal and suffers from torture in jail. After having successfully passed the state examination, Mongnyong is appointed a position as a secret inspector. The hero finally punishes the corrupt governor and saves his wife Ch'unhyang. As Said argues, texts are not isolated from the political, social, and historical circumstances in which they are written and read.[5] During the early twentieth century, the literary texts of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* were produced and interpreted in close relation with the historical and social circumstances of colonial Korea.

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[2] Ibid., 19.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid., 24.

Korean critics, including nationalist and leftist intellectuals, explored latent aspects of modernity in *Ch'unhyangjŏn* from the 1910s to the mid-1930s. I analyze the modern interpretation of this literary piece through newly created, not merely rewritten, versions of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* by both nationalists and leftists, especially Yi Kwang-su's novel, *Ilsŏl Ch'unhyangjŏn*, and Yu Ch'i-jin's play script, *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. While Yu had a favorable relationship with leftist intellectuals in the 1930s, he did not clarify his ideological orientation in his essays.[6] Nevertheless, I examine here Yu's script as an example of leftists' interpretations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* not only because the Japanese government read class consciousness within it, but also because the script portrayed specific plots that Korean leftist intellectuals of the 1930s emphasized at the time. Despite their dissimilar political thoughts and cultural interests, Yi and Yu shared aspirations to cultivate new values of classical literature in modern society. Thus, when they wrote their own versions of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, their texts were not retrospective, but rather they presented the authors' visions of modern Korea.

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[5] Ibid., 4.

[6] Yu provided his script of *Slums* (*Pinminga*) to the 3.1. Theater Company in 1934. Given that Yu introduces the history of the company in the *Tonga ilbo*, which was originally organized as the "Society for Tokyo-Chosŏn Proletarian Theater" in 1930 and joined PROT in 1931, he was knowledgeable about the members' leftist ideology when he offered his script to them. Yu Ch'i-jin, "Tonggyŏng mundan kŭktan kyŏnmunch'o," *Tonga ilbo*, May 18, 1935; Pak Yŏng-jŏng, "Ch'ogi hŭigok kwa pip'yŏng e nat'anan Yu Ch'i-jin ŭi yŏngŭkkwan," *Minjok munhaksa yŏngu* 34 (August 2007): 468.

I compare the attempts to create modern interpretations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* with another reading practice, which I call the colonial interpretation that limited its literary meaning within the political boundary of imperial Japan. *Ch'unhyangjŏn*'s popularity continually increased, even in the late 1930s, when Japan tried to transform Koreans into imperial subjects. Interestingly, in that period, Japanese colonial officials also gave considerable attention to the Korean folktale, *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. However, the Japanese government's interpretation was diametrically opposed to the modern understanding, which appeared during the earlier period. That is, Japanese colonialism reduced the significance of classical Korean literature to the framework of a Korean *past*. This chapter looks at *Ch'unhyangjŏn* which was staged by the Japanese theater company Shinkyō in 1938 to examine the colonial interpretation of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*.

While several studies have shown the gap between Korean and Japanese intellectuals who differently read Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in the late 1930s, the play's close relationship with the previous reinterpretation practices of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* has not been fully elucidated.[7] In fact, the Shinkyō company involved both modern and colonial interpretations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. Murayama Tomoyoshi, the director of the Shinkyō company, produced this Japanese-language theatrical version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in cooperation with Korean artists and intellectuals, including Yu Ch'i-jin. However, when the Shinkyō company performed *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in Japan and Korea, Japanese authorities equated its "original" story with traditional Korean culture of the past. Put another way, despite its connection with the novel reading practices of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, colonial officials ignored the attempts of Korean writers to newly interpret the folktale from the 1910s through the early 1930s. It offset variable interpretive practices, which allowed Korean intellectuals to connect classical Korean literature to the present in order to shift the nation from the Confucian society to modern Korea. Japanese colonizers identified this classical literary piece as the mere reification of morals and cultures in the Chosŏn period. This framework was problematic because it could consequently strengthen Japanese colonialism by offering the government a plausible vindication of its discrimination toward Koreans to distinguish the colonized from the colonizers despite the assimilation policy of *naisen ittai*.

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[7] Nayoung Aimee Kwon highlights the gap as follows: "Various colonial nationalists were attempting to reinvent and recuperate their national legacies and to construct an identification with such traditions, in a nostalgic turn toward a lost past, to prove the dynamic depth and living continuities in their culture and, in turn, their right to exist as a people into the future. Meanwhile, in the metropole, these very same cultural artifacts came to signify colonial difference, as objects of imperial nostalgia for colonial bricolage, "exotic" and "primordial" relics of an ancient past that needed to be excavated and preserved (with the help of modern archeology and discerning imperial eyes)." Nayoung Aimee Kwon, "Conflicting Nostalgia: Performing *The Tale of Ch'unhyang* (春香傳) in the Japanese Empire." *The Journal of Asian Studies* 73, no. 1 (February 2014): 121-122. For detailed analysis of Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, see, e.g., Serk-Bae Suh, *Treacherous Translation: Culture, Nationalism, and Colonialism in Korea and Japan from the 1910s to the 1960s* (Berkeley: Global, Area, and International Archive and University of California Press, 2013), 46-70.

In the late 1930s, however, Korean intellectuals also failed to continue producing novel interpretations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* and remained within the sanctioned range of cultural nationalism under the pressure of Japanese colonial rule. Instead, they focused on examining whether the Japanese theater company Shinkyō appropriately represented Korean traditional culture. Even though these intellectuals tried to defend Korean culture from Japanese colonialism, their attempt to connect *Ch'unhyangjŏn* to Korean tradition in particular consequently strengthened the colonial interpretation of Japanese authorities, which did not pay attention to modern interpretive aspects of the folktale but emphasized cultural difference for a distance between Koreans and Japanese.

This chapter shows that *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was interpreted in accordance with the aims of two groups of people who envisioned new affiliations for Koreans in the early twentieth century. The comparative analysis on modern and colonial interpretations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* seeks to offer a fresh perspective on Japanese colonialism. In a sense, Japan's logic of conceiving modernity in Korea was contradicted by their attempt to prevent Koreans from developing modern values from classical Korean literature.

Yi Kwang-su's Vision of Modern Korea and *Ch'unhyangjŏn*

Yi Kwang-su cultivated new values in *Ch'unhyangjŏn* that were different from what conventional interpretations highlighted due in a large part to his desire to construct a modern Korea. Yi's innovative practice to reread the classical literary piece confirms Said's argument that "critics create not only the values by which art is judged and understood, but they embody in writing those processes and actual conditions in the *present* by means of which art and writing bear significance."[8] In the 1910s and 1920s, through his essays and adaptation, Yi attempted to liberate *Ch'unhyangjŏn* from the stronghold of Korea's past. He discovered a way in which this classical literary work could sustain the ability to continually produce significance even in modern society.

In his 1916 article, "Munhak iran hao" ("What Is Literature?") Yi proposes developing a new literature in Korea by differentiating the neologism *munhak*, which is a direct translation of the English term "literature," from pre-modern literature. For Yi, *munhak* refers to "written texts" whose contents are "human emotions and thoughts" in "established literary genres such as poetry, fiction, playwriting, and literary criticism."[9] The development of Korean literature was delayed because the literature of the Chosŏn period adhered only to "Confucian-based moral values and didactic principles."[10] The freedom to "express their thoughts and emotions" was not given to Koreans because of "a strict standard of morality" practiced from the Koryŏ to Chosŏn periods (918-1910). Breaking from the influence of Chinese thought and morals that weakened Korean culture, Yi says, writers must explore "various aspects of people's social lives and human emotions" as the foundation of modern literature. Ultimately, this new literature would play a critical role in promoting "a new spiritual civilization" in Korea.[11] Yi concludes that "[i]n short, Korean literature is born anew: it has no past, only a future."[12]

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[8] Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press), 53, italics in the original.

[9] Yi Kwang-su, "What Is Literature?" trans. Jooyeon Rhee, *Azalea* 4 (2011): 294-295.

[10] Ibid., 297.

At the heart of Yi's outlook was the conviction that a new literature should embody Korean thoughts and emotions.[13] According to Yi, this modern literature did not necessarily require novel content that directly portrays contemporary society. Instead, he examined new values of classical literature in the process of constructing modern Korean literature. Specifically, in "Munhak iran hao" he mentions the love story between Ch'unghyang and Mongnyong in support of his argument that "a literary work will grip its readers if it depicts as realistically as possible a love affair of a beautiful and gifted person who belongs to an educated upper-class family, whose love for his or her partner has failed to be accepted by his or her parents."[14] In order for Korean literature to be realistic, it should contain non-Confucian content, such as individual subjectivity that is not bound by obligatory filial piety. From Yi's perspective, *Ch'unhyangjŏn* insinuates a gap between the reality of human emotions and the system of Confucian society. Thus, this literary piece could be suitable material for modern literature to appeal to new readership.

In 1925, Yi tested his idea, which suggested compatibility between classical and modern literatures, by adapting *Ch'unhyangjŏn* for a modern novel in the *Tonga ilbo* (East Asia daily newspaper). In keeping with his statement that "Korean literature . . . has no past, only a future," his new text of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was not the work of the past, but of the present. He ventured to show new aspects of classical Korean literature that could be valued in modern society beyond the past. Especially, the dialogues between the characters unconstrained by Confucianism in the novel reflects his aspiration for a more equal relationship among Koreans, which would be essential to the new society that he conceived.

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[11] Ibid., 302.
[12] Ibid., 312.
[13] Ibid., 302.
[14] Ibid., 297.

Yi took an opportunity to publish *Ch'unhyang* through a project of the *Tonga ilbo* from September 1925 to January 1926. This novel was published as a book entitled, "*Ilsŏl Ch'unhyangjŏn*" (Another version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*), in 1929. On December 18, 1924, the *Tonga ilbo* called for more adaptations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, proposing the possibility of a contemporary interpretation beyond conventional ways of reading "the representative in national literature" of pre-modern Chosŏn. The article goes further to assert that "we are able to interpret Ch'unhyang's will that she, at the risk of her death, kept the promise that she and Mongnyong made in a single night as a more serious meaning than a mere concept of fidelity or passion."[15] However, nine months later, the *Tonga ilbo* articulates that it "asked Yi Kwang-su to write his version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* because unfortunately, among dozens of applications, no manuscript was suitable for national literature."[16] Yu Sŭng-hwan, a scholar of modern Korean literature, clarifies that Yi's *Ilsŏl Ch'unhyangjŏn* mainly referred to Ch'oe Nam-sŏn's *Kobon Ch'unhyangjŏn* (The old book of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*), which was published in 1915. Ch'oe's novel was based on *Namwŏn kosa* (The old tale of Namwŏn) by an unknown author, which had circulated among rental bookstores in Kyŏngsŏng since the late Chosŏn period.[17]

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[15] The article allows writers to adjust a period, characters, etc. within a reasonable scope, except the outline of the story. "Hyŏnsang taemojip," *Tonga ilbo*, December 18, 1924.

[16] "Sosŏl yego: *Ch'unhyangjŏn* kaejak," *Tonga ilbo*, September 24, 1925.

[17] Yu Sŭng-hwan, "Yi Kwang-su ŭi Ch'unhyang gwa Chosŏn kungmin munhak ŭi kihoek," *Minjok munhaksa yŏngu* 56 (2014): 321.

Just as Yi stresses the importance of understanding human emotions in "Munhak iran hao" his *Ilsŏl Ch'unhyangjŏn* meticulously illustrates how the characters exchange their emotions and feelings. Yi implies that the loyalty and the trust between Ch'unhyang and Mongnyong were based on their emotion of love, not on Confucian morality, by portraying the long-term relationship in which they are romantically engaged. In both *Namwŏn kosa* and *Ilsŏl Ch'unhyangjŏn*, Ch'unhyang and Mongnyong have courted for more than a year before Mongnyong leaves for Seoul. However, while *Namwŏn kosa* portrays only the enjoyable times between the protagonists, Yi's text more realistically displays their dynamic interchange of feelings and emotions by including several scenes in which Ch'unhyang and Mongnyong argue about trivial matters, quarrel, and apologize.[18]

In Yi's *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, the characters' emotion is the foundation of their relationship. On the day that Mongnyong and Ch'unhyang become engaged, Mongnyong notes that it does not matter if they "follow the [traditional] six rites of the wedding ceremony."[19] What matters is their love and their personal promise to one another.[20] Through Mongnyong's narrative, the readers can see that the promise that each individual makes according to his or her will is more important than collective Confucian-based rules. This scene echoes the essay, "Munhak iran hao" in which Yi strongly criticizes a literary work that attempts to establish didactic formulas within the boundary of Confucian morality. In this regard, Yi's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* stimulated modern thought, which would help readers not only understand human emotions but also reformulate their relationships with one another beyond the Confucian social structure.

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[18] Yi Kwang-su, "Ch'unhyang," in *Ch'unhyang yesulsa charyo ch'ongsŏ*, ed. Sŏl Sŏng-gyŏng (Seoul: Kukhak Charyowŏn, 1998), 86-87, 100.

[19] *The Book of Rites* (*Liji*) describes the process of the wedding ceremony with the six rites.

[20] Yi Kwang-su, "Ch'unhyang," in *Ch'unhyang yesulsa charyo ch'ongsŏ*, ed. Sŏl Sŏng-gyŏng (Seoul: Kukhak Charyowŏn, 1998), 85.

Yi's portrait of Mongnyong epitomizes the author's desire for new leadership in modern Korea. Mongnyong is portrayed as a leader who is not bound by the order of social status in Confucian society, and who leads the people to a more egalitarian society in the transitional period. In "Minjok kaejoron" ("On National Reconstruction"), which was published in 1922, Yi argues that the Korean nation had been corrupted because of the "maladministration" of "the ruling class, that is, the king and the *yangban* [landed elites]."[21] According to Yi, the ruling class was "directly responsible for ruining the government, corrupting commerce, neglecting the people's education, and corroding public morals and the people's minds."[22] In *Ilsŏl Ch'unhyangjŏn*, Yi refashions the character of Mongnyong into someone who embodies the author's image of a leader for the nation who works for the people and punishes the corrupt ruling class. Yi's reuse of the character Mongnyong reflects his conviction that "[s]hould old materials be re-used, they should be incorporated only if they meet the specifications of the new plan."[23]

In this sense, *Ilsŏl Ch'unhyangjŏn* distills a point which was raised by Travis Workman's analysis of Yi in *Imperial Genus*. Workman maintains that Yi was interested in "many past cases of individuals driving reconstruction, including the leaders of Japan's Meiji Restoration . . . and Lenin leading the Russian Revolution."[24] Yi valued "the cultivation of leaders who were capable of leading in the interest of the people" over "the sovereignty of the people" for the establishment of modern Korea.[25] Although Yi did not invent Monynyong's role, he reconstructed the conventional character in accordance with his vision of a future leader who would be able to not only lead, but also deeply sympathize with the people. In a scene wherein Mongnyong encounters farmers who have suffered from excessive amounts of compulsory contributions to their local governor, he grieves with tearful eyes and says, “What can I do for these people? What can I do for these people? What can I do for these people who are in misery?”[26]

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[21] Yi Kwang-su, "On National Reconstruction," in *Imperatives of Culture: Selected Essays on Korean History*, *Literature, and Society from the Japanese Colonial Era*, ed. Christopher P. Hanscom, Walter K. Lew, and Youngju Ryu (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016), 12.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid., 7.

[24] Travis Workman, *Imperial Genus: The Formation and Limits of the Human in Modern Korea and Japan* (Oakland: University of California Press, 2016), 69.

[25] Ibid.

Moreover, Yi did not simplify the conflict between different classes. Yi underlined the solidarity between Mongnyong and the lower class by borrowing a scene from Yi Hae-jo’s *Okchunghwa* (Flower in jail), which was another adaptation of *Ch’unhyangjŏn* published in 1912.[27] This scene, which shows that Mongnyong did not distance himself from people of the lower class, implies Yi Kwang-su’s desire for building a modern national community and, by extension, an egalitarian society. Here, Mongnyong sits with his servants, including Pangja, and invites them to dine with him. He tells them, “Today, let’s become friends, play and eat together, getting rid of the difference between the upper and lower classes.”[28] He then refuses to drink first and instead invites the eldest of his servants to take the first drink. This act is so unprecedented that the servant is left trembling with fear.

Noteworthy, too, is the fact that Yi portrayed in detail the intimacy between Mongnyong and Pangja in the scene where Pangja scolds his master Mongnyong who does not want to study but wants to go out instead. The narrator of the novel paraphrases the dialogue between them in the scene as follows: “They are so friendly that they forget the difference of the hierarchical order between them."[29] In *Ilsŏl Ch'unhyangjŏn*, Mongnyong gets along with people of the lower class, such as his servant Pangja, beyond the conventional boundary between different classes. As Yu Sŭng-hwan points out, the intimacy between the upper and lower classes in *Ilsŏl Ch'unhyangjŏn* weakens the servant's satire on the ideology of the hierarchical society, which the conventional versions of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* have highlighted. Instead, it strengthens the significance of Mongnyong's role in punishing the corrupt governor.[30]

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[26] Yi Kwang-su, “Ch’unhyang,” in *Ch’unhyang yesulsa charyo ch’ongsŏ*, ed. Sŏl Sŏng-gyŏng (Seoul: Kukhak Charyowŏn, 1998), 205.

[27] Yu Sŭng-hwan, “Yi Kwang-su ŭi Ch’unhyang gwa Chosŏn kungmin munhak ŭi kihoek,” *Minjok munhaksa yŏngu* 56 (2014): 325.

[28] Yi Kwang-su, “Ch’unhyang,” in *Ch’unhyang yesulsa charyo ch’ongsŏ*, ed. Sŏl Sŏng-gyŏng (Seoul: Kukhak Charyowŏn, 1998), 30.

Yi not only reread *Ch'unhyangjŏn* but also rewrote the folktale using modern literary form and content. His modern interpretation of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, which denied conventional reading within the boundaries of Confucian morality, reified his imagination of modern Korea. Yi's text aimed to free Koreans from the bondage of Confucianism which restricted their relationships with one another by strict moral codes and social hierarchy. Moreover, his work inspired successive reading and writing practices of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in the 1930s.

Leftist Interpretations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*

In the mid-1930s, Korean literary critics developed discourses on the classical-revival movement (*kojŏn puhŭng undong*) from diverse perspectives to discover the legacies of national culture in classical literature. Korean literary critic Hwang Jongyon argues that Marxist intellectuals, who pursued the universal modernity of Korean culture in alliance with world literature, criticized the classical-revival movement for its insistence on the uniqueness of Korean culture, or its "Koreanness (*chosŏnjŏk in kŏt*)."[31] Hwang pays particular attention to radical Marxist critiques, including those written by Im Hwa and Yi Ch'ŏng-wŏn. Im Hwa, who believed that material conditions in society determine the development of literature, insisted that classical Korean literature was not fully developed in the stagnated Chosŏn society. Thus, Im did not recognize any value in classical literature for the establishment of new literature. For his part, Kim Yun-sik articulates a division of literary movements in Korea between nationalist literature and Korea Artista Proleta Federatio (KAPF) literature from the 1920s to the mid-1930s. Radical Marxist intellectuals who advocated politicized art established KAPF in August 1925. However, this organization disbanded under the pressure of Japanese authorities in June 1935. Kim maintains that "the term *nationalist literature* includes all writers who were not part of KAPF."[32] As Kim sees it, KAPF literature was founded on internationalism, which would align Korean literature with world literature, "a situation never achieved before or since."[33] For Kim and Hwang, any interest in classical literature would not be associated with leftist literature during the colonial period. Hwang and Kim mainly concentrate on critiques that were written by radical Marxists, especially the members of KAPF. For radical Marxists, classical Korean literature would only highlight characteristics of undeveloped Korean society in the past, and therefore would not promote the Marxist agenda of creating a universal literature.[34]

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[29] Ibid., 26.

[30] Yu Sŭng-hwan, "Yi Kwang-su ŭi Ch'unhyang gwa Chosŏn kungmin munhak ŭi kihoek," *Minjok munhaksa yŏngu* 56 (2014): 321.

[31] Hwang Jongyon, "1930-yŏndae kojŏn buhŭng undong ŭi munhaksajŏk ŭiŭi," *Hanguk munhak yŏngu* 11 (1988): 217-260.

In contrast to the arguments of Hwang and Kim, I argue that a number of Korean leftist writers did not consider classical literature to be antithetical to the development of Korean literature. The division among Korean leftist intellectuals in imperial Japan is elucidated in Sunyoung Park's *The Proletarian Wave*. Park explores a "fracture within the leftist movement between intellectuals who adopted a conventional Marxist internationalism and those who regarded national liberation as a more pressing priority" in colonial Korea.[35] She argues that Korean leftist critics "gave a nationalist spin to newly imported socialist ideas" under Japanese colonial rule.[36] The reason for the change is that "in modern colonial settings," "nationhood," which is not considered orthodox in European and Soviet Marxism, "has often been a prime aspiration of progressive and revolutionary forces, and an anticolonial nationalist stance has been integral to many brands of socialism defended by indigenous resistance movements."[37] Echoing Park's analysis, I point out that it is imperative to examine not only the radical Marxist intellectuals who criticized the classical-revival movement but also the considerable number of variable opinions in Korean leftist cultural movement that recognized the significance of classical Korean literature. Otherwise, the context in which leftist theater companies continually staged *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in the mid-1930s is obfuscated.

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[32] Kim Yun-sik, "KAPF Literature in Modern Korean Literary History," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 14, no. 2 (2006): 410, italics in the original.

[33] Ibid., 408.

[34] Hwang Jongyon, "1930-yŏndae kojŏn buhŭng undong ŭi munhaksajŏk ŭiŭi," *Hanguk munhak yŏngu* 11 (1988): 223.

During the 1930s, Korean leftist intellectuals regarded *Ch'unhyangjŏn* as a text whose content could be connected to their ideology in modern society. Their purpose of reading classical literature was not to seek uniqueness in Korean culture but to develop universality for their political goals. Specifically, through rewriting *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in the 1930s, they tried to articulate their criticism of the corruption of the authorities as well as their hope for liberation from Japan. As such, the leftist writers hardly focused on the romantic relationship between Ch'unhyang and Mongnyong. Instead, they highlighted the political consciousness of the characters, especially Ch'unhyang, in order to develop the class consciousness of spectators.

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[35] Sunyoung Park, *The Proletarian Wave: Literature and Leftist Culture in Colonial Korea, 1910–1945* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2015), 67.

[36] Ibid., 6.

[37] Ibid., 9.

Yŏm Sang-sŏp was an example of a leftist who was interested in *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. He distanced himself from leftist literature later. However, in the 1930s, he was a "leftist nationalist" who considered the Marxist critique of modern capitalism as a means to "pursue a better, alternative social system," while prioritizing national liberation "through the formation of a united nationalist front that would include labor and peasant movements."[38] In particular, although Yŏm condemned writers who attempted to create texts for class struggles, he argued that readers should be able to freely interpret any literary work as class literature.[39] For instance, a literary text that "helps the proletariat easily understand class consciousness" could be read as class literature.[40] However, he criticized the formulaic outlook of radical leftist intellectuals who forced fellow writers to write literary works within the schema of class literature. In his other essay, Yŏm insisted that the New Tendency Group (Sinkyŏnghyangp'a), which was led by KAPF writers, fell into "a groundless self-advertisement in vain" and it had no "conceptual outlines" for its works or writers.[41] He specifically denounced Pak Yŏng-hŭi's argument that "the protagonists in the literary works of the New Tendency Group were the people who pioneered and longed for a new society, taught the truth of life, and loudly voiced complaints about violence and illegal activities in the current social system."[42]

From Yŏm's perspective, *Ch'unhyangjŏn* could be more helpful in promoting class consciousness than the literary texts of the New Tendency Group. He contended that the contents of the New Tendency literature do not actually have a "new tendency" because *Ch'unhyangjŏn* had already portrayed the people who struggled to achieve a better society. He explains that readers are able to see “Ch’unhyang’s rebellious passion” and Mongnyong’s “concerns about the social system” as well as his will to “punish the tyranny of the authorities.”[43] Yŏm’s essay implies his interpretation that this classical literary piece can be read as class literature in which readers can better understand class consciousness. Furthermore, Yŏm connects the story of *Ch’unhyangjŏn* to the social circumstance in which the thought of equality arose in modern society. In “Sosŏl kwa minjung” (Novel and people), he links *Ch’unhyangjŏn* to Samuel Richardson’s *Pamela*, underscoring that both literary pieces were produced during a period when democratic and popular consciousness grew.[44] He goes on to suggest that these literary works emerged due to the resistance of the people to “the conventional moral codes” and “the desire for equality.”[45]

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[38] Ibid., 171.

[39] Yŏm Sang-sŏp, "Kyegŭp munhak sibiron: Chakka rosŏ nŭn muŭimihan mal," *Kaebyŏk*, February 1925, in *Yŏm Sang-sŏp munjang chŏnjip*, vol. 1, ed. Han Ki-hyŏng and Yi Hye-ryŏng (Seoul: Somyŏng Ch'ulp'an, 2013), 329-331. Page numbers of all quotations from Yŏm's essays are given according to *Yŏm Sang-sŏp munjang chŏnjip*.

[40] Ibid., 330.

[41] Yŏm Sang-sŏp, "Kyegŭp munhak ŭl nonhayŏ sowi singyŏnghyangp'a e yŏham," *Chosŏn ilbo*, January 22-Feburary 2, 1926. 442.

[42] Ibid., 449.

Kim T’ae-jun also provided his interpretation of *Ch’unhyangjŏn* from a materialist perspective. Kim taught Korean literature at Keijō Imperial University in 1939 but was arrested due to his activity at the Kyŏngsŏng Communist Group (Kyŏngsŏng k’om gŭrup) in the early 1940s.[46] In his article “Modern Interpretation of *Ch’unhyangjŏn*,”[47] Kim argued that in the late Chosŏn period, drama and literature were made to please “the people (*simin*), that is *chungin* (middle people) who were emerging forces because they were dominating . . . money and commodity.” *Ch’unhyangjŏn*, which had emphasized romance in the early eighteenth century, in turn, “came to represent the victory of the newly rising people” in the early nineteenth century by showing "[their] hatred and rebellious consciousness against feudalism" in its revised versions.[48] Kim's interpretation indicates a shared political consciousness, if not class consciousness, among *chungin* and the lower class people in Chosŏn. The nineteenth century narrators of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* were mostly courtesans or entertainers from the lower class who could only show their contempt for and resist against the upper class through their performances. Therefore, multiple characters, such as Pangja or the farmers, speak up against the corrupt governor's treatment of Ch'unhyang and accuse him.[49]

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[43] Ibid.

[44] Yŏm Sang-sŏp, “Sosŏl kwa minjung: ‘Chosŏn kwa munye, munye wa minjung’ ŭi songnon,” *Tonga ilbo*, May 27-June 3, 1928. 714.

[45] Ibid., 715.

[46] Pak Hŭi-byŏng, “Ch’ŏnt’aesanin [Kim T’ae-jun] ŭi kungmunhak yŏngu: kŭ kyŏngno wa pangbŏp (ha),” *Minjok munhaksa yŏngu* 4 (December 1993): 206.

[47] Ch’ŏnt’aesanin (Kim T’ae-jun), “*Ch’unhyangjŏn* ŭi hyŏndaejŏk haesŏk.” In this essay, Kim mainly analyzes Ch’oe Nam-sŏn’s *Kobon Ch’unhyangjŏn*.

Furthermore, Korean leftist theater companies staged several different versions of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* as part of their leftist movement in Japan during the 1930s. The 3.1. Theater Company (Samil kŭkchang), which was established as a Korean leftist theater company in Japan in 1931, actively participated in proletarian theatrical productions under the guidance of the Japana Proleta Teatra Unio (PROT) until PROT was disbanded in 1934.[50] The 3.1. Theater Company shut down soon after. Later, the Korea Theater Company (Koryŏ kŭktan) inherited legacies of the 3.1. Theater Company, including the attempt to develop a Korean national drama that would ultimately promote class consciousness. However, this company was also dissolved in 1935 due to pressure from the Japanese government.[51] In the same year, the former members of the Korea Theater Company organized two theatrical companies, the Society for Research of New Drama in Tokyo (Tonggyŏng sinyŏngŭk yŏnguhoe), and the Korean Art Theater Company (Chosŏn yesuljwa). These two companies came together under the name of the Korean Art Theater Company in 1936.[52] Records of the Public Security Intelligence Agency in Japan articulate that “the Korean Art Theater Company . . . as an ethnic and class-conscious theatrical company . . . attempted to implant rebellious consciousness against capitalism in the Korean people and stimulate communist ideology . . . while pretending to establish drama as art for art’s sake.”[53] According to the records, Japanese authorities did not allow the Korean Art Theater Company to stage Ch’oe Byŏng-han’s play *Ch’unhyangjŏn* in 1936 because “the content was inappropriate.”[54] Prior to this incident, Ch’oe had also failed to stage *Okchung ŭi Ch’unhyang* (Ch’unhyang in jail) in 1935 at the Society for Research of New Drama in Tokyo because of censorship.[55] As the title implies, Ch’oe’s *Okchung ŭi Ch’unhyang* drew attention to Ch’unhyang’s inhumane conditions and her continued resistance by drastically eliminating every other scene except the ones where Ch’unhyang is in her cell. In addition, several members of the Korean Student Art Theater in Tokyo (Tonggyŏng haksaeng yesuljwa), who worked closely with the Korean Art Theater Company, were imprisoned after staging Yu Ch’i-jin’s *Ch’unhyangjŏn* in 1937 because the Japanese government considered it “a class-conscious work.”[56]

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[48] Ch'ŏnt'aesanin (Kim T'ae-jun), "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* ŭi hyŏndaejŏk haesŏk," *Tonga ilbo*, January 6, 1935; "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* ŭi hyŏndaejŏk haesŏk," *Tonga ilbo*, January 10, 1935.

[49] Ch'ŏnt'aesanin (Kim T'ae-jun), "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* ŭi hyŏndaejŏk haesŏk," *Tonga ilbo*, January 6, 1935.

[50] Kōan chōsachō, *Zainihon Chōsenjin no gaikyō* (1953), 160.

[51] Kim Sa-ryang, "Chaeil Chosŏnin yŏngŭk undong ŭi chŏngae kwajŏng kwa kongyŏn pangsik yŏngu" (Ph.D. dissertation, Seoul National University, 2016), 161.

[52] Kōan chōsachō, *Zainihon Chōsenjin no gaikyō* (1953), 167.

Even though nationalist and leftist intellectuals showed different perspectives through which they interpreted *Ch’unhyangjŏn*, both parties were interested in challenging traditional ways of understanding the folktale. By closely examining Yu Ch’i-jin’s *Ch’unhyangjŏn*, I maintain that leftist intellectuals also attempted to inspire people to imagine a new society, which would be founded upon socialist ideas, through rereading this classical literary piece. Yu’s script conformed to leftists’ reading of *Ch’unhyangjŏn* that stressed Ch’unhyang’s protest against the corrupt official. In the *Tonga ilbo*, Pak Tong-gŭn, who was a member of the Korean Student Art Theater in Tokyo, explains the intention of staging Yu’s *Ch’unhyangjŏn* in 1937. According to

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[53] Ibid., 166.
[54] Ibid., 167-168.
[55] “Chae Tonggyŏng Chosŏn yesulga tanch’e,” *Tonga ilbo*, January 1, 1936.
[56] Ryu Min-yŏng, *Hanguk hyŏndae hŭigoksa* (Seoul: Hongsŏngsa, 1982), 291.

Pak, Yu's adaptation is different from the conventional versions of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* that emphasize "her fidelity," which he says is "a hackneyed concept from the past."[57] Yu produced *Ch'unhyangjŏn* as a "modern drama" in order to "appeal to daily emotions of modern people" through "Ch'unhyang's noble humanity and her willingness to stand against corrupt authorities."[58] Pak insists that Ch'unhyang's love story in Yu's script is "a record written in blood (*p'i ŭi kirok*) in which [she] struggled with a corrupt official who pretended to work for the public interest but was actually in pursuit of personal gains."[59]

In his essay, Yu clarifies that he consulted Yi Hae-jo's *Okchunghwa* and Yi Kwang-su's *Ilsŏl Ch'unhyangjŏn* to write his script *Ch'unhyangjŏn*.[60] Yu's script mirrors Yi Kwang-su's novel that depicts Mongnyong as a local governor's son who gets along with the lower class. Interestingly, Yu borrowed Mongnyong's lines from Yi's *Ilsŏl Ch'unhyangjŏn*: "let's become friends, play and eat together, getting rid of the difference between the upper and lower classes."[61] Compared to the literary texts to which Yu refers, however, Yu's script focuses less on the romantic relationship between Ch'unhyang and Mongnyong and more on the agony of the lower class and the punishment of the corrupt ruling class. Specifically, Yu excluded the most famous song in *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, Mongnyong's "Song of Love." Moreover, while Yi Hae-jo's text shows Mongnyong's forgiveness toward the local governor's corruption in the ending scene, Yu does not apply this ending to his script. Indeed, in the last scene wherein Mongnyong reveals his role as a secret inspector and Ch'unhyang is released, Yu simply depicts the last dialogue between the couple.

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[57] Pak Tong-gŭn, "Tonggyŏng haksaeng yesuljwa kongyŏn ŭl ap'tugo (sang)," *Tong ilbo*, June 22, 1937.
[58] Pak Tong-gŭn, "Tonggyŏng haksaeng yesuljwa kongyŏn ŭl ap'tugo (ha)," *Tong ilbo*, June 23, 1937.
[59] Pak Tong-gŭn, "Tonggyŏng haksaeng yesuljwa kongyŏn ŭl ap'tugo (sang)," *Tong ilbo*, June 22, 1937.
[60] Yu Ch'i-jin, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* kaksaek e taehaya," *Kŭk yesul* (5), 1936.
[61] Yu Ch'i-jin, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn*," in *Hŭigokchip (sang)* (Seoul: Minjung Sŏgwan, 1959), 70.

> MONGNYONG. Here I am as a secret royal inspector.
> CH'UNHYANG. Ah, my husband! (*Ch'unhyang cries in Mongnyong's chest. She stops crying and says*) Ah, you are so dogged and mean. If you had hinted to me when you came to see me last night, I would have been in peace.
> MONGNYONG. I am a secret royal inspector. I cannot reveal my role even to my parents, wife, and children.
> CH'UNHYANG. You are so mean.
> MONGNYONG. You are also dogged. Let's go to the upper room![62]

Compared to other versions, this scene lacks a sense of romance and emotions. After having this conversation, Mongnyong orders the punishment of the local governor and pledges himself to resolve the agonies of the people in other provinces.

In contrast to Yi's *Ilsŏl Ch'unhyangjŏn*, Yu's script weakens Mongnyong's character as a new leader who can break away from old conventions in Korea. Rather, Yu highlights a strong-willed woman through Ch'unhyang who presents a new gender role for women. In Yi's novel, Mongnyong tries to pursue an equal relationship with Ch'unhyang, which was not commonly seen in Confucian society. Mongnyong does not hesitate to do what women are expected to do to please men, reversing typical gender roles. For example, he sings a song and offers Ch'unhyang alcohol. In this scene, Mongnyong asks Ch'unhyang to undo his braided hair. Even though during the Chosŏn period, it was typically the unmarried woman who undid her braid upon marriage.

> Mongnyong says, "I undid your braided hair, so you undo mine." Ch'unhyang hesitates and rejects the suggestion. "How can I undo your hair? This is nonsense." Mongnyong answers, "I'm an unmarried man and you an unmarried woman. You gave me the body of a single woman to become my wife, and I gave you mine to become your husband. A husband and a wife have one body. I undid your hair to signify that you are my wife. So why don't you undo my hair to signify that I am your husband? You are the only one who can undo my hair. No one else can do it. Don't hesitate to undo my hair." However, Ch'unhyang does not dare to do it, saying, "I know what you mean. But this is nonsense."

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[62] Ibid., 130.

> Then, Mongnyong raises his voice. “If there is no custom for this, I will make new one.”[63]

Yi shows that Mongnyong denies the Confucian ideal of a conjugal relationship in which the wife is subordinate to her husband. In contrast, Yu’s focus is on Ch’unhyang’s strong willingness to protest against social injustice, not on Mongnyong’s character.

Yu portrays Ch’unhyang as a woman who complains about a woman’s lower status in Korean society. In his script, Ch’unhyang’s mother Wŏlmae talks about her dream in which a blue dragon took Ch’unhyang to the sky, which implies that Ch’unhyang would meet her future husband, Mongnyong. However, in the scene, Ch’unhyang and Wŏlmae fail to understand the omen in the dream. Instead, they discuss what it would mean if Ch’unhyang were a man. According to Wŏlmae, if Ch’unhyang were a man, the dream would mean that Ch’unhyang “will surely become a high-ranking official.” Then, Ch’unhyang answers by expressing her desire to have the opportunities that a man would have. Yu’s Ch’unhyang does not rely on a man but rather wishes for her own power to transform society.[64]

In this sense, Yu’s *Ch’unhyangjŏn* reflects the leftist intellectuals’ enduring focus on Ch’unhyang’s rebellion and suffering as the essence of the literary piece. Kim T’ae-jun reads Ch’unhyang’s resistance as a fight for equal rights of the people.[65] In the *Tonga ilbo*, Yi Myŏng-sŏn, who offers a Marxist analysis of Korean literature,[66] also argues that *Ch’unhyangjŏn* manifests the struggle between “two champions,” Pyŏn and Ch’unhyang, who represent the *yangban* class, on one hand, and the lower class, on the other hand.[67] Thus, the people support

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[63] Yi Kwang-su, “Ch’unhyang,” in *Ch’unhyang yesulsa charyo ch’ongsŏ*, ed. Sŏl Sŏng-gyŏng (Seoul: Kukhak Charyowŏn, 1998), 110-111.

[64] Yu Ch’i-jin, “*Ch’unhyangjŏn*,” in *Hŭigokchip (sang)* (Seoul: Minjung Sŏgwan, 1959), 78.

[65] Ch’ŏnt’aesanin (Kim T’ae-jun), “*Ch’unhyangjŏn* ŭi hyŏndaejŏk haesŏk,” *Tonga ilbo*, January 9, 1935.

[66] Ŏm T’ae-ung, “Yi Myŏng-sŏn ŭi munhak sagwan kwa munhaksa sŏsul ŭi silje yangsang,” *Ŏmun yŏngu* 40, no. 4 (Winter 2012): 225.

[67] Yi Myŏng-sŏn, “*Ch’unhyangjŏn* kwa ibon munje,” *Tonga ilbo*, July 22, 1938.

Ch'unhyang "as a member of the lower class who is . . . courageous enough to denounce the *yangban* class . . . rather than as a defender of feudal morals," such as fidelity.[68]

Both Yi Kwang-su and Yu Ch'i-jin attempted to connect classical Korean literature to modern society even though their focuses were on different topics. For both, their reading practices of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* did not mean a return to the past. These writers were interested in producing new literary pieces in relation to modern transformation of Korea, more specifically the consciousness of the Korean people. Specifically, they reinterpreted *Ch'unhyangjŏn* by highlighting multiple characters in the story who slough off Confucian hierarchical relationships and pursue an egalitarian social system. A fundamental objective of such a reading and writing paradigm, which I call the modern interpretation of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, was to *affiliate* Korean people with a transformed society, which would be presented by their rewritings of the classical literary piece.

The 1938 Shinkyō's Play *Ch'unhyangjŏn* as the "Art of *Naisen Ittai*"

Shinkyō's play *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was influenced by the adaptations of the folktale that were written by Yi Kwang-su and Yu Ch'i-jin. The play was first performed in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, Japan in March and April 1938. In October 1938, it was also staged in the Korean cities of Seoul, P'yŏngyang, Pusan, Chŏnju, among other locations. Murayama Tomoyoshi, the director of Shinkyō's play *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, asked the scriptwriter Chang Hyŏk-chu to revise the original script by referring to Yu's script.[69] The greatest difference between Yu's script and Chang's original version was the final scene of the banquet where Mongnyong reveals that he is a secret inspector. While Chang did not write the scene in the original script, he accepted Murayama's suggestion to include it.[70] As was reported in the *Keijō nippō*, Yu mentioned that "the scene was just like (*sokkuri*) mine. I felt that I was watching a production by my theater company, the Society for Research of Drama Arts (Kŭk yesul yŏnguhoe)."[71] In the pamphlet of Shinkyō's play *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, which was published in 1938, Murayama clarifies that he "consulted Yu's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* that was staged . . . by the [Korean] Student Art Theater [in Tokyo] two years ago."[72]

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[68] Ibid.

[69] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Enshutsusha no kotoba," *Teatoro panfuretto: Ch'unhyangjŏn* (March 1938): 8-9.

However, when the Shinkyō company staged *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in 1938, the reinterpretation practices of the literary piece that occurred in the previous two decades were completely ignored by the Japanese government. Japanese colonial officials did not pay attention to modern reinterpretations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* but posited it as Korean traditional culture. In other words, the Japanese government did not recognize the significance of the classical literary piece in the development process of modern Korea. Under Japanese colonialism, the ability of classical Korean literature to produce and develop new Korean culture was denied.

Instead, Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was recognized as the reification of the assimilation policy by Japanese authorities. Governor-General Minami Jirō instigated the wartime policy of *naisen ittai* in order to mobilize Korean people for the Second Sino-Japanese War, which began in July 1937. When Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was staged in Japan, Japanese government officials highlighted the play's relevance to colonial policy. The press also reported that "the pioneering theater company Shinkyō staged the traditional Korean play in Tokyo and several cities and caused a huge sensation in the period when we needed to reinforce the campaign of

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[70] Chang Hyŏk-chu, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* no gekika," *Teatoro panfuretto: Ch'unhyangjŏn* (March 1938): 5.
[71] Yu Ch'i-jin, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* o miru: Shinkyō gekidan torai no igi," *Keijō nippō*, October 27, 1938.
[72] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Enshutsusha no kotoba," *Teatoro panfuretto: Ch'unhyangjŏn* (March 1938): 9.

naisen ittai."[73] In several newspaper articles, Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was advertised as "the art of *naisen ittai*."[74] In the *Keijō nippō*, Abe Yoshishige, professor of Keijō Imperial University, specifically postulates the performance in Korea as "a practical attempt at *naisen ittai*" that would help people be aware of the mutual cultures.[75] In the late 1930s, when tensions were rising in East Asia due to the Second Sino-Japanese War, the Japanese government intensified its efforts to control the colonies' culture by, for example, censoring cultural performance and literary interpretation of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*.

Even though the adaptation of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* by the Shinkyō company was connected to the flow of modern reinterpretation practices, the company ironically had a close relationship with the Japanese government. In November 1938, the Shinkyō company published an essay written by Nagata Hideo, a playwright and an adviser in the company, which described the direction that the company would take after the government's control reached the cultural sphere in wartime mobilization.[76] In the essay, which was printed with a photograph of the company's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* performance, Nagata suggested that the company should follow the government's policies by "creating high-quality arts." The Shinkyō company later criticized the collaboration with the empire and expressed regret: "During the war, we could not keep our spirit of resistance to the end."[77] Director Murayama planned to stage the play, positing both Japanese and Koreans as its audiences. Murayama particularly "aimed to combine Kabuki's *esprit* and Korean style"[78] in the performance in order to "make a new form of modern theater as a new drama."[79] Murayama showed his ambiguous interpretation of classical Korean literature in his interview with a journalist for *Chōsen kōron*. Murayama said, "We need to reconsider what Koreanness is in order to present it to modern people," arguing that "Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi made classical Korean dances new as modern Japanese dances."[80] To sum up, in the late 1930s, when the company staged *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, the company operation followed the colonial policies of the Japanese government.

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[73] "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* o kōen," *Osaka Asahi shinbun*, October 25, 1938.

[74] Advertisement in the *Keijō nippō* on October 20 and 22, 1938.

[75] Abe Yoshishige, "Shinkyō gekidan '*Ch'unhyangjŏn*' no kōen ni yoseru," *Keijō nippō*, October 13, 1938.

[76] Nagata Hideo, "Geijutsusei no yōgo," *Gekkan Shinkyō gekidan* (November 1938): 1.

[77] Shinkyō gekidan, *Shinkyō gekidan nijyūnen: Butai shashin to gekidan shōshi* (Shinkyō Gekidan, publication date unknown), 6.

[78] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Enshutsusha no kotoba," *Teatoro panfuretto: Ch'unhyangjŏn* (March 1938): 11.

The Japanese government especially emphasized the importance of introducing Korean culture to Japanese audiences as a practice of *naisen ittai* when it appraised Shinkyō's performance. Until the Shinkyō company performed *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, a Japanese theater company had not staged a play of classical Korean literature.[81] *Teatoro* published a review written by Hirata Isao, the director of the Probation Office in Tokyo. Hirata gave a favorable review, stating that, "the Shinkyō company deepened our understanding of the current situation" in the Second Sino-Japanese War. Hirata argued that the company's endeavor to introduce Korean culture and promote Japanese understanding of Korea was "a new attempt at *naisen yūwa* (harmony between Japan and Korea)."[82] According to Governor-General Minami, *naisen ittai* aimed to "make Koreans loyal imperial subjects."[83] One might question the seemingly contradictory aims of such a statement. *Naisen ittai* is a policy of assimilating Korean people into Japanese culture. Why, then, did the Japanese government try to introduce Korean culture to Japanese people in this case?

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[79] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* yodan," *Keijō nippō*, May 31, 1938

[80] "Murayama Tomoyoshi shi to kataru Chōsen, Chōsenjin, *Ch'unhyangjŏn*," *Chōsen kōron* (March 1938): 83.

[81] Mizuki Kyōdai, "Shinkyō no *Ch'unhyangjŏn*," *Tokyo Asahi shinbun* (*yūkan*), March 31, 1938.

[82] Hirata Isao, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* kangeki shokan," *Teatoro* 5, no. 5 (May 1938): 28-29.

[83] "Dōchiji kaigini okeru sōtoku kunji," in *Yukoku kunji enjutsu sōran*, ed. Department of Secretariat Archives in Governor-General of Korea, 196.

Miyata Setsuko argues that "*naisen ittai* could be interpreted in complicated, variable ways . . . as a political slogan that did not have a definite system."[84] In an article in *Modan Nippon* (Modern Japan), Governor-General Minami explained the context in which the government emphasized the significance of knowing Korean culture in the campaign of *naisen ittai*. Minami worried that Koreans' hostility would arise if Japanese looked down on Koreans in the same way that "the Whites treated Japanese as inferiors."[85] However, Korean culture was barely known among the Japanese. Kikuchi Kan, a Japanese novelist who founded the magazine *Bungei shunjū* (Literary age), pointed out that "Japanese generally know only about Mt. Kŭmgang and *kisaeng* (courtesans) when it comes to Korea."[86] In this context, Japanese colonial officials and intellectuals believed that introducing Korean culture could help Japan strengthen its colonial rule by appeasing Koreans' antagonism toward Japanese people.

The interpretation of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* by the Japanese government was closely related to the purpose of introducing Korean culture to the Japanese in the campaign of *naisen ittai*. The government encouraged the Shinkyō company to stage *Ch'unhyangjŏn* not for the sake of mutual understanding between Koreans and Japanese, but for the scheme to tighten its control over the colony. Minami tried efficiently to maintain cooperation from Koreans and strengthen the wartime mobilization system by presenting Japanese interest in Korean culture. However, at the same time, the Japanese government had to stress differences between Japanese and Koreans in order to rationalize its discrimination toward Koreans in the campaign of *naisen ittai*. In an attempt to elucidate the discriminatory attitude of the Japanese government in the campaign, Miyata examines a statement of a colonial official who articulated the process of achieving

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[84] Miyata Setsuko, "'Naisen ittai' no kōzō: Nicchū senka Chōsen shihai seisaku ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu," *Rekishigaku kenkyū*, no. 503 (April 1982): 1.

[85] "Minami sōtoku wa kataru," *Modan Nippon* (1940): 41.

[86] Kikuchi Kan, "Chōsenban e no kotoba," *Modan Nippon* (1939): 73.

naisen ittai. According to Miyata, Yamana Mikio, the Manager of the Planning Department at the office of the Governor-General of Korea, described the appropriate relationship between Koreans and Japanese people in the assimilation process as follows: "The Japanese must always stay two, three steps ahead to guide Koreans, and these Koreans must depend on and appreciate the Japanese."[87] Miyata argues that the Japanese government justified its discrimination against Koreans by assuming their "different levels of *kōminka* (imperialization)" in comparison with the Japanese.[88]

I argue that Shinkyō's performance of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* is an illuminating case that satisfied these contradictory political strategies of Japanese colonialism. In the colonial setting, *Ch'unhyangjŏn* had to be interpreted as a literary piece of Korea's past, which would demonstrate the gulf between modern Japan and premodern Korea thereby solidifying its grounds for colonial rule. While Japan refused to acknowledge modern aspects of Korean society by ignoring modern interpretation practices of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, it pretended to accept *traditional* Korean culture in order to appease Koreans' antagonism toward Japanese colonial rule.

The Governor-General of Korea published a review of Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, which was written by Sin T'ae-hyŏn, a colonial government official who represented the Japanese government's attitude toward *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, in its periodical *Chōsen* in December 1938. In this essay, Sin not only introduces critiques of Shinkyō's play but also explores *Ch'unhyangjŏn*'s literary history, forms, and content. However, this essay does not mention any modern interpretation practice in the early twentieth century. Sin argues that this classical literary piece represents the old ethics of Korean society because "*Ch'unhyangjŏn*, which emerged three hundred years ago, was created in a different system and culture from ours."[89] His essay refers to other critiques that condemned Shinkyō's lack of understanding of Korean society in the past because it included "problematic" scenes in its *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. Sin mentions the scene wherein Mongnyong drinks and shares a table with Pangja who belongs to a different class, agreeing with the opinion of other critics that "the company did not sufficiently study the culture and the custom of the period in which *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was written."[90] Furthermore, he suggests that when one presents *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, he or she "needs to have sufficient knowledge of a social lifestyle in that period, such as the old system and customs of Korea."[91]

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[87] Yamana Mikio, "Chōsenjin o chūshin to shite," *Naikaku sōryokusen kenkyūsho ni okeru kōen yōshi*, August 20, 1942, 14, quoted in Miyata Setsuko, "'Naisen ittai' no kōzō: Nicchū senka Chōsen shihai seisaku ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu," *Rekishigaku kenkyū*, no. 503 (April 1982): 9.

[88] Miyata Setsuko, "'Naisen ittai' no kōzō: Nicchū senka Chōsen shihai seisaku ni tsuite no ichikōsatsu," *Rekishigaku kenkyū*, no. 503 (April 1982): 9.

Specifically, Sin defines *Ch'unhyangjŏn* as "a moral novel that taught women's fidelity in the Chosŏn period." He goes further to insist that its moral lessons can be thought of as timeless.[92] As he recognizes, there are various reading practices of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* as a romantic novel or as a novel that stimulates class consciousness. However, according to this essay, *Ch'unhyangjŏn* should represent the old morals of Confucianism in Korea, not modern aspects as Yi Kwang-su and Yu Ch'i-jin have suggested. Sin concludes that *Ch'unhyangjŏn* not only presents "the old system and customs of Korea" but also attracts Korean people because "it links women's fidelity, which is a noble theme, to unique local and national emotions as well as customs of Korea."[93] This interpretation of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was obviously separated from the flow of modern interpretation practices.

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[89] Sin T'ae-hyŏn, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* jōen o mite," *Chōsen* (December 1938): 48.
[90] Ibid., 48-50.
[91] Ibid., 61.
[92] Ibid., 55.
[93] Ibid., 61.

Meanwhile, Korean intellectuals who were not officially affiliated with the Japanese government could also not continue the new interpretation process when Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was staged in the late 1930s. In roundtable discussions and critiques of Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in 1938 and 1939, Korean participants were preoccupied with the question of how accurately the company depicted Korean traditions of the past through historical research (*kōshō*).[94]

Japan designed a new social bond among Koreans by constructing a new identity as "Japanese" imperial subjects who were contradictorily positioned as inferior to *Japanese*. From the perspective of the Japanese government, Koreans were distinguished by their tradition, which might be unique but unrelated to modern aspects of current society. In the social context, Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* should have been linked to the assimilation policy, *naisen ittai*, reminding audiences of Korea's past, which was distinguishable from modernity. Therefore, the government did not allow an open interpretive process when the Shinkyō company staged *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, but only emphasized the significance of introducing traditional Korean culture to the Japanese as a campaign of *naisen ittai*. Simply put, it was the colonial interpretation of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* that would ultimately confine Korean culture in the frame of the past.

Conclusion

As a piece of oral literature, *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, which had been popular since the Chosŏn period, had power that drew people's attention because of its historicity and popularity. This power attracted both Korean intellectuals and Japanese colonial officials who were attempting to forge new forms of relationships among Koreans in the early twentieth century. In the Chosŏn period, Confucianism was the foundation of relationships among Koreans. However, the sweeping realignment of political power in East Asia created a need to replace the conventional system. As Andre Schmid argues, Korean intellectuals attempted to establish a new concept of *minjok* (the ethnic nation), which offered "an alternative locus for national existence and autonomy" between the periods of the decline of China and the emergence of Japanese colonialism.[95] Moreover, Japanese colonial rule made it difficult for Koreans to maintain "a natural bond," which Said calls "filiation," because Japan aimed to bond them to the different relationship, the imperial polity for the Japanese emperor.

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[94] For more information about Koreans' opinions on Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, see Serk-Bae Suh, *Treacherous Translation: Culture, Nationalism, and Colonialism in Korea and Japan from the 1910s to the 1960s* (Berkeley: Global, Area, and International Archive and University of California Press, 2013), 46-70.

Korean nationalists and leftists who paid attention to *Ch'unhyangjŏn* from the 1910s to the mid-1930s shed light on new values of this classical literary piece that gave readers a glimpse of modern Korea through their reinterpretations. In contrast, Japan ignored the new interpretations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, which linked the literary piece to modern society. Indeed, the colonial interpretation by Japanese authorities confined classical Korean literature to the temporal boundary of Chosŏn, identifying it as an old story of Korea. The Japanese government took advantage of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*'s popularity to appease Koreans' antagonism toward Japan in the process of building a mobilization system in the late 1930s. It ultimately aimed to affiliate Koreans with the imperial polity and at the same time keep them different from the Japanese. In this sense, the varying interpretations of the folktale stand as windows through which to examine the disparate views of a new society in colonial Korea.

Under the pressure of Japanese colonial rule, Korean intellectuals were not able to present their modern interpretations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* until Korea was liberated in 1945. It was only after the end of Japanese colonial rule that Koreans began exploring new possibilities of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. They not only produced alternative versions of the literary piece, but also redefined Shinkyō's performance, which the Japanese colonial government once tried to exploit for its colonial policy. The postcolonial reevaluation of the performance reminds us of Said's argument: "Once . . . [a] text goes into more than one copy the author's work is in the world and beyond authorial control."[96] In other words, spectators' interpretations can be varied despite any attempt of constraints on the ways in which literary work is understood. To iterate this further, I explore how Korean immigrants in Japan reinterpreted Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* soon after the end of Japanese colonial rule in Chapter 3. Zainichi Koreans, for their part, produced the English-language opera *Chun Hiang* with Murayama Tomoyoshi in the late 1940s, which embodies both the legacy of imperial Japan and the potential of decolonization in cultural relationships between Koreans and Japanese.

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[95] Andre Schmid, *Korea Between Empires, 1895-1919* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 17, 175.

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[96] Edward W. Said, *The World, the Text, and the Critic* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 33.

Chapter 2.

In a Gray Zone of the Japanese Empire: Variations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* by Murayama Tomoyoshi

Introduction

Murayama Tomoyoshi (1901-1977) was a leading figure in the proletarian theater movement in Japan. From the 1920s, Murayama was associated with a wide range of artistic works as playwright, theater producer, artist, and novelist. Since the onset of his interest in Korean culture in the 1920s, Murayama was involved in cultural productions in relation to Korea. Specifically, he attempted to produce plays, operas, a dance piece, and a film to present the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. I examine Murayama's varied intentions for producing *Ch'unhyangjŏn* pieces during and after the colonial period. In this chapter, I focus especially on his strategies to direct each version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* under Japanese colonial rule. Murayama's continual attempts to interpret various versions of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* during the colonial period illuminate the marginalized interactions between Koreans and Japanese. At the time, Japan sought to control and suppress communist activists for its imperial project. Japanese members of the proletarian movement, including Murayama, had to choose either to compromise, which meant cooperation with the authorities, or to resist from the 1920s through the 1940s. I argue that Murayama's manifold strategies of producing different versions of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* reflect his ambivalent position of being both a colonizer and an oppressed leftist figure within a gray zone of the Japanese empire.

Previous studies regarding the relationship between Murayama and Korea tend to evaluate his intention to produce works vis-à-vis Korean culture in the colonial period by focusing on his position as a "Japanese" figure. Lee Junsik argues that Murayama produced the works in relation to Korean culture because of "his love for Koreans."[1] Lee further insists that Murayama's understanding of ethnic Korean culture across borders teaches us "how to establish a true solidarity between Korean culture and Japanese culture."[2] Hayashi Kōji also asserts that "Murayama was interested in Korean culture and literature, deeply sympathizing with Korean people" during the colonial period.[3] On the contrary, Moon Kyoung Yeon highlights "the impossibility of communication between the colonizers and the colonized" due to "the split between the empire and the colony," examining several discussions between Murayama and Korean intellectuals during the colonial period.[4] These previous studies mostly focus on the play *Ch'unhyangjŏn* produced by the Japanese theater company Shinkyō in 1938.[5] Murayama, however, not only directed Shinkyō's play, but also produced a novel, a dance piece, and operatic works of the Korean folktale during and after the colonial period.[6] Thus, it is necessary to analyze his works not only in the colonial context, but also in the postcolonial period in order to evaluate his involvement in the production of Korean culture.

In *Recasting Red Culture in Proletarian Japan*, Samuel Perry shows the limitations of Japanese communist writers portraying the lives of colonial Koreans.[7] Perry argues that despite the limitations of their works, which were ineluctably linked to the dominant cultural modes of the Japanese empire, Japanese communist writers contributed to the possibility of expanding class analysis to include the experiences of Koreans across the borders. Reflecting Perry's insight, I probe Murayama's contradictory collaborations with both the Japanese empire and the Korean people. During the colonial period, Murayama's play *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was used to support the Japanese government that attempted to assimilate Koreans for war mobilization. However, Murayama also considered the emotions of the Koreans as the colonized when he produced his variations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, collaborating with Korean writers, crew, and artists. When Murayama directed his own version of the 1938 play, he suggested that the scriptwriter Chang Hyŏk-chu (1905-1998) include the banquet scene of Yu Ch'i-jin's script because Murayama understood that the scene was the highlight of the folktale for Korean audiences. It is noteworthy that Murayama also tried to make a Korean-language film and opera of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* from the late 1930s to 1945. In that period, Japan enforced its assimilation policies, such as "the name-changing campaign" (*sōshi kaimei*), which would ultimately annihilate Korean culture. Given the situation, the achievement of Murayama's plans was virtually impossible. Furthermore, his ambitious attempts were forgotten due to the failures of his production.

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[1] Lee Junsik, "Murayama Tomoyosi ŭi chinbojŏk yŏn'gŭk undong kwa Chosŏn munhwa sarang," *Yŏksa pip'yŏng*, no. 88 (August 2009): 280-302.

[2] Ibid., 300-301.

[3] Hayashi Kōji, "Murayama to Chōsen," in *Sengō Hi-Nichi bungaku ron* (Tokyo: Shinkansha, 1997), 117.

[4] Moon Kyoung Yeon, "1930-yŏndae mal Shinhyŏp ŭi Ch'unhyangjŏn kongyŏn kwallyŏn chwadamhoe yŏn'gu," *Uri ŏmun yŏn'gu* 36 (2010): 471-504.

[5] In addition to the previous studies, Shirakawa Yutaka's "Chang Hyŏkchu saku gikyoku *Ch'unhyangjŏn* to sono jōen (1938)" and Tonomura Masaru's "Chōsen minzoku ni totte no 1938 nen Shinkyō gekidan *Ch'unhyangjŏn*" also examine Murayama's role in producing Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. Shirakawa Yutaka, "Chang Hyŏkchu saku gikyoku *Ch'unhyangjŏn* to sono jōen (1938)," in Shirakawa Yutaka, *Shokuminchi ki Chōsen no sakka to nihon* (Tokyo: Daigaku Kyōiku Shuppan, 1995); Tonomura Masaru, "Chōsen minzoku ni totte no 1938 nen Shinkyō gekidan *Ch'unhyangjŏn*," *Zainichi Chōsenjin shi kenkyū* no. 48 (October 2018): 29-48.

[6] Yang In-sil examines the production process of the film *Ch'unhyangjŏn* by Murayama Tomoyoshi. Yang In-sil, "1930 nendai Nihon teikoku nai ni okeru bunka 'kōryū': eiga '*Ch'unhyangjŏn*' no juyō o chūshin ni," *Ritsumeikan gengo bunka kenkyū*, vol. 24, no. 2 (2013): 55-72.

[7] Samuel Perry, *Recasting Red Culture in Proletarian Japan: Childhood, Korea, and the Historical Avant-Garde*. (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2014).

This chapter tracks the records of Murayama's activity to clarify his intention of creating various versions of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. In doing so, it sheds light on Murayama's ambiguous positioning within the marginal spaces found between the pressure of the empire and his empathy with the colonized. While Murayama shared the feelings of the colonized, he was not able to separate himself from the colonial practices of the Japanese empire.

Murayama's Encounter with Korean Culture (1928-1938)

Shinkyō's play *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was the first adaptation of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* that Murayama directed. This piece, which was written by Chang Hyŏk-chu, was staged in Japan and Korea in 1938.[8] While producing this play, Murayama clarified his motivation to ask Chang to write the play as follows: "I have been interested in classical Korean literature for a long time and had aspirations to stage it in Japan."[9] His "long time" interest spanned about ten years, starting in the late 1920s. In March 1928, the great oppression against the Communist Party took place in Japan. Murayama, who was a member of the Alliance of Vanguard Artists (Zen'ei geijutsuka dōmei) at that time, went to Atami to escape from the influence of the oppression.[10] During his stay in Atami, he visited "a small restaurant for laborers, especially Koreans."[11] In his autobiography, Murayama mentions that his encounter with Koreans at this restaurant aroused his interest in Korea:

> I saw a young woman who wore Korean clothes for the first time [at the restaurant]. I heard [the Korean songs,] *Arirang* and *Toraji*, from her who did not yet know Japanese.
>
> They were colonized by Japan, confronted hardships because of the Japanese, and were even massacred in that way during the Great Kantō Earthquake. I, as a conqueror (*seifuku sha*), felt great guilt towards the people and intended to show a special sense of affection [for them] somehow. At the moment, I felt a romantic, even sexual degree of attachment (*seiteki na kyūchaku ryoku*).
>
> I think that this moment was the beginning of my interest in—and, at a later time, my special attachment to—the country and the people of Korea.[12]

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[8] It was staged in Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, Japan and in Kyŏngsŏng, P'yŏngyang, Taejŏn, Chŏnju, Kunsan, Pusan, and Taegu, Korea. "Gekidan nyūsu," *Gekidan Shinkyō gekidan* (April 1938): 1; Akita Ujaku, "Chōsen junkai kōen o oete," *Teatoro* (December 1938): 33.

[9] "Murayama Tomoyoshi shi to kataru Chōsen, Chōsenjin, *Ch'unhyangjŏn*." *Chōsen kōron* (March 1938): 74.

[10] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Engeki teki jijoden 59," *Teatoro* (June 1972): 128.

[11] Ibid., 129.

[12] Ibid.

While Murayama was "a conqueror" of the Korean people and felt guilty towards the colonized, he was also afraid of his arrest by the Japanese government as a leader of the proletarian cultural movement. Such a contradictory position—as both a conqueror and an oppressed person in the empire—is reflected in the varied directions of his *Ch'unhyangjŏn* pieces.

In the late 1920s—when Murayama became interested in Korea—the Korean proletarian cultural movement in Japan arose.[13] Specifically, in 1927, the Tokyo branch of KAPF (Korea Artista Proleta Federatio) was established. At that time, Murayama was the Chairman of PROT (Japana Proleta Teatra Unio) under the control of KOPF (Japanese Federation of Proletarian Cultural Organization, or Federacio de Proletaj Kultur-Organizoj Japanaj); thus, he was able to continue communicating with Koreans who were involved in the proletarian movement in Japan.

Murayama's opinion on an ethnic group of Zainichi Korean members in KOPF reflects his perception of the Korean theater movement in the early 1930s. In November 1931, the KOPF members discussed how they would deal with Dōshisha which consisted of Zainichi Korean leftists who wanted to join KOPF.[14] The Comintern (Communist International), an organization established by Lenin in 1919, introduced the principle of the one-party system within a given country. By drawing on this principle, the KOPF members argued that "it was theoretically impossible for us to have two different ethnic organizations in the country while keeping a principle of forming a united front of Japanese and Korean arts in Japan."[15] The KOPF members suggested that a council of Korea (Chōsen kyōgikai) should be established in place of Dōshisha. However, Murayama contended that "an ethnic nation (*minzoku*) should have freedom to establish a cultural organization of its own nation."[16] He further insisted that "Dōshisha should be a local branch of KAPF"[17] because "Koreans needed to have their own cultural and mass organization . . . in Japan."[18] At the heart of Murayama's opinion was the conviction that the Zainichi Korean theater movement should be distinguished from the Japanese proletarian cultural movement because "the political and economic situations in Korea related to [Koreans'] proletarian cultural movement are different from those in Japan."[19] Despite Murayama's recognition of the necessity of Dōshisha in KOPF, KAPF ordered for the Korean members to disband. Instead, a council of Korea was established within KOPF.

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[13] Niki Aiko, "1920-30 nendai Zainichi Chōsenjin no engeki undo," *Zainichi Chōsenjin shi kenkyū* (September 1983): 29-38.

[14] Zainichi Koreans who belonged to Musansha-sha, Tokyō Chōsen puroretaria engeki kenkyū kai, et cetera, which were founded after the Tokyo branch of KAPF was dismissed in 1929, established Dōshisha in November 1931. Kōan chōsachō, *Zai-Nihon Chōsenjin no gaikyō* (August 1953), 145-154.

[15] Kōan chōsachō, *Zai-Nihon Chōsenjin no gaikyō* (August 1953), 153.

In May 1932, Murayama was arrested because of the suppression of the proletarian cultural movement.[20] After he was released in December 1933,[21] he declared his abandonment of Marxism (*tenkō*) during his trial at the Tokyo District Court in March 1934.[22] However, Murayama reminisced about this period as follows: "Even though I decided not to be involved in any political movement, I never changed my belief in Marxism and was willing to continue theater movements."[23] Therefore, the conversion at the time was a *disguise*.

Under the oppression of the proletarian movement, Murayama, who still maintained his interest in Korean culture, formed the Japanese theatrical company Shinkyō in September 1934. He published his essay, "Chōsen no engeki no tame ni" (For Korean theater), in December 1934.[24] In this essay, Murayama mentions his memory of an October 1934 music and dance festival for Zainichi Koreans who were affected by storm and flooding. Reflecting on "the [Korean] audiences' raptures," he insists that "their craving, which is like burning, for ethnic culture must be fulfilled."[25] In addition, he helped several Korean theatrical organizations in Japan search for a way to continue their activities under the suppression of leftist movements by organizing a joint meeting in July 1935.[26]

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[16] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Purotto no shin hōshin to shin soshiki no kongo no tenkai," *Purotto* (January 1932): 14.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Kōan chōsachō, *Zai-Nihon Chōsenjin no gaikyō* (August 1953), 153.

[19] Ibid.

[20] "Tettei teki na dai danatsu ni puro bunka renmei kaimetsu," *Tokyo Asahi shinbun*, April 11, 1932.

[21] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Shuki," in *Shisō shiryō panfuretto tokushū gokuhi: Shinkyō gekidan kankeisha shuki*, ed. Shihōshō keijikyoku. March 1941, 1.

[22] Ibid., 7.

[23] Ibid., 8.

[24] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen no engeki no tame ni," *Teatoro* (December 1932): 9.

After becoming interested in Korean culture in the late 1920s, Murayama built relationships with Zainichi Koreans, especially through the proletarian theater movement. He also visited cultural events that were produced by Koreans in Japan, such as Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi's dance performances, and even published a novel, entitled "Aru koroni no rekishi" (A history of a colony), which was about a Korean village in Japan.[27] Through such activities, Murayama gradually discovered Koreans' thirst for ethnic culture and began to relate his works to Korean culture.

Murayama and Shinkyō's play *Ch'unhyangjŏn*

As examined in Chapter 1, the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was frequently interpreted during the colonial period. Among the diverse adaptations of this Korean folktale, Shinkyō's play was the first production to be incorporated in the assimilation policy, *naisen ittai*, by the Japanese government. Murayama targeted both "Koreans and Japanese as the audience members" with the intention of producing *Ch'unhyangjŏn* "in the most Korean way."[28] Thus, Murayama visited Korea with his staff, An Yŏng-il and Niki Dokujin, in February 1938 for the first time.[29] This trip allowed Murayama, who had been interested in Zainichi Korean cultural activities for about ten years, to deepen his understanding of Korea. Moreover, he was able to gain support from Koreans in Korea.[30]

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[25] Ibid., 7-10.

[26] Kōan chōsachō, *Zai-Nihon Chōsenjin no gaikyō* (August 1953), 167.

[27] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen no waga tomo e," *Keijō nippō*, January 13, 1939.

[28] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Enshutsusha no kotoba," *Teatoro panfuretto: Ch'unhyangjŏn* (March 1938): 7-9.

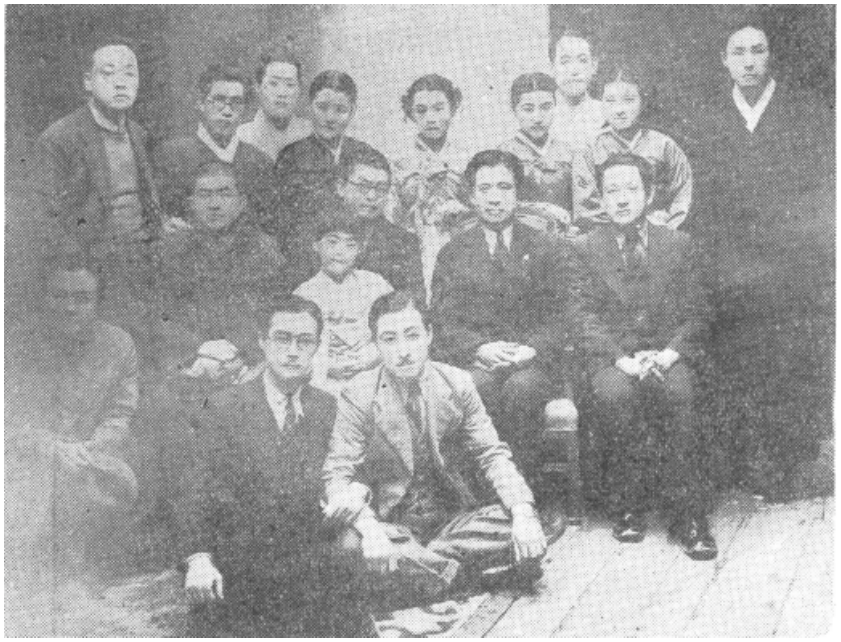

Figure 1. Murayama posed for a group photograph when he visited the Korean theatrical company Hohwasŏn in Korea in February 1938. Sitting in chairs from left to right are Niki, Murayama, An, and Hong Hae-sŏng. *Gekkan Shinkyō gekidan*, no. 35, March 8, 1938.

In the pamphlet of the play, Murayama mentions that when he went to Korea with his staff, "Koreans made a program, guided [them] and explained in the hope of helping [them] correctly understand Korea."[31] Furthermore, in Japan, Zainichi Koreans participated in producing the play. According to Murayama, "[Korean] dancer Pae Ku-ja, novelist Kim Sich'ang (Kim Sa-ryang), and the members of the [Korean] Student Art Theater" helped them during rehearsals for the play in Tokyo.[32] An Yŏng-il, a Korean member of Shinkyō, especially played a crucial role in planning the play, while Murayama led the whole process of the production.[33]

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[29] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen no waga tomo e," *Keijō nippō*, January 13, 1939.

[30] For example, Song Sŏk-ha (archeologist), Yu Ch'i-jin (writer), Sim yŏng (actor), Hong Nan-p'a (composer), Yi Kyŏng-t'ae (musician), An Sŏg-yŏng (film director), Kim Yong-sŭng (musician), Kim Sŏk-ku, Yi Tong-baek, Ch'oe Nam-ju (The President of the Korean Film Company), Yi Chae-myŏng (An executive of the Korean Film Company) guided them in Korea. Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Enshutsusha no kotoba," *Teatoro panfuretto: Ch'unhyangjŏn* (March 1938): 10.

[31] Murayama Tomoyoshi. "Enshutsusha no kotoba," *Teatoro panfuretto: Ch'unhyangjŏn* (March 1938): 10.

Moreover, Tonomura Masaru argues, Murayama decided to produce the play not only because he was interested in Korean culture, but also because he needed to convince the Japanese government that the Shinkyō company was not connected to communism.[34] In January 1938, Sugimoto Ryōkichi, a member of the Shinkyō company, eloped with Okamoto Yoshiko, an actress, to the Soviet Union. After the incident, Murayama was summoned to appear before the police in order to attest that the theater company was not connected to the Soviet Union. Citing Murayama's interview with Tosaka Yasuji,[35] Tonomura reveals that Murayama produced the play to show the company's cooperation with the Japanese government.[36] As examined in Chapter 1, the Japanese government introduced Korean culture to the Japanese as a practice of *naisen ittai* to maintain Korean cooperation within the wartime mobilization system. Murayama's plan to introduce the Korean folktale to Japanese audiences through the play was in line with the government's policy of *naisen ittai*.

However, Murayama's purpose in producing *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was not completely identical to that of the Japanese government. While the Japanese government recognized the significance of the play only for its Japanese audiences, Murayama considered its acceptance by

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[32] Ibid.

[33] Tonomura Masaru, "Chōsen minzoku ni totte no 1938 nen Shinkyō gekidan *Ch'unhyangjŏn*," *Zainichi Chōsenjin shi kenkyū* no. 48 (October 2018): 35.

[34] Ibid., 36.

[35] Tosaka Yasuji, *Taidan: Nihon shingeki shi* (Seiasha, 1961), 241, quoted in Tonomura Masaru, "Chōsen minzoku ni totte no 1938 nen Shinkyō gekidan *Ch'unhyangjŏn*," *Zainichi Chōsenjin shi kenkyū* no. 48 (October 2018): 36.

[36] Ibid.

Korean audiences as well. When Murayama produced the play, he was conscious of Koreans' strong desire for their ethnic culture.[37] Even though Murayama acknowledged that the Shinkyō company staged the play in accordance with Japan's imperial policy—to introduce Korean culture to Japanese audiences—he also mentioned that "[the Shinkyō company] intended to bring the play to *Korean* audiences from Japan."[38] However, the Japanese government did not pay attention to how the play would impact Koreans. They consistently emphasized that the Japanese theater company Shinkyō presented Korean culture to the Japanese. A review of the play *Ch'unhyangjŏn* published in *Chōsen*, the Japanese government's periodical, was also written only for "the readers who were not knowledgeable about the old culture and customs of Korea."[39]

Murayama aimed to provide ethnic culture to Koreans in the late 1930s, which deviated from the government's policy, because he sympathized with Koreans who tried to keep their language and culture under the assimilation policy. However, he was also aware that the play *Ch'unhyangjŏn* could ironically support the imperial policy.

A Film, a Dance Piece, and Operas of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* (1938-1945)

After staging the play in 1938, Murayama planned to create a film, a dance piece, and operas of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. Each adaptation was produced with different plans with regard to language and targeted audiences. In the process of producing the play, Murayama ascertained the emotions of Koreans who resisted the Japanese translation of classical Korean literature. Of his plans to make various adaptations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, Murayama only achieved the staging of a dance piece in the 1940s; however, this piece was also performed to console Japanese soldiers, thus serving the imperial policy.

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[37] "Murayama Tomoyoshi shi to kataru Chōsen, Chōsenjin, *Ch'unhyangjŏn*," *Chōsen kōron* (March 1938): 74.

[38] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen to no kōryū," *Tokyo Asahi shinbun*, September 15, 1938, italics mine.

[39] Sin T'ae-hyŏn, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* jōen o mite," *Chōsen* (December 1938), 61.

After finishing the performance of the 1938 play *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in Japan, he set about making a film. In May 1938, he visited Korea again to prepare "the film *Ch'unhyangjŏn* which would be produced by the Korean Film Company (Chōsen eiga-gaisha)."[40] Murayama planned to shoot the film in 1939 and complete it by the spring of 1940.[41] His direction of the film was distinguishable from that of Shinkyō's play. Specifically, Murayama wrote the script for the film, aiming to broaden the targeted audiences beyond the Koreans and Japanese. Murayama described his goal of writing the script as follows:

> While Chang Hyŏk-chu's script targeted Japanese audiences, Yu Ch'i-jin wrote [his] script for Korean audiences. However, I intend to target Japanese, Korean and, furthermore, foreigners.[42]

He lists three reasons for including "foreigners" as spectators: recovering the costs, developing Korean cinema, and the universality of the content.[43] According to Murayama, his script targeted "overseas audiences" because *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, "a pride of Korea," contains content that would resonate with a broader audience beyond nations and borders.[44]

Moreover, in contrast to Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, Murayama attempted to "create a Korean-language film with Korean actors [and actresses]."[45] Thus, the script would be translated into Korean; in Japan, it would be revoiced in Japanese.[46] In terms of the language and ethnicity of the performers, this film was also different from Shinkyō's play, which was staged in Japanese and performed by Japanese actors and actresses—even though some Korean members of the company also performed in the play. In his essay, Murayama clarified his purpose in making the film as follows:

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[40] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* yodan," *Keijō nippō*, May 31, 1938.

[41] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* (shinario): Chōsen eiga kabushikigaisha no tame ni," *Bungaku kai* (January 1939): 141.

[42] Ibid., 140.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

> First of all, I wanted to make this film a *Korean* film as much as possible. Secondly, I wanted to make *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, which is completely Korean, thoroughly retain its Koreanness. Thirdly, I thought that it (the Korean-language film) could satisfy the ideal of the folktale artistically without a fault.[47]

As shown in Chapter 1, Murayama combined Kabuki's *esprit* and Korean styles of acting even though he aimed to make the play *Ch'unhyangjŏn* "in the most Korean way." However, in the course of staging the play, he developed his understanding of Koreans' critical responses to the Japanese-language performance of the Korean folktale.

Interestingly, Murayama's novel "Tansei" (Red and blue), which was completed in September 1939, mirrors his consciousness of Korean audiences.[48] "Tansei" was included in *Meiki*, the collection of his novels written about Korea.[49] In "Tansei," the protagonist Midorikawa, who is a famous screenwriter, is invited to Korea for a film planned by a Korean film company. Kim Hong-sik, the Chairman of the film company, tells Midorikawa: "If we don't make a film that is *the most Koreanized* (*mottomo Chōsen teki na eiga*), there is no point in making it."[50] Kim takes Midorikawa, who is visiting Korea for the first time, to the houses of the *yangban* class, villages of the lower classes (*domakumin no buraku*), a local bar, and so on, to introduce him to Korea. While staying in Korea, Midorikawa becomes aware of the distrust, criticism, and expectations that Koreans have of him. In this novel, Murayama particularly portrays Midorikawa's internal conflict as a Japanese figure in the process of meeting Koreans.

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[47] Ibid.

[48] Murayama Tomoyoshi published "Tansei" from *Chūō kōron* in October 1939. I mentioned September because he wrote "September 1939" in "Tansei," which was included in *Meiki*. Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Meiki* (Tokyo: Kyōdo Shobō, June 1948), 125.

[49] Murayama Tomoyoshi, *Meiki* (Tokyo: Kyōdō Shobō, 1948). This book consists of "Aru koroni no rekishi" (May 1936), "Kimu kun mimai" (August 1935), "Tansei" (September 1939), "Meiki" (March 1946), and "Nihonjin tachi" (June 1946).

[50] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Tansei," in *Meiki* (Tokyo: Kyōdo Shobō, 1948), italics in the original.

The career path of Midorikawa is similar to that of Murayama. Furthermore, several instances of Midorikawa's dialogue in the novel rephrase portions of Murayama's essays. Thus, an analysis of this novel shows how Murayama interpreted Koreans' perceptions of a Japanese figure who was interested in Korea during the colonial period. In order to clarify Murayama's consciousness in directing the film *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, I examine how Murayama described Koreans' reactions to Shinkyō's play *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in "Tansei." Murayama delineates the protagonist's relationship with Korea as follows:

> Midorikawa has loved Korea, in particular, for many reasons. He has taken care of young Korean men who came to Japan to study the arts, supported theater companies that Koreans organized in Japan, and shown deep interest in cultural movements in Korea. Such things have continued for ten years. Therefore, it was natural for him to be loved by and gain attention from Korean people.[51]

The Koreans arrange a plan for Midorikawa, who is interested in Korea and has built relationships with Korean artists for ten years, to "make the Japanese man thoroughly know Korea."[52] Midorikawa describes their efforts as "their strong love toward their land and people."[53]

However, during the trip, Midorikawa confronts the gaps between the thoughts of Koreans and his own. In one scene, the protagonist debates translations of classical Korean literature with Koreans. At a publishing company, Midorikawa meets some Koreans who plan to publish the series of classical Korean literature. Midorikawa suggests that they not only publish the series in Korean but also translate it into Japanese. In his mind, "it would be better to be known despite its incompleteness than not to be known at all."[54] However, the Koreans react by saying, "Nobody should translate classical Korean literature [because] it is a profanation."[55] They contend that "certain Korean emotions can be expressed only in Korean."[56] Through the protagonist's words, Murayama demonstrates his interpretation of their logic, which resists the translation practices of classical Korean literature, as "their attachment to language" (*kotoba ni taisuru aijō*).[57] Moreover, in Midorikawa's narrative, language is distinguished from "the idea of politics or utility," which literary scholars discuss.[58] However, Midorikawa argues that "language adheres to people through blood and strongly lives [in them]."[59] Murayama connects the debate to the Korean reactions to Shinkyō's play *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. After "the fierce debate" on translating classical Korean literature into Japanese, a Korean woman tells Midorikawa:

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[51] Ibid., 75.
[52] Ibid., 78.
[53] Ibid.

> You probably think that our position on translation is awfully unreasonable, right? But I still think that translating classical Korean literature is a profanation. On the one hand, I want to confront people who think that [we] don't have culture with [classical literature], saying, "look at this." On the other hand, I want to just embrace the excellent classical literature without a stain, thinking that "[I need to keep] this at least." So, when I watched Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, on the one hand, I was glad. On the other hand, I wanted to exclaim: "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* is not that!"[60]

In "Tansei," by using Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, which he directed, Murayama portrayed the dual emotions that Korean audiences had when they encountered a Japanese translation of classical Korean literature. Especially, he described that the foundation of the emotion was "the sadness" of Koreans who faced the situation where "the Korean language . . . was perishing."[61] It is noteworthy that Murayama wrote the same content in his essay about the Koreans' perception of the Japanese translation. In his essay "Chōsen bungaku ni tsuite" (About Korean literature), Murayama implied his response to the Korean writers and critics who were opposed to translating Korean literature in Japanese by explaining:

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[54] Ibid., 103.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Ibid.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Ibid.
[60] Ibid., 104-105.

> When I think about [the opposition], it is not a mere theoretical denial of translation (*hon'yaku hitei ron*) but [their] attachment to a gradually perishing language and tenacity in agony.[62]

To sum up, Murayama interpreted the uneasiness of Koreans at the Japanese-language version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* that he produced as "their attachment" to the Korean language.

Murayama responded to their attachment to the language by producing the film *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in Korean using Korean actors and actresses. Publishing the script, which he wrote in Japanese, he elucidated his idea of directing the film: "At this moment, these ideas are yet [my] *hope* and *dream*. No one knows if they will be achieved in the end."[63] Given his comment, Murayama was not confident of the achievement of his plan. Despite the indefinite situation, Murayama steadily prepared to make the film. For example, Murayama visited P'yŏngyang with his staff in order to choose an actress for Ch'unhyang's character. In his essay, Murayama mentions that he "interviewed several *kisaeng* and finally chose one" even though he forgot her name.[64] According to him, he went to P'yŏngyang because he could not find a proper person for the role of the heroine.[65] In *Modan Nippon*, Wang Sŏng-suk, *a kisaeng*, reminisces about Murayama's interview.

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[61] Ibid.

[62] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen bungaku ni tsuite," *Bungaku kai* (May 1940), 161.

[63] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Ch'unhyangjŏn (shinario): Chōsen eiga kabushikigaisha no tame ni," *Bungaku kai* (January 1939): 140, italics in the original.

[64] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* enshutsu techō," *Ongaku geijutsu* (February 1949): 32.

> MODERATER. Murayama came [to P'yŏngyang] to find an actress to play Ch'unhyang in the film, right?
>
> WANG SŎNG-SUK. Right. It was his second visit. I took Yi Pok-hwa to the house to introduce her [to him]. He was impressed, saying that "she . . . is promising." However, he seemed to worry, thinking that it could be hard [for him] to train her to be an outstanding actress. Nevertheless, he was also confident of excellently incorporating her [into the film] in three months if they worked hard . . .[66]

It is unclear if Yi Pok-hwa was finally chosen as Ch'unhyang. However, this interview clarifies that Murayama actually prepared for the Korean-language film to be produced with Korean actors and actresses. For Mongnyong's role, Cho Taik Won (Cho T'aek-wŏn), a Korean dancer who had performed mainly in Tokyo, was selected.[67] However, this plan was canceled because of the film company's financial difficulties.[68] In January 1939, when Murayama attempted to film it, he made an intriguing comment: "While I work hard for the film, I will make more of an effort to know Korea. I feel that my *lifework* is buried in it."[69]

However, his script for the film possibly supported the legitimacy of Japanese colonial tutelage by criticizing the Korean dynasty, which was ended by Japanese colonial rule.[70] In the middle part of the script, Murayama specifically portrays the landscape of *Souru* (Seoul) through Mongnyong's perspective. Mongnyong comes to Seoul because his father Yi Chun-sang, who was the local governor in Namwŏn, has been assigned to a position at the Royal Secretariat (*Sŭngjŏngwŏn*). Yi Chun-sang was highly respected by the local residents in Namwŏn to the extent that they erected a monument to the memory of his "good government" when he left for Seoul.[71] Soon after arriving in Seoul, Yi Chun-sang visits the Minister Yun Yŏ-gong's house. In the scene, Yi, who was known as "a genuine governor," secretly asks Yun to pass his son Mongnyong on the state examination; Yun accepts his request.[72] Murayama connects this scene of the clandestine meeting, which indicates that corrupt practices are quite common in the society without exception, to the conversation between Mongnyong and the Minister's son Yun Ki-sŭng. Walking on the street, Yun Ki-sŭng talks about how the Chosŏn dynasty has exploited the people to repair the ramparts surrounding Seoul. He cynically evaluates the ongoing repair of the ramparts, asserting that they cannot shield Korea from the invasions of the Qing dynasty and Japan because "there is no one who will stay there to protect [the capital]."[73] Furthermore, Yun especially criticizes the current government, which consists of "inefficient people."[74] He argues that the factional officials are continually occupied with "jealousy and lust for power," which define the status of the current government.[75]

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[65] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* zuisō," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948): 4.

[66] "Pyonyan kisen naichi meishi o kataru zadankai," *Modan Nippon* (November 1939): 245.

[67] Ishii Baku, "Waga Chōsen kōyū roku: Sai Shōki to sono hoka," *Modan Nippon* (November 1939): 236.

[68] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* zuisō," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948): 4; Kim Sa-ryang points out that it might have been canceled because Murayama was arrested in August 1940. Kim Sa-ryang. "Chaeil Chosŏnin yŏngŭk undong ŭi chŏngae kwajŏng kwa kongyŏn pangsik yŏngu." (Ph.D. dissertation, Seoul National University, 2016).

[69] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen no waga tomo e," *Keijō nippō*, January 13, 1939, italics mine.

[70] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* (shinario): Chōsen eiga kabushikigaisha no tame ni," *Bungaku kai* (January 1939): 139-190.

Interestingly, Murayama frames Pyŏn Hakto's misgovernment as a result of his lust for power and jealousy of Mongnyong's father. Pyŏn, who was the newly appointed local governor in Namwŏn, compares himself to the former governor, Yi Chun-sang. Pyŏn tells his servant about Yi as follows:

> "I hate Yi Chun-sang! . . . I have a grudge against him. Even though he is also a member of my faction, my grudge never disappears . . . We passed the state examination in the

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[71] Ibid., 161.
[72] Ibid., 165.
[73] Ibid., 167-168.
[74] Ibid., 167.
[75] Ibid., 168.

> same year. However, I played second fiddle to [him] because he was always superior to me. People might envy me for my rapid success. However, Yi always stays a step ahead. It makes me uncomfortable. My mind is not satisfied all the time because of him."[76]

This scene depicts Pyŏn, who generally represents the current corrupt ruling class in *Ch'unhyangjŏn* pieces, as a governor who embodies the characteristics of the traditional *Korean* ruling class that Yun condemned in his conversation with Mongnyong. In doing so, Murayama prevents this script from being interpreted as an allegory of the criticism of current Japanese colonial officials. This choice might reflect the social circumstance whereby the Japanese government kept an eye on the activities of Murayama and his Korean staff. However, Murayama's critical portrayal of the traditional Korean political leaders implies that Korea had serious internal problems within the political system, which should have been reformed. In this regard, the script contained certain aspects for rationalizing Japanese colonization.

Nevertheless, Murayama's script is also open to a different interpretation. Murayama frequently highlights the willingness of young characters, such as Mongnyong and Yun, to correct the political system operated by the factional officials, which connotes a hopeful development of the nation. Apart from the Minister holding no authority in choosing the top candidate, Mongnyong holds the top position.[77] This scene proves that Mongnyong did not pass the examination by favor of the Minister. Thus, the future of the nation in this script seems to depend on the ability and efforts of young Korean leaders. Furthermore, Murayama includes a scene where Yun Ki-sŭng tries to ask his father to edit his poem of farewell.[78] Yun wrote the poem for Sin Ch'ŏng-ch'ŏn who would go to Japan for a courtesy visit to the newly inaugurated

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[76] Ibid., 172.
[77] Ibid., 168.
[78] Ibid., 166-167.

Kanpaku (Regent to the Emperor), Minamoto Yoshimune.[79] According to Yun's description, even though Sin was unwilling to leave his "aged mother," a senior envoy forced him to go to Japan.[80] Sin considers the situation to be an inevitable "curse" on his life.[81] This unconventional anecdote, which is rarely seen in other *Ch'unhyangjŏn* texts, may reflect Murayama's interpretation of how Koreans understood Japanese colonization. In other words, the scene, which seems to show the political connection between Korea and Japan, creates a new space for presenting the grief of Koreans for their separation from their old nation.[82]

Murayama's interest in Korea, which was linked to his "lifework," did not cease despite the failure of the plan to produce a Korean-language film. He began a new project: making an opera of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. His new project, which he worked on with Takagi Tōroku, began at the point when he failed to film *Ch'unhyangjŏn*.[83] Takagi composed the 1948 opera *Chun Hiang*, which I examine in the next chapter. According to Takagi, he requested that Murayama direct and write a script for an opera as he discovered several operatic aspects in Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn*.[84] However, even though Takagi started composing the first three acts "in Shōwa 14 and 15 (1939 and 1940)," he could not present the opera because the score was completely burnt to ashes during the war.[85]

After failing to complete the opera, Murayama helped adapt *Ch'unhyangjŏn* into a dance piece. Murayama directed a dance presentation that was performed by Cho Taik Won in January 1940 at the Hibiya Public Hall. Cho presented his new dance pieces, *Hak* (or *Tsuru*, Crane) and

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[79] Ibid., 166.

[80] Ibid., 166-167.

[81] Ibid.

[82] It is possible that Murayama may have borrowed elements from the Korean folktale *Simch'ŏngchŏn* for this scene about the fictional character Sin Ch'ŏng-ch'ŏn.

[83] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* zuisō," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948): 4.

[84] Takagi Tōroku, "Opera *Chun Hiang* ni tsuite: Sakkyokusha no kotoba," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948): 1.

[85] Ibid.

Ch'unhyangjŏn chogok (or *Ch'unhyangjŏn kumikyoku*, the *Ch'unhyangjŏn* dance suites), under the direction of Murayama.[86] Cho requested that Takagi and Murayama produce *Hak*.[87] Accepting Cho's request, Takagi composed symphonic music, which consisted of four chapters: Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter.[88] Murayama then directed a dance piece that portrays the life of a crane.[89] Takagi's work was played by the Central Symphony Orchestra (Chūō kōkyō gakudan); Cho performed *Hak* with about a hundred dancers from the Ishii Baku Dance Research Center (Ishii Baku buyō kenkyūjo).[90] However, according to Cho, *Hak*, which was developed over the course of one year, "was not successful as an artistic work."[91]

Meanwhile, *Ch'unhyangjŏn chogok*, another dance piece directed by Murayama, was extremely successful even though "it was performed as a supplementary work to *Hak*" for his dance presentation.[92] It was Murayama who proposed the original plan of *Ch'unhyangjŏn chogok*, which consists of six suites.[93] *Ch'unhyangjŏn chogok* was performed in Japan, Korea, and China during the colonial period. In April and June 1940, Cho performed this dance piece in Korea at "Cho Taik Won's New Dance Piece: *Ch'unhyangjŏn* Performance."[94] It was also performed in Beijing, Jinan, Qingdao and Zhangjiakou, China "to entertain the imperial soldiers" (*kōgun imon*) after the performance in Korea.[95]

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[86] "Cho Taik Won sinjak muyong: *Hak*, *Ch'unhyangjŏn* kongyŏn," *Tonga ilbo*, January 7, 1940.

[87] Cho Taik Won, *Kasahojŏp: Ch'angjak muyong pansegi* (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1973), 175; Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* enshutsu techō," *Ongaku geijutsu* (February 1949): 31; "Geinōsai ni sakigakete: Shinshun 1 gatsu no nigiwai," *Asahi shinbun*, January 9, 1940.

[88] Takagi Tōroku, "Opera *Chun Hiang* ni tsuite: Sakkyokusha no kotoba," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948), 1.

[89] Cho Taik Won, *Kasahojŏp: Ch'angjak muyong pansegi* (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1973), 176.

[90] Ibid., 175.

[91] Ibid., 175-177.

[92] Ibid., 178.

[93] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* enshutsu techō," *Ongaku geijutsu* (February 1949): 32.

[94] Cho Taik Won, *Kasahojŏp: Ch'angjak muyong pansegi* (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1973), 209.

[95] Ibid., 216-217.

Murayama's Stay in Korea around the End of Japanese Colonial Rule

In August 1940, the Metropolitan Police Department (Keishichō) ordered the Shinkyō company "to voluntarily dissolve the organization," defining the company as "a theater company based on socialist ideas."[96] Murayama was arrested, along with those who had belonged to other leftist theater companies.[97] After he was imprisoned for two years, Murayama moved to Korea in 1945. Murayama stated that he "was escaping to Korea,"[98] explaining the context as follows:

> At that time, we, thought criminals (*shisō hannin*), were observed by the [Thought Criminal] Protection and Supervision Centers (Hogo kansatsusho). All of [our] actions were under the supervision of a guidance officer. The war gradually became fierce and amphibious landing operations in Japan were even expected. The rumor that the military authorities would put us into a prison together had leaked out from the courts and the Protection and Supervision Centers . . . The Protection and Supervision Centers had meetings in order to discuss [how they would] make us volunteer to become conscripted workers at war plants. [In the plan,] we were supposed to be workers while staging plays for propaganda purposes in war practices. The task would be intolerable for me.[99]

Labeled a thought criminal, Murayama decided to depart Japan.[100] In March 1945, he went to Korea as a member of the Association for Korean Theater and Culture (Chōsen engeki bunka kyōkai) under the Police Affairs Bureau in the Governor-General of Korea.[101]

While in Korea, Murayama stayed at three Korean families' houses, including Cho Taik Won's house.[102] According to Murayama, he neither associated with other Japanese nor ate Japanese cuisine in Korea.[103] Interestingly, Murayama did not abandon his attempt to produce another Korean-language operatic version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. The opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was co-planned by Cho and two Korean composers, Hyŏn Che-myŏng and Kim Sŏng-t'ae.[104] They aimed to produce a Korean-language opera and stage it in September 1945.[105] For this plan, Murayama wrote the script; Chang Myŏng-am, a poet, translated it into Korean.[106] By August 1945, the translation of the script was completed; Kim Sŏng-t'ae also wrote two acts of the music; Cho arranged the choreography for the prologue; actors practiced the first two acts.[107] The cast and the crew are listed in Table 2.1.

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[96] "Shinkyō to Shintsukiji kaisan: Tōkyoku no kankoku de jihatsu teki ni," *Asahi shinbun*, August 24, 1940.

[97] *Shisō shiryō panfuretto tokushū gokuhi: Shinkyō gekidan kankeisha shuki*, ed. Shihōshō keijikyoku. March 1941; Shinkyō gekidan, *Shinkyō gekidan nijyūnen: Butai shashin to gekidan shōshi* (Shinkyō Gekidan, publication date unknown), 5.

[98] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* enshutsu techō," *Ongaku geijutsu* (February 1949): 31.

[99] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen no bunkajin e," *Naki tsuma ni* (Tokyo: Sakurai Shoten, 1947), 166-167.

[100] Ibid., 167.

[101] Ibid.

[102] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen no fujin: Tōkyō hōsōkyoku kara no hōsō genkō," *Naki tsuma ni* (Tokyo: Sakurai Shoten, 1947), 148.

[103] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen de no 8.15," *Sekai* (August 1950): 66.

TABLE 2.1. The crew of the opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn*

Role	**Name**
Script Director Setting	Murayama Tomoyoshi
Music	Kim Sŏng-t'ae
Conductor	Hyŏn Che-myŏng
Orchestra	Kyŏngsŏng Welfare Orchestra
Choreography	Cho Taik Won
Dancers	Cho Taik Won Dance Research Center

Source: Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* enshutsu techō" (1949).

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[104] Cho Taik Won, *Kasahojŏp: Ch'angjak muyong pansegi* (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1973), 226.

[105] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen de no 8.15," *Sekai* (August 1950): 66.

[106] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen no bunkajin e," *Naki tsuma ni* (Tokyo: Sakurai Shoten, 1947), 167.

[107] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Kyonen no kefu," *Naki tsuma ni* (Tokyo: Sakurai Shoten, 1947), 187; Cho Taik Won, *Kasahojŏp: Ch'angjak muyong pansegi* (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1973), 226.

TABLE 2.2. The cast of the opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn*

Character	Actor/Actress
Ch'unhyang	Kim Ch'ŏn-ae Kim Cha-gyŏng
Mongnyong	Kim In-bŏm Yi Hak-sang
Wŏlmae	Ko Yŏng-hŭi
Hyangdan	Ryu Kyŏng-son
Pangja	Ch'oe Pong-jin Chŏng Yŏng-jae
Satto	Sin Mak

Source: Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* enshutsu techō" (1949).

The opera comprised five acts; Murayama planned to separately stage the five acts over two days—the first two acts on the first day and the latter three acts on the second day. Murayama elucidated his intention as follows: "Even though it would be against conventional operatic customs, [I thought that] Koreans would want [to see] *Ch'unhyangjŏn* as expansive and detailed as possible. The company also completely agreed with this opinion."[108] Murayama's description clarifies that the target audience of the opera was mainly Koreans. The crew consisted of Koreans except for Murayama (see Table 2.1). However, ironically, they had to "temporarily suspend" the production of the Korean-language opera when Japanese colonization ended.[109] According to Murayama, "the liberated Korean people had to take urgent steps toward building a new nation, as well as new political and cultural organizations."[110] However, as Murayama described, it was only a temporary suspension of the project. Five years later, this project was linked to another version of the opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* composed by Hyŏn Che-myŏng, which premiered in 1950. This connection will be examined in the next chapter.

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[108] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* enshutsu techō," *Ongaku geijutsu* (February 1949): 32.
[109] Ibid., 31.
[110] Ibid.

Murayama helped produce the first theater performance of the theater company Chŏnsŏn, which was newly organized after the end of Japanese colonial rule, until he left Korea in December 1945. The theater company Chŏnsŏn was established by the former members of the Korean Student Art Theater Company (Chosŏn haksaeng yesuljwa), who were affiliated with PROT. They staged Nikolai Gogol's *The Government Inspector* as Chŏnsŏn's first performance. Murayama co-directed this performance with Hŏ Chip and helped the crew make costumes and props.[111]

Conclusion

On December 19, 1945, Murayama returned to Japan.[112] Murayama designated his nine-month stay in Korea—from March to December 1945—as "a one-in-a-million chance" (*senzai ichigū no kikai*) in that "[he] was able to closely observe Koreans' activities during the upheaval due to Japan's defeat and Korea's independence."[113] He mentioned that while in Korea, he built "a stronger sense of connection to Korea than before."[114] In his essay, Murayama recalls his stay in Korea as follows: "I thought that I even wanted to be naturalized in Korea and work with these [Korean] people."[115] This statement implies his sense of intimacy with Koreans, transcending his position as a Japanese colonizer.

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[111] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen: Shūsen zenya," *Naki tsuma ni* (Tokyo: Sakurai Shoten, 1947), 179.

[112] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Fūzoku jihyō (sono ichi)," *Naki tsuma ni* (Tokyo: Sakurai Shoten, 1947), 65.

[113] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen no bunkajin e," *Naki tsuma ni* (Tokyo: Sakurai Shoten, 1947), 166.

[114] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Fūzoku jihyō (sono ichi)," *Naki tsuma ni* (Tokyo: Sakurai Shoten, 1947), 68; Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen no bunkajin e," *Naki tsuma ni* (Tokyo: Sakurai Shoten, 1947), 168.

[115] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "Chōsen no bunkajin e," *Naki tsuma ni* (Tokyo: Sakurai Shoten, 1947), 168.

Murayama, as a leading figure of the Japanese proletarian cultural movement, supported Korean immigrants in Japan, especially those in the working class, who were affiliated with the proletarian movement. At the same time, he ended up supporting the assimilation policy via the 1938 Japanese-language version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, despite his consideration of Korean audiences. After staging Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, Murayama attempted to create several non-Japanese language versions of the Korean folktale in collaboration with Korean artists. With the exception of Cho Taik Won's *Ch'unhyangjŏn chogok*, his plans to make different adaptations of the Korean folktale, which were supposed to be translated into Korean, failed due to difficulties stemming from political, financial, or social circumstances.[116] However, these incomplete productions left a legacy of the interactions between Korean and Japanese producers, artists, and crew, determining the postcolonial transnational flow of culture in Korea and Japan. This will be discussed in the next chapter.

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[116] After the end of Japanese colonial rule, Cho performed *Ch'unhyangjŏn chogok* in the United States in the late 1940. Cho Taik Won, *Kasahojŏp: Ch'angjak muyong pansegi* (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1973), 264.

Chapter 3.

The Death of Chun Hiang in the Opera *Chun Hiang*: Freedom to Reimagine Korean Culture after the End of Japanese Colonial Rule

Introduction

MONG YONG. Chun Hiang, why did you die! Why did you die![1]

This is the last line of the opera *Chun Hiang* when Mong Yong (Mongnyong) finally meets his wife Chun Hiang (Ch'unhyang) who endured torture to keep her love.[2] On November 20, 1948, soon after the end of Japanese colonization, Korean immigrants in Japan staged the opera *Chun Hiang* in Tokyo in collaboration with Japanese artists. The League of Koreans in Japan (Chae Ilbon Chosŏnin ryŏnmaeng, or Zai-Nihon Chōsenjin renmei, also known as Chōren), which was the largest ethnic organization in Japan at the time, asked the Japanese composer Takagi Tōroku to write music for an English-language opera based on the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. The organization promised to provide Takagi with monthly stipends until he completed the work.[3] This opera production illuminates the notion that even though Koreans often sought to "eliminate the vestiges of Japanese colonialism" from their cultural activities after the colonial period, the process of decolonization was not so simple.[4]

Why did Zainichi Koreans ask a Japanese composer to create an operatic version of the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn* after they were liberated from imperial Japan? In this chapter, I show that Zainichi Koreans attempted to take the lead in producing a new English-language interpretation of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* with the intention of presenting it to the world as wholly Korean, rather than as a part of imperial Japan.[5] Takagi Tōroku and Murayama Tomoyoshi, who had previously sympathized with colonized Koreans and collaborated with Korean artists during the colonial period, also participated in staging the opera *Chun Hiang*. In previous studies of Zainichi Korean history, Koreans were only known as political activists for the restoration of their economic and educational foundations during the latter half of the 1940s. However, this opera production exemplifies the robust cultural activities of Zainichi Koreans who tried to transcend the boundaries of Korea and Japan after the end of Japanese colonial rule.

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[1] *Piano Score of the Opera Chun Hiang* (October 1947), 214.

[2] In this chapter, I use the term *Chun Hiang* to refer to the operatic version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in accordance with the pamphlet, the meeting records of Chōren, and the piano score.

[3] Takagi Tōroku, "Opera *Chun Hiang* ni tsuite," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948): 1.

[4] Chōren, "Che 11 hoe chungang wiwŏnhoe ŭisarok: Mun'gyokuk hwaldong pogo" (September 1947), 150.

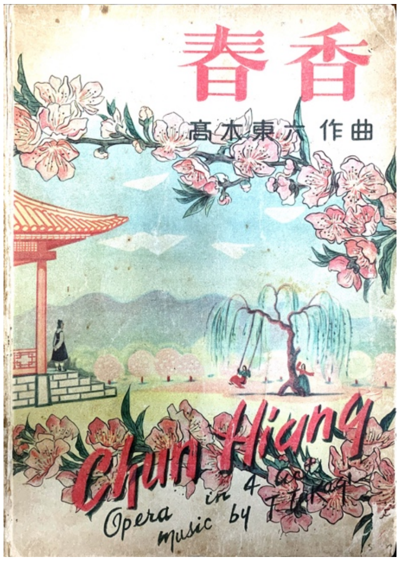

Figure 2. *Piano Score of the Opera Chun Hiang* (October 1947).

By analyzing their cultural activity in that period, I show that, for Zainichi Koreans, removing the vestiges of the Japanese empire did not necessarily mean a complete separation from the Japanese people. In doing so, I argue that the opera *Chun Hiang* illuminates a strong sense of freedom soon after liberation, which allowed Zainichi Koreans to imagine their new community which would not be limited to Korea and Japan. They changed the original story's happy ending to the heroine's death in order to make an internationally exportable grand opera. Despite their successful premiere of the Japanese-language version of *Chun Hiang* in 1948, it was not performed again until 2002. The 2002 performance was the resurrection of a transnational collaboration which was long forgotten. Nevertheless, the English-language version has never been staged to this day. This chapter examines this forgotten path of Zainichi Koreans who tried to find a new way of interpreting Korean culture after the end of Japanese colonization.

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[5] This chapter is drawn from my master's thesis, "Opera *Chun Hiang* ni miru Nihonjin/Chōsenjin no bunka kōryū: Teikoku Nihon no isan to datsushokuminchika no kanōsei" (Master's thesis, The University of Tokyo, 2012).

Toward New Cultural Interactions between Japanese and Zainichi Koreans

After liberation from Japan on August 15, 1945, Koreans in Japan voluntarily established their ethnic organizations with varied purposes, such as helping Koreans repatriate, protecting their properties, and relieving unemployed people. Koreans recognized that they needed a unified organization in Japan in order to achieve their objectives. The First Central Meeting to start organizing the League of Koreans in Japan (Chōren) was held in September 1945. In the next month, on October 15, 1945, Chōren was launched. Chōren, which was operated by a centralized governance, had its headquarters in Tokyo and local head offices and branches in each prefecture.[6] Chōren had been mainly engaged in the repatriation of Korean immigrants until the Second Extraordinary Meeting of Chōren was held at the end of February 1946.[7] After the repatriation process slowed down, Chōren began to work on "the protection of various rights" of Koreans in Japan as one of its most important projects.[8] In the Second Extraordinary Meeting,

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[6] Pak Kyŏng-sik, *Kaihō go Zainichi Chōsenjin undō shi* (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1989), 61.

[7] Chōren, "Che 3 hoe chŏn'guktaehoe: Munhwabu hwaldong pogosŏ" (October 1946), 9.

[8] O Kyu-sang, *Dokyumento Zai-Nihon Chōsenjin renmei 1945-1949* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009), 39.

Chōren revised the declaration and principle policies of the organization. In particular, the declaration clarified the main objective of the organization: "The world has made rapid progress. [Therefore,] our mission is to sweep away the remnants of Japanese imperialism and feudal power; we should construct a completely independent state based on a genuine democracy through which the fundamental political, economic, social, and cultural demands of all people will be realized."[9] According to the declaration, the main principles of the organization's activities were decided as follows:

> 1. We aim to protect the rights and interests of Koreans in Japan and help them develop their lives.
> 2. We dedicate ourselves to constructing a new Korea, which is progressive and democratic, upon the foundation of the "Democratic National Front."
> 3. We aim to make a contribution toward international peace through cooperation with the Democratic People's Front in every country.[10]

The "Democratic National Front" was organized in Seoul on February 15, 1946. The declaration clarified its agreement with the establishment of "a provisional Korean democratic government" by "a Joint Commission consisting of representatives of the United States command in southern Korea and the Soviet command in northern Korea," which was decided at the "Interim Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics" held in Moscow in December 1945.[11] That is, Chōren was to not only work for Zainichi Koreans, but to support the construction of the government in "the home country" (*hongoku*) in accordance with the policies of the Democratic National Front in each nation.

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[9] "Sengen." *Chōren chūō jihō*, no. 12. June 10, 1946, quoted in O Kyu-sang, *Dokyumento Zai-Nihon Chōsenjin renmei 1945-1949* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009), 27.

[10] Ibid.

[11] "Minjujuŭi minjokchŏnsŏne ch'ong yŏngnyang chipkyŏl chŏlgyu," *Chayu sinmun*, February 16, 1946; "Report of the Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom." Interim Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Moscow, December 16-26, 1945.

During this period, the homeland to which Chōren referred was "Korea," despite the division, which was assumed to be temporary.[12]

Specifically, Chōren had a political purpose in collaborating with Japanese people in order to "rid society of the remnants of Japanese militarism by collaborating with the Democratic Front of Japan."[13] Needless to say, this collaboration was differentiated from Japan's colonial practice, *naisen ittai*. The *Haebang sinmun* (Liberation newspaper) argued:

> We should completely discard an idea that distinguishes Japanese from us, Koreans. This [suggestion] is far from the idea of *naisen ittai*, which Japanese aggressors contrived. We are strongly sensing a [necessity of] coalition, or collaboration, between Japanese and Korean peoples with a new meaning.[14]

"A new meaning" of collaboration was related to the organization's belief in their connection with the Japanese working class: "Japanese and Koreans have a common interest in crushing the conservative, reactionary power in Japan in order to survive."[15] Chōren set up the "Division of Culture" in the central headquarters when it was organized.

The necessity of collaboration with the Japanese people in its cultural activity corresponded to the entire objective of the organization that it would collaborate with "the Democratic Front of Japan."[16] However, I note that the meaning of this cultural collaboration was not merely limited to a political partnership. Rather, it should be understood from varied perspectives beyond politics. Chōren began to pay attention to the cultural issues of Zainichi

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[12] O Kyu-sang, *Dokyumento Zai-Nihon Chōsenjin renmei 1945-1949* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009), 30.

[13] *Chōren chūō jihō*, no. 12. June 10, 1946, quoted in O Kyu-sang, *Dokyumento Zai-Nihon Chōsenjin renmei 1945-1949* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009), 28.

[14] "Zairyū dōhō tachi ni gekisuru," *Haebang sinmun*, February 1, 1947. Chōren published the Japanese edition of its official newspaper, the *Haebang sinmun*, from 1947.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Wŏn Yong-dŏk, who was the Director of the Division of Culture and Education in January 1948, also argued that "Chōren should strengthen ties with progressive organizations in Japan in order to make a great contribution to democratization of Korea and Japan even in the sector of culture." Wŏn Yong-dŏk, "Hiroku fukai katsudō o: 48 nendo bunka katsudō tenbō," *Chōren chūō jihō*, January 16, 1948.

Koreans after the Second Extraordinary Meeting, when it discovered that “a considerable number of Korean compatriots would remain [in Japan].” The following explanation can be seen in *Zainichi Chōsen bunka nenkan 1949 nenban* (The 1949 edition of the Zainichi Korean culture yearbook), which was edited by Ŏ Tang and Hŏ Nam-gi, the executive members of Chōren:

> The situation in the home country only increased confusion and apprehension, thus making [the situation] more dire. [In this situation,] repatriation fever among Zainichi Korean compatriots naturally reduced to some extent. The goal of Chōren was changed from helping their repatriation process. The primary objective was to support for the lives of those compatriots who would remain here, even if temporarily, until Korea would be again capable of stably accepting overseas compatriots . . . This shifting of our mission allowed us to consider cultural issues.[17]

Due to the unstable circumstance of Korea, Koreans reduced their “repatriation fever.” Chōren revised its goal to support Zainichi Koreans who would remain in Japan. This new mission was also linked to the cultural issues of Zainichi Koreans.

In order for Zainichi Koreans to settle down and maintain their own ethnic culture in Japan, they wanted the Japanese people to properly understand Zainichi Korean situations. This was a driving force for much cultural collaborations with the Japanese people. Kim Tal-su, a Zainichi Korean writer, also clarified his intention to collaborate while launching a magazine entitled *Minshu Chōsen* (Democratic Korea).[18] Kim suggested that Wŏn Yong-dŏk, who was the Director of the Division of Foreign Affairs in the Kanagawa branch of Chōren at that time, publish “a magazine in order to correct Japanese misconceptions about Korea and Koreans.”[19] In April 1946, the Japanese-language magazine was founded. *Zainichi Chōsen bunka nenkan 1949*

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[17] *Zainichi Chōsen bunka nenkan 1949 nenban*, (Tokyo: Chōsen Bungeisha, 1949), 58.

[18] Christina Yi examines “how Koreans were politicized in Minshu Chōsen” in her book, *Colonizing Language*. For detailed analysis of *Minshu Chōsen*, see, Christina Yi, *Colonizing Language: Cultural Production and Language Politics in Modern Japan and Korea* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2018), 95-117.

[19] Wŏn was appointed the Director of the Division of Culture and Education in the central headquarters in October 1947. Kim Tal-su, “Waga bungaku to seikatsu (6),” in *Kim Talsu shōsetsu zenshū* 5 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1980), 335.

nenban introduces the monthly magazine as "a Japanese-language magazine of culture which aims to introduce Korean culture and promote Korea-Japan [cultural] exchange."[20] Kim explains how Zainichi Korean members settled on the title of the magazine:

> The original title of the magazine was not [*Minshu Chōsen*] but *Chōsenjin* (Koreans). As I mentioned, I worked for a circulation magazine, entitled *Keirin* (or *Kyerim* in Korean, 鶏林), with Kim Sŏng-min, Yi Ŭn-jik, and Chang Tu-sik, in the last years of the war. At that time, we discussed that we would newly launch a magazine that introduces Korean culture and literature when the war was over, even though we had no idea how the war would be over. We also agreed that if we could publish the magazine, the title would be *Keirin*. However, as the war was actually over, we discovered that *Keirin*, which was an old name of Korea, was not in tune with *the strong atmosphere of freedom after the war*, which was beyond our expectations. Thus, we decided to title the magazine *Chōsenjin* (Koreans).[21]

According to Kim, the foundation of *Minshu Chōsen* has roots that go back to the colonial period. Zainichi Korean writers attempted to publish a magazine for Japanese readers to enable them to understand Korean culture. Even though they planned to have the same title for the magazine, *Keirin*, which was published during the colonial period, the title was changed because they decided that *Keirin* did not reflect their sense of freedom after being liberated from the Japanese empire. Thus, they did not use the old name of Korea for the new magazine, which demonstrated their desire for a new society.

However, they again changed their minds and launched *Minshu Chōsen* in accordance with Han Tŏk-su's opinion. Han, who was the Chair of the Kanagawa headquarters at that time, suggested that they name the magazine *Minshu Chōsen* "because Koreans would construct Korea based on democracy from now on."[22] Kim stated that he was reluctant to accept Han's suggestion because he was concerned that “the title, *Minshu Chōsen*, would create a sense of something political.”[23] However, he followed Han’s suggestion because he “needed . . . support from Chōren in order to continue to publish the magazine.”[24] Interestingly, Kim’s statement reveals that the purpose of the magazine, which aimed to “correct Japanese misconceptions about Korea and Koreans,” was not motivated by “a sense of something political.” Nevertheless, it also implies that Chōren created a framework of cultural activities in close relation to their political orientation at the time.

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[20] *Zainichi Chōsen bunka nenkan 1949 nenban* (Tokyo: Chōsen Bungeisha, 1949), 67.

[21] Kim Tal-su, "Waga bungaku to seikatsu (6)," in *Kim Tal-su shōsetsu zenshū* 5 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1980), 336, italics mine.

[22] Ibid., 337.

Kim clarified the difference of writing in Japanese between the colonial and the postcolonial periods in the magazine as follows:

> In Tokyo, it is already possible for us to print Korean letters, and Korean newspapers have been issued. However, I believe that it is obviously necessary for both Koreans and Japanese to have one or two magazines written in Japanese even though Koreans learned the language under a cursed fate. Furthermore, I hope that Japanese people also launch such a Korean-language magazine in our mother country in the future. It is freedom and liberation.[25]

In the colonial period, writing in Japanese implied “a cursed fate,” in which Koreans had to learn the colonizer’s language. However, after liberation, publishing a Japanese-language magazine had a different meaning from their experience during the colonial period. It was a voluntary choice in order to introduce Korean culture to the Japanese. Furthermore, Koreans could expect that the Japanese would produce a Korean-language magazine, which was not easily imaginable during the colonial period. Thus, this exchange between Koreans and Japanese, which Zainichi Korean writers conceived of soon after August 1945, was the first step toward a new society. In addition to the publication of *Minshu Chōsen*, Chōren also held a round-table conference, entitled "The Protection of Ethnic Culture," in collaboration with Japanese artists and cultural organizations.[26] In other words, through cultural collaboration with the Japanese people, they attempted to maintain their ethnic Korean culture in Japan.

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[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid.

[25] Kim Tal-su, “Henshū kōki.” *Minshu Chōsen* (April 1946), quoted in Kim Tal-su. “Waga bungaku to seikatsu (6),” *Kim Tal-su shōsetsu zenshū* 5 (Tokyo: Chikuma Shobō, 1980), 338.

The Opera *Chun Hiang* Planning

Why, then, did Chōren produce the opera *Chun Hiang* with Japanese artists soon after the end of Japanese colonial rule? I argue that Chōren had two main purposes in producing *Chun Hiang*. Firstly, Chōren wanted to stage the Korean folktale as an English-language operatic version outside of Korea and Japan. Secondly, it intended to present its democratic stance through the content of the folktale as a legitimate organization in the postwar society. In early 1946, Chōren requested that Takagi Tōroku write the music for the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn* with a promise that "it would guarantee [Takagi's] livelihood on a monthly basis until the completion [of the music]."[27] According to Chōren, Hattori Ryūtarō, a Japanese music critic, introduced the organization to Takagi.[28] Takagi "started to compose in early 1946, completed a piano score in February of the next year, and finished a full score for the orchestra in October 1947."[29]

However, the project of producing *Chun Hiang* was not officially reported until the Eleventh Meeting of the Central Headquarters held in September 1947, even though the organization had already requested Takagi to write the music in early 1946. According to the proceedings of the meeting, the project was determined at the Fourth Meeting of the Division of Culture which was held in June 1947. It was categorized as a subsection of "transnational exchange of Korean culture" for the purpose of "performing the opera internationally."[30]

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[26] Chōren, "Che 15 hoe chung'ang wiwŏnhoe: Mun'gyobu hwaldong pogosŏ" (July 1948), 5.

[27] Takagi Tōroku, *Ai no yasōkyoku* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1985), 237; Takagi Tōroku, "Opera *Chun Hiang* ni tsuite." *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948): 1.

[28] Chōren, "Che 5 hoe chŏnch'e taehoe chech'ul hwaldong pogosŏ," (October 1948), 40.

[29] Takagi Tōroku, "Opera *Chun Hiang* ni tsuite." *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948): 1.

Why was the project reported at the Eleventh Meeting of the Central Headquarters? As mentioned above, Chōren, which had worked on the repatriation process since its establishment, started to deal with the cultural issues of Zainichi Koreans. The main principles of the organization were shifted in February 1946, when the Second Extraordinary Meeting was held. It coincided with Chōren's request that Takagi write the music for the opera. While the Division of Culture had already been included in the central headquarters since Chōren had been organized, the specific activities of the division were not noted until the Third Nationwide Meeting, which was held in October 1946. The report of the division, which was submitted to the Third Nationwide Meeting, shows that Chōren had yet no clear policy for its cultural activities. However, the introduction points out that "the foremost task of its cultural activities [for all Koreans] is a crusade against illiteracy."[31] Thus, the primary purpose of the Division of Culture was the "enlightenment through education" for Koreans in Japan.[32] Even though Chōren also offered music festivals and cultural events for Zainichi Koreans in order to extend its influence in Zainichi Korean society, no significant outcome occurred.[33]

The Division of Culture was renamed the Division of Culture and Education at the Ninth Meeting of the Central Headquarters held in January 1947.[34] The Eleventh Meeting of the Central Headquarters showed its shift in policies on cultural issues. While the Tenth Meeting of the Central Headquarters, which was held in May 1947, mainly dealt with educational issues, in the Eleventh Meeting, the members respectively discussed cultural and educational activities.[35] At this meeting, they determined both “cultural activity policy” and “educational activity policy.”[36] In other words, Chōren began to distinguish cultural issues from educational issues. The fact that the project of producing *Chun Hiang* was officially reported at the Eleventh Meeting for the first time was related to the establishment of this new cultural policy. The cultural activity policy included the following five slogans:

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[30] Chōren, "Che 11 hoe chung'ang wiwŏnhoe ŭisarok: Mun'gyokuk hwaldong pogo" (September 1947), 110-111.

[31] Chōren. "Che 3 hoe chŏn'guk taehoe: Munhwabu hwaldong pogosŏ," (October 1946), 8.

[32] Ibid.

[33] Ibid., 19-21.

[34] Pak Kyŏng-sik, *Kaihō go Zainichi Chōsenjin undō shi* (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1989), 141.

> 1. To remove the remnants of Japanese imperialism.
> 1. To remove the vestiges of feudalism.
> 1. To reject ultra-nationalism (*kuksu chuŭi*).
> 1. To construct a democratic national culture.
> 1. To enhance collaboration between Korean culture and international culture.[37]

In order to successfully live up to the slogans, the following activities were emphasized:

> 1. Activity for establishing a theory of democratic national culture.
> 1. Activity for popularizing culture.
> 1. Activity for cultural exchange.
> 1. Activity for a culture of life style.
> 1. Activity for supporting cultural organizations.[38]

The cultural activity policy was finally approved at the Fourth Nationwide Meeting in October 1947.[39] The project of producing the opera *Chun Hiang*, which had already been arranged unofficially, was also determined at this time. The policy was a significant guideline for Chōren’s cultural activities until the Fifth Nationwide Meeting was held in October 1948.

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[35] Chōren, “Che 10 hoe chung’ang wiwŏnhoe ŭisarok” (May 1947), 6-15.

[36] Chōren, “Che 11 hoe chungang wiwŏnhoe ŭisarok: Mun’gyokuk hwaldong pogo” (September 1947).

[37] Ibid., 150.

[38] Ibid., 150-151.

[39] Chōren, “Che 4 hoe chŏnch’e taehoe chech’ul: 1947 nyŏndo kyŏlsan pogo 1948 nyŏndo yesan pogo” (October 1947), 6-8.

What outcome was expected from the opera *Chun Hiang* as a practice of the cultural activity policy? I examine the debates regarding its production in order to reveal its relationship to the cultural activity policy. In addition, I clarify the context in which Chōren produced the opera with Japanese artists. *Chun Hiang* was produced as a grand opera, a form of nineteenth-century French opera containing a serious plot, such as an epic or a historical tragedy.[40] Hattori Ryūtarō suggested that Takagi change the original story's happy resolution to a tragic one, wherein Chun Hiang dies. Hattori explains the reason for this modification as follows:

> The old stories of Chun-Hiang . . . are all concluded with the happy denouement. Contrary to these old stories, this opera ends with the tragic death of the heroine. It is I who proposed this modification of the plot. For I believe that a work to have the character of grand opera must be a tragedy, or at least must have a sad ending. The composer willingly accepted this proposal of mine. Therefore, if the tragic end of this opera were to offend the audience, I alone am to be answerable for it.[41]

Takagi agreed with Hattori because he also thought that "making it into a tragic romance (*ren'ai higeki*) would be more effective to vividly present admiration for justice, chastity, and beauty."[42] Murayama, the director and scriptwriter of the opera, was at first reluctant because he was not sure if Korean audience members would accept this change in plot.[43] Nevertheless, Murayama eventually complied with the suggestion. As far as Murayama was concerned, the last scene wherein the heroine died "caused a stir (*doyomeki*) among Korean audiences uttering, 'Oh!'"[44]

What, then, were the responses of Chōren members, who planned this production, to Chun Hiang's death? Kim Yŏng-gil, a representative of Zai-Nihon Chōsen minshu ongaku dōmei (The association for Zainichi Korean popular music) organized by Chōren, who also played the role of Mong Yong in the opera, described the ending as "a drastic resolution."[45] He continued, "however, once the audience sees the opera, they would no doubt agree [with the ending] because the death of Chun Hiang is extremely natural."[46] Furthermore, Cho Yong-dal, the Director of the Division of Culture at that time when the project of producing *Chun Hiang* was officially submitted to the Eleventh Meeting of the Central Headquarters, also agreed with the shift in the ending. In his article, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* as Tragedy," Cho compared the Korean folktale to *Faust*, a tragic play written by Johann Wolfgang von Goethe:

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[40] *Shin ongaku jiten: Gakugo* (Tokyo: Ongaku no Tomosha, 1977).

[41] Hattori Ryūtarō, "On the Legend and Music of the Opera *Chun-Hiang*," in *Piano Score of the Opera Chun Hiang* (October 1947), 2.

[42] Takagi Tōroku, *Ai no yasōkyoku* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1985), 251.

[43] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* enshutsu techō," *Ongaku geijutsu* (February 1949): 33.

[44] Takagi Tōroku, *Ai no yasōkyoku* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1985), 251.

> Both [works] are romantic tragedies that depict admiration for justice, chastity, and beauty . . . The value of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* as tragedy will be everlasting.[47]

Specifically, Cho emphasized the tragic aspects in *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, such as the separation of Mongnyong and Ch'unhyang, as well as Ch'unhyang's agony. In addition, Cho's perspective completely parallels Hattori's opinion that *Ch'unhyangjŏn* highlights the "admiration for justice, chastity, and beauty," as cited above.

Not only did the last scene stir its audiences, but it also invited criticism that "it fatally disrupted the adaptation of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*."[48] Needless to say, Chōren anticipated such responses. However, Chōren was determined to make a tragic version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in order to better achieve its goal of performing the opera internationally. According to Hattori, "in order for a work to have the character of grand opera, it must be a tragedy, or at least must have a sad ending" as shown above.[49] From the beginning, Chōren had a clear purpose in producing an operatic version of the Korean folktale. Thus, Chōren published the libretto in both Japanese and English.[50] The Japanese version of the libretto, which was written by Murayama, was translated into English by Matsuhara Iwao.[51]

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[45] Kim Yŏng-gil, "Mongnyong to shite no kansō," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948): 4.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Cho Yong-dal, "Higeki: *Ch'unhyangjŏn*," in *Zuihitsu Ch'unhyangjŏn*, ed. Cho Yong-dal (1948), 17.

[48] Seki Tadaakira, "Opera *Chun Hiang* no koto," *Teatoro* (February 1949): 49.

[49] Chōren. "Che 11 hoe chung'ang wiwŏnhoe ŭisarok: Mun'gyokuk hwaldong pogo" (September 1947), 110-111; Hattori Ryūtarō, "On the Legend and Music of the Opera *Chun-Hiang*." *Piano Score of the Opera Chun Hiang* (October 1947), 2.

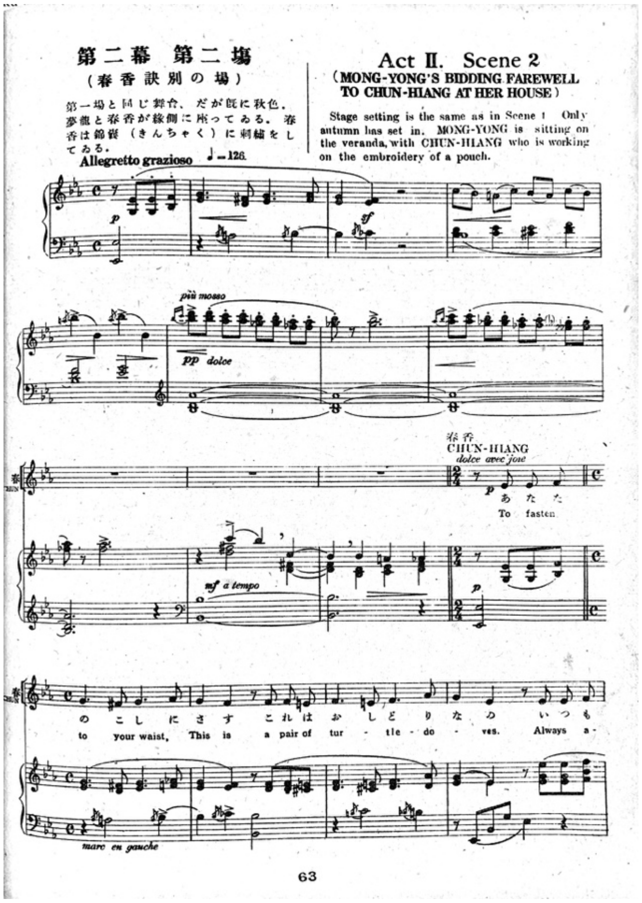
第二幕 第二場
（春香訣別の場）
第一場と同じ舞台、だが既に秋色。夢龍と春香が椽側に座ってゐる。春香は錦嚢（きんちゃく）に刺繍をしてゐる。
Act II. Scene 2
(MONG-YONG'S BIDDING FAREWELL TO CHUN-HIANG AT HER HOUSE)
Stage setting is the same as in Scene 1 Only autumn has set in. MONG-YONG is sitting on the veranda, with CHUN-HIANG who is working on the embroidery of a pouch.
Allegretto grazioso ♩=126
p
sf
più mosso
pp dolce
春香
CHUN-HIANG
dolce avec joie
mf a tempo
あたた
To fasten
のこしにさす これはおしどりなの いつも
to your waist, This is a pair of tur - tle - do - ves. Always a -
marc en gauche
63

Figure 3. *Piano Score of the Opera Chun Hiang* (October 1947), 63.

During the Fifth Nationwide Meeting, the project was categorized into the activity of "inheriting and delivering traditional culture" to "develop a democratic national culture."[52] Specifically, the meeting's record clarifies that Takagi composed the opera in order to "introduce the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn* . . . to the world through music."[53] Moreover, Chōren planned to "offer a part of the [English-language] full scores to international music festivals."[54] Simply put, Chōren accepted the death of Chun Hiang because, through her tragic demise, the folktale would be elevated to the status of an internationally exportable grand opera.

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[50] *Piano Score of the Opera Chun Hiang* (October 1947), 2.

[51] Chōren, "Che 11 hoe chung'ang wiwŏnhoe ŭisarok: Mun'gyokuk hwaldong pogo" (September 1947), 113.

[52] Chōren, "Che 5 hoe chŏnch'e taehoe chech'ul hwaldong pogosŏ" (October 1948), 39-40.

The purpose of making the Korean folktale viable for the world stage was linked to the context in which Chōren asked Takagi to compose the music. It needed a composer who not only understood Korean culture, but also had a sense of producing a grand opera with the capacity to appeal to international audiences. During its meetings, Chōren frequently discussed its lack of accomplished artists to conduct cultural activities. The plan of creating an opera of the Korean folktale suffered from the same issue:

> Even though it is ideal for us to create every part of [the opera] by ourselves and present it on the world stage, honestly, we regret to admit that we do not possess the capability [to achieve it]. Therefore, we should cooperatively and gladly respond to the efforts and devotion of Murayama, Takagi, and Hattori.[55]

Due to its paucity of skills and experience, Chōren needed to collaborate with Japanese artists who had a sufficient understanding of Korean culture in spite of its desire for Korean self-reliance. This fact shows that Chōren's motivation to collaborate with the Japanese people was not limited to its political purposes. In its newspaper, the *Chōren chūō jihō* (Chōren central newspaper), and the pamphlet of the opera, Chōren introduced Takagi's work in regard to Korean culture. For example, Chōren members evaluated Takagi as "a remarkable figure in

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[53] Ibid.

[54] Ibid.

[55] Yi Ŭn-jik, "Opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* no jōen ni tsuite," *Chōren chūō jihō*, September 17, 1948.

Japanese musical circles"[56] who had "acquired artistic knowledge of *Korea*."[57] As mentioned in Chapter 2, Takagi requested Murayama to produce an operatic version of *Ch'unhangjŏn* after watching Shinkyō's play in the colonial period even though the production never occurred. He also composed music pieces, such as *Hak*, for Cho Taik Won in the early 1940s. According to Takagi, he was interested specifically in Korean music and even visited Korea multiple times in order to sketch his music.[58] Takagi also studied music in France for four years from 1928 to around 1932. The trajectory of his career convinced Chōren to collaborate with him.

In its meeting records, how and why Chōren chose Murayama as the director and playwright for the opera remains unclear. However, Chōren was aware that Takagi had attempted to make an operatic version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* with Murayama in the late 1930s.[59] Zainichi Koreans also held Murayama in high regard for his works in relation to Korea during the colonial period. In this sense, it was natural for Zainichi Koreans to ask Murayama to produce an opera with them.

Furthermore, I argue that Chōren's collaboration with Murayama implies a postcolonial interpretation of Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn.* Zainichi Koreans reinterpreted the play after the collapse of the Japanese empire. Preparing the opera *Chun Hiang*, Chōren paid attention to the "good results" of Shinkyō's performance, as detailed below:

> The Shinkyō company obtained such good results [from the play *Ch'unhyangjŏn*]. It is definitely indebted to Murayama Tomoyoshi, the director [of the play]. Of Japanese cultural figures who understand Korea well, Murayama knows Korea and loves Koreans the most. His continuous affection for Korea itself gave vitality to [the play] *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. After [the performance], he went to Korea several times and stayed there even when the war ended. To that extent, he devoted himself to Korea. He then wrote

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[56] Ibid.

[57] Sin Hong-sik, "Kaisetsu o kanete," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948), 3, italics in the original.

[58] Takagi Tōroku, "Opera *Chun Hiang* ni tsuite," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948), 1.

[59] Yi Ŭn-jik, "Opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* no jōen ni tsuite," *Chōren chūō jihō*, September 17, 1948.

> [his] *Ch'unhyangjŏn* as the libretto of the opera *Chun Hiang* in order to make *Ch'unhyangjŏn* a world-class work of art (*sekai teki na geijutsu*) . . . His deep affection for Korea made it possible.[60]

Chōren highlighted "his affection for Korea," connecting Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* to the production of the opera *Chun Hiang*. As examined in Chapter 1, during the colonial period, Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was once regarded as the "art of *naisen ittai*," which was related to a Japanese imperial practice. It is likely that Zainichi Koreans understood the relevance of the play to *naisen ittai* as it was widely advertised in the media.

Producing the opera *Chun Hiang*, Zainichi Koreans redefined the implications of Shinkyō's performance. After the end of Japanese colonial rule, they distinguished their collaboration with Japanese people from *naisen ittai*. Zainichi Koreans strongly criticized the idea of *naisen ittai* after liberation.[61] Chōren aimed to "remove the remnants of Japanese imperialism." However, the production of the opera, which Zainichi Koreans planned in collaboration with Japanese artists, was linked to a practice of *naisen ittai*. This implies that Chōren reevaluated Shinkyō's performance despite Japan's considerable efforts to interpret it as an exemplification of *naisen ittai* during the colonial period. Zainichi Koreans positively recalled the "results" of Shinkyō's play, from which the Korean folktale gained popularity, despite the colonial context in which Japan extensively advertised it for its imperial practice.[62] Moreover, Zainichi Koreans assumed that Murayama produced the play because of his affection for Korea. Their evaluation of his work resulted from not only Shinkyō's *success*, but also Murayama's continuous efforts to work with Korean people.

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[60] Ibid.

[61] "Zairyū dōhō tachi ni gekisuru," *Haebang sinmun*, February 1, 1947.

[62] Yi Ŭn-jik, "Opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* no jōen ni tsuite," *Chōren chūō jihō*, September 17, 1948; "Opera ni naru *Ch'unhyangjŏn*," *Chōren chūō jihō*, November 11, 1948.

Chōren's Interpretation of the Korean Folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn*

Chōren also was proud of the fact that the theme of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* mirrors Chōren's democratic stance. In 1946, Yi Ŭn-jik, a board member of Chōren, analyzed *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in serialized articles. His series, entitled "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* kwa Chosŏn inmin chŏngsin" (*Ch'unhyangjŏn* and Korean people's spirit), introduces the origination of the folktale, its "spiritual" background, main characters, and plot. In his articles, Yi interprets *Ch'unhyangjŏn* as "a social theater (*sahoe gŭk*) that was created by all of the [Korean] people . . . regardless of their social classes."[63] He argues that "the Korean authors of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* aimed to depict the beautiful world . . . in order to improve and contribute to a [corrupt] society . . . through Ch'unhyang."[64] He positions Ch'unhyang as "a champion who represents the people."[65] From Yi's perspective, *Ch'unhyangjŏn* portrays the process in which Ch'unhyang awakens her revolutionary consciousness while involved in struggles for justice, which is "the foundation of Korean people's spirit."[66] Furthermore, Yi points out that the role of Mongnyong, who discovers corruption and protects the people, reflects the willingness of the people to "elect a politician for them by themselves . . . rather than having a king whom they distrust."[67] Thus, Mongnyong represents Koreans' desire for democracy. Yi concludes that *Ch'unhyangjŏn* still mirrors "a scene of the dream" of the people.[68]

This interpretation of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was linked to Chōren's cultural policy, which was aimed at enlightening people in order to raise their democratic consciousness. Chōren highlighted the fact that its "cultural movement" took on the important task of "the spiritual revolution" (*chŏngsin hyŏngmyŏng*) of the people.[69] In the meeting's record, the spiritual revolution referred to "a task of raising the democratic [consciousness] of Korean people whose ethnic consciousness was paralyzed . . . by the oppression of the Japanese empire."[70] Wŏn Yong-dŏk, who was the Director of the Division of Culture and Education when the opera *Chun Hiang* was performed, also presented his understanding of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in the pamphlet of the opera. He points out that *Ch'unhyangjŏn* represents the suffering of Korean people under the corrupt *yangban* (ruling class) system in the middle of the Chosŏn period. According to him, the Korean folktale played a role in inspiring the people under tyranny.[71] In addition, an essay, entitled "*Ch'unhyang* wa watashitachi no kanjō o hagukunde iru" (*Ch'unhyangjŏn* cultivates our emotions), was published in the *Chōren chūō jihō*.

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[63] Yi Ŭn-jik, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* kwa Chosŏn inmin chŏngsin," *Chōren munhwa*, no. 1 (April 1946): 41.

[64] Ibid. 42.

[65] Yi Ŭn-jik, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* kwa Chosŏn inmin chŏngsin (ha)," *Chōren munhwa*, no. 2 (October 1946): 82.

[66] Ibid., 80-83.

[67] Ibid., 83.

[68] Ibid., 86.

> All [of us] embrace the story of Ch'unhyang in [our] hearts. *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was the most loved story by our grandmothers or mothers along with *Simch'ŏngjŏn*. They heard the stories from storytellers or their grandmothers and mothers. Then, we heard the stories [from them] . . . *Ch'unhynagjŏn* has played an enormous role in educating our emotions. It has taught us tears and laughter. We were the people of a colony since we were born. Nevertheless, if we could ever have generous and sound minds, the credit for it should go to *Ch'unhyangjŏn*.[72]

As shown above, Chōren considered *Ch'unhyangjŏn* to reflect not only the emotions and thoughts of Korean people, but also the organization's goal to demonstrate its support for democracy.

However, the primary goal of producing the opera was not to be political, but to stage it internationally in order to introduce Korean culture to the world without the oppression of the

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[69] Chōren, "Che 10 hoe chung'ang wiwŏnhoe ŭisarok" (May 1947), 9.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Wŏn Yong-dŏk, "*Chun Hiang* no kōen ni sai shite," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948), 6.

[72] Puk Chae-ch'ang, "Ch'unhyang wa watashitachi no kanjō o hagukunde iru: Opera *Chun Hiang* jōen o mae ni shite," *Chōren chūō jihō*, November 11, 1948.

Japanese empire. In the Fifth Nationwide Meeting, which was held soon before the first performance of the opera, Chōren classified cultural activities into two categories: "the activities for developing a democratic national culture" and "the activities for propagation and international exchange of culture."[73] In the latter activities, "international cooperation with democratic forces" was included.[74] The opera project fit within the first category, "developing a democratic national culture," particularly "inheriting and spreading classical literature and culture."[75] Thus, this classification clarifies the project of producing the opera as separate from the cultural activities for "cooperation with democratic forces," which had a political meaning, even though Chōren interpreted the Korean folktale as having themes that resonated with its democratic stance.

The Popularity of Opera in Postwar Japan

In January 1946, the Fujiwara Opera (Fujiwara kageki dan) successfully staged Giuseppe Verdi's *La Triviata*. This success ignited opera fever in postwar Japan.[76] The Fujiwara Opera performed operatic works 428 times at the Imperial Theater (Teikoku gekijō) from 1946 to 1950, sponsored by the Toho Music Society (Tōhō ongaku kyōkai). Kusakari Shinzō, a former violist for the Toho Orchestra, recalled that "it was theater experiences that everyone probably tasted with an indescribable, refreshing sense of freedom after the end of the war."[77]

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[73] Chōren, "Che 5 hoe chŏnch'e taehoe chech'ul hwaldong pogosŏ" (October 1948), 39-40.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Ibid.
[76] Masui Keiji, *Nihon opera shi~1952* (Tokyo: Suiyōsha, 2003), 327-328.
[77] Kusakari Shinzō, "Sengo 50 nen: Nihon no ōkesutora," *Ongaku gendai* (January 2001): 122.

TABLE 3.1. Performances of the Fujiwara Opera in Tokyo from 1946 to 1950

Month/Year	Title	Number of performances	Venue
January 1946	*La Traviata*	7	The Imperial Theater
April 1946	*Carmen*	11	The Imperial Theater
September 1946	*Cavalleria Rusticana* *Pagliacci*	13	The Imperial Theater
	Total (1946)	**31**	
February 1947	*La Bohème*	14	The Imperial Theater
July 1947	*Tannhäuser*	25	The Imperial Theater
December 1947	*Carmen*	31	The Imperial Theater
	Total (1947)	**70**	
March 1948	*The Barber of Seville*	31	The Imperial Theater
May 1948	*La Traviata*	14	Yūrakuza
September 1948	*Madame Butterfly*	24	The Imperial Theater
November 1948	*Chun Hiang*	13	Yūrakuza
December 1948	*Don Giovanni*	27	The Imperial Theater
	Total (1948)	**109**	
January 1949	*Carmen*	27	The Imperial Theater
March 1949	*La Traviata*	28	The Imperial Theater
June 1949	*Lohengrin*	25	The Imperial Theater
August 1949	*Madame Butterfly*	28	The Imperial Theater
December 1949	*Eugene Onegin*	25	The Imperial Theater
	Total (1949)	**113**	
January 1950	*Carmen*	11	Hibiya Hall
February 1950	*La Traviata*	18	Yūrakuza
June 1950	*Tosca*	16	Yūrakuza
December 1950	*Faust*	30	The Imperial Theater
	Total (1950)	**85**	
	Sum total (1946-1950)	**428**	

Source: Kusakari, Shinz, “Sengo 50 nen: Nihon no ōkesutora,” *Ongaku gendai* (January 2001): 123

In the latter half of the 1940s, opera performances became popular and profitable despite inflation. A music critic analyzed the phenomenon as follows:

> There may be various reasons for the popularity of opera after the war. However, I think that it is a manifestation of [people's] desire for something new in response to the ideological confusions in the postwar era.[78]

In addition, previous studies on opera explain that the popularity of opera resulted from the stabilization of the Fujiwara Opera through the sponsorship of the Toho Music Society and the Imperial Theater.[79] The Fujiwara Opera, which was organized in 1934, mainly performed at the Kabukiza. Due to the damages from air raids, the building of Kabukiza needed to be restored. After the end of the war, the Fujiwara Opera embarked on new projects at the Imperial Theater, sponsored by the Toho Music Society.[80]

During this period, Japanese artists and music critics had great interests in *sōsaku* opera (newly created opera) by Japanese composers. The Fujiwara Opera was criticized because "it did not make an effort to [produce] *sōsaku* opera composed by Japanese [artists]."[81] However, at the same time, there was a lack of skilled Japanese musicians, which could be the reason for the absence of *sōsaku* opera.[82] In 1947, Takagi Tōroku discussed the prospect of *sōsaku* opera with Konoe Hidemaro, a conductor, and Fujiwara Yoshie, a tenor singer:

> MODERATOR. Is it difficult [for Japanese artists] to create a new opera which portrays Japan?
> TAKAGI. If someone who tied his hair on the top of the head (*chonmage*) and wore a sword sings an aria, it is not impressive (*laughter*).
> KONOE. It will be like *Enoken* (Enomono Ken'ichi).

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[78] Yotsuya Samon, "Fujiwara opera to Nagato opera," *Ongaku geijutsu* (October 1948): 38-39.

[79] Masui Keiji, *Nihon opera shi~1952* (Tokyo: Suiyōsha, 2003), 328; Yotsuya Samon, "Fujiwara opera to Nagato opera," *Ongaku geijutsu* (October 1948): 40.

[80] Masui Keiji, *Nihon opera shi~1952* (Tokyo: Suiyōsha, 2003), 327.

[81] Yotsuya Samon, "Fujiwara opera to Nagato opera," *Ongaku geijutsu* (October 1948): 40.

[82] Ibid.

> TAKAGI. In our sense, it would be better [for us] to use contemporary content [for *sōsaku* opera].
> FUJIWARA. It will be after we die that opera will be well under way.
> TAKAGI. No, I think that opera performances will be well developed [in Japan] in five or six years.
> FUJIWARA. I don’t think so because we lack theaters.[83]

Even though opera performances were popular in Japan after the war, Japanese music critics saw a necessity to promote opera productions created by Japanese artists. In June 1947, when the discussion was held, Takagi had nearly finished writing the music for the opera *Chun Hiang*.[84] Interestingly, while Takagi was skeptical of creating an opera that represented Japanese tradition, he was engaged in producing the operatic version of a Korean folktale.

Toward the First Performance of the Opera *Chun Hiang*

As examined above, Chōren asked Takagi to compose the opera *Chun Hiang* in early 1946 and officially adopted the project at the Fourth Meeting of the Division of Culture in June 1947. It was reported to the central headquarters in September 1947 during the Eleventh Meeting where the preparation status of the project was specifically discussed.

TABLE 3.2. The report on the preparation of the opera *Ch’unhyangjŏn*

Libretto	Murayama Tomoyoshi completed			
Music	Takagi Tōroku completed			
Translation (English)	Matsuhara Iwao			
Cast	Ch’unhyang	[Ōtani Reiko]	Mongnyong	[Kim Yŏng-gil]
	Wŏlmae	[Yotsuya Fumiko]	Hyangdan	[Takayanagi Futaba]
	Pangja	[Fujii Noriaki]		
Performance	Expected March or April 1948			

Source: Chōren, “Che 11 hoe chung’ang wiwŏnhoe ŭisarok: Mun’gyokuk hwaldong pogo” (September 1947), 112-113.

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[83] “Opera o kataru,” *Fujin gahō* (June 1947): 11.

[84] Takagi Tōroku, “Opera *Chun Hiang* ni tsuite,” *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948), 1.

The actual process of performing *Chun Hiang* can be categorized into two stages: the first stage from September 1947 to May 1948, and the second stage from June to November 1948. In September 1947, the libretto, music, and Japanese-English translation were completed. The cast was also determined. The project of producing the opera, which was initiated in early 1946, was nearly finished in September 1947. On September 25, 1947, the audio portion of the opera was presented to an audience for the first time at the Imperial Theater. About thirty people, including the executive board members of Chōren and the Toho Music Society, as well as Japanese music critics, attended the rehearsal.[85] Despite the viability of the earlier first performance in March or April 1948, the opera did not premiere until November 1948. Why was the first performance postponed until 1948, even after all the preparation had been completed?

The 1948 education struggle for the protection of Korean schools, in which Chōren was involved from January 1948, was the main cause of the delay. The protests were triggered by a notification sent to governors of prefectures by the Director of the School Education Bureau in the Japanese Ministry of Education.[86] The notification, entitled "Treatment of Schools Established by Koreans," specifically ordered the treatment of Korean students as follows: "Even Korean students must attend public or private elementary schools and middle schools when they reach school age as Japanese students do. In addition, the establishment of private elementary schools and middle schools should be approved by the Supervisory Agency in each prefecture with regard to the School Education Law."[87] Independent Korean schools did not teach students in Japanese, which violated the law. Even though the law permitted the operation of miscellaneous schools, including American schools, the 1948 injunction did not allow Korean schools to hold this status.[88] Thus, the notification meant that Korean children could not attend Korean schools in Japan. Chōren immediately organized the Committee for Education for Koreans and led struggles for the protection of ethnic education, especially in Kobe and Osaka. The education struggles were settled by an agreement between Chōren and the Ministry of Education on May 5, 1948, which would allow Koreans schools to teach Korean as an extracurricular course.[89]

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[85] Chōren, "Che 5 hoe chŏnch'e taehoe chech'ul hwaldong pogosŏ" (October 1948), 40.

[86] Pak Kyŏng-sik, *Kaihō go Zainichi Chōsenjin undō shi* (Tokyo: San'ichi Shobō, 1989), 185.

[87] Tonomura Masaru, *Zainichi Chōsenjin no rekishigakuteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 2004), 414.

At the Fifteenth Meeting of the Central Headquarters held in July 1948, the Division of Culture and Education reported that no cultural activity was carried out from April 1948 because it was committed to the education protests.[90] In other words, Chōren may have postponed the first performance of the opera, which was originally planned to be performed in March or April 1948, due to the protests. At the Fifteenth Meeting of the Central Headquarters, Chōren once again decided to premiere the opera at the Imperial Theater in October 1948.[91] For this plan, the second audio presentation was held in Tokyo on June 23, 1948, and about a hundred people attended.[92] At this presentation, the attendees formed the Association of Supporters for the Opera *Chun Hiang* with an intention of financial sponsorship.[93] When the first performance premiered, the *Chōren chūō jihō* reported that the project of the opera was successfully achieved by active supports from the Association of Supporters for the Opera *Chun Hiang*.[94] However, even though Chōren determined that the first performance would be staged at the Imperial Theater, the venue became unclear at the Fifth Nationwide Meeting, which was held from October 14 to 16, 1948. The opera finally premiered on November 20, 1948, at the Yūrakuza.

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[88] Amin Ghadimi, "Shot Through with Democracy: Japan's Postwar Myths and the 1948 Hanshin Education Incident," *Social Science Japan Journal* 21, no. 2 (August 2018): 262.

[89] Tonomura Masaru, *Zainichi Chōsenjin no rekishigakuteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 2004), 414; O Kyusang, *Dokyumento Zai-Nihon Chōsenjin renmei 1945-1949* (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009), 141-142.

[90] Chōren, "Che 15 hoe chung'ang wiwŏnhoe: Mun'gyobu hwaldong pogosŏ" (July 1948), 3.

[91] Ibid., 4.

[92] Chōren, "Che 5 hoe chŏnch'e taehoe chech'ul hwaldong pogosŏ" (October 1948), 40.

[93] Ibid.

[94] "Opera ni naru *Ch'unhyangjŏn*," *Chōren chūō jihō*, November 11, 1948.

This plan change—from the Imperial Theater in October to the Yūrakuza in November—resulted from a disagreement about the schedule between Chōren and the Toho Music Society. Chōren's meeting records did not clarify the context in which the venue and the date of the first performance had been changed. However, several newspaper articles mentioned that the Toho Music Society, which was a co-sponsor of the opera with Chōren, had disagreed with Chōren's original plan. The Toho Music Society sponsored opera performances, such as *La Traviata* and *Madame Butterfly*, at the time. In 1947, Fujiwara Yoshie described a pattern of staging opera performances as follows: "*Carmen* makes a profit without fail . . . The companies stage *La Traviata* and *Madame Butterfly* whenever they face a possibility of a deficit."[95] Compared to these famous operatic works, Chōren could not convince the Toho Music Society that *Chun Hiang* might be successful. Thus, the Toho Music Society was reluctant to perform the opera for the period of one week as Chōren suggested, because it was concerned about profits:

> The opera was the first *sōsaku* opera that was created by a Japanese [composer]. Furthermore, it contained the content from classical Korean literature. Toho expressed disapproval of the plan to perform it over a week. However, the plan was realized upon an agreement [between Toho and Chōren] that Chōren would be fully responsible for the performance and would only borrow a theater from Toho.[96]

Despite the co-sponsorship agreement, Chōren shouldered the full financial responsibility of the performance. According to an article in *International Times* (*Kokusai Taimusu*), Chōren decided to perform the opera *Chun Hiang*, even though the expenses would be 2,300,000 Yen, with an expectant deficit equivalent to 800,000 Yen.[97] In other words, Chōren premiered the opera at an anticipated financial loss. Yi Ŭn-jik's essay implies the organization's strong will to perform the opera:

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[95] "Opera o kataru," *Fujin gahō* (June 1947): 11.

[96] "Sekai teki suijun e," *Kokusai Taimusu*, November 19, 1948. In the Fifth Nationwide Meeting, Chōren set a budget of two million Yen for the first performance. Chōren, "Che 5 hoe chŏnch'e taehoe chech'ul hwaldong pogosŏ" (October 1948), 40.

> [Producing] an opera costs a great deal. Moreover, it is obvious that we will encounter many obstacles until we premiere [the opera] because all theatrical performances are under the control of commercial capital. Thus, we should concentrate all our efforts toward expanding this Korean art to the world.[98]

As Chōren discussed how to perform the opera with the Toho Music Society, the schedule of the performance was not finalized. Murayama also pointed out that "[the cast and crew] could only have a little time to practice the opera because the finalization of the performance was uncommonly delayed."[99] Kuni Masami, the choreographer of the opera, mentioned that he "suddenly accepted the project . . . and received a full score of the opera from Takagi a week before the first day of the performance."[100] Even though Chōren had been preparing the opera since early 1946, "the first performance was not prepared well enough, to the extent that everyone could be satisfied," due to the delay of the finalization.[101]

On November 20, 1948, *Chun Hiang* premiered at the Yūrakuza, with great excitement but also concern. The outline of the first performance was as follows:

Title	Grand Opera *Chun Hiang*
Music	Takagi Tōroku
Libretto Director	Murayama Tomoyoshi
Construction	Four Acts and Six Scenes

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[97] "Chōsenjin renmei no kaikyo," *Kokusai Taimusu*, November 22, 1948.
[98] Yi Ŭn-jik, "Opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* no jōen ni tsuite," *Chōren chūō jihō*, September 17, 1948.
[99] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* enshutsu techō," *Ongaku geijutsu* (February 1949): 33.
[100] Kuni Masami, "*Chun Hiang* no anmu," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948), 5.
[101] Murayama Tomoyoshi, "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* zuisō," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948), 4.

Running time	2 hours 30 minutes
Dates	3 PM and 6 PM, November 20 to 26, 1948 (November 20: 6 PM only)
Theater	The Yūrakuza, Tokyo (Mainichi Hall, Osaka on March 6 to 8, 1949)
Sponsors	Zai-Nihon Chōsenjin renmei (Chōren)/ The Toho Music Society
Ticket Price	200 Yen (entrance tax 120 Yen included)[102]

The opera was performed thirteen times and broadcasted on NHK, a national public broadcasting corporation, on November 25, 1948.[103] The cast and crew are listed in Tables 3.3 and 3.4:

TABLE 3.3. The crew of the opera *Chun Hiang*

Role	Name	Affiliation
Music	Takagi Tōroku	
Director **Libretto** **Setting**	Murayama Tomoyoshi	The Shinkyō Company
Conduction	Ueda Jin	The Toho Music Society
Choreography	Kuni Masami	The Kuni Masami Dance Research Center
Chorus Conduction	Tomita Yoshisuke	The Fujiwara Opera
Orchestra	Toho Symphony Orchestra	The Toho Music Society
Chorus	The Fujiwara Opera	The Fujiwara Opera
Dancers	The Kuni Masami Dance Research Center	
Lighting	Shinoki Sabu	A former member of the Shinkyō company
Stage Director	Matsuo Tetsuji	The Shinkyō company
Assistant Director	Ninomiya Shūichi	(unknown)
Producer	Hŏ Namgi	Chōren

Source: *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948).[104]

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[102] Chang Pi, "Opera no mikata to kikikata: *Ch'unhyangjŏn* jōen ni saishite," *Chōren chūō jihō*, November 11, 1948.

[103] Masui Keiji, *Nihon opera shi~1952* (Tokyo: Suiyōsha, 2003), 358.

[104] Affiliation was not included in the pamphlet.

TABLE 3.4. The cast of the opera *Chun Hiang*

Character	Actor/Actress
Chun Hiang (Soprano)	Ōtani Reiko Takayanagi Futaba
Mong Yong (Tenor)	Kim Yŏng-gil (Nagata Genjirō) Washizaki Ryōzō
Hyang Dan [Chun Hiang's maid] (Soprano)	Takita Kikue Nanba Chizuko
Weol Mai [Chung Hiang's mother] (Alto)	Satō Yoshiko Maruyama Kiyoko
Bang Za [Mong Yong's attendant] (Baritone)	Fujii Noriaki Takagi Kiyoshi
Saddo [Magistrate of Nam-Won] (Baritone or Bass)	Akimoto Seiichi
Heo Bong-sa [Fortune teller] (Baritone or Bass)	Murao Gorō

Source: *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948); *Zuihitsu Ch'unhyangjŏn*, ed. Cho Yong-dal (1948), 19; *Piano Score of the Opera Chun Hiang* (October 1947), 1.

The cast was similar to the cast list recorded at the Eleventh Meeting of the Central Headquarters in September 1947. From the 1947 list to the 1948 list, the casting changed to a double-casting system (see Tables 3.2 and 3.4). The actors were mostly Japanese and affiliated with the Fujiwara Opera, except Kim Yŏng-gil. According to Fujii Kōki, a Japanese music scholar, this casting shows that "the top-class singers of the Fujiwara Opera performed the opera [*Chun Hiang*]."[105] The information in the pamphlet also indicates that there were more than sixty performers including the choir and dancers on stage.

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[105] Fujii Kōki, "Takagi Tōroku sakkyoku kageki *Chun Hiang* shoen," *Hokutō Ajia bunka kenkyū* (March 2000): 46.

Kim Yŏng-gil (Nagata Genjirō), who performed Mong Yong's role, was a member of Chōren and intermittently appeared on the Fujiwara Opera stage. Chōren had high expectations for Kim's performance. Kim, who graduated from the Toyama Military Academy (Rikugun Toyama gakkō), had sung military songs for the Imperial Japanese Army during the colonial period. *Zainichi Chōsen bunka nenkan 1949 nenban* described Kim's appearance in the opera as follows:

> We are proud of our tenor, Kim Yŏng-gil, who will stand on the world stage as a Korean singer. Soon after liberation, Kim honestly criticized himself for his activities in the past and cleared himself [of his actions]. He joined Chōren and refused the temptations of reactionaries. He has lived in poverty and continuously sung our new songs for the people. After three years, he is now able to start a new journey as a Korean singer with the warm sympathy and love from the [Korean] people. He is becoming an international musician, performing the protagonist of a Korean opera.[106]

According to an article of the *Tōkyō Chōren nyūsu*, Kim apologized for his past activities at a roundtable discussion that was held after the Thirteenth Meeting of the Central Headquarters in January 1948: "I clearly admit that I catered to all sides (*happō bijin*) in the past. I feel remorse."[107] Furthermore, he swore that he would "keep [his] conviction of the establishment of the fatherland no matter what kind of temptation and obstacles [he] may face in the future."[108] Chōren accepted his apology and evaluated his self-criticism as sincere, as shown above.

Kuni Masami, the choreographer of the opera, was involved in the production as a *Korean* dancer at the time. Kuni, whose Korean name was Pak Yŏng-in, moved to Japan in his mid-teens. While he studied aesthetics at the University of Tokyo, he held a dance performance there. Kuni moved to Germany to further study dance in the 1930s and came back to Japan soon after the end of World War II. In colonial Korea, Kuni was known as one of the most famous Korean dancers, along with Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi and Cho Taik Won.[109] However, after he was naturalized in Japan after he came back from Germany, Kuni rarely revealed his ethnic background. Nevertheless, when the opera was produced in 1948, it was reported that "Kuni Masami, who directed dance, tried to make the folktale of his mother country succeed."[110]

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[106] *Zainichi Chōsen bunka nenkan 1949 nenban* (Chōsen bungei sha, 1949), 88.
[107] "Ware-ware no geijutsuka o ikase," *Tokyo Chōren nyūsu*, February 18, 1948.
[108] Ibid.

Interestingly, the members of the Shinkyō company actively participated in producing the opera and supported the first performance. While the Toho Music Society conducted and played the music, the Shinkyō members prepared the theatrical equipment for the stage, such as set lighting and background. Moreover, the members who "had experienced [performing] *Ch'unhyangjŏn* including Akaki Ranko . . . directed [acting] in detail."[111] In a collection of essays which were written by the cast and crew, two photographs were inserted: a photograph in which Akaki Ranko participated in a rehearsal of the 1948 opera version of *Chun Hiang* and a photograph of Shinkyō's performance in which Akaki performed Mongnyong in 1938.[112] In this regard, Zainichi Koreans not only created a new version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* but also reevaluated Shinkyō's play after the end of Japanese colonization. The opera *Chun Hiang* contained a legacy of imperial Japan through its behind-the-stage interactions between Japanese and Koreans during the colonial period despite the ambiguity of the Japanese positions (i.e., Murayama Tomoyoshi). At the same time, Zainichi Koreans took the lead in creating a new English-language interpretation of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* with the purpose of presenting the opera *Chun Hiang* to the world as wholly Korean rather than as part of the Japanese empire.

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[109] Pyŏn Sŏng-nyŏl, "Kaigai de na o ageta hitobito," *Modan Nippon* (November 1939): 130.
[110] "Sekai teki suijun e," *Kokusai Taimusu*, November 19, 1948.
[111] Ibid.
[112] *Zuihitsu Ch'unhyangjŏn*, ed. Cho Yong-dal, 1948, 1.

Japanese Responses to the Opera *Chun Hiang*

When the opera *Chun Hiang*, which was co-produced by Zainichi Koreans and Japanese people, premiered, Japanese music critics paid attention to it as the first opera created by a Japanese composer in postwar Japan. They showed little interest in the objective of Zainichi Koreans who produced the opera. However, Zainichi Koreans highly praised the fact that they had successfully produced the opera in collaboration with Japanese artists in order to cultivate their own ethnic culture after liberation. Even though the opera was criticized due to "a lack of Korean color,"[113] Zainichi Koreans accepted the criticism positively because they considered this lack to be more effective in staging the opera for a global audience.

The premiere of *Chun Hiang* attracted considerable attention from the Japanese operatic world as "the first [operatic] work by a Japanese [composer] after the war."[114] *Sinfonī* (Symphony), a magazine published by the Toho Music Society, also reported that "the first *sōsaku* opera *Chun Hiang* [composed] by a Japanese after the war" was performed.[115] Regarding the premiere of the opera, an anonymous reader sent a message to the magazine: "I am pleased to acknowledge a significant meaning of the *sōsaku* opera *Chun Hiang*. The opera, for which [we] have waited, will soon be in the spotlight at the Yūrakuza during a period of brilliance for opera."[116] The Japanese operatic world appreciated the premiere of the opera only within the category of *Japanese* opera. Hattori Ryūtarō introduced *Chun Hiang* in the piano score of the opera:

> It is probable that Mr. Takagi had poured all his youthful spirit and energy of the past number of years into this composition. There is in the composition sweetness as well as

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[113] Takagi Tōroku, "Opera *Chun Hiang* no jōen ni atatte," *Kokusai Taimusu*, November 19, 1948.
[114] "Gakkai tsūshin," *Ongaku no tomo* (November 1948): 54.
[115] "Tōhō ongaku kyōkai jigyō kiroku," *Sinfonī* (December 1948): 30.
[116] "Dokusha no pēji," *Sinfonī* (November 1948): 31.

> power enough to be enjoyed for two hours. The opera "Chun-Hiang," I hope, may become an important piece to be added to *the operatic repertory of Japan*.[117]

Yamada Kōsaku, a Japanese composer, also showed his interest in the opera. Takagi recalled that Yamada provided him with sheets of music, which "were about the amount of two copies of *Kōjien*," a Japanese dictionary.[118] As shown in Chapter 2, Takagi attempted to make another operatic version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* before the end of the war. At the time, Yamada Kōsaku also composed an operatic work, entitled *Kōki*.[119] Yamada finally completed the composition for the opera *Kōki* in January 1947.[120] Nevertheless, the full version of *Kōki* was not performed until after *Chun Hiang* premiered. In the pamphlet of *Chun Hiang*, Yamada applauded the completion of both works, which had been written from the early 1940s, and further stated that "we (Yamada and Takagi) have come to dedicate [these two operas] to defeated Japan (*haisen no Nihon*)."[121] However, Takagi differentiated the 1948 opera version of *Chun Hiang* from what he had composed during the war:

> *Chun Hiang* can be considered to be the second version [of the opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* written in 1939 and 1940]. It is a totally different work from the first version of the opera. For the former one, I could have abundant resources of Korean music in my hand. Thus, I was able to fill [the work] with an abundance of Korean color. However, for this [second] version, I creatively made [music], completely ignoring historical research. Thus, it contains [my] subjective interpretation that is stronger than in the first version.[122]

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[117] Hattori Ryūtaro. "On the Legend and Music of the Opera *Chun-Hiang*," in *Piano Score of the Opera Chun Hiang* (October 1947), 2, italics mine.

[118] Takagi Tōroku, *Ai no yasōkyoku* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1985), 253.

[119] 香妃. Yamada Kōsaku, "*Chun Hiang* no shoen ni hanamukete," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948), 7.

[120] Masui Keiji, *Nihon opera shi~1952* (Tokyo: Suiyōsha, 2003), 358.

[121] Yamada Kōsaku, "*Chun Hiang* no shoen ni hanamukete," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948), 7.

[122] Takagi Tōroku, "Opera *Chun Hiang* ni tsuite," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948), 1.

Chun Hiang was not a revision of the opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* that he wrote in imperial Japan. Thus, from Takagi's view, Yamada's opinion—that he and Takagi would dedicate the works, which they started to write during the war, to defeated Japan—did not make sense. Moreover, from the perspective of Zainichi Koreans who planned this opera, Yamada's interpretation was beside the point. In addition, Seki Tadaakira published a review of *Chun Hiang* in *Teatoro*:

> It is truly significant that the opera *Chun Hiang* was performed by Japanese cultural figures in defeated Japan in cooperation with Korean artists upon Korea's independence and the construction of Korean ethnic culture.[123]

Even though Seki recognized the importance of producing *Chun Hiang* for Koreans, he mainly mentioned Japanese artists as the main agents of the production.

Then how did Japanese music critics evaluate the opera? It can be summarized that the opera did not receive a favorable reception. Hayasaka Fumio, a Japanese composer, was severely critical, saying that he was disappointed in the Toho Music Society due to "the low-quality music, such as [the operatic version of] *Ch'unhyangjŏn*."[124] Ōtaguro Motoo, a Japanese music critic, pointed out that "it would have been better to make the music more in a Korean style," implying his dissatisfaction with the opera.[125]

The ending of Chun Hiang's death was also criticized. Konoe Hidemaro, a conductor of the Toho Symphony Orchestra, discussed the unnecessary death of Chun Hiang while blaming the Japanese people's limited understanding of opera. Agreeing with Horiuchi's opinion, Konoe stated that “the Japanese tend to feel a loss of ticket money when they don’t cry [at the theater].”[126] He compared this tendency in comparison to European culture of opera as follows:

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[123] Seki Tadaakira, "Opera *Chun Hiang* no koto," *Teatoro* (February 1949): 49.

[124] Hayasaka Fumio, "1948-nendo Tōhō ongaku kyōkai jigyō hihan to kotoshi e no kibō: Hagaki kaitō," *Sinfonī* (January 1949): 19.

[125] Ōtaguro Matoo, "Ongaku kaihyō: *Chun Hiang* to *Don Fan* (*Don Juan*)," *Ongaku* (January 1949): 43.

> KONOE. Recently, a Korean opera was produced, *Ch’unhyangjŏn*. I heard that [Ch’unhyang] does not die in the original story. I have no idea who said that, but someone said that it would not be a grand opera if [Ch’unhyang] did not die. So, it ends with [her] death. But, when you see operas in Germany or somewhere else, you don’t often see a scene in which [a protagonist] dies.[127]

Seki Tadaakira was also critical of Chun Hiang’s death, arguing that “this shift of the ending fatally disrupted the story of *Chun Hiang*.”[128] He suggested that “it be revised two or three times for completion in order to finalize an historical and practical significance of the performance.”[129]

Moreover, *Kageki fan* (Opera fan), a Japanese magazine, recognized the production process in which Zainichi Koreans were involved. It noted that “[the Korean atmosphere, which was created by [the Korean staff], Choreographer Kuni Masami, Producer Hŏ Nam-gi, and Actor Nagata Genjirō, imparted a sense of reality.”[130] However, as shown above, most of the critiques focused on the first *sōsaku* opera written by a Japanese composer without paying attention to the production process which was mainly supported by Zainichi Koreans.

A New Representation of Korean Ethnic Culture

How, then, did Zainichi Koreans who planned to produce *Chun Hiang* respond to the performance? Several articles, which were published by Zainichi Korean newspapers, emphasized the significance of the cooperation with Japanese artists in the achievement of the first performance. The *Kokusai Taimusu* reported that "while the opera *Chun Hiang* was made through cooperative efforts of Composer Takagi Tōroku and Director Murayama Tomoyoshi, Chōren enormously supported it on the side."[131] The *Bunkyō shinbun* also highlighted the fact that "the opera *Chun Hiang*, a new version [of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*], was completed by the cooperation between Chōren and the Toho Music Society for about two years."[132] Chōren especially pointed out that the cooperation was made for the development of Korean ethnic culture. It mentioned that "[the opera] resulted from the efforts of artists and the people who loved our [Korean] arts and had a passion for the development [regardless of the affiliation with Chōren]."[133]

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[126] “Ongaku hōdan,” *Ongaku no tomo* (January 1949): 16.

[127] Ibid.

[128] Seki Tadaakira, “Opera *Chun Hiang* no koto,” *Teatoro* (February 1949): 49.

[129] Ibid., 52.

[130] “Saikō no sutaffu o soroeta sōsaku opera *Chun Hiang*,” *Kageki fan* (January 1949): 30.

After the first performance, Zainichi Koreans discussed the lack of Koreanness in the opera. The *Bunkyō shinbun* pointed out that "it was obvious that the opera could not fully present Koreanness."[134] However, Sin Hong-sik, an executive board member of Chōren, assessed the opera's lack of Koreanness positively. Sin argued:

> The representations of Korea and Koreans that were portrayed by Takagi and Murayama not only strongly contained Koreanness, but also were moderately cosmopolitanized. Thus, [the opera], which combined universality and veracity, will definitely attract warm sympathy beyond borders and nations.[135]

Moreover, after the first performance, Sin noted that "[Takagi and Murayama] appropriately softened the strong Korean characteristic [of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*]" to present the opera internationally.[136] Chōren recognized the necessity of *cosmopolitanizing* the opera without limiting the Korean folktale within the boundary of "a strong Korean characteristic" in order to achieve the goal of staging it transnationally. With this aim, Chōren changed the ending into the heroine's death.

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[131] "Chōsenjin renmei no kaikyo," *Kokusai Taimusu*, November 22, 1948.
[132] Sŏng Chŏng-bu, "Opera *Chun Hiang* o mite," *Bunkyō shinbun*, December 6, 1948.
[133] Sin Hong-sik, "Kageki *Chun Hiang* no shoen," *Chōren chūō jihō*, December 11, 1948.
[134] Sŏng Chŏng-bu, "Opera *Chun Hiang* o mite," *Bunkyō shinbun*, December 6, 1948.
[135] Sin Hong-sik, "Kaisetsu o kanete," *Kageki Chun Hiang panfuretto* (November 1948), 3.
[136] Sin Hong-sik, "Kageki *Chun Hiang* no shoen," *Chōren chūō jihō*, December 11, 1948.

I argue that this new interpretation of the Korean folktale reflected Zainichi Koreans' sense of freedom after the end of Japanese colonial rule. As examined in Chapter 1, modern Korean writers challenged conventional ways of understanding of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* through their new reading and writing practices of the folktale. The new interpretation implied that Koreans were willing to construct a new affiliation for Koreans in modern Korea beyond the Confucian social order. However, as Japan strengthened its control over Koreans during wartime mobilization, Japanese colonial authorities reduced the significance of Korean literature to the rigid boundaries of a Korean past. As Kim Tal-su pointed out, Zainichi Koreans sensed a strong atmosphere of freedom soon after liberation. In this atmosphere, Zainichi Koreans aimed to imagine their new community beyond the boundaries of Korea and Japan through the transnational exchange of culture.

Needless to say, Zainichi Korean audiences paid a lot of attention to the opera *Chun Hiang* to the extent that "they [from children to elders] rushed from all over the country."[137] Takagi also mentioned that "there were a lot of audiences who wore traditional Korean clothes because the theme was adapted from the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn*."[138] However, as shown above, Korean audiences were perplexed by Chun Hiang's death.[139] Seki Tadaakira described the audience's response to the performance as follows:

> It is true that they were not trained as spectators. Conversely, this fact implies that their responses truly reflected how the performance resonated with them. They neither gave

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[137] Yi Ŭn-jik, *Zainichi minzoku kyōiku, kunan no michi: 1948 nen 10 gatsu~1954 nen 4 gatsu* (Tokyo: Kōbunken, 2003), 16; Sŏng Chŏng-bu, "Opera *Chun Hiang* o mite," *Bunkyō shinbun*, December 6, 1948.

[138] Takagi Tōroku, *Ai no yasōkyoku* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1985), 250.

[139] Takagi mentions that the audience uttered "Oh!" to portray their perplexity. Takagi Tōroku, *Ai no yasōkyoku* (Tokyo: Kōdansha, 1985), 251.

> applause nor called for an encore. Some [critics] grieved at the responses. However, can you paradoxically argue that the audience could not understand [the opera] because it was too superior?[140]

Seki's review implied his criticism of the opera by referring to the response of Korean audiences who seemed not to be deeply moved. However, for Chōren, Korean audiences were not the main targets of the performance. While they were concerned about Korean audiences, the purpose of producing the opera was to present it worldwide. Thus, Chōren devoted relatively little attention to how Zainichi Korean audience would accept the opera—especially in regard to Chun Hiang's death.

A Connection with the Korean Peninsula

La Traviata was the first opera performance in South Korea after liberation. It was performed in January 1948, sponsored by the Korea Opera Association (Chosŏn op'era hyŏphoe).[141] Pak Ŭn-yong, a Korean music critic, reviewed the performance and compared the Korea Opera Association to the Fujiwara Opera in Japan in the *Chayu sinmun*.[142] His article implies that Korean musicians and critics grasped the trend of Japanese operatic works at the time. In July 1947, the *Tonga ilbo* reported that Takagi Tōroku completed a sketch of music for an opera version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* and started to write a score for the orchestra.[143] However, in South Korea, no article about the opera *Chun Hiang* that was performed in November 1948 can be found. It is reasonable to conclude that it may be because when the opera premiered, the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) had already been established on the Korean peninsula; Chōren took a position to support the North Korean government.

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[140] Seki Tadaakira, "Opera *Chun Hiang* no koto," *Teatoro* (February 1949): 52.

[141] "Han'guk op'era ŭi ŏje onŭl," *Tonga ilbo*, December 2, 1960; "[Yŏnye] Kŭraendŭ op'era *Ch'unhŭi* chŏn'gok kongyŏn," *Chayu sinmun*, January 15, 1948.

[142] Pak Ŭn-yong, "Op'era *Ch'unhŭi* pyŏng (sang)," *Chayu sinmun*, January 23, 1948.

[143] "Taegagŭk *Ch'unhyangjŏn* Ilbon sŏ tessan," *Tonga ilbo*, July 8, 1947.

In this regard, it is difficult to find out how Koreans who lived in Korea responded to the production of *Chun Hiang*. Nevertheless, I examine an operatic work that was performed in Korea in May 1950 in order to consider the connection of the opera *Chun Hiang* to Korea. In 1950, the first opera written by a Korean composer in Korea after liberation was produced: the opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* composed by Hyŏn Che-myŏng. This work was closely related to another opera version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, which was planned by Kim Sŏng-tae, Cho Taik Won, and Hyŏn Che-myŏng in 1945. The cast and crew who participated in the 1950 opera version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* partially overlapped with the list of those who participated in the 1945 opera version. In other words, the 1950 opera version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was produced mainly by those who produced the 1945 version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, which was never performed.

Hyŏn's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* premiered at the National Theater of Korea from May 20 through June 1, 1950. The original plan was from May 20 to 29; however, the performance was extended due to its popularity.[144] The cast and crew are listed in Tables 3.5 and 3.6:

TABLE 3.5. The crew of the opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* (May 1950)

Role	**Name**
Music **Conductor**	Hyŏn Che-myŏng
Libretto	Yi Sŏ-gu
Plan	Kim Sŏng-t'ae
Director	Yu Ch'i-jin Yi Chin-sun
Stage Director (*jinhaeng*)	Kim Sŏng-t'ae Nam Sil

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[144] Advertisements in the *Chosŏn ilbo* on May 28, 1950 and in the *Tonga ilbo* on May 28, 1950.

Chorus coaching	Ch'oe Hŭi-nam
Choreography	Han Tong-in
Costume **Setting**	Kim Chŏng-hwan
Lighting	Ch'oe Chin
Orchestra	The *Yedae* Symphony Orchestra[145]
Chorus	The Seoul Choir
Dancers	The Seoul Ballet Theater The Seoul Opera

Source: Advertisement in the *Tonga ilbo* on May 21, 1950

TABLE 3.6. The cast of the opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* (May 1950)

Character	**Actor/Actress**
Ch'unhyang	Yi Kwan-ok Yi Kŭm-bong Kwŏn Wŏn-han
Toryŏng (Mongnyong)	Yi Sang-ch'un Yi In-bŏm Sa Sang-p'il
Satto	Kim Hyŏng-no Kim Hak-kŭn
Pangja	Kim Hak-sang Kim P'il-gi
Wŏlmae	Kim Hye-ran Yi Chŏng-hŭi
Hyangdan	Kim Yŏng-sik Yi Yŏng-sun
Saryŏng (Officer)	Chŏng Yŏng-jae O Hyŏn-myŏng

Source: Advertisement in the *Tonga ilbo* on May 21, 1950

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[145] College of Arts, Seoul National University.

As shown in Chapter 2, the opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was composed by Kim Sŏng-tae, with a libretto by Murayama, which was translated into Korean, in 1945. The 1950 version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was composed by Hyŏn Che-myŏng, with a libretto written by Yi Sŏ-gu. Thus, the 1950 version was different from the 1945 version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. However, the cast and crew of the 1950 version aligned with those of the 1945 version (see Tables 2.1, 2.2, 3.5 and 3.6). Cho Taik Won, who had co-planned the opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* with Kim Sŏng-tae and Hyŏn Che-myŏng in 1945, recalled that even though the opera could not be performed in 1945, "after a while, almost the same members wonderfully staged [another version of] *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, which was composed by Hyŏn Che-myŏng, several times."[146] Therefore, the first Korean opera after liberation was produced mainly by the cast and crew who had already planned to perform the opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in 1945.

Interestingly, the opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was performed with the similar intention as the opera *Chun Hiang* was. According to the *Tonga ilbo*, Hyŏn's opera was produced "in order to introduce the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn* to the United States."[147] It is not a coincidence that the first *sōsaku* and *ch'angjak* operas, produced in their respective countries after August 1945, were opera versions of the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn*. The 1945 version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* (music by Kim Sŏng-tae and directed by Murayama Tomoyoshi), the opera *Chun Hiang* (music by Takagi Tōroku and directed by Murayama Tomoyoshi), and the 1950 version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* (music by Hyŏn Che-myŏng and directed by Yu Ch'i-jin and Yi Ch'in-sun) were closely connected.

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[146] Cho Taik Won, *Kasahojŏp: Ch'angjak muyong pansegi* (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1973), 226. In 1950, Cho could not participate in the opera because he was living in the United States.

[147] "*Ch'unhyangjŏn* op'era hwa," *Tonga ilbo*, May 18, 1950.

Hyŏn's *Ch'unhyangjŏn* was produced and performed differently from the opera *Chun Hiang* despite similar intentions. Hyŏn's opera was sponsored by the Korean government, including the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Korean Information Agency, and the Seoul metropolitan government.[148] In contrast, Chōren produced *Chun Hiang* at its own expense. Furthermore, Hyŏn's opera was eventually staged in the United States in February 1984. As the first overseas performance of Korean opera, it was performed in Chicago, Detroit, Washington, Los Angeles, and San Francisco.[149] However, after the premiere of the opera *Chun Hiang* in Japan, the performance was not repeated until 2002; it has never been performed *internationally*.

Chun Hiang was also performed in Osaka in March 1949.[150] According to Takagi, "someone stole all of the costumes and orchestra scores on the last day of the performance at the Mainichi Hall in Osaka."[151] This incident made it temporarily impossible to repeat the performance. Moreover, Chōren was forced to disband the organization by the General Headquarters, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers (GHQ/SCAP) and the Japanese government in September 1949. The committee members of Chōren had mainly consisted of leftist figures since the establishment of the organization. The GHQ and the Japanese government, which had strengthened their anti-Communist policies, ordered Chōren to dissolve under the Organization Control Law because Chōren had developed close interactions with the Japanese Communist Party.[152] Takagi reminisced on the failure to repeat the performance after the premiere: "We could not borrow a venue [to perform it] . . . because the government ordered [the organization of] Zainichi Koreans who supported the performance to disband . . . Soon after the premiere, the Korean War occurred, and the division of Korea became clear. In the situation, people did not care about such an opera performance."[153] The excitement for the premiere of *Chun Hiang* was buried in oblivion as the political situation surrounding Korea became more unstable in the late 1940s and early 1950s.

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[148] Advertisement in the *Tonga ilbo* on May 21, 1950.

[149] "18 il put'ŏ op'era *Tae-Ch'unhyangjŏn* mi sunhoe kongyŏn," *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, February 16, 1984.

[150] "Opera *Ch'unhyangjŏn* Kansai kōen hongimari," *Chōren chūō jihō*, February 16, 1949.

[151] Takagi Tōroku, "Chōsen ongaku to watashi: Zainichi Chōsen chūō geijutsudan tokubetsu kōen ni kanren shite," *Tokyo daigaku shinbun*, November 16, 1964.

[152] In February 1949, Chōren even encouraged people who were affiliated with subsidiary organizations of Chōren to join the Japanese Communist Party. O Kyusang, *Dokyumento Zai-Nihon Chōsenjin renmei 1945-1949*. (Tokyo: Iwanami Shoten, 2009), 85-88.

Conclusion

The opera *Chun Hiang* was not performed until 2002, when Korea and Japan jointly hosted the World Cup. The opera, which had been forgotten since the 1948 premiere, was again performed in Yokohama on April 19 and 21, 2002. Takagi Midori, Takagi's eldest daughter, explained that the performance had been planned when Kong Ŭn-a, a Korean music scholar, interviewed Takagi in 1996.[154] Even though it was successfully reperformed with sponsorship from the Japanese and Korean governments in 2002, the intention of producing *Chun Hiang* in the late 1940s was not fully elucidated. In the pamphlet of the 2002 opera, Kobayashi Hideo, a Japanese literary critic, introduces the opera as follows:

> *Chun Hiang* was made by Korean immigrants in Japan who requested Takagi Tōroku to compose in early 1946 soon after the end of the war. Considering the confusion of the society that made it difficult to manage everyday life, what a passionate love of culture and human beings! Deeply impressed [by them], Takagi accepted the request and completed such a masterpiece at the time. I would like to express my utmost respect for all the efforts and hard work of the people who achieved the 1948 premiere.[155]

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[153] Takagi Tōroku, "Opera *Chun Hiang*: Saien ni yosete (Takagi Tōroku, Takagi Midori)," *Yūrin* (April 2002): 4.

[154] Ibid., 5; Kong Ŭn-a, "Tak'agi Torokku ŭi op'era *Ch'unhyang*," *Ŭmakhak* (January 2001): 389-420.

[155] Kobayashi Hideo, "Sakuhin kaisetsu: Takagi Tōroku sensei no opera, sosite ningen to bunka e no ai," in *Opera Chun Hiang panfuretto* (April 2002), 25.

Furthermore, Nakada Hiroshi, the Mayor of Yokohama at the time, defined the 1948 *Chun Hiang* as "the pioneer of cultural exchange between Japan and Korea."[156] When *Chun Hiang* premiered in 1948, Japanese music critics did not pay attention to Zainichi Koreans who actually initiated the production. The (re)evaluation of Zainichi Korean activities was finally made in 2002, following a gap of about fifty years since the premiere.

Nevertheless, even in 2002, the original intention of producing *Chun Hiang* in 1948 was not discussed. Rather, the pamphlet of the 2002 opera explains that "Chōren, which planned [this opera], asked Takagi Tōroku to compose the music in order to obtain a better understanding of [Korea] through cultural activities."[157] However, as this chapter has closely examined, Zainichi Koreans attempted to stage it worldwide in collaboration with Takagi, who already had "a better understanding of" Korean culture. The target of the opera was overseas spectators beyond the boundaries of Japan and Korea. Without understanding the goal of the 1948 performance, the participants who performed *Chun Hiang* in 2002 changed the "original" ending of the opera, Chun Hiang's death, to a happy ending. Arai Masato, the Artistic Director of the 2002 opera, stated that "[the revision] reflected a new journey of cultural exchange [between Japan and Korea]."[158] Takagi allowed Oku Keiichi, a Japanese composer, to add music to this revision.[159]

Chun Hiang's death, an astonishing way of concluding the Korean folktale *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, reflected the strong sense of freedom that Koreans had gained soon after liberation. They shifted the ending of the story in the hopes of presenting the folktale internationally, which would no longer be prevented by the former Japanese empire. This production process of the opera shows that Zainichi Koreans did not completely abandon their relationship with the Japanese figures who supported Koreans during the colonial period despite their ambiguous positions in the Japanese empire. As I argued in Chapter 1, Koreans, who had attempted to newly read *Ch'unhyangjŏn* while imagining a modern Korea, failed to continue providing modern interpretations when Japan strengthened its colonial control over Korea in the late 1930s. Instead, they analyzed whether *Ch'unhyangjŏn* productions, such as Shinkyō's play, appropriately presented a Korean past. It suggests that Koreans could not envision a new Korea but instead tried to find Korea in the framework of the past under Japanese colonization. Liberation from the Japanese empire allowed Koreans to imagine and practice a new interpretation of Korean culture without limiting it to the past. The opera *Chun Hiang* was an illuminating example of how Koreans had the freedom and flexibility to create a new story of Korea that could connect them to the world beyond both Japan and Korea.

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[156] Nakada Hiroshi, "Opera *Chun Hiang* jōen ni yosete," in *Opera Chun Hiang panfuretto* (April 2002), 9.

[157] "Sengo no konranki ni hana hiraita *Chun Hiang*: 1948 nen ni shoen," *Opera Chun Hiang panfuretto* (April 2002), 32.

[158] Arai Masato, "Shin seiki *Chun Hiang* soshite *Mongnyong* no tanjō o!" in *Opera Chun Hiang panfuretto* (April 2002), 16.

[159] Honna Tetsuji, "Kageki *Chun Hiang* ni yosete," in *Opera Chun Hiang panfuretto* (April 2002), 17.

Chapter 4.

Outside Storyteller: Movement between the Two Bodies of the Narrator in Shin'ya Eiko's *Shinsetaryon*

Introduction

This chapter examines an outside storyteller who presents the narrative of an eighty-year-old Zainichi Korean woman in the solo performance *Shinsetaryon* (身世打鈴). The Japanese actress Shin'ya Eiko produced this solo performance in 1973 and staged it more than two thousand times before her death in 2016. In the performance, the protagonist, Sin Yŏng-suk, narrates her life story interwoven with historical incidents in Japan and the two Koreas, such as World War II, the Korean War, and the mass return of Zainichi Koreans to North Korea.[1] Sin moved from Jeju, Korea to Osaka, Japan in the late 1920s when she was fifteen years old and was unable to ever return to her homeland. Sin's father died of an unknown disease, her mother died of malnutrition, and her husband perished from the atomic bomb in Hiroshima.[2] The narrator offers the audience a detailed depiction of how Japanese colonialism and wars influenced her body and emotions.

This chapter focuses on the narrator's concurrent presentation of the two women, the protagonist Sin Yŏng-suk and the actress Shin'ya Eiko. By drawing on the insight of Homi Bhabha, I argue that the narrator of *Shinsetaryon* negotiates fixed ideas of historical narrative, language, space, and time by her continual movement between the two bodies of the narrator, as well as between the narrator(s) and the audience. Each body of the narrator is an outside storyteller to the other: Shin'ya to Sin, Sin to Shin'ya. Bhabha elucidates his concept of cultural hybridity as a passage between, not a mere combination of, cultural differences. The in-between passages, which Bhabha also proposes as "interstices," should contain the act of both going beyond *and* returning to the present as "an exploratory, restless movement" in the process of conceiving new designations of identity.[3] This movement innovates the present as "an expanded and ex-centric site of experience and empowerment."[4] In *Shinsetaryon*, the two bodies of the narrator offer their interstitial perspectives, which upset the rigid idea of the seemingly authoritative borders between Zainichi Korean and Japanese individuals, Korean and Japanese languages, the private and public spheres, and the colonial and postcolonial periods. In doing so, this cultural hybrid performance broadens the thematic and regional scope of both Japanese and Zainichi Korean historical narratives.

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[1] An estimated 93,000 Zainichi Koreans and some Japanese people repatriated to the Democratic People's Republic of Korea from 1959 to 1984.

[2] Shin'ya Eiko, "*Shinsetaryon*," in *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1991), 153.

Shin'ya, who was born in Osaka in 1928, became a civilian employee of the Imperial Japanese Army soon before the end of the Asia-Pacific War.[5] After August 1945, she joined a study group that her former superior in the military camp led in Osaka. The superior, who was a Second Lieutenant during the war, studied Marxian economics at Osaka University of Commerce before being drafted into the Imperial Japanese Army.[6] After the war, he taught her the history of "American democracy, Marx's *Capital*, and economics" at the study group. According to Shin'ya, her desire to "dream of a liberal, equal, and new society" was deeply influenced by this man after the war.[7] In 1952, Shin'ya began her journey as an actress at the Production Company (Seisakuza) that later merged into the Kansai Company of the Arts (Kansai geijutsuza). In 1972, Ozaki Nobu, who was a producer at the Workers' Theater Association in Osaka (Osaka kinrōsha engeki kyōkai, known as "Rōen"), suggested that Shin'ya produce her own solo performance. In January 1973, Iwata Naoji, who was the Chair of the Kansai Company of the Arts at the time, gave her an oral history book about Zainichi Korean women, *Shinsetāryon*. This book comprises the oral histories of twelve women, which were recorded by Mukuge no kai, a group of female Japanese scholars.[8] After reading it, Shin'ya decided to make *Shinsetaryon* despite her lack of knowledge about Korean history and language.[9] On April 29, 1973, Shin'ya's solo performance *Shinsetaryon* premiered at a cafe in Osaka.

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[3] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 2.

[4] Ibid., 4.

[5] Shin'ya Eiko, *Joyū Shin'ya Eiko: Watashi no rirekisho* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppannsha, 2005), 20; Shin'ya Eiko, *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppannsha, 1991), 14.

[6] Shin'ya Eiko, *Joyū Shin'ya Eiko: Watashi no rirekisho* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 2005), 22-23, 34.

[7] Ibid., 34.

"Shinsetaryon" is the Japanese transliteration of the Korean term *sinsetaryŏng*. *Sinset'aryŏng* is a kind of *minyo* (folksong in Korean) which laments a person's painful life. *Minyo*, which can be categorized as both music and oral literature, has been sung by ordinary people, especially the lower class, during work, leisure, and ritual performance in Korea since ancient times. Through *minyo*, which typically comprises lyric poems, people of the lower classes have expressed their emotions and feelings.[10] Ch'oe Sang-il, who has produced several Korean radio programs of *minyo* broadcast by MBC (Munhwa Broadcasting Corporation) since 1989, defines *sinset'aryŏng* as follows:

> We commonly define a monologue in which elders lament their lives (*sinse*) as *sinset'aryŏng* . . . That is to say, when someone keeps talking about what people do not want to hear, we name it "*t'aryŏng*." *Sinset'aryŏng*, in which [people] lament their personal lives, are not pleasurable to hear. Thus, we can hear a *sinset'aryŏng* [only] when a person hums without spectators or sings in front of close friends . . . *Sinset'aryŏng* is the "songs" which singers do not consider as such . . . *Sinset'aryŏng* is not a song of the past but of the present. However, a *sinset'aryŏng* is not a song to cry to. After singing

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[8] Shin'ya Eiko, *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppannsha, 1991), 3-4.

[9] Ibid., 3-5.

[10] *Hanguk minjok munhwa taebaekkwa sajŏn*, "minyo," ed. The Academy of Korean Studies, encykorea.aks.ac.kr/Contents/SearchNavi?keyword=%EB%AF%BC%EC%9A%94&ridx=0&tot=228, accessed June 24, 2018.

> *sinset'aryŏng*, [the narrator's] sorrow and sadness conspicuously subside. This is why people sing *sinset'aryŏng*.[11]

As Ch'oe explains, *sinsetaryŏng* is sung for the narrator himself or herself of the present as a lamentation of his or her personal life in the past. It is performed for the narrator himself or herself in the private sphere, where the narrator does not have spectators or narrates it only to close friends.

The term "*sinset'aryŏng*" is occasionally written in Chinese characters—身世打令—even though it originated in Korea.[12] Mukuge no kai, however, combined different Chinese characters for the book title, *Shinsetāryon*, which were accompanied by *furigana* (phonetics), "身世" (*shinse*) and "打鈴" (*tāryon*). The last character "鈴," which means a bell, especially elucidates the members' perception of the oral histories of Zainichi Korean women. The book accounts for the meaning of the newly combined Chinese characters for the title as follows:

> The Korean term "*shinsetāryon*" means a narrative as if the narrator sings a song of his or her own unfortunate life . . . However, *shinsetāryon* that we heard was the sound of Korean bells [Chōsen no suzu no oto] that strongly had limpid sound while each sound had different tones. Each sound [of Zainichi Korean women's narratives] compelled us to consider the extreme ways of life that they could not avoid. We once flinched at how tremendous and sturdy their ways of life were. On the way back home, however, we received great encouragement and comfort.[13]

Thus, the book's title implies the spectators' interpretations of the narratives rather than the narrator's perspectives of the lamentations. Shin'ya also uses the same compound of the four characters for the title of her solo performance. She explains her reflections on the book:

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[11] Ch'oe Sang-il, *Uri ŭi sori rŭl ch'aj'asŏ* 2 (P'aju: Tolbegae, 2002), 272.

[12] *P'yojun kugŏ taesajŏn*, "*t'aryŏng*," ed. The National Institute of the Korean Language, http://stdweb2.korean.go.kr/search/List_dic.jsp, accessed June 28, 2018.

[13] Mukuge no kai, "Kiroku no haikei ni tsuite," in *Shinsetāryon: Zainichi Chōsen josei no hansei*, ed. Mukuge no kai (Tokyo: Tōto Shobō, 1972), 215.

> One after another, each sound of the bells clearly ringing falls from a high place in the darkness. Numerous timbres of hundred, thousand, and ten thousand bells then converge on one bell vividly ringing.[14]

At the heart of Shin'ya's understanding of the term—*Shinsetaryon* (身世打鈴)—is the image of the various voices of Zainichi Korean women that break the darkness and create a new voice without losing their distinct tones. In short, Shin'ya's performance is quite different from Ch'oe's definition of *sinset'aryŏng*, which generally remains in the narrator's private sphere without an audience, consoling the narrator. In *Shinsetaryon*, Shin'ya attempted to present Zainichi Koreans, who, until the 1970s, often remained as invisible people, by performing the Zainichi Korean protagonist's *sinset'aryŏng* on stage. This performance combined a personal memory to Zainichi Korean and Japanese collective history. Her image of a "bell," which contains the different sounds of numerous bells, illustrates her attempt to combine Zainichi Korean women's narratives with her own understanding of Zainichi Korean history without reducing the significance of each voice.

In *Shinsetaryon*, Shin'ya included a train sound to indicate the commencement of the performance, the shift of each plot, and the ending of the performance. The train sound indicates the position of the performance in an intervening space. Through her performance, the actress is constantly moving between herself, the protagonist, and the audience. This interferes with the tendency of history writing to exclude alien bodies in both Zainichi Korean and Japanese historical narratives by showing the possibility to embrace many narratives for both individual and collective memories.

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[14] Shin'ya Eiko, *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1991), 4.

Remembrance of Absent Others in Memory

Shin'ya's encounter with the book *Shinsetāryon* raised a critical question of how she remembered others. In her autobiography, Shin'ya reminisces about her first impression of the book:

> I read the book in one sitting on the returning train. Each scene of the lives of Zainichi Korean women was far beyond my imagination. I could not stop my body from shaking. I was surprised that the women who were my contemporaries had experienced extreme discrimination simply because they were Korean; nevertheless, they had lived vigorously . . . The book recorded the oral histories of twelve *omoni* [mothers]. None [of their oral histories] overlapped with the knowledge that I had experienced in my life.[15]

The records of Zainichi Korean women's voices revealed to Shin'ya the limits of her understanding of Japanese history. Beyond the boundary of her knowledge, she began studying the history of the relationship between Japan and Korea and arranged her own chronological table in order to write the script of the solo performance. She then "selected the impressive sayings of twelve women" in the book and included them in the table.[16]

Zainichi Koreans were absent not only in Shin'ya's memory but also in Japanese historical narratives—from school textbooks to literary texts—until the late 1960s. The accounts of Japanese colonialism in history textbooks in Japan, which pay little attention to the suffering of the colonized, such as Zainichi Koreans, have constantly provoked disputes between Korea and Japan since the 1960s. In 1965, when Japan revised a junior high school's history textbook, which inserted a photograph in which Tōjō Hideki, who wore a military uniform as the Prime Minister, was consoling war orphans during the colonial period, Korean newspapers strongly condemned it.[17] An article published in the *Kyŏnghyang sinmun* (*Kyŏnghyang* newspaper]) on September 8, 1965, interprets the revision of the history textbook as "Japan's amnesia on history." It articulates that "Japan, in the postwar recovery, has attempted to deny the atoning period (*sokchoe sidae*) and to reevaluate World War II."[18] In the 1970s, the Korean government requested that the Japanese government correct "the distortion of history" in Japanese textbooks.[19] At the time, Japanese intellectuals who supported Zainichi Korean social movements also imputed the Japanese people's ignorance of their country's colonial past and its lingering legacy to the school curriculum and the education system in Japan. Zainichi Korean Pak Chong-sŏk filed a lawsuit in 1970 after Hitachi revoked a job offer upon learning of his ethnic background. Since Pak won in 1974, Zainichi Koreans have formed social movements that confront the nationality clause in employment and social security. While Zainichi Koreans struggled against persistent discrimination in Japanese society, most Japanese people were not aware of the context of the social movements. In a roundtable discussion in 1974, Tsurumi Shunsuke, a Japanese philosopher, argued that Pak's case occurred not because Hitachi had a specific policy but because "people feel in that way due to the textbook or something else that the Japanese government has provided in the post-war period."[20] Other participants in the roundtable discussion, including Ōsawa Shin'ichirō and Iinuma Jirō, also pointed out that educational strategies of the Japanese government prevented people from acknowledging the damages of Japanese colonialism.

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[15] Ibid., 5-6.

[16] Ibid., 6-7.

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[17] "20 nyŏnman ŭi Tongjo susang sajin Ilbon kogyo kyogwasŏ e sirŏ," *Tonga ilbo*, August 31, 1965. "Ilbon ŭi yŏksa kŏnmangjŭng," *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, September 8, 1965.

[18] "Ilbon ŭi yŏksa kŏnmangjŭng," *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, September 8, 1965.

[19] "Il kyogwasŏ Hanguk yŏksa waegok," *Kyŏnghyang sinmun*, June 8, 1972; "Ilbon chung gosaeng ŭi Hanguksa ajikto waegoktwae itta," *Tonga ilbo*, August 31, 1976.

[20] "Chōsenjin no hannichi kanjō to shin no rentai," *Chōsenjin* (May 1974): 167-168.

Oshima Nagisa's *Death by Hanging* (*Kōshikei*, 1968) also illuminates a critical consciousness of the relationship between Zainichi Korean issues and Japanese education among Japanese intellectuals of the period. In the film, Oshima portrays a Korean male student who was sentenced to death and executed by hanging for his crime of murder. However, the protagonist, whose name is R (*āru*), does not die. The failure of the execution rendered R an amnesiac. R lost not only his memory of the crime but also his identity. In order to execute R again, Japanese officials have to educate him as a *Korean* boy who killed a Japanese girl because his obliteration of identity has made him no more R. In particular, the officials reenact the crime by following the records of his trial in addition to the imagination based on their racial stereotyping of Koreans in Japan. The narrative structure reminds the audience of Japanese imperial and post-imperial practices regarding Zainichi Koreans. The first unsuccessful attempt to execute R indicates the colonial history of the Japanese empire that failed to eliminate Korean ethnicity despite enormous efforts to carry out the assimilation policy of *naisen ittai* (Japan and Korea as one body). The film at the same time depicts how institutional narratives that were formulated by media and the state, especially the education department chief, have prevented Zainichi Koreans from restoring their ethnic identity without racial prejudice even in postcolonial Japan.[21]

In the process of reconstructing the protagonist's memory and identity, the government officials continuously tell R, "You are R," while the priest, who contends that R is not guilty, also tells R, "You are not R." R shows his fragmented identity oscillating between these two contradictory statements until the second execution. The Japanese pronunciation of "R" (*āru*) and "aru," which means "to exist" in Japanese, are homonyms. I argue that the lines, "Kimi wa *Āru* da (You are R)" and "Kimi wa *Āru* ja nai (You are not R)," remind Japanese audiences of the existence of Zainichi Koreans in Japanese society by repeating the verb, *aru* (to exist), as the Korean protagonist's name, R (*āru*). During the period, Zainichi Koreans were generally invisible in a society due in part to their strategical concealment of their ethnicity, such as adopting Japanese names, to avoid social discrimination. In the film, Oshima complicates this scheme to make Koreans visible by offering the line "You are R," which implies R's existence, to the education department chief whose racism distorts R's identity. Put another way, the film indicates that R exists only as the victim of racism in the society. In the ending of the film, Oshima does not show the full restoration of R's identity but portrays the second attempt to execute R, which refers to the post-imperial practice of Japan that still damages Korean ethnic identity.

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[21] Maureen Turim highlights Oshima's "ongoing assault on cherished beliefs and traditional institutions" by examining "how his films challenge Japanese belief about themselves and their culture." Turim argues that Oshima blends Brechtian devices with elements of Japanese theater in *Death by Hanging*, which questions "a stable and conclusive center, or end point" to achieve justice. Maureen Turim, *The Films of Oshima Nagisa: Images of a Japanese Iconoclast* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 18, 65.

As shown above, the education of Japanese schools that downplays the consequences of Japanese colonial rule—accordingly the lives of Zainichi Koreans—has been criticized by not only the Korean government but also Japanese intellectuals from the 1960s even to this day. However, as Tessa Morris-Suzuki points out, the Japanese textbook debates in East Asian countries from the 1960s to the 2000s have been "all about textbooks," which deliver "the impression that this is what determines historical consciousness."[22] Morris-Suzuki contends that cultural representations of history can also greatly shape spectators' imagination of the past. She argues that the significant impact of literature, film, and non-textbook resources upon historical consciousness has not been fully discussed in the shadow of the textbook debates in Japan and Korea.

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[22] Tessa Morris-Suzuki, *The Past Within Us: Media*, *Memory, History* (New York: Verso, 2005), 15.

Komori Yōichi, a Japanese literary critic, provides considerable insight into the sorts of non-textbook material that has formulated the Japanese imagination of history. Komori insists that Shiba Ryōtarō's historical novels have formed a "common" historical consciousness of Japanese people since the 1960s.[23] In *Clouds Above the Hill* (*Saka no ue no kumo*),[24] Shiba defines the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905) as "a defensive war" in which Japan was forced to guard itself from Russian and Western powers. Consequently, Komori argues, Shiba's depiction of the Russo-Japanese War "acquitted Japan from [its] colonialism."[25] In addition, Shiba's *Ryōma Goes* (*Ryōma ga yuku*)[26] separates ordinary people from Japanese military authorities who started the Asia-Pacific War by portraying the Japanese nationals as the victims of the military regime.[27] Komori contends that Shiba's perception of modern Japanese history has proliferated in Japan through his novels and the media adaptations of his works, "forming a national historical consciousness (*kokumin teki na rekishi ishiki*)."[28] Moreover, a number of cultural figures and intellectuals agreed with Shiba's view, which strengthened "the authority of [his] historical consciousness over [Japanese] emotion and feeling."[29] Simply put, Shiba's perception of Japanese history, which broadly permeated Japanese society, locates ordinary *Japanese* people as war victims during the first half of the twentieth century. Kang Sangjung, a Zainichi Korean political scientist and writer, also acutely points out that Shiba's definition of the wartime period as "the demon child" of modern Japan in the "season of evil" from 1905 to

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[23] Komori Yōichi, "Bungaku to shite no rekishi/Rekishi to shite no bungaku," in *Nashonaru hisutori o koete*, ed. Komori Yōichi and Tetsuya Takahashi (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1998), 9.

[24] Shiba's *Clouds Above the Hill* was serialized in the *Sankei shinbun* from April 1968 to August 1972.

[25] Komori Yōichi, "Bungaku to shite no rekishi/Rekishi to shite no bungaku," in *Nashonaru hisutori o koete*, ed. Komori Yōichi and Tetsuya Takahashi (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1998), 6.

[26] Shiba's *Ryōma Goes* was serialized in the *Sankei shinbun* from June 1962 to May 1966.

[27] Komori Yōichi, "Bungaku to shite no rekishi/Rekishi to shite no bungaku," in *Nashonaru hisutori o koete*, ed. Komori Yōichi and Tetsuya Takahashi (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1998), 9.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid.

1945 eliminates the memory of not only the war but also non-Japanese people who were mobilized for the Japanese imperial project.[30] Kang specifically criticizes Shiba's "violent forgetting" of the colonial/wartime period because it consequently removes the memory of Koreans as one of the "demon children" of modern Japan at the time.

While the lives of Zainichi Koreans have been forgotten in Japanese historical narratives in school textbooks and literature, some historians have examined Zainichi Korean history since the 1950s. However, Zainichi Korean *women* were still unseen even in the analytic framework of Zainichi Korean history until the 1970s. According to Tonomura Masaru, a Japanese historian, the historiography of Zainichi Korean history reflects the trend of the Zainichi Korean population and their consciousness.[31] In the 1950s and 1960s, Zainichi Koreans were strongly conscious of their connection to the homeland. At the same time, however, the number of Zainichi Koreans who were born in Japan began to exceed that of Zainichi Koreans who were born elsewhere—mostly in Korea—in 1950 (see table 4.1).

TABLE 4.1. **Statistics of Zainichi Koreans born in Japan**

Year	Born in Japan		Not born in Japan	
	Number	Ratio	Number	Ratio
1950	231,906	50.06%	231,371	49.94%
1959	390,098	64.21%	217,435	35.79%
1964	395,907	68.43%	182,665	31.57%
1969	437,216	72.42%	166,496	27.58%

Sources: Tonomura Masaru, *Zainichi Chōsenjin no rekishigakuteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 2004, 378).

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[30] Kang Sangjung, "The Imaginary Geography of a Nation and Denationalized Narrative," in *Contemporary Japanese Thought*, ed. Richard F. Calichman (New York: Columbia University Press, 2005), 76-77.

[31] Tonomura Masaru, *Zainichi Chōsenjin no rekishigakuteki kenkyū* (Tokyo: Ryokuin Shobō, 2004), 6-9.

During the 1950s and 1960s, Zainichi Korean scholars, such as Pak Kyŏngsik and Kang Jaeŏn, mainly examined colonial Korean history with an attempt to reveal how Japan had repressed Koreans and how Koreans had resisted Japanese imperialism by focusing on the issues of massacre and war mobilization. In the 1970s, when the second generation of Zainichi Koreans accounted for more than two-thirds of the population, most of them were willing to continue living in Japan while maintaining their Korean identity. Tonomura points out that this shift of Zainichi Korean consciousness—which identifies Japan as their permanent home, not as a temporal place of residence—was reified by the Hitachi employment discrimination case.[32] Since Pak Chong-sŏk won that case in 1974, Zainichi Koreans have started social movements for their rights in Japanese society as their home. In this period, historians, including several Japanese scholars (e.g., Sugihara Tōru), broadened their topics to include the everyday lives of Zainichi Koreans, who had suffered through both the Japanese empire and post-war Japan, which became their home.[33]

Reflecting the trend of historiography in the late 1960s and 1970s, Mukuge no kai published *Shinsetāryon* in 1972. This book includes the oral histories of twelve women among the thirty Zainichi Korean women whom Mukuge no kai interviewed during the six years since its establishment in 1965. It aimed to contrast the personal lives of Zainichi Korean women with the social and political issues of Zainichi Koreans, which were presented "with harsh headlines, such as 'Exposure of Illicit Manufacture of Liquor (*doburoku*),' 'North Korean Spy,'" in the Japanese media from the 1950s to the 1970s.[34] In the book, Mukuge no kai criticizes the Japanese newspaper articles, which reported Zainichi Korean criminal activities or social movements “in shocking ways without revealing the Japanese discriminatory consciousness behind those incidents.” It further argues that these accounts “not only provoke the image of Koreans who have anti-Japanese sentiment but also aim to separate Koreans and Japanese.”[35] In an attempt to “correct the [Japanese] attitudes toward Korean issues,” the members of Mukuge no kai highlight “the voices of Korean women,” who had supported Zainichi Korean lives in silence within the deeper structure of social discrimination in Japan.[36] As Melissa Wender points out, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, the dominant image of Zainichi Korean women was “that of the silent mother, beautiful in her forbearance amidst the violence of colonialism, discrimination, and domestic life.”[37] Throughout Mukuge no kai’s book, Shin’ya listened to Zainichi Korean women, who were also absent from her memory, and decided to create her version of telling the story of their lives.

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[32] Ibid., 471.

[33] Ibid., 6-9.

[34] Mukuge no kai, "Kiroku no haikei ni tsuite," in *Shinsetāryon: Zainichi Chōsen josei no hansei*, ed. Mukuge no kai (Tokyo: Tōto Shobō, 1972), 212.

The Distance between the Actress and the Protagonist

In her autobiography, Shin’ya reflects on the turning point in which she shifted her mode of acting for her first performance of *Shinsetaryon*. Preparing the first performance, she rewrote the draft of the script several times. Despite her efforts, “it did not vividly show the real images of hardship, joy, and resentment in the lives of Zainichi Korean women.”[38] While under pressure to stage the performance one month later, Shin’ya had a chance to meet Hong Jŏng-p’yo, a Zainichi Korean woman who sold traditional Korean clothes (*hanbok*) in Osaka. Hong provided Shin’ya with *hanbok* as the stage costume for *Shinsetaryon*, saying: “White *chima chogori* (a set of traditional Korean skirt and top) represents the pure and beautiful mind of Korean women. Please perform the play, putting on this white *chima chogori*."[39] This encounter allowed Shin'ya to compare her reading practice of the script with Hong's speaking. She recalls the experience as follows:

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[35] Ibid., 212-213.

[36] Ibid.

[37] Melissa L. Wender, *Lamentation as History: Narratives by Koreans in Japan, 1965-2000* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 189.

[38] Shin’ya Eiko, *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1991), 7.

> I enthusiastically practiced the lines everyday. However, [the lines] did not smoothly come out like the words of a living human being. They were very descriptive.
>
> On the eve of the first performance . . . I began speaking as if there was someone in front of me. Until then, I only thought that "I should speak on stage beautifully," or "I want to express [the lines] impressively." In other words, I merely tried to memorize without understanding the heart of the script. However, at the very last moment, Hong's words came to my mind all of a sudden.
>
> Hong *omoni*'s (mother's) words are so attractive that my presentation of the lines cannot mimic them. Why is that? I realized that it is because *she was speaking* [to me].[40]

This is the moment when Shin'ya found out that she had been practicing as herself, not as the protagonist, Sin Yŏngsuk.

After meeting Hong, Shin'ya came to define her mode of reading the script as "regurgitation" (*anki*).[41] However, Shin'ya determined that Hong's words were "powerful" because "she was speaking to the other person (*aite ni katarikakete iru*)"—i.e., to Shin'ya in the situation.[42] According to *Daijisen*, a Japanese dictionary published by Shōgakukan, *katarikakeru* means "to initiate speaking to the other person."[43] Contrasting her memorization of the script to Hong's speaking convinced Shin'ya to change her tone, range of voice, and length of pausing for her performance in order to *speak to* the audience. The subject who memorizes a script is not the protagonist but rather the actor or actress, who impersonates the protagonist; meanwhile, the subject who speaks to the audience on stage is not the actor or actress but the protagonist. Thus, the shift of her mode of acting—from memorization to speaking—refers to the shift of the narrator—from Shin'ya Eiko to Sin Yŏngsuk.

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[39] Ibid., 8.

[40] Ibid., 9.

[41] Ibid., 10.

[42] Ibid.

[43] *Dejitaru daijisen*, "katarikakeru," ed. Shōgakukan, https://dictionary.goo.ne.jp/jn/42208/meaning/m0u/%E8%AA%9E%E3%82%8A%E3%81%8B%E3%81%91%E3%82%8B/, accessed January 9, 2019.

This shift was required not because Shin'ya lacked acting skills. Shin'ya, as a professional actress who had already been working for twenty years at the time, was likely fully aware of how to impersonate a character. Nevertheless, she had to undergo the aforementioned process because of her sense of distance from the protagonist Sin. Shin'ya did not assume that she could completely understand the life of the Zainichi Korean protagonist because she positioned herself on "the side of the Japanese who dared to commit the violent annexation of Korea and plundered the land, the language, and the lives [of Koreans]."[44] In an interview after her thousandth performance, she said: "There was no stage with which I was ever satisfied."[45]

In the early stage of her performance of *Shinsetaryon*, Shin'ya was cautious about representing the lives of Zainichi Korean women. Hong's words induced the turning point for Shin'ya not only because of Hong's tone, which changed Shin'ya's mode of acting, but also because of Hong's recognition: "Please perform the play, putting on this white *chima chogori*." In addition, as one of her most impressive stages before 1991, Shin'ya mentioned the first stage—her twenty-ninth performance—that had only Zainichi Korean audience members. Even though she was "nervous about the reaction from the audience, after the performance," a Zainichi Korean woman with tears in her eyes held Shin'ya's hands without saying anything. Shin'ya has reflected on the experience as follows: "At the moment, I felt that I obtained a ticket to get to Zainichi Koreans."[46]

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[44] Shin'ya Eiko, *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1991), 37.

[45] Shin'ya Eiko, "Hitori shibai *Shinsetaryon*: Kagaisha de aru kagiri wa," *Asahi shinbun* (yūkan), January 9, 1991.

[46] Ibid.

I argue that the distance between the actress and the protagonist was not an obstacle but rather a passage that engendered continual dialogue between the two bodies of the narrator and between the narrator(s) and the audiences. This correspondence illustrates Bhabha's point: "The borderline engagements of cultural difference may as often be consensual as conflictual."[47] Bhabha points out that "our intimations of exceeding the barrier or boundary—the very act of going *beyond*—are unknowable, unrepresentable, without a return to the 'present' which, in the process of repetition, becomes disjunct and displaced."[48] If there is no space to return to, the act of crossing the boundary will cease; if the act of going beyond should go back to the same space in which disjunction and displacement never occurred, then the returned space is not a presence of the present but that of the past. In this case, the same pattern of the repetition does not grant any significance to the act of going beyond. Bhabha provides us with a powerful insight of the difference between cultural hybridity and assimilation. The former idea requires the distinction between the self and the other for reciprocal communication, which creates new designations of identity. On the contrary, cultural assimilation intercepts the possibility of a new present by obliterating the in-between passages. The solo performance *Shinsetaryon*, as a cultural hybrid performance, presented the ceaseless act of going beyond in that the actress continuously innovated her performance, which constructs memories about unseen people in Japanese society, through her continual movement between her and the protagonist.

Shin'ya's distance from the protagonist prevented her from merely repeating the same performance—in other words, from remaining the actress on past stages. She modified the script through having continuous dialogues with the audience members, reading books, learning Korean songs, and so on, which reconfigured her memory of absent others in her previous narratives. Since completing the first script in 1973, she added content, songs, and Korean vocabulary. As a result, the running time of the performance, which was about twenty-seven or twenty-eight minutes in the first performance, had extended to one hour and twenty minutes by the 1980s.[49] Shin'ya also revised the script to reflect the opinions of Zainichi Koreans based on roundtable discussions that she hosted after her performances.[50]

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[47] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994), 2.

[48] Ibid., 3, italics in the original.

In 1982, for example, Shin'ya included a scene in which the protagonist shows her deep grief about a historical incident that occurred in Sin's hometown, Jeju Island, soon after the end of Japanese colonial rule. Shin'ya learned about this incident, which is known as the April Jeju Uprising, from Zainichi Korean writer Kim Sŏk-pŏm's novel, *Death of a Crow* (*Karasu no shi*).[51] Several thousand Jeju residents, who were suspected of being communists without concrete evidence, were massacred under a government-backed, anti-communist purge starting from 1947, through the armed uprising of the Jeju Chapter of the South Korean Labor Party on April 3, 1948 to 1954. In *Shinsetaryon*, the protagonist mentions that her brother was also a victim of the incident. In this scene, the protagonist continues to narrate her sorrow for the division of the nation by blaming the wars that Japan initiated during the colonial period as the root of the two Koreas.

In the process of reconstructing her understanding of Zainichi Korean history, Shin'ya paradoxically illustrated the protagonist's lapse of memory in her performance. The representation of Sin's aging body projects a sense of urgency about recording and collecting Zainichi Korean memories. In the solo performance, Sin offers a detailed account of food to describe the poverty that her family faced in the colonial period: "When we planted chili peppers and garlic (*tōgarashi ya ninniku hōri kontara*), we could eat them."[52] At this point, Sin pauses to reflect on her word choice. The term "*hōri ko*[*mu*]" (to throw into) in the sentence distracts her from the narrative flow and leads her to consider the etymology of *horumon yaki* (Korean-style grilled beef or pork offal).

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[49] Shin'ya Eiko, *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1991), 19.

[50] Shin'ya Eiko, "Hitori shibai *Shinsetaryon*: Kagaisha de aru kagiri wa," *Asahi shinbun* (yūkan), January 9, 1991.

[51] Shin'ya Eiko, *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1991), 19-20.

> Oh, yes! You know *horumon yaki*. Everyone describes it as "delicious, delicious" these days. It was what Japanese threw, threw away (*hōtte shimau mon, hōru mon yattan ya*). Koreans, who were in poverty, asked [Japanese to give it to them] and took it for nutrition . . . Osaka people call the things, which they throw away, *horumon*. It is the origin of the word *horumon yaki*. It is true (*laughter*)![53]

Moving the audience to laughter, the narrator realizes that she has forgotten what she was going to say.

> Ah, what was I talking about? Oh, what I was talking about? Ah, I forgot. When you get old, you forget what you were talking about. Oh, no! What was I going to say? I have no idea. I really have become dull. Ah, I will sing a song instead.[54]

After singing *Tears of Mok'po* (*Moppo no namida*), Sin relieves the audience by suddenly returning to the memory that she had meant to recount. In this performance, the narrator's memory hovers between remembrance and oblivion. Through the flow and content, which are more instinctive than intellectual, the audience considers the body of the protagonist, who does not have much time or ability to speak of her experience. Nevertheless, Sin's occasional forgetfulness does not make her narrative unreliable. Rather, the oblivion paradoxically accentuates her remembrance, which endures even within her aging body.

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[52] In Japanese, it should be spoken "*hōri kondara*." Shin'ya writes the sentence as "*hōri kontara*" in "*Zainichi gengo*" (Zainichi language) by switching the "t" sound to "d." Shin'ya Eiko, "Shinsetaryon," in *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1991), 150.

[53] Ibid., 150-151.

[54] Ibid., 151.

Crossing Languages beyond Fixity

The narrator crosses not only two bodies but also two languages, Japanese and Korean. While the main language of the performance is Japanese, Korean vocabulary and songs mingle in the narration. The narrator challenges the idea of the fixity of these two languages through three modalities. The Zainichi language (*Zainichi gengo*) is the first mode which blurs the boundaries of the two languages. In the second mode, the expressions, which overcome the colonial interpretations of Korean-language words still prevalent in postcolonial Japan, arise. In the third mode, the narrator introduces the origins of several Japanese-language words originating in Korean, as well as Korean-language words in Japanese.

In *Shinsetaryon*, the Zainichi language as the first mode is *Ni-hongo* (似本語) that reflects Zainichi Koreans' memories of both their lives in Korea and Korean language itself. In an interview with the *Asahi* newspaper, Shin'ya also referred to the language that she used in the performance as "*Ni-hongo*"[55] Her concept of the Zainichi language, or *Ni-hongo*, was derived from the idea of the female Zainichi Korean writer Chong Ch'u-wŏl. In Chong's essay, entitled "Ni-hongo to nihongo no aida" (Between *Ni-hongo* and Japanese), Chong reads the protagonist's language in *Shinsetaryon* as "the Japanese language that the first generation of Zainichi Koreans possesses."[56] Chong explores the protagonist's language, which she also calls the Zainichi language or *Ni-hongo*, as follows:

> "[In Shin'ya's performance] *Basu* (bus) is *pasu*, which is Japanese; *jikan* (time in Japanese) is *shigan* (time in Korean, *sigan*), and *kome* (rice in Japanese) is *saruri* (rice in Korean, *ssal*)—they are also Japanese; *ringo* (apple in Japanese) is *ningo*, which is the Zainichi language (*Zainichi go*). The Zainichi language is also Japanese."[57]

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[55] Shin'ya Eiko, "Omoni no kokoro 'Shinsetaryon' enji 30 nen," *Asahi shinbun* (Osaka), May 10, 2003.

[56] Chong Ch'u-wŏl, "Ni-hongo to nihongo no aida," *Saranhe: Aishitemasu* (Tokyo: Kage Shobō, 1987), 138.

[57] Ibid., 138-139.

In Chong's description, the Zainichi language comprises not only different pronunciations of Japanese words from "standard Japanese" (i.e. *pasu*, *ningo*), but also those of Korean words from "standard Korean" (i.e. *shigan*, *saruri*).[58] Chong argues that "the Japanese language that first-generation Zainichi Koreans speak cannot be fully Japanese" because people had to move to Japan unwillingly.[59] This is not to say that Zainichi Koreans were unwilling to learn the Japanese language. Rather, the development of the Zainichi language is closely related to Zainichi Koreans' nostalgia for their lives in Korea. According to Chong, for the first generation of Zainichi Koreans, an apple is not "*ringo*" but "*ningo*" because their memory of a wild apple in Korea, which is called *nŭnggŭm*, blended with the Japanese term, "*ringo*."

> Their memories of years of hardship [in Japan] intensified [the first-generation] Zainichi Koreans' memories of their homeland. [As a result,] the fluidity of their style of Japanese comes to transcend [Japanese] by way of *nŭnggŭm*.[60]

That is, the Zainichi language, as Chong articulates, is transcending the boundaries of Japanese rather than being an immature form of the language.

Having introduced Chong's analysis, Shin'ya goes further to develop her idea that the Zainichi language represents Zainichi Koreans' vigorous ways of life in spite of the hardships that they lived through.[61] One of the hardships that Shin'ya contemplated was Japan's violent practice of depriving Koreans of their own language during the colonial period. Noteworthy is the fact that Shin'ya opens her performance with her first line spoken in *Ni-hongo*, which can be considered as *both* Japanese and Korean: "*Aigo*, *chukketta*."[62] In an interview with the *Asahi* newspaper, Shin'ya clarified that "*chukketta*," which means "I am dying [of tiredness]" in Korean, can also be interpreted, or heard, as "*tsukareta*" (I am tired) in Japanese. According to Shin'ya, she attempted to highlight "the expressions of Zainichi Korean women who resisted [Japan] to keep their language" through *Ni-hongo*, which embodies both Japanese and Korean.[63]

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[58] The Japanese transliteration of "シガン" (*shigan*) written in *katakana* resembles that of the Korean term, "시간" (*sigan*). However, while the final consonant of the Korean term "ㄴ" in 시간 (*sigan*) does not change, the Japanese pronunciation of "ん" can change according to the following consonant. For example, "シガン" is pronounced "*shigang*" with a subject particle, が (*ga*)—i.e. *shigang-ga*—while it is pronounced "*shigan*" with another particle, に (*ni*)—i.e. *shigan-ni*; I use the terms, "standard Japanese" and "standard Korean," as the forms of vocabulary included respectively in Japanese dictionaries, such as *Kōjien* published by Iwanami shoten in Japan, and Korean dictionaries, such as *P'yojun kugŏ taesajŏn* published by the National Institute of Korean Language in Korea.

[59] Chong Ch'uwŏl. "Ni-hongo to nihongo no aida," *Saranhe: Aishitemasu* (Tokyo: Kage Shobō, 1987), 139.

[60] Ibid.

While the first mode illustrates the layering of the two languages which reflects Zainichi Koreans' desire to remain connected to their homeland, the second mode gives more nuances to rigid interpretations of several Korean expressions which were modified in Japanese society. Let us examine the exclamation "*aigo*" (アイゴ), which is a Japanese transliteration of the Korean term, *aigo* 아이고, in Sin's monologue. Actually, there are several meanings of "*aigō*" which were listed in the Japanese dictionary *Nihon kokugo daijiten*. The term "*aigō*," a *noun* written in two Chinese characters—哀号—is, first "an act, or a voice of weeping over one's death," second, "an act, a voice, or a remark of wailing as a ritual at funeral rites in China or Korea," and third, "an act of lamenting and wailing."[64] These three definitions of *aigō* are associated with two Chinese characters, first "哀," which in Japanese means "pitiful" or "sad"—e.g. *awaremu* (哀れむ, to feel pity) and *aitō* (哀悼, condolence)—and second, "号," which means "to wail."[65]

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[61] Shin'ya Eiko, *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1991), 24.

[62] Shin'ya Eiko, "Shinsetaryon," in *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1991), 146.

[63] Shin'ya Eiko, "Omoni no kokoro 'Shinsetaryon' enji 30 nen," *Asahi shinbun* (Osaka), May 10, 2003.

[64] *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, "*aigō*," ed. Shōgakukan, https://japanknowledge.com/lib/display/?lid=200200015585OPrCE48S, accessed January 26, 2019.

[65] In *Nihon kokugo daijiten*, the meaning of the character "号" is specifically described with "aigō."

Meanwhile, in the Korean dictionary *P'yojun kugŏ taesajŏn*, *aigo* is defined as an *exclamation* that expresses diverse emotions, such as pain, surprise, anger, joy, happiness, or sadness.[66] In short, compared to the definition of "*aigo*" in the Korean dictionary, the definition of "*aigō*" in the Japanese dictionary, especially the second description that relates "*aigō*" only to the expression of funeral rites in Korea, does not contain varied connotations of the exclamation.

However, Shin'ya employs "*aigo*" as Sin's expressions of anger and fatigue, not sorrow, in multiple scenes in the performance. As mentioned above, this performance begins with the scene in which the protagonist, who carries scraps of newspaper in a handcart, says:

> アイゴ、チュッケッタ、アア、チュッケッタ、シンドイヨ。
> アンニョンハシムニカ、今日は。
>
> アイゴ、その日イのことは、よう覚えとるよ、あれは、旧暦の三月十五日、春やいうのに寒い日イやった。
>
> *Aigo*, I'm dying [of tiredness], ah, I'm dying, so tired.
> Hello, good afternoon.
>
> *Aigo*, I remember [what happened on] that da-y well. It was March 15th in the lunar calendar, a cold da-y even though it was spring.[67]

The first line of the performance, with which the protagonist approaches the audience members, is her exclamation in Korean, *aigo*, which expresses her physical fatigue after work.

Shin'ya also included "*aigo*" in the scene in which Sin recalls the memory of her family. Sin moved to Japan with her father and older sister because of the economic devastation in Jeju caused by Japan's invasion. They decided to come to Japan because they heard that Sin's uncle, a younger brother of her father, had become an official in Osaka. Actually, however, the uncle was a cleaner working at Osaka City Hall. Although Sin's father would also become a cleaner like his brother, he was dismissed for being drunk. Out of pity for the family's circumstance, a Korean woman found them employment at a workshop that manufactured *zōri* (Japanese sandals). Working hard at the small factory, they sent money to their family in Korea. Four years later, Sin's mother could also move to Japan. She could not bring any savings, however, because she had to spend it on a bribe a Japanese officer in order to receive the voyage certificate (*tokō shōmeisho*). Narrating her family history, Sin reminisces about the moment when her mother told the family members that no money remained. Then:

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[66] *P'yojun kugŏ taesajŏn*, "aigo," ed. The National Institute of the Korean Language, http://stdweb2.korean.go.kr/search/List_dic.jsp, accessed January 26, 2019.

[67] This line is mostly identical to the first line of the testimony of Paku Sun'i in *Mukuke no kai*'s *Shinsetāryon*: "ええ、その日のこと、ようおぼえていますなあ。そのころは、くにでは旧暦でしたものなあ。三月十五日やったなあ" (Yes, I remember [what happened on] that day. At that time, [my] country used the lunar calendar. It was March 15th). Paku Sun'i, "Kodomo dekin yōni otto to hanarete," in *Shinsetāryon: Zainichi Chōsen josei no hansei*, ed. Mukuge no kai (Tokyo: Tōto Shobō, 1972), 7.

> 皆腹立てて「アイゴー、ウエノム、イノマー」日本人の野蛮人の泥棒!
>
> Everyone got angry [and said,] "*aigo*, that Japanese bastard, what a villain." The Japanese barbarians, thieves![68]

This scene was not included in the first script of the performance. However, Shin'ya revised the script after a Zainichi Korean man asked her to include the line, "*aigo*, that Japanese bastard, what a thief," in her performance, arguing that "we Koreans have thought so for a long time."[69] In her essay, Shin'ya recalls that she felt the man's words "pierce the core of [her] soul."[70] Her use of "*aigo*" in this scene implies not only Koreans' anger at Japanese colonization but also her own sympathy with their thoughts. In addition to this scene, Shin'ya brings "*aigo*" into the performance several times, for example, when the protagonist describes the April Jeju Uprising in vexation.

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[68] Shin'ya Eiko, "Shinsetaryon," in *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1991), 153.

[69] Shin'ya Eiko, *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1991), 22.

[70] Ibid.

Kim Sŏk-bŏm's essay, entitled "'Aigo' ni tsuite" (About Aigo, 1976), clarifies the implications of Shin'ya's contrivances to broaden the interpretation of *aigo* in Japanese society through her performance. It introduces the term *aigo* as "an exclamation that intuitively expresses Koreans' emotions of joy, anger, sorrow, and pleasure."[71] However, he argues that *aigō* written in the Chinese characters 哀号, which is used to signify the Korean exclamation *aigo* in Japan, is different from what *aigo* means to Koreans. In Korea, *aigo* is written in *han'gŭl*, not in Chinese characters, because it originated from Korea. Furthermore, the borrowed Chinese characters 哀号 would be pronounced *aeho* in Korea, which means "an act of wailing" as a noun.[72] Thus, according to Kim, "the exclamation which is pronounced '*aeho*' does not exist in the Korean language."[73] Kim assumes that the transliteration of the Korean word *aigo* into the Chinese characters became established when Japan invaded Korea in the Meiji period.[74] He casts a critical gaze upon the transliteration of the Korean word *aigo*, saying:

> *Aigō* (哀号) cuts out the component of sorrow from *aigo* (アイゴ) which contains varied nuances of emotions. The word *aigō* (哀号) has been established as a Japanese notation; in other words, it has been fixed as common knowledge by the Japanese. It would not be wrong to consider that the word reflects a Japanese perspective of Korea.
>
> It is obvious that Koreans are still bearing great sadness and misfortunes. Nevertheless, Koreans are not an "*aigo*-ish" people (*aigo teki minzoku*). If *aigo* (アイゴ), which Koreans are saying all the time, is categorized into the single sign of *aigō* (哀号), what kind of image does *aigō* (哀号) create?
>
> The word aigō (哀号) does not bring about the images of *aigo* (アイゴ) as expressions of not only sorrow but also joy, anger, and explosive passion. Not only is the

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[71] Kim Sŏk-bŏm, "'Aigo' ni tsuite," *Sanzenri* 5 (Spring 1976): 20.

[72] Ibid. Kim wrote "*aeho*" in Korean (애호), accompanying *katakana*, "*e-ho*" (エーホ).

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid., 21.

> transliteration wrong, but also aigō (哀号) distorts the gaze [of Japanese people] on the substance which the expression of *aigo* (アイゴ) delivers.[75]

Kim argues that the fixity of "*aigo*" as "*aigō*" (哀号) shows the Japanese understanding of Koreans as a sorrowful nation without acknowledging their dynamic emotions.

Kajii Noboru, a Japanese scholar of Korean language and literature, also elucidates the relationship between the appropriation of Korean-language words in Japan and its colonial attitude toward Koreans. Kajii examines the modified word *yobo* in his essay, entitled "'Yobo' wa Chōsengo ka" (Is 'yobo' Korean? 1977). The Korean word *yŏbo* is a second-person pronoun that is used when people address their friends and juniors. In Japan, however, this Korean term *yŏbo* was appropriated as a pronoun that referred to Koreans, as Todd Henry also points out.[76] Kajii contends that when the Japanese called Koreans *yobo*, it connoted "a sense of superiority and discriminatory consciousness against Koreans" during the colonial period.[77] He argues further that the Japanese appropriation of the Korean word *yŏbo* without understanding the correct meaning is an illuminating example of how "Japanese people did not deal with Korean as a language of other people, but cooked (*ryōri shita*) [it] as they liked."[78] In light of both Kim and Kajii's essays, the Japanese understanding of *aigō*, which confined the word only into an expression of sorrow, is closely related to a vestige of Japanese colonialism.

In the second mode of transcending the boundary of the two languages, Shin'ya returns to the Korean language, which has been misinterpreted at various points in Japanese society. In the script, Shin'ya does not use Chinese characters, but writes *aigo* in *katakana*. Moreover, Shin'ya contests the image of Koreans as a sorrowful people—which, as Kim points out, the term *aigō* might have constructed—by repeating different nuances of *aigo* in her performance that show more dynamic emotions of the Zainichi Korean protagonist.

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[75] Ibid.

[76] Todd A. Henry, "Assimilation's Racializing Sensibilities: Colonized Koreans as *Yobo*s and the '*Yobo*-ization' of Expatriate Japanese," *positions: east asia cultures critique* 21, no. 1 (2013): 11-49.

[77] Kajii Noboru, "'Yobo' wa Chōsengo ka," *Sanzenri* 9 (Spring 1977): 101.

[78] Ibid.

In *Shinsetaryon*, as the third mode of crossing between the languages, the protagonist occasionally narrates the history of an frequent interchange of Japanese and Korean words to present the flexible boundaries of the languages. She specifically introduces several words that have roots in the counterpart's language, such as Japanese vocabulary stemming from Korean, and vice versa. Portraying her life in her hometown, Jeju, for example, Sin mentions the foods that her family farmed. She recounts the derivation of the Korean word *koguma* (sweet potato) as follows: "I heard that in the old days, people called *satsumaimo* (sweet potato) as *kōkoimo* in Japan. It went across to Korea and changed to *kōkōimo*, *kōkomo*, *kokoma*, and *koguma*. I heard about this a long time ago."[79] In the opposite way, she insists that "*shari*," which is an appellation of sushi rice in Japan, and "*wasshoi*, *wasshoi*," which is the chant of *matsuri* (Japanese traditional festival), stemmed from Korean vocabulary words.[80] In addition, she explains that "*patchi*," which refers to the pants of Ōkuninushi no Mikoto (Master of Great Land), a deity in Japanese mythology from the *Kojiki*, also has roots in the Korean word "*paji*."[81] Simply put, the protagonist articulates the hybridity of the two languages, especially exploring particular Japanese words that are associated with Japan's tradition and history. Sin describes the linguistic interactions between Japanese and Korean:

> A long time ago, [people] went freely back and forth because there was no boundary between [the two] countries. Languages also went back and forth. During *the war*, many

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[79] Shin'ya Eiko, "Shinsetaryon," in *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1991), 146.
[80] Ibid., 155.
[81] Ibid., 159.

> Koreans were forcibly brought to Japan. [For these reasons,] the Japanese also naturally came to know [Korean words].[82]

In her description, she emphasizes mutual influences between the two languages regardless of the motives for the interactions. Not only did Koreans have to learn Japanese, but also "the Japanese also naturally came to know [Korean words]." This narration suggests that Japanese vocabulary words also represent the hybridity, not only of the language, but of *Japanese* culture and tradition, for example, from mythologies to food.

In this regard, through the three modes of transcending the two languages, the narrator illuminates complicated interactions between the Japanese and Koreans that occurred either spontaneously or forcibly.

The Unchronological Narrative of Memories

What was "*the war*" that Sin mentioned in *Shinsetaryon*? Sin does not say the time when "there was no boundary between [the two] countries" or when "*the war*," in which Koreans were brought to Japan, occurred. The war might be the battle between Japan and Korea in the eighth century because she mentions Ōkuninushi no Mikoto in the *Kojiki* completed in 712. She could also be referring to the Asia-Pacific War from the late 1930s to 1945. The obscure description echoes the unchronological narrative of Sin's memories.

The protagonist's narrative crosses time unchronologically, alternating between her colonial and post-colonial experiences. The structure of the storytelling indicates that Sin's post-colonial consciousness is intertwined with her colonial experience. Put another way, the narrative of her memories of the colonial period is not a reminiscence of the past, which was marked by the end of Japanese colonial rule in 1945 but is a presentation of the present. In *Shinsetaryon*, after mentioning her acquaintance who went to North Korea and died in the Korean War in the early 1950s, Sin goes back to her memory of the atomic bomb which was dropped on Hiroshima in 1945. In this scene, Sin reminisces that she tried to find the remains of her husband, who she assumes died as a result of the atomic bombing. Sin's husband was drafted into the Imperial Japanese Army, went to Hiroshima, and never came back. Even though Sin tried to find his body, she can only guess that "he might've worked here," and that "he might've died there," without a shred of evidence.[83] Connecting the story of the man who died in the Korean War to the memory of her husband's death, Sin says: "No war. Seriously, no war" (*sensō wa akan, honma ni akan*).[84]

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[82] Ibid., 155, italics mine.

In addition to her pleasure in impersonating multiple characters beyond the boundaries of nationality and ethnicity, Shin'ya clarifies that her anti-war stance formed her motivation for performing. No matter who she performed as, the "foundation of her performance" was the desire to impact an anti-war message: "*Sensō wa akan*" (No war).[85] Shin'ya recalls that she witnessed, "wars smash human beings and destroy spirits."[86] Not only did she regret her work for the Imperial Japanese Army, but she also lamented the death of her oldest brother due to complications from an accidental fall while enlisted in the Japanese imperial army during World War II.[87] According to her essay, her opposition to wars was strengthened whenever she recalled these tragic events.[88]

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[83] Ibid., 164.
[84] Ibid., 162.
[85] Shin'ya Eiko, *Joyū Shin'ya Eiko: Watashi no rirekisho* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 2005), 138.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid., 14.
[88] Ibid., 13.

Performance as Apology?

The anti-war message that Shin'ya includes in *Shinsetaryon*, however, raises the question of the difference between her solo performance and Japanese historical narratives that have highlighted the Japanese as war victims. Tonomura argues that in the 1970s, Japanese people tended to believe that "the Japanese experienced hardships just as severe as those experienced by the colonized," even when they learned of colonial history.[89] According to Tonomura, the Japanese identification of themselves as victims of the Japanese military regime allowed for them to forget the violence that Koreans encountered under Japanese colonial rule, which was more explicit than what they experienced.[90] As mentioned above, Komori Yōichi and Kang Sangjung also insist that historical narratives that show Japanese nationals as the victims of the Japanese military government have consigned the memories of colonialism to oblivion. Then, does the anti-war message in *Shinsetaryon* run the risk of diluting the colonial memories of its Japanese audience by making them pay attention only to a more generalized anti-war message?

Shinsetaryon integrates the memories of other alien victims of the Japanese military *and* colonial regime into Japanese historical narratives, which have frequently discussed only Japanese people as war victims. *Shinsetaryon* clearly shows this integration by presenting the tragic personal history of the protagonist's husband, who, although was Korean and a soldier in the Japanese imperial army, died in Hiroshima. In addition to presenting Zainichi Koreans as war victims, the protagonist narrates her experience and feelings during the colonial period, for example, when Japan forced Koreans to adopt Japanese style names through the colonial policy, *sōshi kaimei*, in the late 1930s.

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[89] Tonomura Masaru, "Chōsen shokuminchi shihai to sengo Nihon no rekishi ninshiki," *Tongbuk Asia munhwa hakhoe kukche haksul daehoe palp'yo charyojip* (November 2015): 9.

[90] Ibid.

> We were told not to use Korean names . . . We abolished the names that our parents gave us and changed them to Japanese-like names. I felt that my whole body was covered in rashes. It was really disgusting. When Japan was defeated in the war, I immediately restored my original name.[91]

In this scene, even though Sin does not directly criticize the Japanese government, the narrative of her memory is punctuated by her embodiment of the government's oppressive acts, such as her body "covered in rashes." This embodiment enables the audience to comprehend the history from the narrator's perspective.

In this sense, Shin'ya's performance distills a point which was presented by Komori's analysis of war memories in postwar Japan. Komori argues that the belief that Japanese military and political leaders were the only ones responsible for war was formed soon after the end of World War II in Japan.[92] This belief "has remitted the guilty conscience of the Japanese people."[93] Komori points out that in using this rationale, Japanese discourses that aim to recollect the war tended to emphasize the aspects of Japanese victimization. Given the Japanese historical consciousness, "the positionality [of the Japanese] as [war] perpetrators would either become a target of denunciation or fall into a pond of silence" in postwar Japan.[94] Komori goes further to suggest the possibility of overcoming the limit of Japanese historical narratives:

> The various attempts to construct a discourse on the entire image of the war Japan is related to can be possible even for the postwar generation to practice as long as history is a discourse constructed in the present. It is in such practice that "war responsibility" and "postwar responsibility" (*sengo sekinin*) will be questioned simultaneously. It is from the relationship with the other who is questioning "war responsibility" that the position of the responsible one and contents of that responsibility gets to be decided at that moment. It is the quality of recalling the memories of "war" that is questioned through a practical choice—a practical choice and therefore an ethical one—of how such responsibility is

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[91] Shin'ya Eiko, "*Shinsetaryon*," in *Enji tsuzukete: Hitori shibai Shinsetaryon* (Osaka: Kaihō Shuppansha, 1991), 151.

[92] Komori Yōichi, "Bungaku to shite no rekishi/Rekishi to shite no bungaku," in *Nashonaru hisutori o koete*, ed. Komori Yōichi and Tetsuya Takahashi (Tokyo: Tokyo Daigaku Shuppankai, 1998), 11.

[93] Ibid., 12.

[94] Ibid.

> assumed and carried out in the present . . . Perhaps in order to recall the memories of war as for the universality in which the responsibility is being questioned . . . we must continue to write the memories of multiple others as our own memories. How to integrate the specificity in multiple memories of "war" that can only differ person by person into one's own memory—that is the issue in such practice. Of course here, the method of *invoking responsive imagination of the other* who can never assimilate will continuously be questioned.[95]

The integration of Zainichi Koreans' experiences under Japanese colonial and military rule into the Japanese historical narrative is an example of the attempt to invoke "responsive imagination of the other" in order to write war memories as a history transcending national boundaries. In the process of combining multiple memories of others, Shin'ya does not forget the protagonist is the other with whom she cannot assimilate. Shin'ya's sense of distance from Sin creates a movement between her and the protagonist which interrupts the fixed process of integration.

This continuous integration is her apology. In her interview with the *Asahi* newspaper, Shin'ya mentions that she stages solo performance pieces, such as *Shinsetaryon* and *Chogori o kita hibakusha*, which present Zainichi Koreans' experiences, as a form of "apology."[96] Even after Shin'ya performed *Shinsetaryon* for forty years, she positions herself as "a Japanese person who has discriminated [against Koreans]."[97] In this interview, she describes the trajectory of her performance from *Shinsetaryon* to *Chogori o kita hibakusha* as follows:

> I premiered my solo performance, *Shinsetaryon*, wherein a Zainichi Korean woman reminisces [about her life] in 1973 . . . After I performed it, I learned that there were atomic bomb victims even among Zainichi Koreans. Ten years later, I produced the solo performance entitled *Chogori o kita hibakusha* to show how they overcame the horrible experiences of atomic bombings . . . When I attended an elementary school, my teacher discriminated against Zainichi Korean kids. At that time, I was also irresponsible (*watashi mo ee kagen de*) and probably looked down on them. After graduating all-girls high school, I joined the Japanese Army. [At that time,] I was a military girl (*gunkoku*

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[95] Ibid., 17, italics in the original.

[96] "Zainichi hibakusha tsutaeru Shin'ya Eiko san: Watashi no shazai, enjiru," *Asahi shinbun* (Hiroshima), September 24, 2013.

[97] Ibid.

> *shōjo*) who believed that "the Japanese Army was on the side of justice." However, after Japan's defeat, I realized that the Japanese Army had committed atrocities . . . I wanted to apologize for neglecting [Japanese] discrimination even though I had seen and heard of it. My performance is my apology (*Shibai wa watashi no shazai desu*).[98]

I propose that Shin'ya was able to make her performance her apology only because she was conscious of the distance between the protagonist and herself. As long as her performance is her apology, the performance is not a representation that *speaks for* Zainichi Koreans; in this sense, it *speaks to* Zainichi Koreans. Shin'ya's sense of distance from the protagonist differentiates her from the intellectuals whom Gayatri Chakravatory Spivak criticizes in her essay, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" Spivak contends that the intellectuals who claim to represent the subaltern only do so through a compression of the necessary distance that Shin'ya readily acknowledges, thus assuming themselves to be transparent speakers for the dispossessed. This compression consequently fails to represent the subaltern.[99] Shin'ya, who represented the former colonized, did not represent herself as transparent, but emphasized the distance between herself and the protagonist through her continual conversation with the audience members after her performance, and through the multiple revisions of her performances.

Conclusion

Shin'ya's *Shinsetaryon* is a cultural hybrid performance enacting Bhabha's idea. During the time when Shin'ya staged the solo performance from 1973 to 2016, she went beyond herself and encountered Zainichi Koreans. She then returned to herself and transformed her memory by combining the memories of others. She also integrated her anti-war message into the protagonist's narrative, despite the risk that the performance could efface her criticism of Japanese colonization. In the process, Shin'ya oscillates between herself and the protagonist, but always returns to herself in the process of envisioning a new identity without assimilating the protagonist. In *Shinsetaryon*, the narrative does not fix the boundaries between people, time frames, spaces, and languages. However, it does not aim to assimilate them. Rather, it sheds light on the ceaseless movement between the narrators without fixity. This movement interferes with historical writing practices which have tended to exclude alien bodies from the fixed boundaries of both Zainichi Korean and Japanese historical narratives.

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[98] Ibid.

[99] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, "Can the Subaltern Speak?" in *Can the Subaltern Speak?: Reflections on the History of an Idea*, ed. Rosalind Morris (New York: Columbia University Press, 2010), 29.

Conclusion

This dissertation is an attempt to address the complex nature of the cultural interactions between Zainichi Koreans and the Japanese. In the previous chapters, this dissertation examined the dynamic production processes at the marginal spheres of Japan to create cross-cultural theater and performance vis-à-vis Korean history and culture. In the introduction to this dissertation, I described three margins where the complexity of the transnational interactions between Zainichi Koreans and the Japanese can be seen. These marginal spaces provide a glimpse into a potential sphere where these two peoples could simultaneously participate in the process of decolonization.

In a gray zone of the Japanese empire, which was the first marginal sphere that I analyzed, the Shinkyō company produced a theatrical version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* in 1938, which embodied competing interpretations of the Korean folktale. Even though the Shinkyō company paid attention to how the Japanese-language theatrical version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* would impact Korean audience members, the play also reinforced the assimilation policy of the Japanese empire. Murayama Tomoyoshi, who was the director of Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, wrote a cinematic screenplay of the folktale soon after he staged the play. The script, which was to be translated into Korean, was his empathetic response to those Koreans who were not completely satisfied with Shinkyō's Japanese-language play. Nevertheless, the script contained dissonant aspects that mirror Murayama's ambiguous position as a colonizer and an oppressed leftist figure within the empire. On the one hand, the script could be used to support the logic of Japanese colonialism by criticizing the inefficiency of the Korean dynasty, which ended via Japanese colonial rule; on the other hand, it could covertly reveal Koreans' grief for the loss of their country as a result of Japanese imperialism. Even though the script was not actually filmed, its incomplete creation spawned further artistic productions and collaborations. For example, Cho Taik Won, who was to perform Mongnyong's role in the film, produced a dance piece of the folktale, *Ch'unhyangjŏn chogok*, with Murayama.

After the fall of the Japanese empire, Zainichi Koreans not only redefined the meaning of Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, but also created a new operatic version of the folktale, entitled *Chun Hiang*, with Japanese artists who had been involved with the 1938 theatrical production. Despite the connection between the opera *Chun Hiang* and Shinkyō's *Ch'unhyangjŏn*, Zainichi Koreans sought a new way to promote Korean culture that reflected their sense of freedom from the bondage of the Japanese empire. This production process, as an example of the second marginal sphere of incomplete cultural products with which this dissertation is concerned, illuminates the first, yet vulnerable, step of Zainichi Koreans toward their new relationship with the Japanese people soon after the end of Japanese colonial rule. They initiated the production of the English-language version of the opera with Japanese artists to present the Korean folktale internationally. Thus, they changed the ending of the original to include the death of the heroine. They did this in order to imbue the opera with the tragic characteristics of a French-style grand opera. Furthermore, Zainichi Koreans financially supported the Japanese composer Takagi Tōroku, who wrote the music for the project. They were able to premiere the Japanese-language version of the opera in Japan in 1948 and 1949. However, this collaborative project was not a complete success because the original intention of staging it worldwide has not been achieved to this day. Nevertheless, these efforts by Zainichi Koreans imply their flexibility in imagining their new community beyond Korea and Japan via the transnational exchange of Korean culture.

The failure to present the English-language version of the opera reflects the context in which Zainichi Koreans began being re-marginalized in postwar Japan. The largest ethnic organization of Zainichi Koreans in Japan at the time, which planned to produce the opera, was disbanded under U.S. occupation policy because it gradually tended toward communism. The San Francisco Peace Treaty between Japan and the Allied Powers, which was signed in September 1951 and went into effect in April 1952, formalized the end of the U.S. occupation of Japan. It stripped Koreans who remained in Japan of their Japanese nationality without guaranteeing their legal status. Until Japan and South Korea established formal diplomatic relations in 1965, Zainichi Koreans were stateless. The 1965 Japan-South Korea Treaty allowed Zainichi Koreans who identified themselves as South Korean nationals to apply for permanent resident status in Japan by 1971. By the deadline of the application, there were still many Zainichi Koreans who were stateless because they had identified themselves as North Korean or as Korean (*Chōsenjin*).[1] Non-South Korean nationals among Zainichi Koreans were able to obtain permanent resident status in Japan in 1982.

Reflecting these unstable circumstances surrounding their legal status, Zainichi Koreans were generally invisible in Japanese society because they strategically concealed their ethnic background to avoid social discrimination. In addition, their experiences of Japanese colonial rule, the Asia-Pacific War, atomic bombings, and natural disasters that occurred in Japan were left out of Japanese historical narratives within school textbooks and literature until the late 1960s. As discussed in Chapter 4, Shiba Ryōtarō's historical novels connote a common historical consciousness of Japanese people at the time which located only ordinary Japanese civilians as war victims and removed Japan's colonial subjects, including Koreans, from national, collective memories. This context necessitates the reconsideration of the space in which Zainichi Korean experiences can be analyzed. This is the third marginal space that this dissertation examined. Shin'ya Eiko's solo performance indicates how alien bodies should be included in Japanese historical narratives, regardless of ethnic language or consciousness. As a cultural hybrid performance, Shin'ya's *Shinsetaryon* presents the life story of a Zainichi Korean woman, Sin Yŏng-suk. Shin'ya decided to write this solo performance after reading an oral history book about Zainichi Korean women. *Shinsetaryon* embraces the memories of Korean victims of both the Japanese military and colonial regimes. In doing so, Shin'ya distinguishes her solo performance from other Japanese historical narratives that have often focused only on the hardships of the Japanese people, especially during the Asia-Pacific War. Her solo performance displays the significance of continuously imagining the other in constructing historical memories that transcend national boundaries, without reducing the necessary distance between the self and the other to avoid assimilation. Furthermore, it embraces the possibility of associating Zainichi Korean history and culture with broader issues concerning the relationships between environmental problems and minorities, wars and women, and imperialism and migration. Through reassessing the marginal spaces of Zainichi Korean cultural productions, I have been inspired to engage their experiences in dialogue with extensive fields of history and culture within and beyond Japanese and Korean studies. I especially seek to broaden the analytic frameworks of Zainichi Korean culture and history without confining them only to the matters of a specific language, identity, or community.

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[1] A total of 351,262 Zainichi Koreans had applied for permanent residence status out of 558,181 by April 1971. According to Yi Yu-hwan, the number of Zainichi Korean population in the statistics might reflect 1965, when the treaty was signed. Thus, the total number of the people might have been around 580,000 or 590,000 by April 1971. By applying, 208,932 could obtain the permanent residence status by April 1971. Yi Yu-hwan, *Zainichi Kankokujin 60 man: Mindan/Chōsōren no bunretsu shi to dōkō* (Tokyo: Yōyōsha. 1971), 355.

To conclude this dissertation, I would like to compare the case of the opera *Chun Hiang* to Cho Taik Won's dance performances in the United States that took place after the end of Japanese colonial rule. This comparison provides a glimpse into the possibility of extending the marginal spaces of Zainichi Korean studies. As seen in Chapter 2, Cho's *Ch'unhyangjŏn chogok*, which was proposed and directed by Murayama Tomoyoshi in the late 1930s, was used to entertain Japanese imperial soldiers in China during the colonial period. After the end of Japanese colonial rule, Cho's performance was politically utilized during the U.S. military occupation. In May 1946, Cho was invited to dance at a reception for the members of the United States-Soviet Joint Commission in Seoul.[2] He performed several dance pieces, such as *Kasahojŏp* and *Ch'unhyangjŏn chogok*, for about an hour.[3] He evaluated his performance at the reception by saying that "[it] apparently impacted [the members] because the dance pieces had cheerful and warm tones which can be harmonized with any occasion."[4] Cho viewed his performance as an intermediary that could ease political tensions. In this way, his dance performance seemed to have apolitical thematic characteristics. At the reception, Arthur Bunce, who was a member of the American delegation of the United States-Soviet Joint Commission,[5] suggested that Cho perform the dance pieces in the United States.[6]

Cho's reminiscence about the U.S. invitation illuminates the political implications behind his performance in the United States. In July 1947, a military official of the U.S. delegation asked Cho to "introduce Korea" to American audiences through his dance performance, issuing him a passport.[7] According to Cho, Lieutenant General John Reed Hodge, who served as the commander of the U.S. military occupation of South Korea, was also there with Cho and the official.[8] The official continued to explain that the U.S. government wanted to "introduce Korea" specifically to American soldiers because "they were not willing to come to Korea."[9] The reason was that the soldiers heard a rumor that "there were many thieves in Korea."[10] The U.S. military officials invited Cho to perform Korean dance in the United States for a political purpose in order to inform Korean culture to American soldiers who were reluctant to go to Korea.

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[2] The Joint Commission was established for "a provisional Korean democratic government" in accordance with the Moscow Agreement, which was decided at the Interim Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in December 1945. "Report of the Meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the United States of America, the United Kingdom." Interim Meeting of Foreign Ministers of the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Moscow, December 16-26, 1945.

[3] Cho Taik Won, *Kasahojŏp: Ch'angjak muyong pansegi* (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1973), 239.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Arthur C. Bunce was the Chief of the United States Economic Co-operation Administration in Korea. United Nations. *Report of the United Nations Commission on Korea*, Volume II – Annexes. General Assembly Official Records: Fourth Session. Supplement No. 9 (A/936/Add.1) (New York: Lake Success, August 1949), 7.

[6] Cho Taik Won, *Kasahojŏp: Ch'angjak muyong pansegi* (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1973), 240.

[7] Ibid., 248.

Cho left Korea for his U.S. tour in October 1947, which continued until April 1952. His first performance in the United States was held in Hollywood in April 1948.[11] In late 1948, he signed a contract with the East and West Association to perform in New York.[12] The East and West Association was established to aid the United States war effort in Asia in 1942, led by American writer Pearl S. Buck.[13] The fact that Cho was supported by this organization in the late 1940s points to the necessity of deliberately analyzing the complex implications of his dance performance in the United States. The East and West Association especially attempted to educate "ordinary Americans," such as soldiers who wanted to learn about countries to which they were going, and women who wanted to understand people with whom their family members in the army were interacting.[14] Robert Shaffer, a U.S. historian, argues that the members of the East and West Association developed "critical internationalism," which kept their eyes on whether American politicians and cultural leaders were falling into Western colonialism in postwar

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[8] Ibid.

[9] Ibid.

[10] Ibid.

[11] Ibid., 264.

[12] Ibid., 275-276.

[13] Robert Shaffer, "Pearl S. Buck and the East and West Association: The Trajectory and Fate of 'Critical Internationalism,' 1940-1950," *Peace & Change* (January 2003): 1-36.

[14] Ibid., 4.

Asia.[15] Shaffer's argument indicates the possibility that various American agencies, not just the U.S. government, put a political spin on Cho's performance from different perspectives.

Cho's performances in the United States were frequently interpreted by American music critics as a metaphoric representation of Korea's liberation. Cho's first dance program in New York, which was sponsored by the East and West Association, was featured on the dance series "Around the World with Dance and Song" at the American Museum of Natural History.[16] In the press release for his first performance in February 1949, entitled "Korean Springtime in Dance and Song," Cho's troupe[17] was introduced as "the only Korean Dance Troupe ever to appear in America."[18] Even though Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi (1911-1969?) had performed as an "exotic Korean dancer" in the United States in the late 1930s (see Figure 4), she was also hailed as a contradictory "representative status as a cultural icon for the Japanese Empire" during her tours.[19] As the *first* Korean dance troupe to appear in the United States, Cho's troupe was expected to "inform" Americans about the "culture, art, history, customs . . . music, dance, folklore . . . and songs" of the Korean people who had struggled "for freedom."[20]

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[15] Ibid., 18.

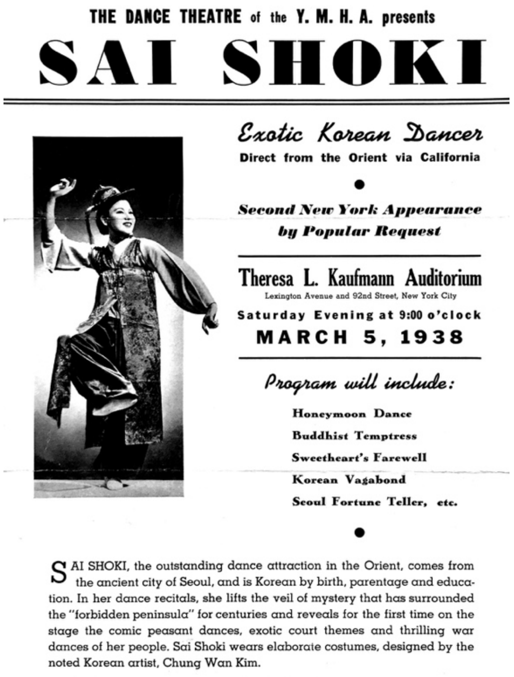
[16] This series was produced by Hazel Lockwood Muller as a program for the American Museum of Natural History from 1943 to 1952 in order to "add a living dimension to static Museum exhibits, contribute to international appreciation and good will, as well as to educate audiences and help dancers find employment." The New York Public Library, http://archives.nypl.org/dan/19769, accessed May 17, 2019.

[17] Cho organized his own dance troupe for the U.S. tour, consisting of Kim Sun Yong (Kim Sŏn-yŏng, dancer), Yim Kyŏng-hŭi (dancer), Sim Tai Chin (Sim T'ae-jin, singer and *kayagŭm*, *changgu*, and *yanggŭm* player), Kim Ock Chin (Kim Ok-chin, singer and *kayagum* player), and Sim Sang Kum (Sim Sang-gŏn, *ajaeng* and *kayagum* player). This group disbanded in May 1950. Cho Taik Won. *Kasahojŏp: Ch'angjak muyong pansegi* (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1973), 264, 300; "The Korean Ballet Troupe" (Pamphlet published in 1948).

[18] Dana Kelly (Director of Public Relations at the American Museum of Natural History), "Korean Troupe Presents First Program in Museum's Subscription Dance Series," released for February 6, 1949.

[19] For detailed analysis of Ch'oe Sŭng-hŭi's dance tours in the United States, see, e.g., Sang Mi Park, "The Making of a Cultural Icon for the Japanese Empire: Choe Seung-Hui's U.S. Dance Tours and 'New Asian Culture' in the 1930s and 1940s," *positions: east asia cultures critique* (Winter 2006): 597–632.

[20] "The Korean Ballet Troupe" (pamphlet published in 1948). The publisher is unknown.



THE DANCE THEATRE of the Y. M. H. A. presents

SAI SHOKI

Exotic Korean Dancer

Direct from the Orient via California

●

Second New York Appearance
by Popular Request

Theresa L. Kaufmann Auditorium
Lexington Avenue and 92nd Street, New York City
Saturday Evening at 9:00 o'clock
MARCH 5, 1938

Program will include:

- Honeymoon Dance
- Buddhist Temptress
- Sweetheart's Farewell
- Korean Vagabond
- Seoul Fortune Teller, etc.

●

SAI SHOKI, the outstanding dance attraction in the Orient, comes from the ancient city of Seoul, and is Korean by birth, parentage and education. In her dance recitals, she lifts the veil of mystery that has surrounded the "forbidden peninsula" for centuries and reveals for the first time on the stage the comic peasant dances, exotic court themes and thrilling war dances of her people. Sai Shoki wears elaborate costumes, designed by the noted Korean artist, Chung Wan Kim.

Figure 4. Pamphlet of Ch'oe's second performance in New York in May 1938. "Sai Shōki" is the Japanese pronunciation of her name. In the pamphlets for her U.S. tours, her name was rendered as "Sai Shoki." Courtesy of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

During his U.S. tour in the late 1940s and early 1950s, Cho's new interpretation of Korean culture was specifically emphasized. Cho's repertoire comprised *Ch'unhyangjŏn jogok*, *Kasahojŏp*, *Manjong* (*Angelus*), and *Sillosimbullo*, which was not limited to specific religious or ideological orientations, time periods, and thematic features. *Dance Magazine* described Cho as "an interpretive dancer . . . of a free Korea taking its place among the nations and cultures of the world once again."[21] It also noted that Cho "combin[ed] the old world with the new in his interpretation of his country's culture, past and present."[22] Interestingly, Younghill Kang, who carries the title "the first Korean-American writer," often introduced Cho's dance pieces during his U.S. tour. According to Cho, Kang "freely and naturally introduced Korea and Korean culture" along with the interpretation of Cho's dance pieces to American audience members during his performances.[23]

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[21] Larry Dabrow and Marian Locks, "Korean Dance and Dancers," *Dance Magazine* (April 1948): 40.
[22] Ibid., 41.

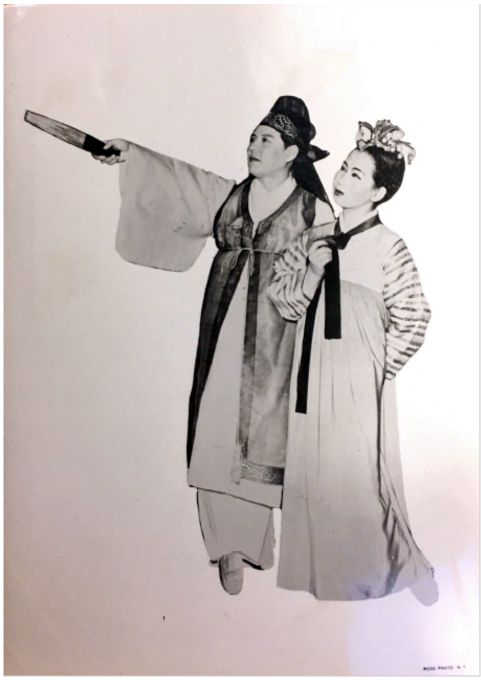

Figure 5. Cho Taik Won and Kim Sun Yong wearing the costumes of *Ch'unhyangjŏn jogok*. Photograph by Moss Photo. Courtesy of the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts.

Figure 5 is a photograph of Cho and his dance partner Kim Sun Yong which was taken in the United States in the late 1940s.[24] The memorandum written on the back of the photograph shows how Cho's dance performance was interpreted. The scene "Love Song of Kwang Hal Loo," in which the two protagonists of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* first meet, was described as follows: a "[l]ady and [a] man never touch each other in . . . Korean dances. [It] is moral and ethical . . . [Originally this piece] ha[s] only solo and mass dances but no duets [have been done] until Mr. Cho [has done it for the first time because duet] is not done . . . in Korea."[25] This explanation highlights the fact that Cho pioneered work on duet performances in Korea, which more vividly express romantic emotions and feelings, in contrast to other dance forms that only represented Confucian morality and ethics. It is not clear whether this description was based on Younghill Kang's interpretation of Cho's performance. However, it inspires us to compare the divergent interpretations of *Ch'unhyangjŏn jogok* from Murayama Tomoyoshi, who directed this dance piece in imperial Japan, Younghill Kang and critics in the United States, and Japanese critics after Korea's liberation. The comparative analysis enables us to explore the recurring process of newly interpreting Korean cultural products that reflect the transnational, yet occasionally hierarchical, consciousness of various individuals and institutions.

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[23] Cho Taik Won, *Kasahojŏp: Ch'angjak muyong pansegi* (Seoul: Sŏmundang, 1973), 289.

[24] The New York Public Library for the Performing Arts possesses several photographs of Cho Taik Won and his troupe during his U.S dance tour. The folder of his photographs, which was marked with the stamp of the East and West Association, states that the photographs were taken by Brich Kasten and Sam Chang.

Cho's desire to present Korean dance abroad after the end of Japanese colonial rule mirrors the Zainichi Koreans' aspiration to produce the English-language operatic version of *Ch'unhyangjŏn* during the same period. They appeared to share similar ambitions to promote the status of Korean culture on the world stage as the former colonized who had not been able to freely express their own culture during the colonial period. Moreover, the comparison of the postcolonial production processes allows us to further understand the implications of Zainichi Korean cultural activities. Cho's *cosmopolitan* path was possible under several conditions, not only of his artistic motivation, but also of the political necessity of the U.S. government during the Cold War. On the contrary, Zainichi Koreans were not able to present the opera *Chun Hiang*, which reflected their strong sense of freedom, because Chōren, which was led by leftist figures, disbanded in 1949 due to Cold War politics. The juxtaposition of Chōren's "failure" with Cho's "success" to stage Korean performances abroad in the late 1940s elucidates another marginalization process of Zainichi Koreans beyond the boundaries of Japan. It can be said that Zainichi Koreans could not present the English-language version of the opera, not because Chōren had been dissolved, but because it had not yet had clear answers to what "abroad" meant and how it would organize an opera troupe for international performances. Nevertheless, we can infer from the trajectory of Cho's U.S. tour that the plan of presenting the English-language version of *Chun Hiang* would not be achieved under the control of the Allied Powers in Japan and Korea because it was produced by Chōren, an organization that increasingly leaned toward communism. Even though the production process of *Chun Hiang* contained a decolonial aspect of the relationship between the Japanese and Zainichi Koreans, Cold War politics restrained the sphere of decolonizing Korean culture, which had been recently liberated from the bondage of the Japanese empire.

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[25] Photograph from the New York Public Library for the Performing Arts. "Korean Dancers." *Around the World with Dance and Song Photographs*. MGZEB 00-3576, Box 1 of 2.

This overview of the failed attempt of Chōren suggests the necessity of exploring more impacts on Zainichi Korean cultural works beyond the tension between the former colonizer and colonized. Shin'ya Eiko's *Shinsetaryon* can be also compared with other Zainichi Korean theatrical works that deal with their experiences and memory of wars and natural disasters. The Zainichi Korean writer Tsuka Kōhei (1948-2010) wrote playscripts and novels that provide his unique perspective on atomic bombings, imperialism, and racism.[26] I do not mean to deny the significance of the study of engaging Zainichi Korean cultural products specifically with discourses of their identity formation that was influenced by competing political and social pressures between Japan and Korea. However, Zainichi Korean experiences and their cultural products are also relevant to colonial and postcolonial migrations, in association with extensive issues including transnationalism, Cold War politics, natural disasters, and environmental problems, which need to be further examined across borders.

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[26] For example, Tsuka published a theatrical script (1979) and a novel (1986), entitled *Hiroshima ni genbaku o otosu hi*, which both narrate a fictional story of a Korean man who pushes an actual button to drop an atomic bomb on Hiroshima.

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