Before the Coherent Plot: Kim Sowŏl’s Editors, 1920–1925

Wayne de Fremery

In this paper I argue for a new attention to the sociology of Korean colonial-era texts, and for a critical rethinking of contemporary modes of literary/textual criticism as they relate to the socialization of Korean literary works from the early twentieth century. Studying the editors who oversaw the publication of poems and stories by the canonical Korean author Kim Sowŏl (1902–1934) in the periodicals of his day repositions these literary texts in the socio-textual contexts of their initial production—allowing us to glimpse them before they were canonical. Recontextualizing Kim Sowŏl’s works to emphasize the textual contexts in which they initially appeared productively reorients investigations of Kim’s oeuvre and presents new creative critical opportunities; we can begin to rethink our methods of engaging his corpus. A review of scholarly approaches to Kim Sowŏl reveals that the conditions under which his works were created have gone unstudied. As a first step toward addressing this oversight in the voluminous discourse about Kim Sowŏl, I survey ten periodicals in which the poet’s work appeared and identify many of the editors responsible for overseeing the translation of his poetic manuscripts into print. Identifying Sowŏl’s editors illuminates the broader sociology of Korean colonial texts and enables new critical perspectives through investigations of the bibliographic histories of texts by canonical Korean authors.

Keywords: Korean literature, Korean poetry, sociology of texts, Kim Sowŏl, editing

Introduction

The rapidity with which our new technologies can dismember and (almost simultaneously) reassemble textual bodies from sprawling databases and linked data necessitates as much as it facilities our exploration of the historical and

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bibliographic contexts of literary canons. These new technologies challenge us
to critically reconsider the techne of our scholarly practices, especially how we
contend with the social, historical, material, and technological contexts of
canonical literary texts. Investigators of twentieth-century Korean literature
working with the tools of print media and within its paradigm have, as a matter
of general practice, extracted texts by now canonical authors from the
bibliographic contexts in which they initially appeared in order to remake them
into critical print editions and anthologies, as well as insinuate them into a wide
variety of critical discourses. Too frequently this has been done without proper
attention to the initial material instantiation of a given text or the variety of
historical actors responsible for creating it.

Refigured physically and rhetorically by these modes of critical and editorial
practice, contemporary presentations of Korean literary works from the early
twentieth century are often only spectral witnesses to their own textual
histories. This is to say that newly created manifestations of canonical Korean
literary texts infrequently acknowledge the physical integrity of the documents
on which they are based. Consequently, we are losing track of the relationship
between versions of canonical works—the texts’ histories—which compromises
our ability to understand how these important texts have mattered, both
physically and rhetorically, through time. It recently came to light, for example,
that every critical edition of poetry by canonical Korean author Kim Sowŏl
(1902–1934) created after 1979 was compiled using a doctored facsimile of
Chindallaekkot (Azaleas, 1925), Kim Sowŏl’s only book of poems, from the
mid-1970s rather than the Chindallaekkot texts created during Kim Sowŏl’s
lifetime.1 Digital technologies can exacerbate this problem by enabling ever
quicker and more radical textual refiguration. As Jerome McGann has
suggested, these same technologies, properly conceived and deployed, also hold
out the promise of illuminating the complex personal, social, material, and
 technological measures that manifest texts and suggest meaning at specific
historical moments, what D.F. McKenzie has called the sociology of texts.2 At

1. See Peter Wayne de Fremery, “How Poetry Mattered in 1920s Korea,” (PhD diss., Harvard
University, 2011). See also Wayne de Fremery and ôm Tongsŏp, Wŏnbon “Chindallaekkot” soji
2. Jerome McGann and Dino Buzzetti, “Critical Editing in a Digital Horizon,” in Electronic
Textual Editing (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 2006), ed. Lou Burnard,
Preview/mcgann.xml (accessed May 9, 2014).
By studying the editors who oversaw the publication of poems and stories by Kim Sowöl in the periodicals of his day I attempt to reposition these literary texts in the socio-textual contexts of their initial production—to glimpse them before they were canonical. This approach acknowledges that a constellation of people working with a variety of materials and technologies at specific historical moments produced Sowöl’s literary texts in print concomitantly with other disparate texts—mysteries by American authors such as Arthur B. Reeve, Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*, ads for gonorrhea medicine, to name a few. Suddenly our canonical author is only one of many players in the complex historical performances that instantiate his/her texts, a revelation that challenges us to consider new critical approaches. Moreover, because texts by our canonical author suddenly appear with a plethora of seemingly unrelated texts, we are challenged to imagine ways to critically assess these “new” arrangements. To assume that the poetic texts of Kim Sowöl, for example, have no relationship to Reeve or gonorrhea or Shakespeare, as the silence about such relationships in the voluminous scholarship about Kim Sowöl seems to suggest, is to ignore the historical fact that they did: Kim Sowöl’s poetry often appears with stories by Reeve and ads for any number of products (including medicine for sexually transmitted diseases) in the daily newspaper *Tonga ilbo*; Hyŏn Ch’ŏl’s serialized translation of *Hamlet* in the intellectual monthly *Kaebyŏk* is frequently preceded by poetry by Kim Sowöl. Acknowledging these facts enables new lines of questioning.

According to Benedict Anderson, “reading a newspaper is like reading a novel whose author has abandoned any thought of a coherent plot.” What Anderson suggests about newspapers is, of course, also true of other periodicals. Plotless does not mean patternless, however. Nor does it mean that the apparently odd juxtapositions of these seemingly stochastic productions have no force or that no human agency was involved in their formation. As Anderson has famously argued, these juxtapositions can enable disparate peoples to imagine they are one community. Focused on diachronic relationships intertwined with notions of tradition, the critical discussion about Kim Sowöl has failed to take into account the synchronic relationship between his texts and others that appear with his in publications of his day. To see Kim Sowöl’s poetry beside Reeve’s fiction, Shakespeare’s plays, and the paid endorsements of everyday products is to see it as part of such plotless novels, before it became woven into

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a powerfully coherent narrative of national imagining by subsequent print publications. Identifying Kim Sowŏl’s editors is one step toward understanding the relation between his poems and their initial textual setting. Investigating Sowŏl’s editors presents the possibility of seeing patterns in Sowŏl’s texts that we have overlooked, patterns his editors may have orchestrated. It also enables us to begin developing critical tools to investigate the rhizome-like textual locales in which Kim Sowŏl’s works have been imbricated historically. I reference Deleuze and Guattari, who can get lost in their own discursive complexes, cautiously. The rhizome, as they have conceived it, “connects any point to any other point, and its traits are not necessarily linked to traits of the same nature.” This idea is useful for literary and textual studies conceived as the sociology of texts because the texts of canonical authors can be associated simultaneously with the various bibliographic and linguistic processes that instantiate those texts physically and discursively at various historical moments, including the disparate textual juxtapositions of serial publications. Even if we are not yet sure how to assess the relationship between authors such as Reeve and Sowŏl, and I am not, we should not ignore the historical moment that brought them together, or foreclose the possibility of understanding the relationship by eliding it from critical view.

By identifying Kim Sowŏl’s editors we begin to illuminate nodes in the complex systems of textual production that materialized his texts, bringing into relief the historical/textual context in which the work of this important poet initially appeared. Sowŏl’s editors, like other unexplored actors and elements in the sociology of Kim Sowŏl’s texts, provide an alternate starting point for developing critical narratives (and questioning existing ones) about Kim’s poetry by investigating the textual fabric into which his poetry has been woven. Examining the actors and elements at work in the sociology of Kim Sowŏl’s texts opens the door to critical inquiries about the literary field in colonial Korea and editors as cultural intermediaries. It also allows us to imagine new ways of organizing Kim Sowŏl’s work to gain critical insight. The latter is


touched upon in the conclusion; the former is saved for another paper.  

Here I review the critical approaches to Kim Sowŏl, demonstrating how the material contexts of his verse and the conditions under which his works were created have gone unstudied. To address this significant oversight in the discourse and recognize the textual artifacts from the 1920s that presented Kim Sowŏl’s poetry, I then survey ten periodicals in which Kim’s works appeared between 1920 and 1925 to identify many of the editors responsible for overseeing the translation of his manuscripts into print.

The imaginative opportunities enabled by this straightforward exploration of the sociology of Kim’s texts can productively reorient investigations of Kim’s oeuvre. They can also raise questions about the genealogy of critical terms central to discussions about Kim and colonial Korea, and expose some of the perils of contemporary editorial practice with respect to Korean literary and historical texts, issues to be explored in the conclusion.

The Major Themes and Significant Limitations of Sowŏl Scholarship

A book could be written about the critical discourse that now secures a place for Kim Sowŏl and his poetry in the history of modern Korea. Kwon Young-min (Kwŏn Yŏngmin), in a paper delivered at Harvard University nearly a decade ago, estimated that more than five hundred books and articles had been written about Kim Sowŏl by that time. Since then, there has been a steady stream of books and articles about Kim and his work. None, however, have paid any significant attention to the conditions of his texts’ creation, the nexus of people and technologies employed to produce them, or how they have been socialized. The following sketch of Kim’s early life will help to illuminate some of the major topics and themes that have been addressed in Sowŏl scholarship.

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6. Although not explicitly Bourdieuian in their conception, studies of literary networks, as well as textual production and reception, in colonial Korea, have proliferated in recent years along with, even more recently, bibliographic studies of early twentieth-century Korean literary texts. For a summary of some of these studies see Peter Wayne de Fremery, “How Poetry Mattered in 1920s Korea,” especially Chapter 1. See also Kŏndaesoji [Modern (Korean) Bibliography], a periodical produced by Somyŏng ch’ulp’ansa, as well as Somyŏng ch’ulp’ansa’s many monographs on these related topics.

1. Kim Sowol’s Early Life

The limpid first chapter of *Kim Sowol, kū sam kwa munhak* (Kim Sowol, his life and literature) by O Seyŏng is an eloquent account of Kim Sowol’s short life. Here I take fragments from O’s chapter and reshape them to highlight themes in Sowol scholarship, as well as convey some of what we know about Kim Sowol’s early life.8

Kim Chŏngsik 金廷湜 was born in September of 1902, presumably under an early autumn sky. Chang Kyŏngsuk 張景淑, his mother, had left her husband’s house in Namdan-dong 南端洞9 to give birth in Wangin-dong 旺仁洞 where her parents lived. Mother and son returned to Namdan-dong one hundred days later, as was customary; Chŏngsik grew up there, the son of a wealthy businessman.10

To the south of the mountain village, the Yellow Sea was visible in the distance, and almost like a shadow floating on the ocean, Samgak Mountain 三角山 rose up from Sinmi Island 身彌島. A clear brook flowed in front of Chŏngsik’s home and rolled down toward the ocean through terraced rice fields. A low, crumbling, rock wall that circled what was once a mountain fortress on nearby Nŭnghan Mountain 凌漢山 lent the place an air of mystery.

Chŏngju, in North P’yŏngan Province where Namdan-dong is located, opened its eyes early to enlightenment thinking. Chŏngsik grew up in a traditional Confucian family but Chŏngju was a place of intellectual and cultural change and home to such figures as Yi Sŭnghun 李昇薰 (1864–1930), a leader of the Independence Movement and one of thirty-three men who signed the Korean Declaration of Independence in 1919. Other nationalists such as An Ch’angho 安昌浩 (1878–1938) and Cho Mansik 曺晩植 (1882–1950) were from nearby. The ghost of General Im Kyŏngŏp 林慶業 (1594–1646), famous for his desire to attack the Qing after King Injo (r. 1623–1649) decided to surrender to Chinese forces in 1636, seemed to linger like the shadow thrown by Samgak Mountain where Im is said to have trained in the martial arts.

Yi Kwangsu, author of novels such as *Mujo̲ng 無情* (The heartless) and a seminal figure in the creation of a new, modern literature, also had his roots in Chŏngju. Osan Middle School, one of the era’s most progressive educational

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9. Namdan-dong is frequently referred to as “Namsan” 南山 in documents about Kim Sowol. I use the two names interchangeably.
10. Kim Sowol’s father appears to have been mentally unwell and by the time Sowol returned from Japan in late 1923 the family was beginning to face financial difficulties.
organizations, was there as well. In fact, Yi Kwangsu taught at Osan for a short period. Moreover, the well-respected poet and translator of Western verse Kim Ök attended the school before becoming one of its instructors. Kim is said to have helped propagate the first waves of Western poetics in the soon-to-be turbulent literary waters of the twentieth century. Chŏngsik also attended Osan where he became one of Kim Ök’s students. Recognizing Chŏngsik’s prodigious literary gifts, Kim Ök introduced him to the literary world, which would know him by his pen name Sowŏl 素月. As a poet in Chŏngju, Sowŏl wanted for nothing and began to produce verse that, like William Wordsworth’s poems about his Cumberland countryside, sang about his home.

2. Themes in Sowŏl Scholarship

Among the most prevalent themes in Sowŏl scholarship is that Kim Sowŏl and his poetry are thoroughly Korean and rooted in the soil of North P’yŏngan province. This reflects the earliest critical stances toward Kim Sowŏl. Kim Sowŏl’s instructor at the Osan school, Kim Ök, who has had the most profound influence over how scholars have approached Kim Sowŏl, championed the association of Kim Sowŏl’s poetry with “traditional” Korea, Korean folk song, and a newly created critical category, folk-song-style poetry (minyosi 民謠詩). In a 1923 article, for example, in which Kim initially pans a pair of Sowŏl’s poems only to exalt others that he associated with folk-song-style poetry, Kim Ök urges Kim Sowŏl to lead the way for minyosi. Sowŏl would take issue with Kim Ök’s treatment of his poems and would

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11. Pak Hyesuk and Pak Kyŏngsu both suggest that the first use of the term “minyosi” was beside Kim Sowŏl’s poem “Chindallaekkot” (Azaleas) in the July 1922 issue of Kaebŏyŏk. Pak Kyŏngsu argues that Kim Ök, not Kim Sowŏl, is likely to have had the term printed beside the poem. Pak Kyŏngsu, Han’guk kindae minyosi yŏng’gu [A study of modern Korean folk-song-style poetry] (Seoul: Han’guk munhwasa, 1998), 24–25; Pak Hyesuk, Han’guk minyosi yŏng’gu [A study of Korean folk-song-style poetry], 14. As I discuss here and in the fourth chapter of my doctoral dissertation, it appears to be true that the term minyosi first appeared in the July 1922 Kaebŏyŏk alongside “Chindallaekkot.” Moreover, as both Paks argue, it also appears to be true that Kim Ök is the first to have defined the term minyosi. However, Hyŏn Ch’ŏl, the editor of the literature and arts section in July of 1922, is likely to have made the final decision to include the term minyosi next to Kim Sowŏl’s poem. Whether or not Kim Ök influenced that decision is difficult to know.

12. The term minyosi appears to have had significant critical force in 1920s Korea even if it was not used consistently and lacked any real conceptual cohesion. See Pak Hyesuk, Han’guk minyosi yŏng’gu, 24–28 and Pak Kyŏngsu, Han’guk kindae minyosi yŏng’gu, 26–27.

later write his only theoretical statement about poetry, “Sihon” 詩魂 (Poetic soul),14 in response to Kim Ök’s critical thrashing of his two poems in 1923. Moreover, by Kim Ök’s own admission, Sowol never appreciated his association with minyosi. Kim Ök writes in a remembrance of Kim Sowol published shortly after Kim Sowol’s death in 1934, “I’m not sure why, but he hated being called a folk-song-style poet and demanded that if he was a poet, he be called a poet.”15

Despite Sowol’s objections, commentators during Sowol’s lifetime and after have consistently associated his poetry with folk song and traditional Korea. The poet Chu Yohan 朱耀翰 (1900–1979), for example, suggests in October 1924 that Kim Sowol’s poems have a “folk-song-like atmosphere that will be difficult to find elsewhere”16 and Kim Kijin 金基鎭 (1903–1985), in a less appreciative review of Sowol’s work, writes in April of 1925, “I think that perhaps light, short, folk-song-like lyrics (minyojŏk sŏjŏng sogok 민요적敍情小曲) are the essence (pollyŏng 本領) of [Kim Sowol] as a poet.”17 In the mid-to-late 1950s, during the first rush of serious critical engagement with Kim Sowol’s poetry, critics such as Chŏng T’ae Yong 鄭泰鎭 (1919–1972) wrote a number of articles that cast Kim Sowol as a folk-song-style poet of the Korean minjok 民族 (nation).18 At the peak of critical interest in Kim Sowol in the late

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18. Minjok is a difficult term to translate. As Gi-Wook Shin points out, it can refer to “nation,” “ethnic,” “race,” or all three. Gi-Wook Shin, Ethnic Nationalism in Korea: Genealogy, Politics, and Legacy (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 4. Consequently, I generally transcribe the term and do not translate it. For a list of articles from the 1950s about Kim Sowol as a folk-song-style poet and poet of the Korean minjok see Kim Chŏng’uk, ed., Chŏngbon Sowol chŏnjip, vol. 2, 513–514. It should be noted, however, that Kim appears to have made a number of errors in his bibliography. For example, I am not able to find Chŏng T’ae Yong’s 鄭泰鎭 “Minjok siin Kim Sowol” 民族詩人 金素月 [Minjok poet Kim Sowol] in the June 1957 issue of Hyŏndae munbak where Kim Chŏng’uk suggests it appears. Nor am I able to find Chŏng T’ae Yong’s “Hyŏndae siin yŏn’gu: minyo siindŭl” 現代詩人研究: 民謠詩人들 [A study of contemporary poets: the folk-song-style poets], in the August 1957 Hyŏndae munbak. Articles that appear to roughly correspond to what Kim suggests appeared in the June and August issues of Hyŏndae munbak appear in Chŏng T’ae Yong’s 1976 collected works, Chŏng T’ae Yong sŏnjip: Han’guk hyŏndae siin yŏn’gu, kit’a 鄭泰鎭選集: 韓國現代詩人研究·其他 [Collected works of Chŏng T’ae Yong: studies of contemporary
1970s and the 1980s, scholars such as O Seyo˘ng, in his hugely influential *Han’guk nangmanju˘i si y˘on’gu* 韓國浪漫主義詩研究 (A study of Korean romantic poetry), associated Kim Sowol with a group of poets who were exploring the traditional world of the *minjok*. Discussing the various attempts made by Korean poets to search out a “new beginning” in the aftermath of the failed 1919 March First Independence Movement, O writes, “Where poets such as Kim Sóksong 金石松 [Kim Hyóngwôn 金炯元 (1900–?)] were attempting to actualize the principles of democracy, and poets such as Pak Yŏnghŭi 朴英熙 [1901–?], Pak Chonghwa 朴鍾和 [1901–1981], and Yi Sanghwă 李相和 [1901–1943] were dreaming of an imagined ideal world (*kwannyŏmjo˘k isang segye* 觀念的 理想世界), poets such as Hong Sayong 洪思容 [1900–1947], Kim Sowŏl, Chu Yohan, and Kim Ŭk found this [new beginning] in the traditional world of the *minjok* (*minjokchŏk chŏnt’ong segye* 民族的 傳統世界).”19 Indeed, while acknowledging that these poets did not identify themselves as such, O suggests that Kim Ŭk, Chu Yohan, Hong Sayong, Kim Sowŏl, and Kim Tonghwan can be viewed as members of what O terms “a folk-song-style poetry coterie (*minyosip’a* 民謠詩派).”20 As if to appease the ghost of General Im Kyŏngŏp, in the late 1980s critics began to explore the relationship between Kim Sowŏl and what is often considered the most Korean of Korea’s many spiritual practices and traditions, Korean shamanism.21

Important currents within this dominant discourse were initiated in the late 1950s by writers and critics such as Kim Tongni 金東里 (1913–1995), So Chŏngju 徐廷柱 (1915–2000), and a number of commentators from North

Korean poets and other writings] (Seoul: Ŭmun’gak, 1976). The emphasis Chŏng appears to have placed on Kim Sowŏl as a poet of the Korean *minjok* with titles such as “Minjok poet Kim Sowŏl” is not as explicit in the essays that appear in his 1976 collected works. The association is strongly implied, however. Moreover, Chŏng does discuss Kim Sowŏl as a “folk-song-style poet.”


20. Ibid., 10.

21. For example, see Yi Yŏngch’un, “Kim Sowŏl si e panyŏng toen musoksŏng yŏn’gu” [A study of the shamanic characteristics apparent in the poetry of Kim Sowŏl] (master’s thesis, Kyŏnghŭi Taehakkyo, 1988) and any number of more recent articles, such as: Kim Yŏngsŏk, “Han’guk hyŏndaesı̆ ui minsokchŏk sangsangnyŏk” [The shamanistic imaginary in contemporary Korean poetry] in Kim Yŏngsŏk, *Han’guk hyŏndaesı̆ ui nolli* [Logic of contemporary poetry] (Seoul: Samgyŏng Munhwasa, 1999), 214–262; Sin Pŏmsun, “Syamŏnijımı ui kŏndajŏk kyeŏng kwa sihakchŏk yangsang: Kim Sowŏl ŭl chungsim ŭro” [Shamanism’s early modern manifestations and place in (early modern) poetics: with a focus on Kim Sowŏl], *Sian* (December 2002), 37–53; and O T’aehwan, “Hon kwa ŭi sot’ŏng, to nŭn musokchŏk yoso ŭi munhakchŏk ch’ungwŏ: Kim Sowŏl, Yi Sang, Paek Sŏk si ŭi musokchŏk sangsangnyŏk” [Communicating with souls and the literary layers of shamanism: the shamanistic imaginary in the poems of Kim Sowŏl, Yi Sang, and Paek Sŏk], *Kukche ŏmun* (April 2008), 203–241.
Korea. Assuming the relationship implicitly, these observers focused somewhat less on associating Kim Sowöl's poetry with Korean tradition and more on the causes and implications of the emotions expressed in his work. Summarizing these feelings most frequently with the terms han 恨 or chŏnghan 情恨 (resentment), these scholars and critics identified the source of Sowöl's speakers' grief in causes as diverse as estrangement from nature and Japanese oppression. Kim Tongni, for example, famously describes how the phrase chŏmnanch'i 저만치 (over there) in the poem “Sanyuhwa” 山有花 (Flowers on the mountain) suggests its speaker's alienation from the natural world.22 North Korean commentators, particularly in the late fifties, tended to praise Kim Sowöl as a realist poet who sang of his love for his nation and his people. They considered Japanese colonial oppression the cause of the resentment expressed by Sowöl's speakers.23 Sŏ Chŏngju, in an astutely contrarian article published in the late 1950s, considered the expression of despair in Sowöl's poetry as a means of overcoming despair. While recognizing the sense of resignation that pervades Kim Sowöl's poetry, Sŏ asserts in 1959 that poems such as “Kaeami” (Ants), “Pat korang uesŏ” (On the furrow of a field), and “Na ŭi chip” (My home) suggest a muted hopefulness to be found in community, diligence, and individual determination.24

3. Using Yeats—The Limits of Sowöl Scholarship

The relationship between Kim Sowöl’s poetry and foreign literatures has been another important current within Kim Sowöl scholarship, one which also highlights the conceptual instabilities and limitations of the discourse about Sowöl. The drive to present Kim Sowöl’s poetry as thoroughly Korean anachronistically dichotomizes its relationship to non-Korean literature that influenced Kim Sowöl and appeared alongside his work in the periodicals of his day. This polemical stance and the lack of attention paid to the frequent juxtaposition, by colonial-era editors, of Kim Sowöl's poetry with works such as Shakespeare's Hamlet suggest that Kim Sowöl scholarship has been limited by its disregard for the initial bibliographic contexts of his work.

The discussion of Kim Sowöl and foreign writers has centered on the notion

22. See Kim Tongni 金東里, “Ch’ŏngsan kwa ŭi kŏri” 靑山과의 距離 [The distance from the blue mountains], in Kim Tongni, Munbak kwa in’gan 文學과人間 [People and literature] (Seoul: Paengmin munhwasa, 1948), 48–58.
23. Na Huído, “Kim Sowöl si ŭi suyong kwajŏng” [The reception of Kim Sowöl’s poems], Han’guk munbak iron kwa pip’yŏng 17 (December 2002), 288.
of influence (yŏnghyang). Some scholars see the strong influence of writers such as W.B. Yeats (1865–1939) and Arthur Symons (1865–1945), while others see little or no influence. Yi Yangha 李敭河 appears to have been the first to point out the similarity between Kim Sowŏl’s “Azaleas,” where the speaker asks her love to tread gently on azalea flowers, and Yeats’s poem “He wishes For the Cloths of Heaven,”25 where the speaker states, “I have spread my dreams under your feet; / Tread softly because you tread on my dreams.”26 In addition, critics such as Kim Yongjik have suggested that the poetry and thought of Arthur Symons influenced Kim Sowŏl.27 Kevin O’Rourke, in his Han’guk kŏndaesi ū yŏngsi yŏnghyang yŏn’gu (A study of the influence of English poetry on early modern Korean poetry), makes the case for the importance of Yeats and Symons to both Kim Ĭk and Kim Sowŏl.28 More recent articles, such as Im Chaeho’s somewhat awkward “Yŏngsi wa Han’guksi: Yeich’u wa Sowŏl ū yŏngyang kwan’gye (English and Korean poetry: Yeats’s influence on Sowŏl),”29 have also probed the relationship between Sowŏl and Yeats.

In contrast, Sŏ Chŏngju has argued that because Sowŏl’s poetry has its foundations in Korean tradition, “compared with any other poet from after the enlightenment period [late nineteenth/early twentieth century], the influence of foreign poetries is rather small [in his work].”30 Moreover, foreign literature and poets are often a foil against which Kim Sowŏl and his “traditional” poetry are defined. In Peter Lee’s A History of Korean Literature, for example, we find the following in a discussion of “folk-song-style poetry:” “[Kim Sowŏl’s] adoption of stock diction and meter was to revive the voice of the people at a time when

29. Im Chaeho, “Yŏngsi wa Han’guksi: Yeich’u wa Sowŏl ū yŏngyang kwan’gye” [English and Korean poetry: Yeats’s influence on Sowŏl], Cheimší Choisu chŏntol 8, no. 1 (June 2002), 169–180.
the contemporary trend was an injudicious imitation of Western poetry.”

In addition to the problematic notion of “the voice of the people,” Peter Lee’s statement shows how the discourse can belittle Korean poets who experimented with foreign literatures and obscure the fact that works of Western poets and discussions of Western poetry were not only a defining aspect of Korean poetry but also of the discussion of Kim Sowol’s work. This is demonstrated most readily by Kim Ok’s frequent and creative use of Yeats’s poetry in his discussions of Kim Sowol.

For example, Kim Ok begins the 1923 essay in which he encourages Kim Sowol to lead the way for minyosi with a translation of the last lines of Yeats’s poem “The Old Men Admiring Themselves in the Water.” He uses Yeats rhetorically to throw down a gauntlet before his readers, whom he assumes to be aspiring poets: the translated excerpt, “All that’s beautiful drifts away/ like the waters,” is meant to encourage the creation of lasting art. “Life is short,” Kim Ok writes in the opening paragraph that follows, “but art is long.” With Hippocrates’ aphorism, Kim poses the following question to his readers: Do you wish to “drift away” or do you aspire to the immortality that well-made art can provide? For dramatic effect, he concludes his essay by repeating the lines from Yeats. The discourse that presents Kim Sowol as a “traditional Korean poet” frames him within a perceived dichotomy between what is Korean and what is not. Ironically, Kim Ok frames the essay that helped initiate this discourse by repeating a translation of Yeats.

Kim Ok also uses these same lines from Yeats in his eulogistic essay “Remembrance of Sowol,” published shortly after Kim Sowol’s death. The appearance of these lines in a wholly different context (and a somewhat different translation) shows the importance of Yeats for Kim Ok and his discussion of Kim Sowol. Here Kim Ok presents Yeats to express his own emotional quandary following the death of his student and friend. While he continues to press his case for Kim Sowol’s importance as a folk-song-style poet, Kim uses Yeats’s lines to express his sorrow at Kim Sowol’s death. Moreover, in an interesting reversal Kim Ok praises Kim Sowol’s poem “Love’s Song” (Nim üi norae), the same poem he panned in a review in 1923. In his remembrance, Kim lauds the poem for being “gentle” and “mysterious,” as well as being able to “beautifully evoke a purity of emotion (sunjŏng)”.34

33. Ibid., 51.
34. Kim Anso, “Kim Sowol e tahan ch’uŏk” [In remembrance of Kim Sowol], Chosŏn chungang
Kim Ŭk’s frequent and varied use of Yeats in his discussions of Kim Sowöl suggests the inherent instability of the conceptual dichotomy that separates Kim Sowöl from non-Korean poets. While Kim Ŭk promotes the idea that the best of what Kim Sowöl writes is authentically Korean, he does so by invoking associations with foreign writers such as Yeats and using the works of these writers to forward his own aesthetic agenda. As a result, it can be said that Yeats and other foreign poets helped define Kim Sowöl’s Korean authenticity.

While the discourse that Kim Ŭk helped to initiate made it polemical to associate figures such as Yeats with Kim Sowöl, such associations were not uncommon during Kim Sowöl’s lifetime and shortly afterward. When contemplating Kim Sowöl’s death, Kim Ŭk’s thoughts turn first to Yeats. “What am I to think?” Kim writes early in his remembrance. “On the day that a beloved poet, from whom we expected so much, passes away—what, truly, am I to think? Alone, with that poet of Ireland William Butler Yeats, am I to breathe out with a sigh: All that’s beautiful drifts away/Like the waters?”³⁵ Kim makes it clear that the answer to this rhetorical question is “yes.” Later in the same paragraph he writes, “... those precious memories we hold quietly in our hearts, we can have them for a time, but not forever.”³⁶

Discussion of the relationship between Kim Sowöl and foreign writers also reveals the extent to which the initial bibliographic contexts for Kim Sowöl’s poems have been ignored. Focused on origins, transmission, and diachronic relationships—and intertwined with notions of tradition—the discussion has failed to take into account the synchronic relationship between Kim Sowöl and foreign writers appearing with him in printed publications. Kevin O’Rourke makes an important contribution by delineating what foreign writers Sowöl probably read and making insightful observations about similarities between Kim Sowöl’s poetry and that of Yeats and Symons. Such an approach, however, has little to say about why Kim Sowöl’s poetry frequently shared bibliographic space with authors such as the American mystery writer Arthur B. Reeve (1880–1936), as well as William Shakespeare.

How to read Kim Sowöl in juxtaposition with these authors has not yet been addressed. Nor is the current discourse about Kim Sowöl suited to answering questions raised by these juxtapositions. It would be difficult, for example, to argue that Arthur Reeve was an influence upon Sowöl’s work, despite the fact that we can be reasonably certain that Reeve was an author Kim

³⁵. Ibid., 393.
³⁶. Ibid., 394.
Sowol knew. Like other readers turning to the last page of their paper, when Sowol went looking for his own poems in the newspaper in 1921 he would have found Reeve’s stories. So, if not an influence, then what? Asking this question gives us the opportunity to read the newspaper as Sowol and others would have, to see an historical moment, unlike the present, when it was possible to imagine Sowol associated with Reeve.

The Periodicals

When we see Sowol beside Reeve in the context of the Tonga ilbo in 1921 we see how his poetry was imagined as a consequence of calendrical happenstance and editorial choices that materialized his poetry on a particular day and in a specific bibliographic context. Recognizing the presence of Reeve’s stories rather than looking past them allows us to see the mass of successive issues of the Tonga ilbo, the large body of scholarship about Kim Sowol, and, crucially, Kim Sowol’s poetry as it was performed in the 1920s among the ads for gonorrhea medicine and updates on fund-raising activities for a new hospital in Seoul—fixtures of page four, like Reeve’s stories, when Kim Sowol’s poetry appeared in the newspaper in 1921. Describing the journals in which Kim Sowol’s poetry originally appeared, we recognize the iconic place of his texts in our present while improving our chances of understanding their place in his

37. Kim Sowol’s poems always appear on page four (the last page) when they appear in the Tonga ilbo in 1921. Unless otherwise noted, Tonga ilbo citations were retrieved from the Donga (Tonga) Ilbo Archive (Tonga ilbo ak’aibû), http://www.donga.com.exz-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/pdf/archive. Similarly, Chosôn ilbo citations were retrieved from the Chosun (Chosôn) Ilbo Archive (Chosôn ilbo ak’aibû), http://srchdb1.chosun.com.exz-prod1.hul.harvard.edu/pdfnarchive. Records from the Choson Sotokufu are digital reproductions from the National Library of South Korea or the Assembly Library of South Korea unless otherwise noted.

38. “Maedok Imjil” [Syphilis (medicine) Gonorrhea (medicine)], Tonga ilbo (April 9, 1921); Arthur B. Reeve, “Ellen ûi kong—’p’i ppanun kwisin (4)” (4) [The exploits of Elaine—’the vampire’ (part four), translated by Ch’olligu 千里駒, Tonga ilbo (April 9, 1921); “Maedok Imjil” 梅毒 淋疾 [Syphilis (medicine) Gonorrhea (medicine)], Tonga ilbo (April 27, 1921); Arthur B. Reeve, “Ellen ûi kong—sumun moksori (5)” (5) [The exploits of Elaine—’the hidden voice’ (part five)], translated by Ch’olligu, Tonga ilbo (April 27, 1921); “Maedok Imjil” [Syphilis (medicine) Gonorrhea (medicine)], Tonga ilbo (June 8, 1921); Arthur B. Reeve, “Ellen ûi kong—p’timpangul (7)” (7) [The exploits of Elaine—’the blood crystals’ (the translation of the subtitle reads ‘drops of blood’) (part seven)], translated by Ch’olligu, Tonga ilbo (June 8, 1921); “P’i pyöngwon kibugum” 齊病院寄附金 [Donations for an isolation hospital], Tonga ilbo (June 8, 1921); “Maedok Imjil” [Syphilis (medicine) Gonorrhea (medicine)], Tonga ilbo (June 14, 1921); Arthur B. Reeve, “Ellen ûi kong—sipsam, kwisin sungbaeja (il)” [The exploits of Elaine—13. ‘the devil worshippers[sic]’ (part one)], translated by Ch’olligu, Tonga ilbo (June 14, 1921); “P’i pyöngwon kibû’gum” 齊病院寄附金 [Donations for an isolation hospital], Tonga ilbo (June 14, 1921).
time before they became that icon; we begin to address the shortcomings in Sowol scholarship (and Korean literary studies more generally), especially the dichotomization between Korean and foreign works, and the neglect of bibliographic contexts. Knowing that writers such as Yeats and Symons were important to Sowol and integral to discussions about him from the beginning, we can expand the discussion of Kim Sowol and foreign writers to investigate how their works were juxtaposed in periodicals of the day. Works by writers as varied as Li Bai (701–762), Charles Baudelaire (1821–1867), Rabindranath Tagore (1861–1941), Maxim Gorky (1868–1936), and Walt Whitman (1819–1892), in addition to Shakespeare and Arthur Reeve, appeared in at least thirty of the thirty-nine periodical publications in which Kim Sowol’s poetry was presented between 1920 and 1925.39 Viewing Kim Sowol in these periodicals inevitably brings Yeats and Symons into the discussion, and many other foreign writers as well. Importantly, we also begin to identify the broader group of authors and works that constituted the textual world inhabited by Kim Sowol’s poems in these publications. Crucially, we can also identify with considerable precision who was responsible for facilitating these juxtapositions and the readings they inspire, the editors responsible for including texts by Kim Sowol in this imaginary.

A review of Kim Sowol’s publishing activities and the periodicals in which he published reveals who was in charge of shepherding his work into print. Kim Sowol’s poetry, fiction, and essays appeared in thirty-nine different issues of at least ten different periodicals between March 1920, when his work first began to appear in print, and late December 1925, when his collection Chindallaekkot (Azaleas) appeared.40 There is also the likelihood that a significant number of Kim Sowol’s poems appeared in the literary journal Kamyon 假面 (Mask) in late 1925 and early 1926.41 However, these issues of Kamyon are now lost.42

39. I have not been able to examine a copy of the August 1923 Sinch’ŏnji, which may include translations as well.

40. These include Ch’angjo, Haksaenggye, Tonga ilbo, Kaebŏk, Paejae, Sinch’ŏnji, Sinyŏsŏng, Yongdae, Chosŏn munDan, Munmyŏng, and Kamyon.

41. Kim Ŭk remarks in a 1939 collection of poems by Kim Sowol that he edited, Sowol sich’o 素月詩抄 (A gathering of poems by Sowol), that the selection he presents is in no way a complete representation of Kim Sowol’s work. Kim suggests that just the poems Kim Sowol published in Kamyon would be sufficient to make an entire collection (sijip 詩集). Kim writes that, unfortunately, because of his own carelessness, he no longer has copies of Kamyon that would enable him to present all of Kim Sowol’s poems. Consequently, he writes, he selected poems from Sowol’s Chindallaekkot, as well as Kaebŏk, Samch’ŏlli, and the sixth and seventh issues of Kamyon. Kim Ŭk, “Yeŏn” 例言 [A word about the collection], in Sowol sich’o (A gathering of poems by Sowol) (Seoul: Pangmun Ch’ulp’ansa, 1939), 3. In the O Yoŏnsik collection. See Chapter 5 of Wayne de Fremery, “How Poetry Mattered in 1920s Korea” for a discussion of Kamyon.

These ten periodicals are most often presented in a 4.6-p’an (128 x 188 mm) or kukp’an (152 x 218 mm) format and printed on generally low-quality, machine-made paper. Metal staples still bind those issues that have not been rebound since their initial publication. In terms of general character, layout, and distribution, these publications include wide-margined but less widely distributed literary coterie magazines, such as Ch’angjo 創造 (Creation) and Yǒngdae 灵臺 (The soul’s place). They also include the narrow-margined presentations of the era’s most widely distributed publications, such as the intellectual monthly 43 Kaebŏk and the daily newspaper the Tonga ilbo. Between these poles, Kim Sowŏl’s poems also appear in magazines such as Haksaenggye 學生界 (Students’ world) and Sinyŏsŏng 新女性 (New woman) aimed at specific demographics within the larger population of colonial readers.

Examining the number of works Sŏwŏl published in each periodical, it is clear that he was a poet of the intellectual monthly Kaebŏk and the daily newspaper Tonga ilbo. Of the 127 works 44 by Sŏwŏl that scholars have been able to identify in journals from this period, about 40 percent appear in Kaebŏk and a quarter in the Tonga ilbo. Indeed, about two-thirds of Kim Sowŏl’s literary output between 1920 and 1925 appears in just these two periodicals. We see that while Sŏwŏl began his career in the important literary journal Ch’angjo and a magazine for students, Haksaenggye, Sŏwŏl published almost all his works that would appear in 1921 in the Tonga ilbo. Everything he published in 1922, his most active year for periodical publication, appeared in Kaebŏk.

In the early years of Kim Sowŏl’s career the number of works he published each year initially increased quite rapidly and reached a peak in 1922 during his time at Paejae High School (Paejae Kodŭng Pot’ong Hakkyo 培材高等普通學校). In 1923, the number of published works declined, perhaps because Sŏwŏl was busy traveling and coping with the events of that tumultuous year. After graduating from Paejae High School in March of 1923, 45 Sŏwŏl went to Tokyo.

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43. This is the term that Michael Robinson uses for chonghap chapchi 綜合雜誌 such as Kaebŏk that covered current affairs and topics of wide appeal while also including intellectual subjects. Michael Robinson, Cultural Nationalism in Colonial Korea, 54.

44. Kim Sowŏl often published the same poem in a number of different journals, and this number includes multiple publications. Moreover, it is important to note that this number depends upon what one considers a “work.” Kim Yongjik, for example, considers Kim Sowŏl’s short story “Ch’unjo” 春朝 (Spring morning) and the short poem it contains two separate literary entities when he lists Kim Sowŏl’s texts in his Kim Sowŏl chŏnjiip. I present “Ch’unjo” as a single work in my tally. For a description of how I reached this number, please see Table 1.

45. The March issue of Paejae describes Sowŏl as “studying in Japan” (Ilbon yuhak 日本留學) when he is listed with other members of his class near the end of the publication. “Kodŭng
Table 1. Number of Literary Works Published by Kim Sowol: March 1920 to December 1925

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Periodical/Number of works by year</th>
<th>Ch’angjo</th>
<th>Haksanggye Tonga ilbo</th>
<th>Kaebökk</th>
<th>Paejae</th>
<th>Sinch’onji</th>
<th>Sinryösöng</th>
<th>Yongdae</th>
<th>Chosön mundan</th>
<th>Mummyöng</th>
<th>Kamyöng</th>
<th>total no. by year</th>
<th>% of total no. of works by year</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>10</td>
<td>7.9%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1921</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>23</td>
<td>18.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1922</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>42</td>
<td>33.1%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1923</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>18</td>
<td>14.2%</td>
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<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>6.3%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>26</td>
<td>20.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>total no. of works between 1920 and 1925</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>127</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>% of total works</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>7%</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>1%</td>
<td>6%</td>
<td>4%</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>?</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Kim Yongjik, *Kim Sowöl chöunjip*, 2001 edition (Seoul: Sōul Taehakkyo ch’ulp’anbu, 1996), 556–563; “Sowöl ṭi ch’ogis 3-p’yŏn kwa hŭigwi han kongsk munkŏn ‘Kohyang ŭl ch’ajašo’ palgyŏn” [The discovery of three early poems by Sowöl and the rare official (North Korean) document “Finding (Sowöl’s) home”], *Munhak sasang* (May 2004), 70–101. I have added the poems that were recently rediscovered in *Haksanggye*. Also, I have treated “Sayokchŏl” 思欲絕 (Thinking about ending it) in the May 1923 issue of *Kaebökk* as a single poem because the poem is presented as a single poem in five parts in this issue of *Kaebökk*. Similarly, I have treated “Sŏdo yŏn” 西道餘韻 (Impressions of Sŏdo [literally, “western provinces”; in this case, “Sŏdo” suggests the northern region of Korea]) in the January 1, 1925 issue of the *Tonga ilbo* as a single poem in two parts. Kim Yongjik lists the titled sections of “Sŏdo yŏn,” “Pae” (Boat) and “Ot kwa pap kwa chayu” (Clothes and food and freedom), individually. In addition, I have not included the poem found in the short story “Ch’unjos” 春朝 (Spring morning), which appears in the October 1920 issue of *Haksanggye*, because it is part of the story. The poem “Sŏro midūm” (Believing each other) has not been included in the tally for *Tonga ilbo* in 1925 because the poem appears in the July 21, 1925 issue of the paper and not, as Kim Yongjik claims, the July 21, 1924 issue. Kim Chong’uk also provides an incorrect date for this poem in his collected works of Sowöl. Kim Chong’uk, *Chŏngbon Sowöl chöunjip*, vol. 2, 93. In addition, I have removed the poem “Sinang” 信仰 (Belief) that Kim Yongjik asserts appears in the June 1924 issue of *Sinryösöng*. The poem does not appear in copies of the original journal available at Korea University or the 1982 Hyŏndaesa facsimile reproduction of the journal. In fact, I have not discovered the poem in issues of *Sinryösöng* published between November 1923 and January 1926 available at Korea University or in the Hyŏndaesa facsimile. Finally, Kim Yongjik makes a number of errors when dating individual works. For example, he suggests that the poem “Chajŏn’gŏ 自轉車 (Bicycle) appears in the February 2, 1925 issue of *Tonga ilbo*. However, the poem appears in the April 13, 1925 *Tonga ilbo*. These errors, however, do not impact the data presented here.

Please note that the Korea University Library has digitized its copies of *Sinryösöng* and only allows one to view the paper versions of the journal under very special circumstances. I have viewed the digital copies.
to study at Tokyo Commercial College 東京商大. He returned to Korea approximately eight months later, shortly after the Great Kantō Earthquake struck Japan in September. Sowol published even fewer poems (just eight) in 1924, when accounts of his life begin to conflict and it is difficult to know precisely where he was living or what he was doing. Sowol may have been working at this time to complete what would become Chindallaekkot. A New Year's Day article in January 1925 by Kim Ōk mentions a completed manuscript by Kim Sowol. In 1925, during the year leading up to the publication of Azaleas in December, we see Sowol again publishing more actively in periodicals.

**Sowol’s Editors**

Kim Sowol paid considerable attention to the presentation of his poetry, as I and others have noted elsewhere. Of course he had only partial control over how it appeared in the periodicals of his day. His editors at companies such as Kaebyoks, the firm responsible for the publication of Kaebok and other important colonial periodicals, certainly played a role in shaping his work and how it was read at the time. However, to date, there have been no systematic studies of how editors at organizations such as Kaebyoks may have molded the public presentation of Sowol’s poems. We can begin the work of attempting to understand how the manuscript copies of Kim Sowol’s poems, most of which are lost, were translated into their printed forms by simply attempting to identify Sowol’s editors.

A closer look at how Kaebyoks was structured, along with information from the colophons of the periodicals surveyed here, suggests that Hyon Ch’ol 玄哲 had direct editorial control of the largest number of Kim Sowol’s literary works and that Kim Ōk, as well as members of the Ch’angjo coterie, played significant roles. The Ch’angjo group’s role in editing Kim Sowol’s poems means

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46. It is unclear if Sowol ever matriculated at the college. Despite assertions by Kim Ōk that he studied bookkeeping in Tokyo (Kim Ōk, “Sowoł uĩ saengae” 素月의 生涯 [Sowol’s life], Yosong [June 1939], 96–100, cited in Kim Chong’uk, Chŏnggon Sowoł chŏnji, 424), no documents have surfaced that prove positively that Sowol began his studies.

47. For a description of the conflicting accounts of Kim Sowol’s life during this period, see Wayne de Fremery, “How Poetry Mattered in 1920s Korea,” 162–164.

48. Kim Anso Ōk, “Sidan illyo˘n” 詩壇一年 [A year of poetry], Tonga ilbo, January 1, 1925.

that Kim Sowol’s editors were often just a few years older than he was and also from the P’yongan provinces. In trying to identify Kim Sowol’s editors we learn that in some instances, such as when he published in *Paejae*, the journal produced by his high school, Sowol probably edited his own poetry.

With the success of *Kaebyok* and the launching of a new journal, *Puin (Women)*, in June 1922, the staff at Kaebyoksa grew to approximately twenty people by January 1923. This staff was organized into three departments: an editorial department (*p’yonjipkuk 編輯局*) that consisted of a research section (*chosabu 調査部*), a politics and economy section (*chönggyöngbu 政經部*), a society section (*sahoebu 社會部*), and a literature and arts section (*hagyebu 學藝部*); a business and finance department (*yöngöpkuk 營業局*) that consisted of an accounting section (*kyöngnibu 經理部*), a sales section (*p’ammaebu 販賣部*), an advertising section (*kwanggobu 廣告部*), a printing section (*ch’ulp’änbu 出版部*), and a distribution section (*taeribu 代理部*); as well as a general affairs department (*sömgwa 庶務課*). Each department was overseen by a governing board that consisted of the company president, the editor-in-chief (*chugan 主幹*), and the heads of each department.

From this organizational schematic we learn that while Yi Tonhwa is listed as the editor of *Kaebyok* for each issue in which Kim Sowol appeared, Kim Kijon 金起濤 (1894–?), from Kim Sowol’s home prefecture (*kun 郡*) of Kusong, is likely to have been the editor-in-chief of *Kaebyok* when Kim Sowol was publishing most actively in the journal. Moreover, we see that the playwright Hyon Ch’ol and the leftist poet Pak Yonghui 朴英熙 (1901–?), who attended Paeje High School a few years before Sowol, both of whom served as head of the literature and art section, would have most directly overseen Kim Sowol’s manuscripts. The precise length of time that each man served in the position is

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52. Ibid., 31–33.


54. “Sawon tongjöng” 社員動靜 [People moving in the company], *Kaebyok* (October 1922), above the colophon.

55. Pak Yonghui was also likely to have been in relatively direct editorial control of Kim Sowol’s poem “Musim” 無心 (Indifference) in the January 1925 issue of *Sinyöösöng*. Yi Sanggyöng, “*Puin* esö ‘Sinyöösöng’ kkaji: kündae yösöng yön’gu üi kich’o charyo” [From *Puin* to *Sinyöösöng*: primary materials for the study of modern women] in *Puin/ Sinyöösöng 婦人/新女性 [Women/ new women]*, vol. 1, K’ep’oi Puksu reprint of *Puin* and *Sinyöösöng* (Seoul: K’ep’oi puksu ch’ulp’ansa, 2009), 9.
unclear. However, an announcement in the March 1922 issue of *Kaebyŏk* suggests that Hyŏn Ch’ŏl was head of the literature and arts section beginning in the spring of that year. Moreover, he appears to have held this position at least until April of 1924, and perhaps as late as June of 1925, when Pak Yŏnghŭi took over the post.⁵⁶

Colophons are only partially indicative of who was actually handling Sŏwŏl’s manuscripts, as the situation at *Kaebyŏk* demonstrates. However, colophons of the publications in which Sŏwŏl’s poetry appears suggest that his work was guided through publication at the highest level by a different editor at each journal. These editors include Kim Hwan 金煥 (1889–1953) at *Ch’angjo*, O Ch’ŏnsŏk 吳天錫 (1901–1987) at *Haksaenggye*, Yi Tonhwa 李敦化 (1884–?) at *Kaebyŏk*, Yi Sanghyŏp 李相協 (1893–1957) and Kim Ch’ŏlchung 金鐵中 (1882–?) at the *Tonga ilbo*, Henry Dodge Appenzeller (1889–1953) at *Paejae*, Paek Taejin 白大鎭 (1892–1967) at *Sinch’ŏnji*,⁵⁷ Pang Chŏngwhan 方定煥 (1899–1931) at *Sinyŏsŏng*, Im Changhwa 林長和 (1899–?) at *Yŏngdae*, Pang Inguŏn 方仁根 (1899–1975) at *Chosŏn mundan*, and Kim Ch’anggwŏn 金昌權 (1899–1975) at *Munmyŏng*. A glance at the birth dates of these most senior editors suggests that they were not entirely “senior” in terms of their age. Although I am uncertain about Kim Ch’anggwŏn’s dates and Im Changhwa’ s are unknown, only Kim Ch’ŏlchung and Yi Tonghwa appear to have been in their forties when Sŏwŏl’s poems appeared in their publications. Even Sŏwŏl’s principal at Paejae High School was quite young when he served as the editor of *Paejae*: Henry Appenzeller would have been thirty-four when Sŏwŏl’s poems appeared in the school’s periodical.

Kim Ok and O Ch’ŏnsŏk, a young man just a year older than Sŏwŏl who would study in the United States and become an important figure in South Korean education,⁵⁸ are most likely to have handled the manuscripts for many of Kim Sŏwŏl’s early publications. O, a member of the *Ch’angjo* coterie and editor of the new journal launched by Hansŏng Tosŏ Chusik Hoesa, was deeply involved with the first issue of *Haksaenggye* that appeared in July 1920. In

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⁵⁶. Ch’oe Suil, “*Kaebyŏk*” yŏn’gu, 35.
⁵⁷. This is necessarily a supposition. Currently, not even a facsimile copy of the August 1923 issue in which Sŏwŏl’s poetry appears is extant in South Korean libraries. Nor have I been able to discover it in any private collection. Consequently, this supposition is based on the last legible colophon in the facsimile housed at Korea University’s Research Institute of Korean Studies (Minjok Munhwa Yŏn’gugwon), which is the November 1922 issue.
addition to editing the new publication, O wrote six of the works included in *Haksaenggye*’s inaugural issue. Given his intense involvement, it is likely that he would have taken an active role in determining how “Môn huil” 면후일 (Some day long from now) and other poems by Kim Sowŏl were presented in the journal. Moreover, he is the person who awarded Kim Sowŏl’s short story “Ch’unjo” 春朝 (Spring morning) second prize (*chi* 地) in the October 1920 *Haksaenggye* literary contest, for which Kim Sowŏl earned one *wŏn*. Kim Sowŏl’s subsequent contributions to *Haksaenggye*, some of which were only recently rediscovered, all appear as winners of the monthly literary contest held by *Haksaenggye*. These later contests were all judged by Kim Ŭk. Consequently, we can be reasonably certain that Kim Ŭk acted as the editor of Kim Sowŏl’s poems in *Haksaenggye* in late 1920 and early 1921.

We can also be reasonably certain that Kim Ŭk had editorial control of Kim Sowŏl’s contributions to the *Tonga ilbo* newspaper between the spring 1924 and the summer 1925. The *Tonga Ilbosa sa* (A history of Tonga Ilbosa), our primary source for who worked at the paper and when, is silent about the editor in charge of the literature and arts section between June 1920 and December 1925. Consequently, it is unclear who chose and edited the poems.

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59. Kim Sowŏl, “Ch’unjo” 春朝 [Spring morning], *Haksaenggye* (October 1920), 74–76; O Ch’ŏnsŏk, “Sŏnja ú mal” 選者の말 [A word from the judge], *Haksaenggye* (October 1920), 80.


61. Kim Ŭk is listed as the judge of the December 1920 *Haksaenggye* contest where Kim Sowŏl’s poem “Sŏul ú kŏri” (Seoul Streets) was awarded second (地) prize. The prize categories are listed as *ch’ŏn* 天, *chi* 地, and *in* 人 (‘heaven,” “earth,” and “people,” respectively). The “heaven” prize was worth 1 *wŏn* 50 *chŏn*, the “earth” prize 1 *wŏn*, and the “people” prize 50 *chŏn*. Kim Sowŏl received the “earth” prize for “Sŏul ú kŏri” in the December 1920 *Haksaenggye*, the “heaven” prize for “I han pam” (This one night) and “Mat naeryŏn’im simsa” (Thoughts of meeting) in the January 1921 *Haksaenggye*, the “earth” prize for “Majusŏk” 磨住石 (Stone totem) in the April 1921 *Haksaenggye*, and the “earth” prize for “Kungin ch’ang” 宮人唱 (A palace person’s song) in the May 1921 *Haksaenggye*. Consequently, Kim Sowŏl would have received 4 *wŏn* 50 *chŏn* for his contributions to *Haksaenggye*. “Hyŏnsang mojip” 獻賞募集 (Seeking contest entries), *Haksaenggye* (November 1920), above the colophon; “Hyŏnsang mojip” (Seeking contest entries), *Haksaenggye* (December 1920), above the colophon; “Hyŏnsang mojip” (Seeking contest entries), *Haksaenggye* (January 1921), above the colophon; “Hyŏnsang mojip” (Seeking contest entries), *Haksaenggye* (April 1921), above the colophon; “Hyŏnsang mojip” (Seeking contest entries), *Haksaenggye* (May 1920), above the colophon; Kim Sowŏl, “Sŏul ú kŏri,” *Haksaenggye* (December 1920), 82; Kim Sowŏl, “I han pam,” and “Mat naeryŏn’im simsa,” *Haksaenggye* (January 1921), 44; Kim Sowŏl, “Majusŏk,” *Haksaenggye* (April 1921), 93; Kim Sowŏl, “Kungin ch’ang,” *Haksaenggye* (May 1921), 81–82.

Sowöl contributed so frequently to the “Reader’s Literature” (tokcha mundan 讀者文壇) section of the Tonga ilbo in 1921. However, the Tonga Ilbosa sa records that Kim Ök was a reporter and “an editor” at the paper from May of 1924 until August 1925. Specifically, it states that Kim was the editor of the literature and arts section on Mondays.\(^63\) Although it has gone unnoticed by scholars, nearly all of the poems by Sowöl that appear in the Tonga ilbo between May 1924 and August 1925 appear on a Monday.\(^64\) The only time that Sowöl’s poems do not appear on a Monday during this period is when they appear in the 1925 New Year’s Day edition of the paper. In this issue, Kim Sowöl’s poems are printed directly beneath an article by Kim Ök, which suggests that here, too, he was probably instrumental in the presentation of Sowöl’s work.\(^65\)

Investigating who oversaw the publication of Kim Sowöl’s poetry in this fashion, it becomes clear that members of the Ch’angjo coterie were central players in the presentation of Kim Sowöl’s texts. In addition to Kim Ök and O Ch’ŏnsŏk, Kim Tongin, one of the founding members of Ch’angjo, had a hand in arranging Kim Sowöl’s poetry in the periodicals. As is widely known, Kim Tongin describes a letter he received from Sowöl “while editing” the coterie magazine Yŏngdae. In that same 1929 newspaper article, he also vividly describes handling the manuscripts for the poems that would introduce Kim Sowöl to the literary world in the March 1920 issue of Ch’angjo.\(^66\) Ch’angjo coterie members also appear to have been in control of the editorial process at Chosŏn mundan when Kim Sowöl’s poems appeared there. While it is not clear who specifically was handling his work, editorial notes at the end of the April and July 1925 issues of Chosŏn mundan in which Kim Sowöl’s poems appear suggest that Kim Tongin, Kim Ök, and O Ch’ŏnsŏk, as well as Chŏn Yöngt’aeck, were quite involved.\(^67\)

63. Kim Ök is listed as the “Literature and arts editor for Mondays” (wŏryoil chuim munyebu hu 月曜日主任 文藝部後). Tonga Ilbosa Sa P’yŏnjip Wŏnhoe, Tonga Ilbosa sa, 425.
64. Tonga ilbo, November 24, 1924; Tonga ilbo, January 4, 1925; Tonga ilbo, February 2, 1925; and Tonga ilbo, July 21, 1925.
65. Tonga ilbo, January 1, 1925.
66. Kim Tongin, “Nae ka bon siin Kim Sowŏl,” cited in Kim Chong’uk, Chŏngbon Sowŏl chŏnjiwp, vol. 2, 410, 419. In this article Kim Tongin describes how the poems by Sowŏl that were to appear in Ch’angjo in March of 1920 were composed on the personal stationary of Kim Ök, suggesting that Kim Ök is likely to have played a role in editing the poems before the manuscripts were sent to Kim Tongin.
67. “Munsadu ˘l u ˘i moyang cho ˘ moyang: p’yo˘njibin” [Writers in this situation and that: the editors], Chosŏn mundan, Sŏngjin Munhwā facsimile at Adan Mun’go (April 1925), 127–128; “Munsa sosik p’yo˘npyŏn” 文士消息片片 (Bits of writers’ gossip), Chosŏn mundan (July 1925),
A short passage in the editorial notes at the end of the March 1923 issue of *Paejae*, the publication supported by Kim Sowol’s high school, suggests that in addition to having his work edited by members of the *Ch’angjo* coterie, Sowol also edited some of his own poetry. Although it is impossible to know who is speaking, a member of the editorial group responsible for the text of the March issue mentions Sowol. He writes, referring to a poem called “Songnim” 松林 (Pine forest) by Chang Taejin 張大鎭 that appears on page 131, “I wasn’t sure what Sowol was talking about when he said with a smile on his round face, ‘Let’s work on this one. The bones are good;’ it was the poem [by Chang Taejin].”

While not as concretely, another short editorial note at the end of the March issue of *Paejae* also suggests Sowol’s editorial involvement. The following short passage is also included with other brief editorial blurbs near the end of the periodical: “Needing to take that dreadful entrance exam, I returned home before we were able to finish the editing; I beg of my fellow editors many pardons.” The character *so* 素 from Sowol’s pen name appears in parentheses after the short statement. Although this is hardly concrete proof of Sowol’s authorship, Sino-Korean characters that suggest other members of Sowol’s high school class appear among these short editorial notes as well, indicating that *so* 素 may indeed refer to Sowol. The character *ch’ong* 禎 appears after the fifth short passage and the characters *pyo’ng hu’i* 昖熙 are found after the final short editorial notice. “Pyo’nghu’i” is very likely to refer to Han Pyo’nghu’i 韓昞熙 (1903–1932), a young man listed with Kim Sowol’s graduating class in this same issue of *Paejae*. “Ch’ong” is likely to be Yun Ch’ongho 尹禎皓, who is also listed with Kim Sowol’s graduating class and, like Sowol, left shortly after his graduation from high school to study in Japan.

215–216. *Ch’angjo* coterie members were an important element in the group that edited *Choson mundan*. It should be noted, however, that the group of editors listed by *Choson mundan* in these two issues contains fifteen writers, making it difficult to know who specifically was responsible for handling the manuscripts.

68. “P’yo’njipsil 編輯室 (The editors’ room),” *Paejae* (March 1923), 165.

69. Ibid.

70. Han Pyo’nghu’i’s name appears, along with Sowol’s, in the list of students that graduated in *Paejae* High School’s seventh class in 1923. “Kodung pot’ong hakkyo che 7-hoe” (The seventh high school class), *Paejae* (March 1923), 163–64. Han appears to have had a short, troubled life. The *Tonga ilbo* reports his death by suicide at the age of 29 (30-se) in 1932. According to the article, he became ill and started acting strangely after spending two years in prison for his involvement with the anarchist group Hukki yonnaeng (Black Flag Federation) in 1925. “Hukki Yonnaeng chojikcha Han Pyo’nghu’i Ssi chasal” 黑旗聯盟組織者 韓昞熙氏自殺 [Black Flag Federation member Han Pyo’nghu’i commits suicide], *Tonga ilbo*, October 10, 1932.

71. Yun is the only student in Sowol’s class whose name includes the character “Ch’ong” 禎.
Table 2 (below, following the conclusion) records the poems that Sowól’s various editors were most likely to have influenced. Critics and scholars have long known that Kim Ŭk played a role in crafting Kim Sowól’s poems, but they have not attempted to identify with any precision which poems Kim Ŭk is likely to have influenced most profoundly. This table begins to fill a gap in our knowledge about how Kim Sowól’s poems were made during his lifetime and have been understood since. It helps us to see, for example, that while Kim Ŭk may have had an impact on Kim Sowól’s canonical “Azaleas” before it was sent to Kaebyŏk, it was Hyŏn Ch’ŏl, as head of the literature and arts department at Kaebyŏksa, who would have overseen the making of the poem that appeared in the July 1922 issue of the journal. Moreover, although it is unclear what, if any, influence Kim Ŭk may have had upon the choice, it was ultimately Hyŏn Ch’ŏl’s decision to print the word “minyosi” 民謠詩 (folk-song poem) next to Kim Sowól’s poem, a decision that, along with Kim Ŭk’s assertions about Kim Sowól’s importance as a folk-song-style poet, has had a profound influence upon how Kim Sowól’s poems have mattered.

Conclusion

The aim of this paper has been to illuminate how critical discourse about Kim Sowól has ignored the various actors involved in the production of his texts and the sociology of literary production in colonial Korea. The ambition has been to broaden our critical gaze so that poems by Kim and works by other important twentieth-century Korean authors can be re-imagined within the contexts of their initial presentations in print, before they were integrated so forcefully into narratives of literary significance and national imagining that have left little room for the individual histories of these texts and the people who created

“P’yŏnjipsil,” Paejae (March 1923), 165–66; “Kodŭng po’t’ông hakkyo che 7-hoe,” Paejae (March 1923), 163–64. Other than what is suggested in this issue of Paejae, information about Yun’s life, including his date of birth, is not readily available.

72. Kim Tongin appears to be the first to explicitly discuss Kim Ŭk’s importance to Kim Sowól in his 1929 article “Nae ka bon siin Kim Sowól,” Chosŏn ilbo, December 10–12, 1929. More recently Chŏn Ch’ŏnggu presents an interesting discussion of the relationship between Kim Sowól and Kim Ŭk. See the first chapter in Chŏn Ch’ŏnggu, Kim Ch’ŏngsik chak’um yŏng’gu [A study of the works of Kim Ch’ŏngsik] (Seoul: Somyŏng Ch’ulp’ansa, 2007). Pak Taehŏn goes so far as to suggest that Kim Ŭk may have even authored poems attributed to Kim Sowól. See Pak Taehŏn, Kosŏ iyagi: Hosanbang chuim Pak Taehŏn ŭ yet ch’aek handam kaeksŏl [Tales of old books: the stories of Pak Taehŏn, owner of (the antiquarian bookshop) Hosanbang 壺山房] (Seoul: Yŏrhwadang, 2008), 97–102.
them. Identifying Kim Sowöl’s editors seemed an appropriate first step in this endeavor.

The relatively simple step of identifying Kim Sowöl’s editors has important ramifications for how we read canonical Korean works from the early twentieth century. The most significant, as I have stressed, is our ability to see Kim Sowöl’s texts in their complex socio-textual historical moments. This enables us to reconsider how to organize and contextualize Sowöl’s works. As the summary of critical approaches above suggests, specific thematic (han, nim, the Korean folk, Korean tradition), temporal (general assertions about the colonial period), and formal (mostly rhythmic) characteristics have been used to organize and articulate Kim Sowöl’s poetry. The table below, which includes Kim Sowöl’s editors and the poems that they oversaw, suggests one of many new critical schemas that might be imagined for the study of Kim Sowöl, one that organizes his texts according to the people involved in their production. The conceptual dichotomies—tradition/ modernity, native/ foreign, authorial originality/ derivativeness—that have shaped the discourse about Kim can (and should) be acknowledged for the roles that they have played. But they should not confine that discourse in the future, particularly if doing so increasingly endangers our ability to understand all that Korea’s fragile textual artifacts from the early twentieth century have to tell us about the people who made them and the various ways that they may have mattered.

Recontextualizing Sowöl’s work—emphasizing the conditions under which his texts have been created and the textual contexts in which they initially appeared—productively reorients investigations of Kim’s oeuvre, presenting new critical opportunities. We can begin to rethink the methods used for critically editing his corpus, making them more inclusive of the social and material histories of his individual texts. Having identified the editors for one important author, we can begin to discern aspects of literary networks that may help to better define the literary field in colonial Korea.\footnote{I have begun this work elsewhere. See de Fremery, “How Poetry Mattered in 1920s Korea,” especially Chapter 3.} Investigating the role individual editors may have played in shaping individual texts by Sowöl, we might, for example, examine the lexical, thematic, and/or stylistic dispositions of the poems by Kim Sowöl that were supervised editorially by Kim Ŭk and compare them with those overseen by Hyŏn Ch’ŏl. These two groupings of poems, in turn, might be juxtaposed with Kim’s poems in the March 1923 issue of Paejae, poems over which Kim Sowöl seems to have had some editorial control. This kind of triangulated investigation could help distinguish Kim
Sowŏl’s work as a poet from that of his editors, thereby illuminating important aspects of Korean literary production with considerable historical precision.

Initial analyses along these lines, such as simple word frequency studies (where words are defined by a space between glyphs), suggest that there are significant lexical and stylistic differences between the poems edited by Hyŏn Ch’ŏl, Kim Ŭk, and Sowŏl. For example, the poems edited by Hyŏn Ch’ŏl are, as a group, significantly more explicit about their subjects. Tangsin 당신 (you), kŭ 그 (an anaphoric designator that can be used as a pronoun), and na[ṇǔn] 나는 (I) are the most frequently appearing words in the portion of Sowŏl’s corpus edited by Hyŏn Ch’ŏl. The most frequent word in the group of poems edited by Kim Ŭk is the interjection “ah” (아아). Poems that Sowŏl may have edited himself thwart word frequency analyses based on bibliographic space because his poems in Paejae are presented in kind of scriptio continua. Space appears only infrequently between the words in Sowŏl’s poems in Paejae. Interestingly, periods and commas are used at a high frequency to articulate the poems grammatically and rhythmically. Poems edited by Kim Ŭk use punctuation significantly less often, although poems edited by Hyŏn Ch’ŏl also use a relatively high number of periods and commas.

More complex analyses of the differences between these poems could be conducted. But even these preliminary results could be compared with the corpus of writings by Hyŏn Ch’ŏl and Kim Ŭk to see if Kim Ŭk frequently made use of interjections in his poetry or Hyŏn Ch’ŏl was also explicit about identifying his grammatical subjects, which might suggest ways that they may have intervened editorially in Kim Sowŏl’s poetry. Sowŏl’s own apparent typographic stylistics, suggested by the frequent use of commas and periods and the infrequent use of space between words, could be compared with typographic conventions of his classmates in Paejae, as well as the use of punctuation marks in Kaebyŏk. Juxtaposing Kim Sowŏl’s texts based on the processes of literary production presents new opportunities for critical creativity. It enables us to imagine Kim’s poems in previously unexplored constellations rather than plotted along familiar discursive trajectories.

Such creative, historically grounded inquiries are only possible if we acknowledge and investigate the sociology of texts. New modes of textual

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74. This analysis of the poems edited by Kim Ŭk does not include the poems in the March 1920 issue of Ch’angio, which Kim Ŭk may have edited before the poems were sent to Kim Tongin at Ch’angio. Please see note 66.

75. These word frequency analyses are based on digital texts created by the author working from copies of the original journals. They have been performed using prototype software developed by the author and Kim Sanghun.
production and re-articulation, databases and computational tools, can help to remedy our lack of knowledge about literary production in colonial Korea by facilitating the ever-quicker exploration of large textual corpora, but only if those corpora include information about how individual texts have been iterated through time. Absent this information, these same systems will only accelerate the pace at which twentieth-century Korean texts are divorced from the rich opportunities for discovery that their historical iterations present. Until quite recently, bibliographic specifics about the texts used to make the digital versions of Kaebyoung hosted by the National Institute of Korean History (Kuksa p’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe) were almost completely absent. This was the case for most of the digital texts presented in this important information system. As recently as March 2014, the only available “bibliographic information” (sŏji ch’ŏngbo) in the Han’guksa Database about Kaebyoung’s twenty-fifth issue, in which “Azaleas,” the title poem of Kim’s only book of poems appeared initially, read:

Name of Journal: Kaebyoung, no. 25
Place of Publication: Kaebyoungsa
Date of Publication: July 10, 1922
Status of Service: Full-text journal

Returning to the Institute’s web portal in early May of 2014 while preparing this essay for publication, I discovered that the website had been updated and information about the publications used to create many of the full-text digital copies of early twentieth-century journals presented in the database is now included. This is an exciting turn of events. Ironically, with regard to Kaebyoung, the Institute’s editors admit that they have lost track of which texts were used to create their digital presentation of the journal. “It is difficult to discern which copy texts were used,” they confess after presenting an extended list of possibilities, which include various facsimiles and copies of certain issues

76. “Bibliographic information” (sŏji ch’ŏngbo) for the full-text version of the July 1922 issue of Kaebyoung at the Kuksa p’yŏnch’an wiwŏnhoe, Han’guksa Database, http://db.history.go.kr/front2010/dirservice/common/viewSejiItem.jsp?pTableName=HD_MA&cpLevel=3&pDatabaseID=ma_13&pRecordID=ma_13_025&pSejiItemName=%ED%95%9C%EA%B5%AD%EA%B7%BC%ED%98%84%EB%8C%80%EC%9E%A1%EC%A7%80%EC%9E%90%EB%A3%8C&pSectionList=SYS.MERGE,BIB.PUBLISHER,BIB.DT_ISSUED,BIB.TYPE&cpTableNameList=%EC%9E%A1%EC%A7%80%EB%AA%85,%EB%B0%9C%ED%96%89%EC%B2%98,%EB%B0%9C%ED%96%89%EC%9D%BC,%EC%84%9C%EB%B9%84%EC%8A%A4%ED%98%95%ED%83%9C (accessed March 31, 2014).

housed at the National Library of Korea. The frankness of the editors is welcome. Their forthcoming comments serve to clarify how easily we can lose track of a text’s history and who is responsible for the editorial choices behind the digital editions, consulted more and more frequently, of historical journals that include canonical Korean authors such as Kim Sowôl: Sowôl’s contemporaries, such as Hyôn Ch’ôl? Or unidentified personnel at the National Institute of Korean History?

Table 2. Kim Sowôl’s Editors, 1920–1925

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Editor/ Periodical</th>
<th>Ch’angjo (March 1920)</th>
<th>Haksaeunggye</th>
<th>Tonga Ilbo</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kim Tongin*</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Nangin ū pom” 浪人의 봄 (Wanderer’s spring)</td>
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<td>“Ya ū ujôk” 夜의 雨適 (The night’s rain drops)</td>
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<td>“Ogwa ū ūp” 午過의 泣 (Afternoon tears)</td>
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<td>“Kūriwô” 귀위 (Lonely)</td>
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<td>“Ch’un’gang” 春岡 (Spring hill)</td>
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<td>Kim Ök</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Sōul ū kôri” 서울의거리 (Seoul streets) (December 1920)</td>
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<td>“Namuribôl norae” 나무리벌노래 (Song of Namuribôl) November 24, 1924)</td>
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<td>“I han pam 이한밤 (This one night)” (January 1921)</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Ch’a wa sôn” 車의船 (Cars and boats) (November 24, 1924)</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Mat naeryûnnûn simsa 心思 (Thoughts of meeting) (January 1921)</td>
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<td>“Iyo” 儀謡 (Folk song) (November 24, 1924)</td>
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<td>“Kungin ch’âng” 宮人唱 (A palace person’s song) (May 1921)</td>
<td></td>
<td>“Mallisông” 萬里城 (The Great Wall) (January 1, 1925)</td>
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<tr>
<td>“Ch’ollyi malli” 千里萬里 (One thousand, ten thousand ri) (January 1, 1925)</td>
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<td>“Nam ū nara ttang” 남의나라량 (The soil of another country) (January 1, 1925)</td>
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<td>“Ot” 옷 (Clothes) (January 1, 1925)</td>
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Table 2. (continued)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Editor/Periodical</th>
<th>Poem 1</th>
<th>Poem 2</th>
<th>Poem 3</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Kim Ök</strong></td>
<td>“Kamak tŏmbul” 가막orum (Cosmos flowers) (January 4, 1925)</td>
<td>“Hansik” 寒食 (Cold food) (February 2, 1925)</td>
<td>“Pŏt ma’il” 백마을 (A friend’s village) (February 2, 1925)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Sŏro midŭm (abun)” 서로미들 (押韻) (Believing each other (rhyming) (July 21, 1925)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Editor/ Periodical: Haksenje</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>O Ch’ŏnsŏk</strong></td>
<td>“Mŏn huil” 며후일 (Some day long from now) (July 1920)</td>
<td>“Kŏch’ŭn p’ul hŏ’t’ŏrojim moraedong ŭro” 거ائه 허트러진 모래동으로 (Toward sand drifts scattered with wild grasses) (July 1920)</td>
<td>“Chugŭmyŏn?” 죽으면? (If death?) (July 1920)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Ch’unjo” 春朝 (Spring morning) October 1920)</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Editor/Periodical: Kaebyŏk</strong></td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>Hyŏn Ch’ŏl</strong></td>
<td>“Kūm chandŭ” 죽란디 (Amber grass) (January 1922)</td>
<td>“Kkum” 꿈 (Dreams) (January 1922)</td>
<td>“K’a” 계 (Swallow) (January 1922)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Ch’ŏt ch’im’a” 첫치마 (Her first skirt) (January 1922)</td>
<td>“Sua” 樹芽 (Buds) (January 1922)</td>
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<td>“Ōma ya nuna ya” 어마야 누나야 (O Mom, O Sister) (January 1922)</td>
<td>“Puhŏngsae” 부행새 (Owl) (January 1922)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>“Tal ma’i” 탈마지 (First full moon) (January 1922)</td>
<td>“Hwangch’okpul” 黃燭불 (Yellow lamp) (January 1922)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Kaeami” 개암이 (Ants) (January 1922)</td>
<td>“Tak ŭn kkokkuyo” 담은곳을 (The cock crows) (February 1922)</td>
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<td>“Chebi” 제비 (Swallow) (January 1922)</td>
<td>“Kkum kkwin ku’nennal 그넷날 (A dream of that past) (February 1922)</td>
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<td>“Seabyŏk” 새벽 (Dawn) (February 1922)</td>
<td>“Chemulp’o esŏ ‘pam’” 濟物浦에서 밤 (At Chemulp’o ‘night’) (February 1922)</td>
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<td>“Nae chip” 내집 (My home) (February 1922)</td>
<td>“Seabŏk” 세벽 (Dawn) (February 1922)</td>
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<td>“Param ŭ pom” 바람의봄 (Spring’s wind) (April 1922)</td>
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<td>“Mulkŏl i pyŏnhayŏ pong namu pat i doendago” 물결이변하여 길이منذ하어 (They say waves become a mulberry grove) (April 1922)</td>
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<td>“Tungpul kwa majo anjŏsŏryŏn” 登불과 마조 안젓스라멘 (When I sat facing the lamp) (April 1922)</td>
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<td>“Pom pam” 봄밤 (Spring night) (April 1922)</td>
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“Yöllak” 悅樂 (Pleasure) (June 1922)
“Kongwón úi pam” 公園의밤 (The garden’s night) (June 1922)
“Onún pom” 오는봄 (Coming spring) (June 1922)
“Mam e sok út saram” 맛에속 ebp사람 (The one in my heart) (June 1922)
“Chindallaekkot” 진달내꽃 (Azaleas) (July 1922)
“Kaeyóul (chó)” 개 (渚)여울 (Stream) (July 1922)
“Chebi” 제비 (Swallows) (July 1922)
“Changbyǒlli” 將別里 (Changbyǒlli) (July 1922)
“Kojókhan nal” 孤寂한날 (Quiet lonely day) (July 1922)
“Kangch’on” 江村 (River town) (July 1922)
“Món huil” 면후일 (Some day long from now) (August 1922)
“P’ul ttagi” 풀차기 (Plucking grass) (August 1922)
“Kú san u e” 그산우에 (On that mountain) (August 1922)
“Pada” 바다 (The sea) (August 1922)
“Kiphi mittûn simùnóng” 깊히 믿든심부 (A sincerity I deeply believed) (August 1922)
“Nyennat” �.Encoding (A familiar face) (August 1922)
“Kail” 가을 (Autumn) (August 1922)
“Nim kwa pǒt” 냉과 벗 (Friends and lovers) (August 1922)
“Nijŏtûn mánn” 니것든만 (The forgotten heart) (August 1922)
“Ka nûn pom sam wól” 가는봄三 월 (March spring leaving) (August 1922)
“Hambak nun” 함박눈 (Big snowflakes) (October 1922)
“Kkum chari” 자리 (Dream place) (November 1922)
“Kiphûn kumùng” 깊은구멍 (The deep hole) (November 1922)
“Nim ū norae” 뉴스노래 (Love’s song) (February 1923)
“Nyet iagi” 냉이악이 (Old stories) (February 1923)
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<td>“Sinang” 信仰 (Belief) (January 1925)</td>
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<td>“Chŏnyŏk ttae” 저녁 (At dusk) (January 1925)</td>
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<td>“Sihon” 詩魂 (Poetic Soul) (May 1925)</td>
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<td>Pak Yŏnghŭi</td>
<td>“Musim” 無心 (Indifference)</td>
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<td>Paejae (March 1923)</td>
<td>Kim Sŏwl</td>
<td>“Ttŏdora kanŭn kyejip” 도도라가는계집 (L’Odyssée d’une fille [A Girl’s Odyssey])</td>
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<td>“Talpam” 달밤 (Moonlit night)</td>
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<td>“Kipko kipp’ŭn ŏnyak” 김كور푸언약 (The deepest depth of my word)</td>
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<td>“Osinŭn nun” 오시눈눈 (Coming snow)</td>
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<td>“Chyŏptong” 쥐통 (Cuckoo)</td>
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<td>“Kilson” 길손 (Traveler)</td>
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<td>“Pom param” 봄바람 (Spring wind)</td>
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<td>“Pidan an’gae” 비단안개 (Silk mist)</td>
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Sources (in addition to those discussed in the main body of this article): Yi Sanggyŏng 이상경, “‘Puin’ esŏ ‘Sinyŏsong’ kkaji,” 3–35.

* Kim Ök may have had a hand in editing these poems. Please see note 66 in the body of the article.