

THE TEXTS OF THE FIRST NEW NOVEL IN KOREAN

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It is now generally accepted that the novel 血의涙 *Tears of Blood* by 李人植 Yi Injik (菊初 Kukch'o) is the first work in Korean to be formally designated as a 新小説 New Novel, and that its date, 1906, is therefore the point of departure for Korea's 新文學 New Literature.¹ This statement can lead to debates on what is meant by "New" in this context or on how much significance one may attach to the formal designation, but before one debates such points it is necessary to be as precise as possible about *Tears of Blood* itself. This novel has, of course, been well described by several Korean critics, best of all, as far as my own reading has gone, by Professor Chŏn Kwangyong in his thesis on Yi Injik.² I find this thesis completely reliable and refer to it frequently in the course of this essay. I also owe a great deal to the help and stimulus which Professor Chŏn has given me personally. In giving here an account of my own attempts to see *Tears of Blood* as precisely as possible, as a foreigner making his first study in Korean literature, I wish to suggest only that the textual variations between the different editions of this novel have a greater significance than one might imagine from Professor Chŏn's remarks on the point in his thesis,³ particularly for the student of Korean literature in the west, but perhaps also within the short history of Korean literary history in Korea itself. I shall also describe certain materials which were not available to Professor Chŏn in 1957.

The 1955 Edition and the 1940 Edition

The edition of *Tears of Blood* prepared by Mr. Chŏng Hanmo in 1955⁴ is the only edition which one will find in most libraries in the west and the only one which has been at all widely read today even in Korea. It was the first text of this novel which I read, and I wish to acknowledge that if

¹ 李秉岐, 白鐵: 國文學全史. 新丘文化社, Seoul, 5th impression 1961, p. 241.

² 全光緒: 李人植研究. Seoul University Theses, Humanities and Social Sciences, 6, December 1957, pp. 157-254; on *Tears of Blood* pp. 188-200, and also in 思想界, March 1956, pp. 197-216.

³ 李人植研究, pp. 188-90.

⁴ 李人植原作, 鄭漢模解題: 血의涙, 雪中梅, 銀世界. 正音社, Seoul, 1955, pp. 5-67. Referred to below as "1955".

it had not been published I might never have read the novel at all. It is the only edition which states⁵ that there is any earlier edition. The text is taken from the publication of the novel complete in one issue of the literary magazine *Munjang* in 1940.⁶ This 1940 edition is not very easy to find today, but it is in some libraries.

The 1955 edition reproduces the 1940 edition with very few material variations. There are twenty or so minor misprints which had not caused me any difficulty or misunderstanding when I had read the 1955 edition. Examples of these are: *ch'oe chusa nūn maūm e ōtchi ch'angp'i hago*, which I found easier than *ch'oe chusa ūi* . . . for "Chusa Ch'oe felt so ashamed";⁷ *ttōnasō*, which I cannot distinguish in the context from *ttōnani*, "left and";⁸ and *isang han* for *koesang han*, both of which I translate "strange".⁹ There are rather fewer misprints in the 1955 edition which had caused me difficulty or misled me. There were a few words so misprinted that I had difficulty in making sense of them for translation, such as *yōl* "burning heat" (?) for *pyōl* "stars"¹⁰ and *tūryōda ponjūk* "when they looked into" for *torada ponjūk* "when they looked around".¹¹ There were also a few suffixes so misprinted that they provided me with literary examples of constructions and forms which Korean acquaintances insisted were not permissible. For instance . . . *pam-sori ka san-kol i ullinūnjira* is not an interesting double use of the subject, because the *ka* is a misprint for *ra*: "It was a . . . sound in the night. The vale echoed"¹² and *pparūnūn* is not a unique piece of evidence for a lack of distinction between verbs and adjectives, but a misprint for *pparūdūn* "which had been fast".¹³ There is also a corruption in the following conversation:

assi muōs ūl kūrī hasimmikka? "What's the matter, mistress?"

anilse. "Nothing."

sōbangnim kkesō puch'isin p'yōnji onikka? "Is it a letter from the master?"

anilse. "I don't think so."

The English speaker does hear Koreans say "No" where "Nothing", "Nobody", etc., would be appropriate in English, and so I translated this as above and took the first *anilse* to be a good literary example of a usage which Koreans whom I consulted were unwilling to admit as standard. Unfortunately, when I referred to the 1940 edition I found that it was a mistake for *ūng*, *kamani ikke* "Wait a minute!"¹⁴

⁵ 1955: 247a.

⁶ 文章, Vol. 2, No. 2, February 1940, pp. 224-57. Referred to below as "1940".

⁷ 1955: 22b, 1940: 234a.

⁸ 1955: 13a, 1940: 228c.

⁹ 1955: 56a, 1940: 252a.

¹⁰ 1955: 8a, 1940: 225c.

¹¹ 1955: 49a, 1940: 248a.

¹² 1955: 9a, 1940: 226b.

¹³ 1955: 46a, 1940: 246c.

¹⁴ 1955: 65b, 1940: 257a.

In addition there are four omissions of phrases which affect the translation, all towards the end of the work. The omitted words are underscored:

kkum i majōdo, nae ke nūn purhaeng han il io: kkum i matchi ani hayōdo,

nae ke nūn purhaeng han il ira

"Even if dreams are not true, it means unhappiness for me" for: "Whether dreams are true or not, it means unhappiness for me"¹⁵

ongnyōni ka kū kwanggo rūl podaga, kkamtchak nollasō, nunmul i p'ōng-

p'ōng ssoda chimyōnsō, ōlgul ūn palgae chigo, usūm pan nunmul pan ira.

ongnyōni ka chohūn maūm e ttiryōsō . . .

"Ongnyōn was astonished as she read the advertisement. Her eyes filled with tears and her face turned red as she half cried and half laughed. She was so happy that . . ."¹⁶

kū nunmul ūn pumo ūi chōng e kwan'gye han nunmul to anio, che sinse saenggak hanūn nunmul to anio, ku wansō ūi ūnhye rūl saenggak hanūn

nūndae, musūn il i tto issūllōnji morūgenne.

"Her tears were not even to do with her feelings for her parents, they were tears as she thought of the kindness of Ku Wansō" for "Her tears were nothing to do with her feelings for her parents, nor were they from thinking of her own fate. They were tears as she thought of the kindness of Ku Wansō".¹⁷

tto musūn hyung han il i saenggiryōna pe. kamagwi nūn yōngmul ira-

nūndae, musūn il i tto issūllōnji morūgenne.

"Perhaps there's going to be even more trouble" for "It looks as if there's going to be more trouble. They say the crow's a bird of omen. Perhaps something else is going to happen."¹⁸

If the 1940 edition were the original editions of *Tears of Blood*, one would count the 1955 edition a very good edition. Less than half of one percent of the text is affected by misprints, and some twenty misprints in the 1940 edition are also corrected. Yet for any precise work one could not afford not to check the 1940 edition, and unfortunately even checking the 1940 edition is not enough for the purposes of literary history.

The 1940 Edition and the 1907 Edition

I had deliberately chosen to read the novel for myself, in the 1955 edition, before reading the section on it in Chōn Kwangyong's thesis, hoping

¹⁵ 1940: 252b, 1955: 56b.

¹⁶ 1940: 253a, 1955: 58a.

¹⁷ 1940: 254b-c, 1955: 60b.

¹⁸ 1940: 255c, 1955: 63b.

that it would be instructive to compare my own impressions with those of an authority on the subject. When I did read that portion of the thesis, what I learned was totally unexpected: that hardly a single word quoted there in illustration of the theme of *Tears of Blood* appeared in the edition which I had read. Thanks to Professor Chŏn's introduction, and with the consent of the Librarian, I was able to examine in detail the text in the Central Library, Seoul, which Professor Chŏn had used. Subsequently a friend discovered another copy in the possession of Mr. O. Han'gŭn, 吳漢根 in Seoul, and was good enough to make me an exact manuscript copy of that, with the owner's kind permission. The two copies appear to be absolutely identical. I have not been able to discover any further copies of it.

This book has a title page with the title in Korean: *Hyŏl ūi ru Sin Sosyŏl*, and in Chinese: 新小說血淚, *Tears of Blood: A New Novel*. There are 94 pages of text, and the details of publication are given: published 17th March 1907, republished 27th March 1908, author 初菊 Ch'oguk (not 菊初 Kukch'o), 李人植, read Ri Injŭk, and publisher 金相萬 Kim Sangman of the Kwanghak Bookshop, both at addresses in Kyŏngsŏng (Seoul). This appears to be the earliest known use of the term New Novel. Although I have not seen any copy of the first publication, I shall refer to this as "the 1907 edition" or "1907" and quote further evidence on the point later.

The differences between the 1940 edition and the 1907 edition are both substantial in quantity, affecting about one tenth of the text, and fundamental in nature, affecting both the message carried by the story and the style in which it is told, though not the story itself.

The political message of the 1907 text is carried chiefly in three long passages. The first is on the night of the day on which the Sino-Japanese War had passed through P'yŏngyang in 1894:

"Mr. Kim stayed the whole night alone in the empty house, sleepless, and with his head full of thoughts.

"On the wide fields outside the North Gate, the corpses of those who had been shot dead and the near-corpses of those who were just breathing their last were officers and soldiers who had all come onto the field of battle and been killed for their own countries' sakes. They had died in the course of duty, but the refugees whom I saw with my own eyes, tripping and falling over them, and trampling on them with my feet wherever I went, as if they were flowers which had fallen in the spring wind, were they unlucky to be Koreans? Did they have the misfortune to be the common people of P'yŏngyang? The land is Korean and the people are Koreans. Are we Koreans suffering such distress in others' wars, as a whale's back might be injured in a battle between prawns? My wife had never gone a step outside her

own front door. My daughter was a child of seven. Have they been trampled to death?"

"He sighed.

"They and those who died with them have shed streams of blood which have flowed into the Taedong River. We should not listen to the screaming of the rapids without feeling. Is it not the P'yŏngyang people's voice of lamentation and sorrow? The innocent who are punished are Koreans. The innocent who could not save their lives are Koreans too.

"Was this heaven's doing or man's doing? Human affairs are most likely to be man's doing. Our people think only of themselves. They seek to satisfy only their own desires. Whether others live or die, whether their country goes to ruin or prospers, the most important thing to them is that they should get on in the world and so grow fat themselves.

"The people of P'yŏngyang have two Devils. One is in Hell, and the other is the Governor, sitting in the Hall of the Proclamation of Reforms in P'yŏngyang. The Devil in Hell carries off those who are old, or sick, or tired of life, but the Governor in his office in P'yŏngyang carries off the healthy and wealthy, every one of them. He is the human Devil, and even seems to hold the office of Demon of every household at the same time, since, if you pay him the proper sacrifices, nothing goes wrong, but if you do not, the whole house suffers and everyone dies.

"I feel sorry for our people, who cannot enjoy freely what they have earned with their own hands and who have mortgaged to others the lives which they were given. Now, on top of all this, other people have come from their countries and fought and raged here madly. By their ardour we are ruined. All those people have died simply because our country is not strong.

"Well, there's nothing can be done about the dead. The most important thing is to see that the living do not have to face such things again. It is up to us to pull ourselves together. Our country must become bright and strong, like other people's countries, so that we, its people, may preserve life and property. We must not allow those vampires, the living Devils and the living Demons, to get into the Governors' offices in every province and all the other local government offices. We must see that foreigners do not even think of coming to our country like tigers and bears and having the impudence to fight here. Only then will men be human. Only then will life be worth living. Only then will we be able to treat our property as our own.

"What a terrible night this has been! The people of P'yŏngyang are gone and may be dead. The vampire of a Devil is shut up in some

corner. And what has happened to my wife and child? Everyone knew how happy my wife and I were together, and our love for Ongnyŏn was quite exceptional. However, a man with ambitions cannot accomplish great things in his country if he wastes his efforts thinking only of his wife and child. I shall set off at once, tour the whole world seeing other people's countries and get some real education. Then I shall be able to work for my country.'

"He waited until it got light, and then left P'yŏngyang for other lands ten thousand leagues away."¹⁹
In place of this, the 1940 edition has:

"Mr. Kim spent the night alone in the desolate empty house. He sat quietly in the best place in the living room, with a dim lamp-light, and listened to the rustling of the rats at play. He thought things over. The affairs of men could not be calculated. Until this morning the three of them had sat together like the three legs of a tripod. Now he would never see that scene again. These were his only thoughts. He let his head fall right down, gave a great sigh, and then, looking up at the ceiling, he gave an ironic laugh and began to talk aimless nonsense.

" 'Wife! Warm me up some wine!'

" 'Here, Ongnyŏn, bring me my pipe!'

"He hit the floor once with his fist, and then, falling over onto his side, toppling like a drunk, he lay there without even bothering to get a pillow for his head.

"It was not only his unhappiness. Besides that, he had been on the go all day, panting for breath, and he was so tired that he slept for a while, just in the position in which he had fallen, and he had a dream.

"In his dream too, as in real life, he lost his wife and daughter. He was trying to look for them, but he could not walk a step. He struggled, and with his last ounce of effort he jerked his body. His body became light and turned into a bird. As if it were the most natural thing in the world, he flapped into the air and settled down on an old tree, a tall tree on the slope of Peony Peak. The bird crying there so mournfully was a cuckoo. Then he woke from his dream and was Kim Kwanil once more.

"Kwanil's dream made him feel that his life was no better than a cuckoo's. The more he thought about it, the more certain he felt that he would never see his wife and child again in this world. He heaved a great sigh.

" 'There's nothing I can do about it. This body of mine was made at God's command, and whether I am a failure or a success is in God's

hands. Only today have I realized that I must have been very cruel in a previous life and am being punished in this life. Why should I blame anyone or hold any grudge? Anyway, if I stay in this house, whether I live well or not, all I shall see will be the figures of my wife and child, and little things to remind me of them. I would rather leave my own country and be on the move, seeing the world.'

"He waited until it got light, and then left P'yŏngyang for other lands ten thousand leagues away."²⁰

The contrast between these two passages hardly needs comment. Not only are the sentiments of the 1907 edition completely missing in the 1940 edition, but a deliberate attempt even seems to have been made to deny one by one every point which was made in the earlier version.

A similar change is made a little later. Mr. Ch'oe has come from Pusan to find out what has happened to his daughter and grand-daughter, Mrs. Kim and Ongnyŏn. He finds a suicide note from Mrs. Kim and tells his servant (I use Maktong as his name in translation) that they will return to Pusan the next day. In the 1907 edition he continues speaking:

" 'I used to wonder what war was, but now that I've come face to face with it, I know that the greatest human cruelty is war. My daughter and my grand-daughter were my only flesh and blood, and this is how I find things when I come to see them.

" 'Maktong, it probably makes no sense to an ignorant fellow like you, but in future, if you want to safeguard your grand-children, you must do something for our country. If our country had been strong, this war would not have happened. My daughter, my child, suffered every hardship in her upbringing, and although she was young and in good health, she has died in the war. My own grand-daughter had had smallpox and measles and had shaken off all the other childish ailments, and she died in the war too.'

" 'It's you gentry', Maktong replied, 'who've destroyed our country. The common people are killed and beaten by the gentry and must just accept it. If they have any property, it is stolen by the gentry. If they have pretty women, they are stolen by the gentry. Common people like me can't do anything for their own property or womenfolk, or even to save their own lives. They're tied up by the gentry, so what power have they got to do anything for their country? We've only got to say one wrong word and our lives are in your hands. You gentry have got the power to break our legs or banish us. What are the common people's lives worth if the gentry treat us like that? It's you gentry who are to blame for wars too. It was one of the gentry, Min Yŏngjun, who started the Sino-Japanese War by calling in the Chinese, I've heard.

¹⁹ 1907: 11. These longer quotations are not in general given in Korean since the point of the quotation may be seen in translation. Most of this passage is quoted in 李人植研究, pp. 191-2.

²⁰ 1940: 228a-c (1955: 12a-13a).

Your daughter, the young mistress, and your baby grand-daughter have died because of the war, and their ghosts will get the gentleman called Min Yŏngjun for it.'

"Maktong went on and on like this. Now Mr. Ch'oe did not like this servant very much, because he was an impudent fellow, but he had brought him with him because he was a sound man to have on a dangerous wartime journey like this. He was being deliberately rude because of Mr. Ch'oe's distressed condition, but that was what happened in a war. You cannot tell them off in a war, and Mr. Ch'oe was so worried that he could not bear to listen to anything at all, so he gave him some money and said to him,

"Go out and drink yourself sick too, Maktong. We're so worked up, the only thing to do is to get drunk.'

"Maktong went out, and Mr. Ch'oe sat alone, facing the wine bottle."²¹

(I have made some minor corrections in this quotation on the evidence of the 1906 edition, described below,²² in particular reading Min Yŏngjun (閔泳駿) for Min Yŏngch'un.)

In the 1940 edition, Mr. Ch'oe stops short at telling Maktong that they will go straight back home. He says nothing at all about their country to give Maktong a chance to air his views. Instead:

"Maktong replied and went out and got himself something to eat somewhere, but he took as much time about it as he could, and when he came back, Mr. Ch'oe was sitting alone in the pitch dark room, just drinking cup after cup of wine. Maktong turned at once and went out. He bought some wax candles and struck a match and lit them. Mr. Ch'oe had been sitting with his head slumped right forward, but he sat up at this.

"Ah, Maktong, there's nothing so good as a bit of brightness. Just seeing the light of a flame makes me forget some of my sorrows.'

"He drank another cup of wine.

"Now Maktong had never thought it any business of his whether his master was worried or enjoying himself. He just thought it fun to pocket the change if his master sent him on some business without being too precise about it. Whether he heard what Mr. Ch'oe had just said or not, he was on his way out, anxious to get some sleep, probably, in the servants' quarters, but Mr. Ch'oe was so lonely that he wanted to have Maktong to talk to, and he went on,

"Now, Maktong, what's the point of distinguishing between master and servant in a world at war? You be my drinking companion for tonight. I used to wonder what war was, but now that I've

come face to face with it, I know that the greatest human misery is war. My daughter and my grand-daughter were my only flesh and blood, and this is how I find things when I come to see them.'

"As he said this, he poured a cup of wine and gave it to Maktong. Maktong's mouth fell open, and his head filled with crazy ideas. 'Thank goodness the bed-bugs have all been burnt to death,' one might say when a fine big house is burnt down. Now, with the war, the world was knocked unconscious, so Maktong stretched out his arm to offer Mr. Ch'oe a cup of wine, imagining that he was drawing a bow on him.

"Here's a cup of wine, master. Shine follows rain and rain follows shine, riches and honour, poverty and lowliness all come round on the wheel. The gentleman is holding the spittoon and the commoner is dancing for joy. Maktong, the servant, has become the drinking companion of his master, the Chusa Ch'oe. Oh, yes, let the cannon roar again and again. The proud head that used to wear a cap of office is withdrawn like a turtle's into its shell. Whoo, oops, this house is spinning round.'

"He fell over, and Mr. Ch'oe felt so ashamed and confused that he calmed Maktong down like a child, and managed to coax him to go to the servants' quarters. He sat alone, facing the wine bottle."²³

In this case a little of the original has been retained, and the image of the burning house here reminds us of another short passage which is deleted from the 1940 edition:

"A bridge of corpses was laid across the Yalu River. P'yŏngyang returned to normal after the fighting, and now it was Ŭiju's turn to face the fighting.

"Imagine that, in a house which catches fire, they put out the fire in the living room but the parlour catches fire, and that, although the living room and the parlour are both parts of the same house, those of the family who are in the living room congratulate themselves if they just put out the fire in their own room. So it was when it rained blood in Ŭiju, but within the walled city of P'yŏngyang the sound of laughter began to arise.

"Those who had fled and holed up somewhere gradually reassembled in P'yŏngyang, and there it was just like old times again."²⁴ (Instead of this, the 1940 edition²⁵ simply has:

"Within the walled city of P'yŏngyang life gradually returned to normal.")

The different uses of the image of the burning house in this passage

²¹ 1907: 26-28. A small part of this is quoted in 李人植研究, p. 193.

²² 1906: 14, issue 38, 9th August.

²³ 1940: 233b-234a (1955: 21b-23a).

²⁴ 1907: 21-22.

²⁵ 1940: 231c (1955: 18b).

from the 1907 edition and in the passage from the 1940 edition quoted immediately before it serve to illustrate the very different natures of these two editions. The point which is made by this allegory here in the 1907 edition is in fact spelt out in the last of the three passages in which the political message is set out at length:

"The purpose in Mr. Ku's mind was like Bismark's, to study hard, and, after returning home, to make a federation of Korea, like Germany and by joining it with Japan and Manchuria to create a civilized great power. Ongnyōn wanted to study hard, and, after returning home, to broaden the knowledge of Korean women and help them get equal rights with men, instead of being oppressed by men, and then to educate them so that they would become useful citizens in the land and honoured persons in society.

"There is nothing in the world so enjoyable as determining one's own aims oneself. Ku Wansō and Ongnyōn had gone abroad while they were young. They did not know that Koreans were so barbarous and so stupidly selfish. They both thought that when the day came for them to return to Korea there would be many in Korea too who would be concerned and would listen to the words of educated and knowledgeable people and approve of them, so that everything would turn out as Mr. Ku planned, and that, as Ongnyōn planned, the women of Korea would all get her training and that everywhere many people would arise with an education like hers. Their happiness knew no bounds, but they did not know the situation in their own country, and their feelings were the product of the outlook of youthful students who had studied abroad.

"But whether things turned out as Mr. Ku and Ongnyōn planned or not was a matter of the future. On that day even their happiness at contracting marriage took second place in their hearts. It was the first time Ongnyōn had known such happiness since her birth."²⁶

This passage is simply omitted in the 1940 edition.²⁷ Unlike the other passages just quoted from the 1907 edition, it is so repetitive, inconsequential and generally badly expressed that one cannot complain of its loss on stylistic grounds, but it gives a key perhaps to the understanding of Yi Injik's attitude to the political questions of the time.

This novel speaks very favourably of the Japanese in all its editions. When the Japanese troops came to Korea in 1894, it says, the Korean populace was apprehensive because of the tales which they had heard of the barbarities of the Japanese in 1592,²⁸ but the Japanese troops behaved

correctly under international law,²⁹ even with humane kindness towards Korean civilians,³⁰ unlike the Chinese troops who pillaged and raped.³¹ The Japanese had Red Cross nurses and field hospitals at which they were prepared to heal at least one small wounded Korean, while the Chinese used poisoned bullets³² and attacked field hospitals.³³ The Japanese might appear cold and heartless at first sight, but this was only a formality, a politeness of manner which a Korean would himself (or herself) adopt in time in Japan, and underneath this cold exterior Japanese have hearts ready and willing to love Koreans.³⁴ There is much in Japan to frighten and confuse anyone from a backward country like Korea, but in time even a Korean can master the ways of civilization.³⁵

Yi Injik seems, then, to have been disillusioned with his own country after his experiences in Japan. This is by no means an uncommon experience, and is by no means confined to Koreans, yet it is easy to see, in view of Korea's unique experiences with Japan, that such a message, without a word of patriotism, as in the 1940 edition, would not make the work popular in Korea. However, we must be clear that what he advocates in *Tears of Blood*, 1907 edition, is not the oppression of Korea which was subsequently practised by the Japanese, but that Korea should learn from Japan's example how to make herself strong enough to ensure her independence. The passages quoted above have already illustrated this, and there is another instance, when Ongnyōn is alone in Japan and resigned to keeping herself alive by taking a domestic position. She meets a fellow-countryman (1940 edition: a stranger³⁶), Ku Wansō, who persuades her to go to America with him with these words:

"Now don't worry about school fees. Look, we are Koreans. What use are our lives if we don't study and get away from barbarism? I believe you think that you were the only one affected by the Sino-Japanese War, but it affected every one of our people. Those who say "Nothing happened here, I didn't see anything, so everything's all right" are weevils. If everyone behaves like a weevil and lives in ignorance of the rest of the world, in another few years there's going to be another war like the Sino-Japanese War in our country. You must start studying now, without wasting a day. Then it will be up to you to undertake the education of the women of our country and open up the road to civilization." ³⁷

²⁹ 1955: 14a.

³⁰ 1955: 13a-b.

³¹ 1955: 11a.

³² 1955: 26b-27a.

³³ 1955: 34b.

³⁴ 1955: 31a-33a, 27a-28a, 46b, 52b, etc.

³⁵ 1955: 47a-b.

³⁶ 1907: 64, 1940: 247c (1955: 47b).

³⁷ 1907: 65. The whole of this is quoted in 李人植研究, p. 194.

²⁶ 1907: 85-86. The first paragraph is quoted in 李人植研究, p. 194.

²⁷ 1940: 255b (1955: 62a), between *homin ōnyak ūl maejini* and *kim kwani ūl*.

²⁸ 1955: 10b-11a. Reference to the easily available 1955 edition only is enough for these general points, all of which are to be found substantially in all editions.

However, this aspect of the message disappears from the 1940 edition, and so in that edition Ku Wansŏ uses this argument instead:

" 'Now don't worry about school fees. My family's more than well off, and my parents think the world of me, so if there's anything I want, even a star from the sky, they'd try to reach up for it and give it me. I'll never be short of money while I'm studying, so I'll provide your school fees. Don't worry, then, just make sure you study.' "38

This is not the place to argue the rights and wrongs of the political views which were held in Korea in the first decade of this century. I wish here simply to establish that one cannot find in the 1940 edition of *Tears of Blood* the essential points of the political views which were expressed in the 1907 edition. Some social criticism remains, particularly condemnation of the treatment of widows, early marriages, large families and the lack of education for women, but there is not a word of criticism of the class structure of Korea before 1910, and not a word of patriotism. One frequent minor alteration typifies the changed circumstances of the publication of 1940, the deletion or replacing of the word *nara* "country" referring to Korea. In 1940 Korea was "the peninsula", an underdeveloped, culturally inferior part of Japan, not a country, and its people were "the peninsula people", not citizens of a country. For Koreans to preach only a mild social reform, a naïve feminism, interlarded with phrases complimentary to Japan, in these circumstances was the diametrical opposite of the call to active patriotism which Yi Injik had made to his fellow countrymen in 1907.

It would not be unreasonable to view *Tears of Blood* as essentially a political pamphlet in story form and to argue from this that if we have two versions of the story, one with and one without the political message, the two are not the same work. However, the novel is a literary form, and we may therefore also compare the two editions from a purely literary point of view.

Tears of Blood is melodramatic in all editions, and the plot becomes less and less credible as it proceeds. However, the setting was realistic in 1907, and that realism is expressed in the 1907 edition largely in terms of practical political criticisms and proposals. Similarly the leading characters are not drawn with any outstanding artistry in any edition, but when the political message is propounded through them in the 1907 edition, they are at least reacting like living human beings to a real situation. So, when the political message is deleted from the 1940 edition, the setting loses the greater part of its realism, and, since it is the leading male characters who voice the political views in the 1907 edition, it is the leading male characters who are adversely affected in the 1940 edition.

In the 1907 edition, Mr. Kim's character is shown almost entirely in

his soliloquy about the injustices which were perpetrated in Korea, their results and his determination to do something about them, quoted above. When in the 1940 edition, he decides instead to go on a round-the-world tour because he cannot live without his wife and daughter, on the strength of a dream that he is a cuckoo, he is no longer a man but a puppet in the hands of "God". By the second alteration quoted above, Mr. Ch'oe changes from an admittedly prejudiced member of the ruling class, who would nevertheless at least argue a policy of patriotism, into a useless drunkard, and Maktong is transformed from a staunch, reliable servant with a clear view of what was wrong with Korean society into a stupidly cunning low-class figure of fun. The remaining leading male character in the story is Ku Wansŏ. It is true that in all editions he is there mainly as a *deus ex machina* to rescue Ongnyŏn at the moments of her direst plight, but in the 1907 edition he did this by being strong and clear-headed enough to persuade Ongnyŏn out of a mood of self-pity, and his ambition was to become the Bismark of the Far East. In the 1940 edition he becomes a spoilt child without any ambition, one is left to assume, other than the "wonderful aim"³⁹ of staying at home to mind the babies while Ongnyŏn is out every day, busy educating Korean women. Mr. Kim's character suffers further when he approves of this basis for his daughter's marriage, and one shudders to think what the next generation of Korean men will be like. The women, who voice no political views in any edition, are all left unscathed, and Ongnyŏn is the unchallenged heroine of the story.

Thus there is a loss of realism, a considerable difference in character portrayal and a major shift in the structure of the novel as a direct, though perhaps only incidental result of the deletion of the political message, but there are also purely stylistic variations. I shall quote here only the longer variations, not the more frequent alterations of phrase, word or suffix, but these longer variations are at least typical in that they start with the opening passage and are concentrated very much in the earlier part of the work:

1907

"With the noise of the guns of the Sino-Japanese War it seemed as if the whole of P'yŏngyang was taking flight. When the noise of the guns stopped, the place was deserted and there was only a

1940

"With the noise of the guns of the Sino-Japanese War it seemed as if the walled city of P'yŏngyang was taking flight. When the noise of the guns suddenly stopped, the place was deserted, except for the crows cawing as they flew into and out of the lonely empty hills as high as Peony Peak.

"Warriors, their heads cut off, lay across the hillside, and heroes, shot, tumbled into

³⁸ 1940: 247c (1955: 48a).

³⁹ 1940: 253b (1955: 62a).

bloody dust on the hills and fields.

"Outside the walls of P'yongyang, as the evening sun slipped below the horizon, its rays fell on Peony Peak. A lady stumbled along gasping for breath, as if with the vain effort to catch some of the sunlight for herself."⁴⁰

1907

"She felt that the fresh ghosts of the warm corpses of the war dead were all rising up, taking advantage of the darkness, and gathering in front of her. She was a lady who had grown up in domestic seclusion, and she felt so terrified that she seemed to be turning to jelly. She was sitting there, hardly daring to breathe, when she was startled to hear someone's voice from the foot of the slope. She listened quietly, and could make out that it was the voice of a man who had lost his way and lost someone and was struggling desperately.

"Curse this darkness! There's no path here, no path there. Which way can I go to find a path? I am a man, with strong legs, and brave, yet it's as terrible as this for me to spend this night on this hill track searching. But my wife's a fearful creature who's hardly been out of the house. What a terrible time she must be having looking for me this night!"

holes. A whirlwind whipped by. The bloody dust rose up, swirled in the air and was driven along in front of Kija's Tomb, a solitary thousand-year-old grave with trees standing erect around it. Then, as the wind died the dust settled, and only a memorial stone, white and much worn by wind and frost, stood erect.

"A lady stumbled along in the glare of the evening sun, along a hill spur so overgrown with grass that the path along it was lost."⁴¹

1940

"She began to feel frightened. She imagined that the corpses of the war dead were walking towards her and that the air above her head was full of ghosts. She was sitting there, hardly daring to breathe, when she heard someone's voice from the foot of the slope.

"Curse this darkness! There's no path here, no path there! And even if you could find a path, you can never find anyone you're looking for on a dark hillside on a black night. I don't know where my wife has gone, but I think she must be dead."

The voice could not be made out clearly, but the lady sitting on top of the slope was so paralysed with fear just then that she did

"When she heard this, the lady thought of how she and her husband had lost all trace of each other and got separated in the fighting, and thought that now, by the help of heaven, they had met each other again. She was so thankful that she shouted, 'Here I am! What a struggle you've had looking for me!', and made down for the bottom of the slope as quickly as she could."⁴²

not bother to listen carefully. She jumped to the conclusion that it must be her husband struggling as he went about looking for her, and she was so thankful that she shouted 'Here I am!', and made down for the bottom of the slope as quickly as she could."⁴³

1907

"Besides, his woman was a farm labourer's woman, used all her life to working hard with a hoe or a pestle or a clothes' paddle."⁴⁴

1940

"Now his woman's hands were used to holding the handle of a hoe when she went out into the fields, or a washing paddle when she went to the river bank, or a pestle when she came into the house, and they had callouses like barnacles."⁴⁵

1907

"She jumped down into the water. The water was the Taedong River and the person was the wife of Kim Kwanil."⁴⁶

1940

"She jumped down into the water and drifted down like a fallen flower in the flowing water."⁴⁷

1907

"As the day darkened, the empty house was filled with an inexpressible air of bleakness."⁴⁸

1940

"The empty house was filled with an air of bleakness, and only the singing of the crickets arose in the deserted kitchen."⁴⁹

⁴⁰ 1907: 1. Rather more of the opening passages are compared in 李人植研究, pp. 188-9.

⁴¹ 1940: 224a-b (1955: 5a-b).

⁴² 1907: 3-4.

⁴³ 1940: 225a-b (1955: 6b-7a).

⁴⁴ 1907: 4.

⁴⁵ 1940: 225b (1955: 7a-b).

⁴⁶ 1907: 20.

⁴⁷ 1940: 231a (1955: 17a).

⁴⁸ 1907: 26.

⁴⁹ 1940: 233a (1955: 21a).

1907

"Ongnyŏn was only a little girl, and while she was walking in the road she had had to take care that she was not knocked over in the sea of people and had had no thought for anything else. But when she sat up in the rickshaw, again she had nothing to do but think, '...' "50

1907

"Mr. Ku and Ongnyŏn did not know where to go when they went ashore and they had a long discussion.

"Ongnyŏn, can you speak English?"

"Not even a little?"

"Not one word even?"

"Well, we're in a fine mess then. We can't ask our way about!"

"Tall buildings of four or five storeys seemed to reach right up to the clouds in the sky. The way seething crowds of people were going in and out made it seem that many of the buildings were inns but since they could not speak the language, the young pair did not know what to do for the best."52

There seems little doubt that the 1940 variations like these are intended improvements of style. Were they made independently of the alterations of content described above, or are they all to be taken together as parts of one complete rewriting? In the absence of any direct evidence on the point, I am

1940

"In the rickshaw Ongnyŏn thought, '...' "51

1940

"Mr. Ku and Ongnyŏn went ashore and looked around. There were buildings of four or five storeys or six or seven storeys, which were as tall as if one could see Mount Fuji in Japan from the top of them. Buildings like this stretched to right and to left in rows. Were they royal palaces or ordinary people's homes? Which ones were inns and which ones were restaurants? They were entranced with looking at them and dizzy with thinking about them. They did not know where to go. The day gradually darkened, and the two of them were nearly dying of hunger.

"Ongnyŏn, don't you know even a little English?"

"Ongnyŏn did not reply.

"This is a fine mess. What do you think we should do?" "53

inclined to accept the latter alternative as the more likely on the face of it, and shall attempt to justify the choice.

The stylistic alterations affect most markedly the opening passages, and the opening of this first New Novel is essentially sensational. Although the title may not be as sensational as my translation of it might imply, a point which I take up later, it was certainly different from the stereotyped titles of the novels which had preceded it, and the story itself opens with the sensational appearance on the stage, as it were, amid the roar of guns, of a dishevelled lady. It goes dark. She bumps into a man. Each has thought that the other is their missing spouse, but she is a fine lady and he is a rough farm labourer. He is a creature of her nightmares and she is a creature of his dreams. Her mistaken happiness turns to terror as he threatens rape, there is a shot and the Japanese military police arrive on the scene.

If we compare the two opening passages set out above, we may certainly appreciate that the 1940 edition is more stylish, but its verbosity delays the lady's entrance without heightening the atmosphere of melodrama and it also loses the graphic description of the lady "gasping for breath, as if with the vain effort to catch some of the sunlight for herself". The whirlwind, Kija's Tomb, settling dust, a memorial stone, etc., do not compensate for this loss. Comparing the second passages quoted above, we find that the 1940 edition is admirably tidier and fairer to the reader, but this is just what it should not be. It may have seemed childish in 1940, but the reader of 1907 was expected to be swept along by melodramatic phrase after melodramatic phrase evoking the terrors of the dark night in the wilds to make the awful mistake with the lady. The reader of 1940 stands coolly among the settled dust by Kija's Tomb and detachedly watches her jumping to conclusions which he can see are false.

When the farm labourer decides that he will take this lady home anyway to take the place of the woman he has lost, in the 1907 edition he adds:

"But taking you home'll come later . . .

"I dreamt last night that I got married in these hills, and like magic the dream's come true."54

This is completely omitted in the 1940 edition.⁵⁵ In both editions the lady is then rescued by the Japanese military police, who, incidentally turn out to be honourable and kind, but the fate from which they saved her was far worse in 1907 than it was in 1940. What are we to make of this bowdlerization? The omission of the direct threat of rape only makes sense, I submit, as a part of the rewriting of this story for a completely different purpose and a completely different readership. The 1907 edition was written to shock all Koreans of the time, men and women, gentry and commoners,

⁵⁰ 1907: 38.

⁵¹ 1940: 237c (1955: 30a-b).

⁵² 1907: 66.

⁵³ 1940: 248a-b (1955: 49a-b).

⁵⁴ 1907: 6.

⁵⁵ 1940: 226a (1955: 8b), between *kal il irogu* and *hamyŏnsŏ*.

into doing something about the total degenerate state of their country. The 1940 edition trimmed its sails to the political winds of its time. The withdrawing of the venom of the political message resulted in the emasculation of the male characters and produced a story of a girl essentially for middle class women readers. The style was also altered to suit the changed theme and readership better, and the stylistic alterations extended to explaining to the more genteel readers where hoes, pestles and clothes' paddles were used, and to giving them pretty pictures of fallen flowers, crickets singing and buildings grown so high that one can see from them Mount Fuji. To state the differences simply: Mount Fuji dominated the Japanese Empire which dominated Korea in 1940; the need to preserve national independence dominated Korean thinking in 1907.

This view of the comparison of these texts which I have presented so far assumes that the 1940 edition is derived from the 1907 edition either directly or indirectly. In view of the relative dates, this would seem to be a reasonable assumption, but I shall show later that it is as well to prove such points if possible in comparing texts of this novel. To prove that the text as in the 1907 edition was derived from the text as in the 1940 edition or that the two were derived separately from a third text, one would have to produce examples where the text as in the 1940 edition showed clearly that the text as in the 1907 edition was corrupt. I have not been able to find a single such example. The only remaining possibility is that the text as in the 1940 edition is derived from the text as in the 1907 edition, and one can find examples which show that this possibility is an extreme probability.

The 1940 edition does not have the underscored parts of the following passages as in the 1907 edition:

pūn ūl ku hāyō chyl sarām ūn ōpsyōttōra. manil ōmdong han syōrhan e hāru tongan ūl maru e nuōssūmyōn, ōrō chylgōssūl t'ō ind, tahāeng i ilgūi ka tōun ttde ra.

"There was no-one to help her. If she had lain on the verandah for a whole day in the ice and snow of a bitter winter, she would probably have frozen to death, but fortunately the weather was warm at the time."⁵⁶

roin i kū p'ilch'yōk ūl pogo, nollāpko sūlp'ūn maūm ūl chinjyōng ch'i mot hayōttōra. kū roin ūn . . .

"When the old man saw the writing, he was taken back, and the sadness of his heart could not be soothed. The old man . . ."⁵⁷

⁵⁶ 1907: 15, 1940: 229b (1955: 14a-b).

⁵⁷ 1907: 23, 1940: 232a (1955: 19b).

handan mal ūn sok esyō syōsā ndōndān injyōng ira. kū nop'a ka kū injyōng i issūl man to hān sārām ira.

"She spoke as her feelings welled up within her. The old woman was one who had such feelings."⁵⁸

Apart from such cases, which all show obvious corruptions in the 1940 edition, and which could be multiplied almost endlessly, there are cases in which it has omitted a passage without obvious cause, but the result has been poorer sense. For instance, the 1940 edition ends one speech with *musūn mal i innūnji*, having omitted the continuation:

(ok) . . . *musūn mal i innūnji, u'de urūsindānji, chase i poara. ōsyō, ōsyō!*
(syōl) *assi, ho'oe e musūn il i issūnnikka? assi kesyō ta posyōssūmyōn, chom pogāessūnnida.*

"Read it carefully", said Ongnyōn, 'to see what it says and why she is crying. Come on! Come on!'

"What is in the 'extra', mistress?" asked Yukiko. If you've finished with it, I'll have a look."⁵⁹

The omission leaves the first indirect question *musūn mal i innūnji* "what it says and" as the end of the spoken sentence, where one is forced to take it as a direct question, giving simply "What does it say?" instead of the whole translation above.

Again such examples are frequent, but they are often matters of such trivial detail that it would be tedious to present more of them here. The most trivial of them, from a literary point of view, arise from the fact that the spelling is completely revised in the 1940 edition. The 1907 edition is in the haphazard spelling which was the usage of the time, whereas the 1940 edition follows the Scheme for Unity in Korean Spelling as it stood in the late 1930's. (The 1955 edition brings this up to date in some, though not all respects.) Since the language also changed in other respects than its spelling between 1907 and 1940, modernizing the spelling can involve questions of interpretation, such as whether one should attempt to distinguish, as the modern spelling does, but the older spelling did not, between *choch'a* spelt *cho-ch'a*, *choch'a* spelt *choch'-a*, and *tchoch'a*, or whether there was any distinction of meaning between *ero* and *ūro* in 1907. Total consideration of the treatment of such points in the 1940 edition, which is far from consistent, fills in the picture of the 1940 edition as a complete rewriting of the 1907 edition, and there remains then an important question of literary history to be asked: is the 1940 edition the story as rewritten by the author of the 1907 edition, or is some later editor responsible for it?

The 1940 edition gives no indication of the source for its text or of who

⁵⁸ 1907: 30-31, 1940: 235a (1955: 24b).

⁵⁹ 1907: 43 (slightly amended on the evidence of 1906: 24, issue 54, 28th August), 1940: 240a (1955: 34a).

edited it. The title and author are given: 血斗淚 菊初 李人植 as if it had been specially written by Yi Injik for that issue of the magazine. If one did not have other sources of information, it would be impossible to realize that he had been dead for 24 years.⁶⁰ Enquiries made in 1962 of some who had been connected with *Munjang* in 1940 produced no further information at all, and Chŏn Kwangyong also states⁶¹ that the source of the text is not clear. He does not reject completely the possibility that it could be the revised edition which, he reports,⁶² Yi Injik stated that he had made by 1913. It is not clear to me from his quotation of this statement whether any version of *Tears of Blood* was ever actually published under the title *Peony Peak, Volume One*, whether any version of it under any title was actually published by the Tongyang Bookshop, or exactly what was the title, publisher and date of the revised version referred to, if, indeed, it was ever published at all. One must hope that some documentary evidence will one day come to light to provide answers to all the questions about this work which are still open. Meanwhile we have nothing to rely on but our own judgement in deciding when the later version was made and by whom.

In view of the differences which can be seen between the 1907 and 1940 editions, it is difficult to believe that they could both be by the same author within ten years at the most, but when one examines one's difficulties in detail, the arguments for a separate authorship of the 1940 variants turn out to be extraordinarily difficult to maintain. The corruptions such as those quoted above, for instance, do not prove anything, since, as I show below, the 1907 edition, which was clearly authorized by Yi Injik, has at least as many accidental corruptions as does the 1940 edition. Similarly the argument that the 1940 edition fails to correct any of the corruptions in the 1907 edition is weakened by the apparent failure, which I describe below, of the 1907 edition to make a satisfactory correction of the text as printed in 1906. For instance, where the 1907 edition has *morae-t'om*, which comparison with the 1906 version shows to be a misprint for *morae-t'op* "sandbank", but which the 1940 edition "corrects" to *morae-t'um* "sandy space" (?),⁶³ one feels morally sure that this correction was not the work of the original author, but it is, after all, very similar to the case of Ongnyŏn's having no travelling expenses to enable her to stay still, which I deal with below in comparing the 1906 and 1907 versions. One small example does convince me that I can see a hand other than Yi Injik's at work, the example of *che chip* in the 1940 edition for *samp'an* in the 1907 edition. It has been my experience that modern Koreans, even those whom I respect enough to quote as authorities here, do not recognize the word *samp'an*, and

since it happens that *samp'an* is a part of my own English vocabulary, I feel that in this particular case I may be a little nearer to Yi Injik, who used the word in 1907 (and 1906), than a Korean editor of 1940 might have been. Therefore I feel fairly confident when I suggest that it was an editor of about 1940 and not Yi Injik who altered *samp'an* "the sampans" to *che chip* "their houses" in this passage:

"... as the passengers who were to disembark at Osaka all collected their baggage and went down into the sampans."⁶⁴

This, however, accounts for only one word out of the two thousand which, at a rough estimate, differ in the two editions, and even if one adds to it every single example which could possibly be used within the methodology of textual criticism as an indication that the 1940 edition has been revised by someone other than the original author, one is still left with the problem that the great bulk of the variations show not minor differences of detail but material differences of content and style. I have already given my view of these variations, that the 1907 edition and the 1940 edition each as a whole fits neatly into its own age, that the two differ just as their ages differ. The difficulty in answering the question whether Yi Injik wrote both is that the dividing line between the two ages comes somewhere around 1910 and Yi Injik did not die until 1916. In those six years Yi Injik took a post at the government college,⁶⁵ and, although he may have done so from the best of motives, this does seem to be an indication that he had abandoned the ideal of full independence for Korea and so could well have re-written those parts of his first novel which called for the realization of that ideal. Similarly, *Tears of Blood* stood alone as the pioneer New Novel in 1906 and 1907, but by the time Yi Injik died, he and other writers like 金敦濟 Kim Kyoje, 李海朝 Yi Haejo and 崔瓊植 Ch'oe Ch'ansik had brought the New Novel (as opposed to both the 古代小說 Traditional Novel and the 現代小說 Modern Novel) to its maturity, and so one cannot be sure that Yi Injik could not have made the stylistic changes himself.

Certainly a unity of authorship would explain why the 1940 edition has been so widely accepted in Korea as an integral work of the first decade of this century, but it is not the only possible explanation. We must, I think, give due consideration to the very great differences which are apparent between the 1907 and 1940 editions in those passages where the two differ in content and style, and recognize that this has never been documented by any Korean critic or literary historian. The first close study of *Tears of Blood* is that by Kim Hamyŏng in 1950,⁶⁶ which does not seem to mention the

⁶⁴ 1940: 237a (1955: 29a), 1907: 36.

⁶⁵ 李人植研究, p. 166.

⁶⁶ 金河明: 新小説斗血の涙と李人植. I have seen only an offprint of this inscribed (檀紀 4283 年 5 號月) 文學 [白民歌] 二十二輯, see 李人植研究, p. 162. For Chŏng Hanmo's comments on the texts see 1955: 247a, and for Chŏn Kwangyong's see 李人植研究, pp. 188-90.

⁶⁰ 李人植研究, p. 168.

⁶¹ 李人植研究, p. 190.

⁶² 李人植研究, p. 201.

⁶³ 1907: 21, 1906: 11, issue 34, 4th August, 1940: 231b (1955: 18a).

1940 edition, Chŏng Hanmo specifically states that he did not have time in preparing the 1955 edition, presumably for college use, to make any detailed examination of the textual problems, and Chŏn Kwangyong in 1956 and 1957 used mainly the 1907 edition, comparing only the opening passage with the 1940 edition.

I shall therefore conclude this section by avoiding the question of who is responsible for the 1940 edition, and suggesting that it is important that we should simply know that there are the two versions of this story, which, I maintain, are two different works of literature in intent and in style. I wish to postpone discussion of the implications of this until I have introduced one more edition of this novel, which introduces its own peculiar complications into the situation, but at this point we can at least see that it has been unfortunate that the edition of *Tears of Blood* which has been most widely available throughout almost the whole period in which Korean literature has been studied has presented a picture of this novel as one which modern Koreans could not read with pride or pleasure.

A Pirate Edition of the 1907 Edition

The 1940 edition was not, however, the only version of this novel which was generally available in the crucial period for the development of Korean literary studies between 1945 and 1955. Chŏng Hanmo states⁶⁷ that he had bought, but not made use of for the 1955 edition, an *iyagi ch'aek* ("story book"), an unauthorized publication of a novel, cheap, usually poorly produced and with rather gaudy illustrations on the front cover, which he describes as having the title 雲中秋月色 *Unjung Ch'uwolsaek*. By 1963 he had no recollection of this text at all, but from his description of it in the 1955 edition it appears to be the same as three texts which I have seen since reading the 1907 edition. One, owned by Chŏn Kwangyong, has the titles 雪中梅 *Sŏlchungmae* and *Ch'uwolsaek*,⁶⁸ another, in the British Museum, has the title 千里遠情 *Ch'ŏlli Wŏnjŏng*, and the third, which I have myself, has the title 秋月色 *Ch'uwolsaek*. The latter two were bought in Korea in 1962 and 1963, and Professor Chŏn thinks that his copy dates from after 1945. None gives any useful information on its publication. The text is identical in all three, 61 pages of almost unbroken print in the old haphazard spelling, and I shall refer to all three collectively as "the pirate edition" (or more briefly "pirate" in the references). It is the text of *Tears of Blood* as in the 1907 edition, but badly misprinted, and with an ending of incredible banality and uselessness added. In the 1907 edition (the others differ little here) the story ends rather abruptly in 1902 with Mrs. Kim in P'yŏngyang receiving a letter from Ongnyŏn in Washington, where she

⁶⁷ 1955: 247a.

⁶⁸ 李人龍研究, p. 190.

has been found by her father. The pirate edition, omitting the promise of a second volume, as well as the preceding sentence giving the date, adds:

"After that, when Ongnyŏn's father thanked Ku Wansŏ for having saved Ongnyŏn, taken pity on her and sent her to school, Ku Wansŏ said,

"Not at all. We met by chance on our travels and have been good friends since, that is all, and I cannot tell you how happy I feel at seeing you and your daughter united like this."

"In the past", replied Mr. Kim, "through our ignorance we suffered pain in our hearts and shed tears of blood, but it is to be hoped that we who have suffered hardship by having come abroad, and who have breathed the fresh air of education will return home and become citizens of a civilized country."

"After that Mr. Kim finished at the College of Politics in Washington, Mr. Ku graduated in law, and Ongnyŏn completed the economics course. They all returned home. Mr. and Mrs. Kim's happiness at embracing and being embraced by Ongnyŏn was so uncontrollable that they wept bitterly, and then this bitter weeping turned to happiness and they thought again of what they had been through long ago on Peony Peak.

"It was then late spring and the flowers in bloom were glorious to look at and really had to be seen. A heartless wind shook the flowering branches. The falling flowers were butterflies and the butterflies fluttered away like falling flowers. They were strewn like silver on Peony Peak.

"At this time Ongnyŏn and Ku Wansŏ had a new style wedding and lived happily ever after."⁶⁹

It would seem impossible in view of the content of this ending to attribute it to Yi Injik, and also unfair to do so in view of the style. It is unlikely that we shall ever know who did write it. Otherwise there are no additions in this pirate version to the text as in the 1907 edition, not a single word to suggest that it was derived from anything but the 1907 edition. This does not, however, preclude the possibility that it was derived through other similar editions.

Both the story and the political message might well come across clearly enough to the Korean reader, who could probably cope with the misprints much more easily than I did. However, the number of misprints and corruptions is enormous, something like ten to a page, affecting more than three per cent of the text, and any translator who tried to be at all careful in his work might well regard the work as untranslatable. He would be faced with puzzles such as *nŏl e pyŏl*, apparently "stars of day", but actually a

⁶⁹ Pirate: 60-61. The whole of this is quoted in 李人龍研究, p. 190.

misprint for *hāndl e pyōl* "stars of heaven",⁷⁰ with absurdities such as Mr. Kim's question to his daughter *ne ka ōttōk'e nassūmyōn, ōtchi yōgi rūl wannanya?*, possibly "How were you born and how did you come here?", but in fact a corruption of "How did you survive (*nassūmyōn* for *sara-nāssūmyō*) and how did you come here?"⁷¹ or with illogicalities such as *ongnyōni ka syosyuch'yō nolla, ōllūn taedap ūl mot hani, sunsa nan tōuk ūsim ōpsi . . .* "When Ongnyōn jumped and was too taken aback to answer quickly, the policeman, even more unsuspecting . . ."⁷² In this last case the copyist's eye has jumped from one *ūsim* to another. The 1907 edition reads:

[. . . *taedap ūl mot hāni, syun'gūm i tōuk*] *ūsim i nasyō, ap'e wa syōsō mal ūl munnānda. ongyōni ka taedap hāl mal i ōpsyōsyō, ōkchiro kkumyō taedap hadoe, kwōn'gongjang e muōs ūl sarō nāwattaga, chip ūl il'k'o, ch'ajyō tāninda hāni, syun'gūm i tasi* [*ūsim ōpsi . . .*]

"[. . . to answer quickly, the policeman] became [even more] suspicious. He came up to her and questioned her. Ongnyōn, forced to make up some reply, said that she had gone out to the market to buy something and had got lost and was trying to find her way home. The policeman, now [unsuspecting . . .]"⁷³

Since we have the 1907 edition and can show that this pirate edition is nothing but a corrupt version of that, no-one will attempt to translate or produce a Korean edition of *Tears of Blood* from it. I shall not, therefore, detail all its faults here, but I should like to point out the dangers of such editions to translators and to suggest that its existence has some significance in the story of the study of *Tears of Blood*. This part of that story may also have implications for other studies of the history of the novel in Korean.

The significance of the existence of this text for the study of *Tears of Blood* lies in the fact that the only texts of this novel which were generally available between 1945 and 1955 were the 1940 edition and the pirate edition. These were, at any rate, the only texts available to Chōng Hanmo when he came to prepare the 1955 edition. He chose to present the 1940 edition, and we can now say that it was unfortunate that he gave that edition wider circulation, but could we have said so at the time? Let us consider the probable results of a comparison of the two texts as the only two available.

In the first place, all the variations of content which were given above as between the 1907 and 1940 editions would be found as variations between the pirate and 1940 editions. The versions as in the 1907 and pirate editions would, in these hypothetical circumstances, come from the text of later date, and, since these are as much subject to accidental corruption as is

the pirate text as a whole, they would sometimes not make sense. These variations would be fairly large in total quantity, perhaps about eight per cent of the whole work, but would be concentrated almost entirely in the three long passages quoted above, and there would also be a fourth long variation, the added ending in the pirate edition quoted above. One would also find the stylistic variations such as were quoted above as between the 1907 and 1940 editions, but again with the 1907 pirate versions in the later text and subject to accidental corruption. The choice between the two versions in all these cases would be a hard one. In particular it would be almost inconceivable that one could conclude that the ending in the pirate edition was spurious but the passage about Ku Wanso's and Ongnyōn's ambitions genuine. The decision in these cases would almost inevitably be influenced by the general nature of the two texts. Since the remaining nine tenths of the texts would show something like five hundred corruptions in the pirate edition as against perhaps twenty-five in the 1940 edition,⁷⁴ a rigorous application of the principles of textual criticism would indicate that the two were separately derived from a third text, but there would be little doubt which was the more reliable of the two. The situation is in fact only marginally different from that which obtains when one is comparing the 1907 and 1940 editions, but, whereas the conclusions one draws from comparing those editions are shown to be almost totally correct when one subsequently discovers the 1906 version, the conclusions one might well draw from comparing the 1940 and pirate editions would be shown to be substantially incorrect if one subsequently discovered the 1907 edition. There is, in my view, a very real danger that textual criticism would not ensure a correct assessment of the relative values of two such texts as these, one so corrupted accidentally that one can place little reliance upon it, and another rewritten in such a way that one is deceived into accepting it as genuine.

If such false conclusions could be drawn from a careful textual criticism, or if one felt that the effort called for in such detailed examination of the texts was out of proportion to the results which might be obtained by the effort, then the only course open would be to limit one's conclusions strictly to those which could be justified by the nature of the materials and the scope of one's study of the materials. This at least would seem to be the lesson of this hypothetical exercise in the case of *Tears of Blood*. In 1955 one could have said that there had been a report of this novel having been published in 1906 and 1907, which seemed to be reliable and which quoted the opening passage of the 1906 version (this is given below in the comparison of the 1906 and 1907 versions), but which could not be con-

⁷⁰ Pirate: 4, 1907: 5.

⁷¹ Pirate: 54, 1907: 83.

⁷² Pirate: 34.

⁷³ 1907: 50.

⁷⁴ As examples of the latter: *pon kōt kach'i ani hago*, pirate: 54 (confirmed by 1907: 83), *pon kōt kach'i*, 1940: 254c (amended to *pon kōs i* in 1955: 61a); *ch'yōryang han* and *kū moch'in*, pirate: 60 (confirmed by 1907: 93), *ch'ōgu han* and *ryang moch'in*, 1940: 257c (same 1955: 66b, 67a).

firmed because the whereabouts of the text used was not known. The only two texts available, one would have to state, dated one from 1940 and one from probably later than 1945, the two differed materially in content, though not in plot, and neither had the opening passage as quoted from the 1906 version. The conclusion would therefore be that one could be reasonably sure of the story of 1906, but that one had no means of knowing what was the nature of the novel of 1906 as a work of literature.

This novel was probably the first to be written in Korean with serious literary intent and the first to be published under its author's name with the copyright specifically reserved. Twenty-five years after its first publication it seems to have disappeared into oblivion.⁷⁵ After thirty-five years it had reappeared, altered almost beyond recognition. After forty years it had appeared again, under different titles and so mangled that it was not recognized. In this case we have been fortunate in that one diligent scholar gave us its correct date forty-four years after it was first published, in that another diligent scholar took the trouble to find one copy of one of the authorized publications six years later, and in that eventually, nearly sixty years after it had first been published a copy of its very first publication came to light again. In other cases the circumstances are such that the prospects of such good fortune seem remote.

Let us take, for example, another novel in Korean which is said to occupy a key position in Korean literary history. 洪吉童傳 *The Story of Hong Kiltong* is invariably described as the first novel in Korean on the basis of a report (or reports of a report) that 許筠 Hō Kyun (1569-1618) wrote a work of this title, and upon this foundation is erected the whole edifice of the history of the novel in Korean.⁷⁶ Even if we allow that the report is accurate and that we do have an accurate picture of the subsequent history of the novel in Korean in terms of titles and dates, we shall need to begin our study of the novel in Korean as a literary form by investigating this significant novel as carefully as possible. When we attempt this, it comes as something of a shock to learn that the earliest dated version of the story which we have is in English, by H. N. Allen in 1889. There does not seem to be any published evidence of any earlier date for any of the texts in Korean than is indicated by the fact that the British Museum purchased a Seoul block print (京板) of it in that very year 1889.

⁷⁵ See, for instance, 金台俊: 朝鮮小説史, 學藝社, Keijō, 1939, on Yi Injik's works, pp. 241-5. 金河明: 新小説斗..., p. 190, quotes substantially the same from its first publication in November 1930-February 1931, and similarly vague or inaccurate descriptions from other works which are not available to me.

⁷⁶ Peter H. Lee: *Korean Literature: Topics and Themes* (The Association for Asian Studies: Monographs and Papers, No. XVI), University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1965, pp. 71-9, is a short summary in English of the subject as covered in the standard Korean literary histories, and the footnotes give information, or references leading to information, which enables the accuracy of the account in the text to be checked.

There may be no parallel at all between the cases of *Tears of Blood* and *The Story of Hong Kiltong*, but it would seem to be unwise, on the face of it, to assume that texts of the late nineteenth century and later preserve a novel of about 1600 more faithfully than texts of 1940 and later preserve a novel of 1906. Again, even if we refuse to accept the late texts of *The Story of Hong Kiltong* as texts of a novel of about 1600, this case may be unique in the contrast which it affords between the generally accepted view of it and the actual materials which we have for checking the accuracy of that view, but the investigations which have been published of the texts of three or four other traditional style novels in Korean⁷⁷ would seem to indicate that such a situation is the rule rather than the exception, and for the remaining hundreds of such novels we do not even have yet any means of knowing how accurate is our knowledge of them.

Thus a study of the texts of *Tears of Blood* may perhaps serve as an example of a very serious general problem in Korean literary studies, in that *Tears of Blood* has now figured in the literary histories for about thirty-five years, the last fifteen of which have been spent rewriting what was written in the first twenty,⁷⁸ and in that the reason for this can be found in the state of the texts over the sixty years since the novel was first published. Earlier Korean literary scholarship grew out of a tradition of literary appreciation which had little in common with literary scholarship as practised in Korea today. The first literary scholars may, by genius, intuition or sheer good luck, have got right all the important facts of Korean literary history, but they do not show us convincing proof that they did. Certainly they had a warmth of feeling for their subject, against which it seems presumptuous to set a cold assessment of a text or two, and a breadth and depth of experience which no westerner can ever hope to match, but contemporary literary scholars in Korea are demonstrating that serious inaccuracies of historical fact could be tolerated within the older tradition, which they feel they cannot tolerate today.

In the west the study of Korean literature is in its infancy and we must rely very heavily on Korean work on the subject. In my own case it is fair that I should acknowledge that the little I know of Korean literature is owed almost entirely to the publications of, and the remarkably generous personal guidance which has been given me by Korean scholars, but it

⁷⁷ For example: 金東旭, 李秉岐: 閑中錄, 民衆書館, Seoul, 1961, preface on the texts by 金用淑; 丁奎福: 九雲夢異本攷 (亞細亞研究 8, December 1961, pp. 1-49, and 9, May 1962, pp. 133-59); 梁在淵: 金太子傳評說 (國語國文學 25, June 1962, pp. 175-92); 金東旭: 香齋傳研究, 延世大學校出版部, Seoul, 1965, passim, but especially pp. 69-210 (reprints articles of 1955-1960) and 379-402 (reprints article of 1960).

⁷⁸ 金河明: 新小説斗..., 1950, is almost entirely devoted to correcting misinformation previously given on the subject (see also note 75, above). The same ground is also covered in 李人植研究, pp. 160-3, etc.

would not be fair to anyone if I were to pass on Korean views which Koreans have shown to be wrong. There are too few Koreans now working on materials which are vast in quantity and most intractable in nature for us to be certain of anything in this subject yet except that a great deal of rather dull basic scholarly work still needs to be done before we can usefully undertake the sort of appreciation of Korean literature which many of us in the west would like to undertake immediately.

The 1906 Version and the 1907 Edition

If we feel a sense of frustration in this situation, we may find some relief by recalling that painstaking criticism of unsatisfactory texts may not in every case be the only way to solve problems of Korean literary history. In this case, in my own studies of *Tears of Blood*, an acquaintanceship with Professor Chŏn had led me directly and effortlessly in 1962 to the 1907 edition, and then, in 1963, in the course of a casual conversation with Professor E. W. Wagner, I learned of the existence in the library of the Harvard-Yenching Institute at Cambridge of a microfilm of a file of the newspaper 萬歲報 *Mansebo*, and so was able to read the complete serialized version of this novel which had hitherto been known only from Kim Ham-yŏng's very bare description of it. I have not been able to trace back the history of the file which was microfilmed, but I have no reason at all to doubt its authenticity. There have been far more remarkable cases of long lost documents turning up to solve problems of Korean scholarship, and perhaps in time all our problems will be solved in this more pleasant and exciting way.

Tears of Blood is serialized in *Mansebo* in 53 instalments. These are numbered only to 50, because there are two instalments numbered 32, two numbered 36 and two numbered 44, all apparently by mistake. The first instalment is in issue 23, 22nd July 1906, and the last is in issue 88, 10th October 1906. The instalments always appear on the front page, immediately below the main news items of the day. The following issues carry no instalment and no explanation of or apology for the omission: 33 (3rd August), 35 (5th August), 41-43 (12th-15th August), 49-50 (22nd-23rd August), 53 (26th August), 56 (30th August), 61 (5th September), 65 (11th September), 76 (25th September) and 79 (28th September). The newspaper itself did not appear on Mondays (July 23rd and eleven more), nor on September 6th and 14th and October 3rd.

The first instalment is prefaced by the title 小說血의淚 *Tears of Blood: A Novel*, and each instalment except the first is also prefaced by a reading for the title: *sosŏl hyŏl ŭi nu*, and by the author's pen-name: 菊初 Kukch'o. One can find confirmation elsewhere in the paper that this was the pen-name of Yi Injik and that he was the editor of the paper. There is also an advertisement on 29th March 1907 for the first publication of the

book version referred to above as the 1907 edition, and a further advertisement on 3rd April 1907 which specifically states that this novel is written on the model of western novels, confirming that this is a New Novel in a technical sense, not simply a new novel, one which has just been written. These advertisements also confirm that the 1907 edition was published with the author's consent, in spite of the fact that it gives his pen-name wrongly, since he was the editor of the paper in which the advertisements appeared.

The proprietor of the paper is given as 吳世昌 O Sech'ang, who was subsequently to be one of the signatories of the Declaration of Independence in 1919 and who died a national hero in 1953. The paper is very clearly progressive and nationalist in tone, and expresses the views of the main stream of the 天道教 Ch'ŏndo-gyo. These facts about this newspaper, which have already been made known by Kim Ham-yŏng in connexion with *Tears of Blood*,⁷⁹ sharpen the point which I made above, that however Japanophile *Tears of Blood* might be, its message, in 1906-7, was patriotic: that Japan had many lessons to teach Korea, but these lessons were all part of an education for Korean national strength and independence. One might also add that its very patriotism may have caused its suppression under the Japanese occupation and so led to its being so little known even after the liberation.

In all the later editions of this novel which I have described the text is printed entirely in Korean, with only occasional explanatory uses of Chinese characters in brackets (about twenty times in most, but the 1955 edition adds many more), but in this 1906 publication the style of printing is different. The main columns of text are printed in mixed script (國漢文), with Korean readings given to the right of each Chinese character. This style of printing is inconvenient in that it is often difficult, at least in the microfilm copy, to decipher the tiny "ruby" print at the sides of the characters, but there is a compensating advantage that the characters can help to clarify the meaning. This is seldom critical from a literary point of view, but it is at least convenient for the translator into English in the case of the Japanese proper names which occur in the text. The better known ones present little difficulty even if one is working from a text completely in Korean spelling, for instance *taep'an* for 大阪 Osaka, but the less well known place names can be more difficult, for instance *chamok* for 茨木 Ibaragi, and the personal names can only be given Japanese form from the *han'gŭl* by guesswork, however reasonable the guesses might appear to be.

There is one even more unusual feature of this style of printing, and that is that the readings given to the characters are not always their regular Sino-Korean readings. For instance, in the first instalment *han* is given as a reading for 一, *na* for 年 and *kaül* for 秋, while thirty other characters

⁷⁹ 金河明: 新小説 ..., p. 194.

are given their regular Sino-Korean readings. Such unusual readings in the passages in which the story is set in Japan make an interesting, if rather esoteric study in that the characters can show the word which was used in Japanese and the readings the word which was used in Korean, for instance 奥様, Japanese *okusama*, read *assi*, both meaning "mistress",⁸⁰ and 玄關, Japanese *genkan*, modern Korean *hyōn'gwan*, "hall, porch (of a Japanese style house)", read *mun-kan-pang* "room at the door (of a Korean style house)".⁸¹ One of the most intriguing of these is 芝居, Japanese *shibai*, read *hyōmyulsā*, for "theatre".⁸²

At first sight this peculiar form of the 1906 text seems to contradict the generally held opinion that *Tears of Blood* was an 諺文小說, a novel written in a spelling all could read, but the Korean reading is to be taken as the text. This was laid down in the preface to the earlier untitled short story,⁸³ which Kim Hamyōng attributes, very reasonably, to Yi Injik:⁸⁴ "This story is to be read according to the Korean spelling, not with the pronunciation of *hanmun*". It is probable that the editor had in mind modelling a new style of printing Korean on the style in use then, as now, in Japan, and this may show up in a slightly different light the commonly stated opinion that Yi Injik was a pioneer for the principle of 言文一致. This is now taken to be the principle of using in literary works the everyday language of the majority of people instead of the language of the court or of the *hanmun* (漢文) writings of the old literati.⁸⁵ This is certainly true in general of Yi Injik's practice in this novel, as may be seen by comparing it with any of the traditional style novels, which, though entirely written in the Korean alphabet, are so heavily larded with Sino-Korean expressions as often to be barely comprehensible. However, there was no tradition of writing within the framework of the spoken language only, and today one's eyes boggle at the *hanmun*-like quality even of the pioneer study of Korean speech published in 1908.⁸⁶ It is possible that a reader's eyes might have boggled just as much at that time at any novel written entirely within the spoken language and that the style of printing used here is an attempt to gain the advantages of using the vocabulary of the common Korean language without losing the advantages which a heavy use of Chinese characters obviously gave in writing.

There is just one more point to be discussed before we pass on to the actual text of this earliest known edition of *Tears of Blood*, and that is the title. This question has been discussed by both Kim Hamyōng and Chōn

⁸⁰ 1906: 23, issue 52, 25th August.

⁸¹ 1906: 22, issue 51, 24th August.

⁸² 1906: 23, issue 52, 25th August.

⁸³ *Mansebo*, issue 6, 3rd July 1906, front page.

⁸⁴ 金河明: 新小説斗... p. 188.

⁸⁵ 國文學全史, p. 253.

⁸⁶ Reprinted in 周時經: 朝鮮語文法, 正音社, Seoul, 1946.

Kwangyong.⁸⁷ The former concluded that the title was 血의淚, for which he did not give any reading in his article, and that 血淚, a form in which it was given in several literary histories, was a Koreanization of the title by 崔南善 Ch'oe Namsōn, who must have noticed that 血의淚 "had a smell of Japanese grammar". Professor Chōn wonders whether Kim Hamyōng would have come to the same conclusion if he had seen the 1907 edition, which gives the title as 血淚 both on the cover and on p. 1. However, I think Kim Hamyōng was right, and, again because I am most fortunate in my acquaintances, I can even produce a piece of evidence to support him. 血의淚 should be read, according to the rules of modern Korean, as it is read in the 1906 edition, *hyōl ūi nu* (or, representing the pronunciation, *hyōrenu*) except that neither 血 *hyōl* nor 淚 *nu* exist as independent words in modern Korean. It seems in fact to present something of a dilemma to Koreans of my acquaintance, who fall by and large into two groups, those who ask me how to read it and those who read it *hyōl ūi ru* (*hyōreru*), which is another version of the title on the cover of the 1907 edition. In Korean, 血淚 *hyōllu* has a respectable history, going back, according to the standard reference books, to 白居易 Po Chū-i, and *p'inunmul* seems to be its accepted translation. *p'i ūi nunmul* apparently sounds even more strange to a Korean than *hyōl ūi nu* or *hyōl ūi ru*. In Japanese, on the other hand, which also has 血淚 *ketsurui* from Po Chū-i, the translation is 血の涙 *chi no namida*, not *chinamida*. Thus the use of the particle does suggest that 血의淚 may have been a simple transposition of the Japanese 血の涙. I tried very early in my study of this Korean novel to discover whether there had ever been a Japanese novel of that title, but none appeared to be generally known. However, I had asked a number of authorities on the subject, including Dr. Donald Keene, who fortunately has a good memory and even more fortunately happened in the summer of 1966 to come across a copy of a work of this title in the most unlikely circumstances. This he bought, and very kindly sent to me. The novel is by 材井弦齋 Murai Gensai (1863-1927, one year junior in age to Yi Injik), a writer who was extremely popular in his day but has never been highly rated by the critics. The book was published in January 1896, and the preface states that it had been serialized in 報知新聞 *Hōchi Simbun* in the previous year. Yi Injik's *Tears of Blood* appears to owe no more to this novel in particular than it does to novels of this period in Japan in general as far as its message, plot or particular descriptions are concerned, but Murai's *Tears of Blood* is the story of a girl whose father killed himself while he was serving as a soldier in the Sino-Japanese War of 1894 and it appears to be concerned with the meaning of patriotism to the Japanese of the time. There can be little doubt then that Yi Injik did take his title from Japanese.

⁸⁷ 金河明: 新小説斗... p. 196, 李人植研究, p. 199.

As to the translation of the title, I have simply translated it as literally as I can. *Hyöllu* and *p'inunmul*, however, mean little more than "bitter tears, tears of great unhappiness" and do not seem to have the dramatic, sensational quality which a literal translation of the metaphor into English produces. The dissonant form of the title, probably used deliberately to signal the arrival of the New Novel, may perhaps justify over-translating it, but one wonders whether the contents then live up to the title. In the 1940 version one reads of little but the unhappiness of several widowed or orphaned females. The 1906 and 1907 versions do tell far more graphically of the terrible effects of the war of 1894, and they do include the passage quoted above: "... those who died ... have shed streams of blood which have flowed into the Taedong River ... the screaming of the rapids ... is it not the P'yöngyang people's voice of lamentation and sorrow?". Yet the editor of the pirate edition seems to have thought it necessary to force a translation of the title into the ending which he added.

If we now compare the texts of the 1906 and 1907 editions, we find first that, apart from the peculiar style of printing in the 1906 edition, there is a great deal of variation in Korean spelling between the two texts, about as much between the two texts as within each text, and that a number of minor or obvious misprints are either made or corrected in the 1907 edition. There are also several omissions of words or phrases in the 1907 edition, such as the underscored words in the following passages:

*körümgori nân hōdongjidong hānāndae, tchokchin mōri nân hūllō ndery-
ōsyō tūng e chilmōjigo, os ūn hūllō nāryōsyō, chōtkasūm i ta tūrōnago,
ch'ima-charāk ūn tta he chijil kkōllyōsyō ...*

"As she hurried along, her bound up hair worked loose and fell down her back, her clothes worked down so that her breasts were exposed and her skirt dragged along the ground ..."⁸⁸

... *ōmi ka chasik purūndn sori, chāsik i ōmi purūndn sori, syōbang i kyejip purūndn sori, kyejip i syōbang purūndn sori ...*

"... the sound of mothers calling children, the sound of children calling mothers, the sound of husbands calling wives, the sound of wives calling husbands ..."⁸⁹

... *kyōngtoang ōpko, simsan hāgo, ch'ōryang hān maūm ...*

"... her bleak, distracted, desolate mind ..."⁹⁰

⁸⁸ 1906: 1, issue 23, 22nd July, 1907: 1.

⁸⁹ 1906: 5, issue 27, 27th July, 1907: 10.

⁹⁰ 1906: 9, issue 31, 1st August, 1907: 18.

These examples will be sufficient to indicate the nature and frequency of such corruptions of the text, but there is one major omission which requires special mention, the omission from the 1907 edition of the whole of instalment 47 of the 1906 text. If one reads only the 1907 book edition (the other later editions also do not differ materially here), the only actual difficulty caused by the omission is the interpretation of one word, *mach'am* which was the first word of instalment 48 in the 1906 text. The book version runs:

"While Ongnyōn and her father and Mr. Ku made such a happy group sitting in an hotel in Washington ... within the North Gate of the walled city of P'yōngyang in Korea ... there was a lady living without a husband, without children and without means ... If she [her daughter] had died before her very eyes, she would have felt no sorrow, but she did not know where she had died, and that was her sorrow.

"[*mach'am*] a crow settled on the roof ..."⁹¹

Mach'am makes poor sense here, and one is forced to mistranslate it as, perhaps, "one day, at about that time", but one would hardly suspect such a major corruption because of such a minor difficulty, and when I actually had to deal with the situation I preferred to think that the dictionaries and Koreans whom I asked had failed me in not explaining this use of *mach'am*. However, it was after all just another case in which I should not have placed too much reliance on a text. The 1906 text, though divided into instalments in such a way that this corruption could produce this result, in fact runs as a single unit over several instalments here:

"... she did not know where she had died, and that was her sorrow.

[47] "She had folded up carefully one garment which her daughter had worn, put it in a hand-box which her daughter had had to play with, and written on the box in her own hand 'This is the casket of Ongnyōn'. She had buried it on the slope of Peony Peak, and on festivals such as the Cold Food Day or the Autumn Moon Festival she would go there and weep and return home.

"Now it happened to be just the day of the full harvest moon, and Mrs. Kim called Ko Changp'al's mother ..."

They arrange to go to the "grave" (this is explained above in the 1906 edition, but nowhere else, so that a subsequent mention of it is very difficult to understand in the later editions) and Mrs. Ko buys the customary fruits, but by the time she is ready to go Mrs. Kim is in one of her frequent trances (another point not clear in the later editions), brooding

⁹¹ 1907: 87.

over her lost daughter. Mrs. Ko sympathizes and complains of the injustice of it all, then says:

" 'Mistress, how pleased you would be if baby Ongnyŏn came back to life and came toddling into this courtyard. Oh, if only I could see such a thing!'

[48] "Just as she was saying this a crow settled on the roof . . ."92

The anger which Mrs. Ko then shows towards the crow, the bird of ill-omen which arrived at the worst possible moment, just as [*mach'am*] she was voicing a hope for something pleasant to happen for a change, is now more understandable, we can now see why Mrs. Kim was going to take wine and fruit to Ongnyŏn's "grave" and we can see that at the end of the story Mrs. Kim is coming out of a period of very deep distress over her lost daughter, not simply generally lacking in character.

Neither this nor any of the smaller omissions such as those described above is restored in any later edition of this work, and we may therefore conclude that no edition later than the 1907 edition could be derived from the 1906 edition except through the 1907 edition. There are also indications that the 1907 edition was not simply a reprint of the text as published in *Mansebo*. There are about forty variations of word or phrase, concentrated rather noticeably in the earlier parts of the work, typical of which are *holchi e* for *hulchi e* "suddenly",⁹³ *chyohŭn* "good" for *orhŭn* "right",⁹⁴ and *ijŏttŏn kŭnsim ūl tasi handa* "she felt again the grief she had forgotten" for *akka nŏddŏn kŭnsim i toro nānda* "the grief which she had had a while before returned".⁹⁵ In addition, there are variations such as these, beginning with the first paragraph:

1906

"When the noise of the guns stopped, the defeated Chinese troops scattered like falling leaves in the autumn wind, and the Japanese troops swept off like a flood to the northwest. Behind them on the hills and fields was nothing but the corpses of the dead."⁹⁶

1907

"When the noise of the guns stopped, the place was deserted and there was nothing but a bloody dust on the hills and fields."⁹⁷

⁹² Instalment 46 is in issue 84, 5th October, 47 in issue 85, 6th October, and 48 in issue 86, 7th October. An appreciation of the effect of the omission can be gained by referring only to 1955: 62b to the end.

⁹³ 1907: 2, 1906: 1, issue 23, 22nd July.

⁹⁴ 1907: 71, 1906: 38, issue 73, 21st September.

⁹⁵ 1907: 73, 1906: 39, issue 74, 22nd September.

⁹⁶ 1906: 1, issue 23, 22nd July. See the comparison of the opening passages in 李人積研究, pp. 188-9.

⁹⁷ 1907: 1.

1906

"The people of P'yŏngyang kept telling all sorts of tales about what the Japanese troops were like and of the fighting at P'yŏngyang in the War of the Year of the Dragon."⁹⁸

1907

"The people of P'yŏngyang heard the rumour that the Japanese troops were coming in. No-one knew anything about the Japanese troops, but tales were told of the fighting at P'yŏngyang in the War of the Year of the Dragon."⁹⁹

1906

" 'They (my wife and daughter) have perhaps been trampled to death somewhere, and their flesh has gone into the earth and their blood has formed a stream which has flowed into the Taedong River.' "¹⁰⁰

1907

" 'Have they been trampled to death somewhere?'
"He sighed.
" 'They and those who died with them have shed streams of blood which have flowed into the Taedong River.' "¹⁰¹

1906

" 'Our people want to think only of themselves. Whether others are ruined or prosper, they seek to satisfy only their own desires. whether their country is ruined or prospers, the only thing they want is to get on in the world and grow fat themselves.' "¹⁰²

1907

" 'Our people think only of themselves and seek to satisfy only their own desires. Whether others live or die, whether their country is ruined or prospers, the most important thing to them is that they should get on in the world and so grow fat themselves.' "¹⁰³

1906

"Grief should be felt less keenly as a day or two goes by, but as Mrs. Kim stayed alone in that house for one day, two days, ten days, a fortnight . . ."104

1907

"As Mrs. Kim stayed alone in such a lonely house for one day, two days, ten days, a fortnight . . ."105

⁹⁸ 1906: 5, issue 27, 27th July.

⁹⁹ 1907: 9.

¹⁰⁰ 1906: 6, issue 28, 28th July.

¹⁰¹ 1907: 12.

¹⁰² 1906: 6, issue 28, 28th July.

¹⁰³ 1907: 12.

¹⁰⁴ 1906: 9, issue 31, 1st August.

¹⁰⁵ 1907: 18.

1906

"He must have . . . gone out to look for them again.

"She thought of him going about without knowing whether his baby daughter and his young wife were in difficulties somewhere, or dead, and of how much he must be suffering . . ." ¹⁰⁸

1907

"She concluded that he must have . . . gone out to look for them again. She thought of how much he must be suffering, setting off without knowing where to go . . ." ¹⁰⁷

In the second of these examples it is possible that the text as in the 1906 edition is a corrupt version of the text as in the 1907 edition (*ilbyōng ilbyōng ūn for ilbyōng tūro ondandn somun ūl tātko ilbyōng ūn*), but since I have not been able to find a single parallel example I prefer to regard it, together with the other five examples above, as a rewriting which shows a slight, but distinct improvement in style in the 1907 edition over the 1906 edition. All these six occur in the first 18 of the 94 pages of the 1907 edition, and I would therefore suggest that the forty lesser variations mentioned above as being similarly concentrated in the earlier part of the work may also be considered deliberate attempts at rewriting intended to improve the style. This would appear to indicate that Yi Injik produced a new draft of the novel for the 1907 edition, which may even have been the revised version discussed in connection with the 1940 edition above. I suggest below a possible reason for assuming that he made this new draft from the 1906 publication, not from his draft for that publication, but it is at least clear that the text of the 1907 edition was not simply taken by the printer or the publisher directly from the text as published in 1906.

In the preparation and printing of this 1907 edition some corruptions crept in, as described above. Quantitatively the omission of the complete instalment accounts for about two per cent of the text and the other corruptions affect rather less of the text than this. However, when we add in the variations which seem to be deliberate rewritings it is curious that the proportion of the text as in the 1906 version which is not reproduced faithfully in the 1907 edition is almost exactly the same as the proportion of the text as in the 1907 edition which is not reproduced faithfully in the pirate edition. Even allowing for the very different qualitative effects of the variations in the two editions, there is still enough variation in the authorized 1907 edition for us to ask whether the fact that Yi Injik was the editor of the newspaper in which the 1906 version was published is sufficient guarantee of the reliability of the text as it appears there. We have no earlier text to check the 1906 text against, so the degree of reliance which we

may place upon it must remain a matter of speculation. One can, of course, correct some minor misprints with confidence, in cases where the alteration of a letter or the transposition of two syllables transforms a completely unknown word into a generally accepted word which is suitable to the context. This is in fact done in all subsequent editions as the editors have thought fit, and slightly less justifiable, though still reasonable, emendations are also made, such as the alteration of *irōnd anjyōssūni* "she got up and sat down" to *irō anjyōssūni* "she sat up". ¹⁰⁸ There is, however, one apparent misprint in the 1906 text which has caused such continuous trouble that it may be worth describing it fully here. In the 1906 text we find:

manil kū sinsye rūl mada hāl chigyōng imyōn, hāro ilchirado yōbi rūl ōtchi ssōsyō kal syu to ōpsūni, ōtchi hāyōya chohūllōnji

"If I refuse his help, nor have I anything to use for travelling expenses to go even for one day, so what must I do for the best?" ¹⁰⁹

Hāro ilchirado . . . kal "to go even for one day" is a difficult collocation, and there seems to be nothing to which one can relate the *to* ("nor" in the translation). One suspects that there is an omission after *hāro ilchirado* of something like *issūl su to ōpko*, which would give: "If I refuse his help, I cannot stay here even for one day, nor have I anything to use for travelling expenses to go anywhere . . ." The difficulty of this passage was clearly felt by Yi Injik later. The 1907 edition reads:

manil kū sinsye rūl ani chihūl chigyōng imyōn, hāro hānsi rado ryōbi rūl ōtchi ssōsyō issūl syu to ōpsūni, ōtchi hāyōya chyohūllōnji?

"If I do not have his help, nor have I anything to use for travelling expenses to stay here even for one day or one hour, so what must I do for the best?" ¹¹⁰

This replaces the difficult *hāro ilchirado . . . kal* "to go even for one day" with the difficult *ryōbi rūl . . . ssōsyō issūl* "to use for travelling expenses to stay here", and the other amendments, which seem to be typical of the author's stylistic changes for the 1907 edition described above, do not help solve the problem. It seems likely therefore that this version is the author's own careless revision, but even if it is a printer's misunderstanding of his revision, it seems to make it certain that this passage in the 1907 edition was produced from the apparently misprinted 1906 edition, and not from any author's draft for that edition. There is also the case of instalment 47, described above. The end of instalment 46, instalment 47, and the beginning of instalment 48 run continuously, and it would seem reasonable to suppose that they had been written continuously in the draft, a point to which I wish to return later. The fact that what is omitted is exactly one whole instalment as printed, apparently quite arbitrarily, is another indication that

¹⁰⁸ 1906: 9, issue 31, 1st August.

¹⁰⁷ 1907: 18.

¹⁰⁸ 1906: 8, issue 30, 31st July, 1907: 16 (1955: 14b).

¹⁰⁹ 1906: 40, issue 75, 23rd September.

¹¹⁰ 1907: 74. 1940: 251b (1955: 54b) omits the *to*.

the 1907 edition was produced from the version as actually printed in *Mansebo* in 1906. In any case there is no conclusive evidence, as I have stated above, that the 1906 version and the 1907 edition were separately derived from any third text.

So, to return to the example, should one amend the 1906 text differently in this case? A good case can certainly be made for doing so, but one's boldness in amending increases with every amendment one makes, and one must always beware of producing in the end a text suited to the 1960's in the same way as the 1940 edition was suited to its age.

There remains one final question on this novel: will any earlier text than the 1906 version ever come to light to cause us to revise our opinion of *Tears of Blood* yet again? The only evidence we have, to my knowledge, to help us answer this question is the text itself, and we must examine this in the light of our experience in comparing the 1906 text with the only other one which was clearly authorized by Yi Injik, the 1907 text. In the light of this we must admit at once that, if there were an earlier version, we should not be able to tell from the 1906 version alone just how much that earlier version might have been corrupted in the 1906 publication. Therefore any speculation based on that text could be proved completely wrong by any discovery of another text.

However, we can only take the 1906 version as it stands. There is some internal evidence which could be taken to indicate that it was being written as it was being serialized. There is some repetition, such as the phrase *syun'gūm ūige puttūlyō* "because she had been caught by the policeman", which recapitulates what had happened a few hours earlier in the story, an event which had already been recalled in the meantime. We may understand its being used in the serialized version, since the instalment in which the event occurred appeared five days earlier, and the instalment in which it was recalled appeared three days earlier. In the book version it would not seem to be necessary, since the event first occurred three pages back and was recalled on the previous page.¹¹¹ The chronology is also very untidy,¹¹² and an assumption that the work was being written instalment by instalment would excuse faults of style.

There is also some external evidence which points in the same direction. Each of the first ten instalments, which appeared in successive issues

¹¹¹ The phrase is in instalment 30, issue 62, 7th September (=1907: 53), instalment 28 was in issue 59, 2nd September (=1907: 50), and instalment 29 in issue 60, 4th September (=1907: 52). It is removed from the 1940 edition, page 243b (1955: 40b), between *chukchi to mot hago and tūrd wasō*.

¹¹² Ongnyōn was seven in 1894 (1955: 28a, 56b, 66a). She spent four years in Japan (1955: 37a) until the age of eleven (1955: 45a) and then five years in Washington (1955: 51a), but the date was then 1902 (1955: 67a). All the texts agree on the above, but the 1906 (38, issue 73, 21st September) and 1907 (page 71) texts give her age then as sixteen, which the 1940 text (250a, 1955: 52b) amends to fifteen.

of the paper, 22nd July to 2nd August, is a neat episode ending at a point of suspense in the narrative of Mr. and Mrs. Kim's separate experiences after they have fled from P'yōngyang in 1894. At the end of instalment 10, Mr. Kim has gone abroad thinking his wife and daughter dead, and Mrs. Kim, thinking her husband and daughter dead, throws herself into the river. This instalment is short, less than half the average length of the preceding instalments, and is followed by an issue without an instalment, issue 33, 3rd August. Our impression that the author was then in almost as deep trouble as his characters seems to be confirmed when instalment 11 appears the next day, again only half-length, and telling of the rescue of Mrs. Kim as the result of a coincidence which takes some believing. We can find no instalment in our next morning's paper, and then we have to be patient through a Monday, when the paper was not published, but by Tuesday, 7th August, instalment 12 appears, and the author is on his way again, having brought a new character, Mrs. Kim's father, the whole length of Korea from Pusan. The next four episodes appear regularly and this section of the story seems to be neatly tied up by instalment 16, Saturday, 11th August. Mrs. Kim's father has financed his son-in-law's journey overseas, so through him Mr. and Mrs. Kim each know that the other is safe, and Mrs. Kim's rescuer turns out to be the son of a former female bond-servant of the family. Again there is a pause, this time of three issues, four days (including a Monday), before an extra finishing touch is added to the previous section of the story and we can turn with minds completely at rest to Ongnyōn's story. This proceeds smoothly in four successive issues from Ongnyōn's being wounded, through her being healed in a Japanese field hospital, to her arrival at the home in Osaka of the Japanese Medical Officer, Major Inoue, where she is to stay until he can find her parents, or for ever if he should confirm that they are dead. When she actually arrives in front of that house, at the end of the very short instalment 21, 21st August, it takes three days (two issues appearing without instalments) for her actually to enter it and meet her foster-mother. After the initial shock of all this has worn off, Ongnyōn is extremely happy there for six months, two instalments in consecutive issues, there is a gap of one issue, two days, and then the thunderbolt falls. The major is killed in action, and Mrs. Inoue feels that she must abandon Ongnyōn if she is to have any chance of remarrying. This is the most moving (or, if one feels out of sympathy, emotional) part of the whole work, and it is its climax. From this point on, slightly more than a month after Yi Injik had started to write the story, if the above analysis is correct, it begins to drag as Ongnyōn tries to commit suicide but is diverted by a succession of dreams, and it often seems to be able to proceed only by a series of coincidences which are strongly reminiscent of the plots of the favourite traditional stories. These coincidences culminate in Mr. Kim, who has been in Washington for ten years, learning from a newspaper

that his daughter has also been there for five years neither knowing of the other's existence, a situation which would certainly not arise among the Korean students in the United States today. Immediately after this comes the last statement of the political message in the story, which is pathetically ineffective by comparison with the earlier statements, though one must admit that in the closing passages there is a very convincing description of the scene back in P'yŏngyang when the first letter from Ongnyŏn arrives to end the story happily for Mrs. Kim as well.

The reading of the evidence of the text just given seems reasonable in view of the fact that very much the same situation developed, according to Chŏn Kwangyong,¹¹³ when Yi Injik was serializing the sequel to *Tears of Blood*, *Peony Peak*, in 1913, with the difference that in the later case Yi Injik was unable to complete the work at all. However, it is pure speculation, and the evidence of the latter part of *Tears of Blood* appears to point in exactly the opposite direction. Although the last third of the novel is much weaker in plot than the first third, and near the end the work loses every trace of the realism which had marked its opening, the last twenty-one instalments appeared almost without any break. There are only two gaps, each of one issue,¹¹⁴ neither of them appearing to have any particular significance, as against eight gaps, six of one issue each, one of two issues and one of three issues, in the serialization of the first thirty-two instalments. Moreover it is difficult to see that the divisions into instalments are anything but arbitrary in the last third of the work, from the point where Ongnyŏn tells Ku Wansŏ of her plight. Instalments 35, 36 (two) and 37 run continuously from this discussion, through their journey together to America and the difficulties they encounter immediately on landing there, to their going to school in Washington and Mr. Kim's learning of Ongnyŏn's being there. This is divided into four almost exactly equal instalments, and although the end of the first instalment numbered 36 is at a good point, instalment 35 and the second instalment numbered 36 both end in mid-sentence.¹¹⁵ I have already described how the end of instalment 46, instalment 47 and the beginning of instalment 48 seem to form one continuous piece of writing, and the same is true in other cases, but instead of going into full details here, I shall call the evidence of the 1955 edition to support my view. This is split into eight sections, chiefly for the purpose of interposing

¹¹³ 李人植研究, pp. 200-1.

¹¹⁴ After instalment 40, issue 75, 23rd September, ending at *honhon hayŏ* (1955: 55a), and after instalment 42, issue 78, 27th September, ending at *chinaessŭrio* (1955: 57a).

¹¹⁵ 1906: 35, issue 69, 16th September, begins at *yŏinsuk hain i* (1955: 47a); 1906: 36 (first), issue 70, 18th September, begins at *marŭm kach'i* (1955: 48a); 1906: 36 (second), issue 71, 19th September, begins at *kŏrdŭt'ŭt* (1955: 50a); 1906: 37, issue 72, 20th September, begins at *hakkyo e tŭrŏ ka* (1955: 51a) and ends at *tora wattŏra* (1955: 52a).

notes, but nevertheless at what appear to be very natural breaks in the story, which one presumes to have been made on Chŏng Hanmo's judgment. The first three sections correspond to the first seventeen instalments of the 1906 version, and in each of these cases the end of a section in the 1955 edition corresponds with the end of an instalment in the 1906 version (5a-10a=instalments 1-4, 10b-18a=instalments 5-11, 18b-26a=instalments 12-17), but after that the two never coincide again until the end. Chŏng Hanmo, in fact, did not spot the end of an instalment after Ongnyŏn's first day at Mrs. Inoue's house.

How then, can we reconcile the conflicting evidence that the first part of the work was written instalment by instalment and with apparent difficulty, yet successfully, but the latter part of the work more continuously and apparently without difficulty, yet unsuccessfully? I should like to suggest that what appears, as in the analysis given above, to be the process of writing the story was possibly a process of revising an already completed draft, that the first part of the work may have been in any case superior to the later parts, but that at least Yi Injik flagged in his efforts to improve it for serial publication a month or so after he had started. He showed just the same lack of staying power (or interest in the work) in revising the 1906 edition for the 1907 edition, in fact dealing with only about one fifth of it then.

The hypothesis that Yi Injik had already completed a draft of the novel before he began serializing it is, I believe, necessary to account for the variation in standards throughout the work in such a way as not to contradict the evidence of the serialization, but it raises a rather embarrassing possibility. If the supposed revision of the supposed draft covers, as it seems to, almost exactly the same portion of the work which I took above to have been revised in 1940 from the 1907 edition, might the first part of the 1940 edition not represent in fact the first version, the one which was revised for the 1906 publication? I believe that I have given above sufficient reasons for deriving the 1940 edition from the 1907 edition, and I am myself sure that the rewritings in the 1940 edition as a whole date from very near 1940, but there is no denying that we cannot be sure that any particular passage in the 1940 edition is not from an earlier draft by Yi Injik. In particular I would point to the opening passages. If we look at these alone in the three versions, we could easily be convinced that a genealogy: 1940-1906-1907 represented a steady tightening up of style. Once we granted this possibility, a lot more could follow, but I shall leave the conclusions of that argument to those who are not in agreement with my judgment of the 1940 edition.

If, then, there was a complete draft of *Tears of Blood* before July 1906, when might it have been written? The title was almost certainly taken from a Japanese novel of 1895-6, as I have suggested above, and the story covers

the period 1894-1902 and clearly reflects Yi Injik's own experiences in that period, but I think we may be able to narrow it down even more closely than that, since the passage quoted above: "If everyone . . . lives in ignorance of the rest of the world, in another few years there's going to be another war like the Sino-Japanese War in our country" and the description of the reactions of Koreans to their fellow-countrymen who tried to give them advice after returning home from study abroad, also quoted above, were almost certainly written after the Russo-Japanese War of 1904, which was the occasion of Yi Injik's return home from Japan.¹¹⁶ On the other hand the novel comes close in its political ideas to those of the 一進會 Ilchin-hoe which were in conflict with the official policy of the Ch'ondo-gyo, and if the Ch'ondo-gyo's official history of itself is to be relied upon for this period,¹¹⁷ the editor of the Ch'ondo-gyo's official newspaper is unlikely to have been forming such political views in the summer and autumn of 1906. He certainly did publish those views then, and continued to be editor of the paper for nearly a year after that, so the point may not be decisive, but the political message expressed in the novel comes closest to the platform of the Ilchin-hoe in instalment 45, well past the point at which Yi Injik may have stopped revising a draft for serial publication in the summer of 1906. This may therefore further support the suggestion that there was already a completed draft, perhaps as early as 1905.

One has to admit, in summary, that there seems to be no evidence to confirm beyond all doubt that the work was first written in the summer and autumn of 1906, but neither is there any evidence to show any strong possibility that it was first written very much earlier than that. It seems possible that the 1906 version may be a revision of a draft of not much more than a year earlier at the most, and it is almost certain that the 1907 edition is Yi Injik's own subsequent revision of the 1906 version. Therefore, if we take one of the two known copies in Korea of the 1907 edition and amend it, cautiously, where the one known copy of the 1906 version, in the United States, seems to indicate that it is corrupt, and exercise even greater caution in amending both versions where both seem to be corrupt, we may be able to produce a text which we could confidently call "the novel *Tears of Blood* by Yi Injik, the first New Novel in Korean". Then the real work of literary criticism and literary history could begin.

¹¹⁶ 李入植研究, p. 166.

¹¹⁷ Benjamin B. Weems: *Reform, Rebellion, and the Heavenly Way* (The Association for Asian Studies: *Monographs and Papers* No. XV), University of Arizona Press, Tucson, 1964, pp. 54-64, follows the 天道教創建史 in his account of the splitting of the Ch'ondo-gyo in its attitudes to Japan. A check of this in the standard Korean histories shows that reference to primary sources would be necessary to establish the exact timetable.