

Locating Irish Drama Translation in Modern Korean Theater under Colonialism

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1. Introduction

In her 1996 essay on reappraising the role of the translator, Susan Bassnett suggests that "translation could be documented as having been at various moments subversive, innovatory or radical" (*The Meek or the Mighty* 13). However, rare account has been taken of translation as a subversive power in colonial contexts as Cronin puts it (35). This article attempts to explain how translation is formed as a site of subversion in colonial contexts. For this purpose, it traces the formation of Irish drama translation in modern Korean theater during the colonial period from the 1920s to the 1930s, drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's theoretical tools, 'field' and 'habitus'.

In an effort to reconcile the objective and the subjective, Bourdieu introduced the concepts of 'field' and 'habitus'. According to Bourdieu, modern

society consists of fields which are defined by resources or capital specific to the 'field'¹⁾. Competition takes place within a 'field' and the positions of social actors or agents and their interrelations are determined by the distribution of different kinds of resources or capital²⁾. The individuals who have the most resources occupy dominant positions within the 'field'. The social actors or agents who participate in these struggles may have differing aims. Some may seek to maintain or alter the distribution of the forms of capital specific to the 'field'. Their chances to win or lose depend on their positions. Dominant positions guarantee more possibilities to win. So the fields are dynamic social spaces which operate on a hierarchical basis. The existence of the field presupposes the 'habitus' because the field is the result of the practice of the 'habitus' or externalization of the 'habitus'.

The 'habitus', a Latin word which refers to a habitual or typical condition, state or appearance, is "a set of dispositions which incline agents to act and react in certain ways"(Thompson 12). According to Bourdieu,

"[t]he habitus, which is the generative principle of responses more or less well adapted to the demands of a certain field, is the product of an individual history, but also, through the formative experiences of earliest infancy, of the whole collective history of family and class". (*In Other Words* 91)

The existence of a 'habitus' presupposes the 'field' because the 'habitus' is the effect of internalization of objective social structures or fields through experience of an individual or a group. Therefore, 'field' and 'habitus' are intrinsically interdependent. The 'field' can not exist without social agents who

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- 1) The resources or capital can be principally differentiated into four categories: economic capital, social capital (various kinds of valued relations with significant others), cultural capital (primarily legitimate knowledge of one kind or another) and symbolic capital (prestige and social honour)(Bourdieu, *Language* 229-31).
 - 2) Positions stand in relationships of domination, subordination or equivalence (homology) to each other by virtue of the access they afford to the goods or resources (capital) which are at stake in the 'field'(Jenkins 84-85; Thompson 14).

possess the 'habitus' and individuals cannot develop their 'habitus' suitable to the 'field' to which they belong without participating in the 'field'.

According to Bourdieu, social practices are the product of the dialectical relationship between the 'field' and the 'habitus'. They are neither the aggregate of individual behavior nor the product of supra-individual structures. They are the product of the interplay of these two. Translation practice, in Bourdieu's terms, also can be understood as the effect of this interplay.

Bourdieu's theory of practice has been adopted by translation scholars - Lefevere (Bassnett & Lefevere 1998), Simeoni (1998), Gouanvic (2005) and Hanna (2005) - for the past ten years. The interest in his sociology is part of an attempt to overcome the limits of translation theories, especially the polysystem framework (Buzelin 2003). Hermans says one of the limitations of polysystem theory lies in that it is depersonalized: polysystem theory takes little heed of political and social power relations or more concrete entities such as institutions or groups, and the struggle is waged by competing norms and models rather than by individuals or collectives who stand to gain or lose something by the outcome(117-19).

It is from this criticism of polysystem theory that this article turns to Bourdieu, and focuses on translation practice not only as determined by socio-political and socio-cultural factors but also as the product of individual social practices. Therefore, Bourdieu's theoretical concepts, 'field' and 'habitus' could be useful and effective tools to investigate the process.

2. Irish Drama Translation in Colonial Korea

It was in 1895 that Western literature began to be translated into Korean³⁾.

3) The first Western literary works translated into Korean were *The Pilgrim's Progress* by John Bunyan translated by Mr. and Mrs Jas. S. Gale, and *The Arabian Nights* translated by Jeong Sang-geun (Gim B. 152-23).

Until 1910 before the annexation of Korea by Japan, Western novels and poems were translated into Korean, but a large number of the translated works were historical, biographical and political texts. Korean intellectuals thought they needed 'practical' rather than 'artistic' literature, which could encourage the public to face their reality because they were faced with a situation where they might lose their national sovereignty under the threat of Japanese and Western powers.

With the annexation in 1910, the so-called Dark Age began. The Japanese colonial government prohibited the publication of history or biography-related translations and confiscated and burned all such books because they thought their publication might awaken Korean national consciousness. Only 'artistic' literature was allowed to be translated into Korean during this period(Gim B. 414).

In the wake of the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919⁴⁾, the Japanese colonial government shifted its policy from a military dictatorial to a cultural one. With changes in the colonial policy, a larger variety of literary genres were translated into Korean during the 1920s. Drama from Western countries such as Great Britain, the United States, Germany, France, Russia etc, began to be translated and imported into Korea during this period. It was in 1921 that the works of Irish playwrights were first imported. During the 1930s, the number of translated Irish plays exceeded British ones⁵⁾. The following lists detail translated Irish drama published and, then, staged in colonial Korea⁶⁾:

4) Korean people rose against the brutal military regime of Japanese colonizers in mass demonstrations in March, 1919. It was the greatest mass movement of Korean people in all their history. Facing the strong resistance of Korean people and international criticism on their harsh colonial rule, Japanese colonizers reorganized their colonial rule under a slogan "harmony between Japan and Korea" and adopted a Cultural Policy.

5) The number of published translations of British and Irish drama works during the 1930s was eight and twelve respectively(Gim B. 718-19). Among the Irish ones, two of them were translated by different translators and published twice. The number of published translations during the 1920s was sixteen for British and four for Irish.

6) Shaw and Wilde were excluded from the list because they were regarded as

Published Works

Author	Source Text Title	Target Text Title	Translator	Source
Lord Dunsany	<i>The Glittering Gate</i>	<i>Beonjeogineun Mun</i>	Gim U-jin	<i>Dongmyeong</i> 2:16(33). April 1923. 8-9.
	<i>Fame and the Poet</i>	<i>Yeongye Yeosin gwa Siin</i>	Jo Yeong-dae	<i>Sincheonji</i> 2. April 1924.
	<i>Golden Doom</i>	<i>Hwanggeum Unmyeong</i>	Jang Gi-je	<i>Munye Wolgan</i> , 1:1. November 1931. 83-93
	<i>The Tents of the Arabs</i>	<i>Arabia ui Cheonmak</i>	Yi Ha-yun	<i>Donggwang</i> 36. August 1932. 107-17
	<i>Fame and the Poet</i>	<i>Yeongye Yeosin gwa Siin</i>	An Yong-sun	<i>Joseon Ilbo Daily</i> , 6th to 9th December 1934.
Lady Gregory	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i>	<i>Dalt'eul Ti'ae</i>	Bak Yong-cheol	<i>Gaehyeok</i> 16. October 1921, 130-39
	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i>	<i>Wolchul</i>	Choe Byeong-han	<i>Daejung Gongron</i> 27, June 1930. 193-200
	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i>	<i>Wolchul</i>	Choe Jeong-u	<i>Joseon Ilbo Daily</i> . 3rd to 15th October 1931.
	<i>The Workhouse Ward</i>	<i>Binminwon</i>	Choe Jeong-u	<i>Donggwang</i> 35. July 1932. 114-19.
	<i>The Gaol Gate</i>	<i>Okmun</i>	Choe Jeong-u	<i>Joseon Ilbo Daily</i> . 8th to 14th February 1933
J.M Synge	<i>Riders to the Sea</i>	<i>Badaro Ganeun Jadeul</i>	Bak Yong-cheol	<i>Gaehyeok</i> 25. July 1922. 53-65
	<i>Riders to the Sea</i>	<i>Badaro Ganeun Gija</i>	Jang Gi-je	<i>Daejung Gongron</i> 22, March 1930. 208-19.
	<i>Riders to the Sea</i>	<i>Badaro Naaganeun Saramdeul</i>	unknown	<i>Byeolgeongon</i> 5:10 (46) 1930. 160-68
Sean O'Casey	<i>The Shadow of a Gunman</i>	<i>Pyeonuidae ui Geurimja</i>	Jang Gi-Je	<i>Joseon Ilbo Daily</i> . 21st August to 22nd September 1931.
St. J. Ervine	<i>The Magnanimous Lover</i>	<i>Gwandaehan Aein</i>	Jang Gi-je	<i>Donggwang</i> 35, July 1932. 101-13.
William B. Yeats	<i>The Only Jealousy of Emer</i>	<i>Pungrang gwa ui Ssaum</i>	Yim Hak-su	<i>Joseon Ilbo Daily</i> . 4th to 10th July 1936.

Englishmen rather than Irishmen in colonial Korea. During the colonial period, six works by Oscar Wilde including *Salome*, *Vera*, *The Importance of Being Ernest*, etc. and Shaw's *How He Lied to Her Husband* were published. Wilde's *Salome* was translated six times, but never performed in colonial Korea. Shaw's *How He Lied and Arms and the Man* were performed on the Korean stage.

Staged Works

Author	Source Text Title	Target Text Title	Director	Theater Company
Lord Dunsany	<i>The Glittering Gate</i>	<i>Challanhan Mun</i>	Gim U-jin	Geukyesul Hyeophoe, July 1921
	<i>The Gods of the Mountain</i>	<i>Jijanggyo ui Yurae</i>	Bak Seung-hi	Towolhoe, July 1924
	<i>Fame and the Poet</i>	<i>Yeongye Yeosin gwa Siin</i>	Bak Seung-hi	Towolhoe, April 1925.
	<i>The Gods of the Mountain</i>	<i>Narma (misprint of Marma) ui Chilsin</i>	unknown	Ewha Girl's College, February 1929
	<i>The Tents of the Arabs</i>	<i>Arabia ui Cheonmak</i>	Yi Ha-yun	Yeonhi College, June 1933
Lady Gregory	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i>	<i>Wolchul</i>	Yeon Hak-nyeon	Paskyula, July 1927
	<i>The Gaol Gate</i>	<i>Okmun</i>	Hong Hae-seong	Silheom Mudae, June 1932
St. J. Ervine	<i>The Magnanimous Lover</i>	<i>Gwandaehan Aein</i>	Hong Hae-seong	Silheom Mudae, June 1932
T.C. Murray	<i>Birthright</i>	<i>Hyeongje</i>	Bulmyeongui	Myeong-Il Theater, December 1932
J.M. Synge	<i>In the Shadow of the Glen</i>	<i>Gokganyeong</i>	Bak Seung-hi	Towolhoe, April 1925
	<i>In the Shadow of the Glen</i>	<i>Gokganyeong</i>	Bak Seung-hi	Towolhoe, September 1925

Fourteen plays by seven playwrights were published in magazines or newspapers or performed on the stage during the colonial period. Among these, eleven works by six Irish playwrights were published, including four works by Lord Dunsany, three works by Lady Gregory, and one work each by J.M. Synge, Sean O'Casey, St. J. Ervine, and W.B. Yeats. Nine works by five playwrights were staged and six of them were also published. Among these, three works were introduced only on the stage without being published in newspapers or magazines: Dunsany's *The Gods of the Mountain*, Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen*, and Murray's *Birthright*.

According to Bentley, "even more than other arts [...] drama is a chronicle and brief abstract of the time, revealing not only the surface but the whole material and spiritual structure of an epoch"(77), but it is difficult to find out

why these particular works were selected, because they do not reveal consistency in their themes or subjects. The only clue is that the Irish playwrights chosen were those involved in the Irish dramatic movement. The playwrights listed here are enormously different - ranging from the mystic dramatist Lord Dunsany, to the much tougher realist writer, Sean O'Casey. Ordinarily, to work out the selection criteria, one could study translator's prefaces (Bassnett, *Translation Studies*), but the problem, in this case, is that no translators' prefaces can be found, so we have to rely on another way to find out why these writers were chosen. Translation practice can be accounted for only by relating the objective structure defining the social conditions of the production of the habitus of translators to the conditions in which this habitus is operating. Therefore, we first need to understand the objective structure, that is, modern Korean theater, which conditioned the habitus of Irish drama translators.

3. Resistant and Subversive Field of Modern Korean Theater

Before the arrival of Western influence in the late nineteenth century, traditional theatrical art in Korea was folk theater which was performed and enjoyed by the lower classes⁷⁾. Traditional folk theater⁸⁾, including various forms of mask-dance drama, puppet theater, *pansori* (solo-narrative performance) and shadow play, has a long history which stretches back several hundred years; during this time it served religious, enlightenment, and

7) All forms of traditional Korean theater were for lower classes except the *Cheoyongmu* (*Cheoyong* dance) during the United Silla period (676-892). The *Cheoyong* dance was a Korean court mask dance created for upper classes in Korea, based on the legend of *Cheoyong*, a son of the Dragon King of the Eastern Sea.

8) Yu Min-yeong includes 'witty talk shows' when he talks of traditional Korean theater (*Yeongeuk Undongsa* 31).

amusement purposes(Cho O. 9).

In the late nineteenth century, the modernization movement began throughout Korean society as a result of contact with the Western world. Modern Korean literature blossomed⁹⁾, but even as modern theater was forming, its formation and evolution were affected by Japanese colonial policy. Japan transplanted and spread its own theater in Korea while oppressing traditional Korean theater. During the first period of colonial rule from 1910 to 1919, Korean theater was used as a site of [re-]production of the colonizer's culture, that is, *sinpa* theater. During this period, Japanese *sinpa* theater occupied the most prominent position in the Korean theater 'field'.

However, the Korean independence movement in 1919 brought changes. Cultural nationalism, which rose as an alternative resistance strategy to the colonial power after the failure of the political struggle in 1919, seeped into Korean theater. The *singeuk* modern Korean theater movement rose as part of a cultural movement during the 1920s. A group of people who sought to alter the forms of capital specific to Korean theater, that is *sinpa*, appeared. They aimed to establish a modern national theater and ultimately to recover their national independence. For this purpose they engaged in two things: to subvert the dominant Japanese *sinpa* theater and to introduce Western realist drama. The leaders of the modern Korean theater movement were not practitioners or dramatists who occupied dominant positions in Korean theater. They were students at Japanese colleges who went to Japan because access to college and university education was limited in colonial Korea.

The modern Korean theater movement was launched in 1921 when a small group of college students in Tokyo produced Lord Dunsany's *The Glittering Gates* and Korean playwright Jo Myeong-hi's *Gim Yeong-il ui Sa*

9) Some scholars argue that modern Korean literature began when Western literature was introduced after *Kabogyeongjang* (Reform of 1894), while others see its indigenous beginnings in late Joseon times from about the eighteenth century(Cho D. 103).

(*The Death of Gim Yeong-il*) in Korea. The group was called the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe, which was created by some members of the Geukyesul Hyeophoe(Theater Arts Association)¹⁰.

After a successful tour by the company in 1921, other *singeuk* theater companies were formed. The Towolhoe (Earth-Moon Association) was one of these companies, becoming a dominant theater company in Korea during the 1920s. With the appearance of *singeuk* theater companies, the position of *sinpa* companies and practitioners who occupied key positions was degraded. The dominant position of *singeuk* theater companies continued throughout the 1930s with the appearance of the Geukyesul Yeonguhoe (Theater Arts Research Association, TARA) in 1931. This company was organized around twelve young scholars who studied at Japanese universities. It became the central Korean theater company and had a great influence throughout the 1930s.

The leaders of the modern Korean theater movement depended on the import of foreign drama to establish new models. Their interest in Irish drama appeared in this context. The leaders of the movement considered Irish drama as a model, but due to censorship by the Japanese colonial government, they were unable to express their position directly. Instead, in articles, they expressed their interest in particular aspects of Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement, which they hoped to put into practice(Jang 119). We can trace their intentions by analyzing relevant publications.

10) The Geukyesul Hyeophoe was a drama research group which was organized in 1920 by about twenty Korean students in Japan. They included Gim U-jin, Hong Hae-seong, Gim Yeong-pal, Go Han-seung, Yu Chun-seop and Jo Myeong-hui. They studied classical and modern Western drama and came to organize their Korean tour at the request of the Donguhoe, an association of self-supporting students and laborers.

4. Representation of Irish Drama and the Irish Dramatic Movement in Colonial Korea

Major articles on Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement began to appear in 1921 and continued to be published throughout the 1920s and 1930s. During this period, more than thirty articles by twenty writers were published in newspapers or magazines relating to Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement. Korean writers represented Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement to serve their own purpose in the publications: they emphasized certain aspects of the Irish dramatic movement or sometimes distorted facts.

Firstly, the definition of Irish drama was specific to them. The writers considered this drama as a drama, asked on the life of Irish people by Irish playwrights, staged in Irish theaters(An 1933, Gim G. 1936)¹¹⁾. True Irish drama, in their view, appeared after the Abbey Theatre was established in 1904¹²⁾. Therefore, they treated Richard Brinsley Sheridan, Oliver Goldsmith, Oscar Wilde and Bernard Shaw as belonging to the British literary world and excluded them from the list of Irish writers.

Secondly, the writers emphasized an affinity with Ireland as a victim of colonialism (Gim G. 1935, An 1933, Bak N. 1933). Irish people and Korean people had similar experiences under colonialism. News or articles on Ireland

11) When I quote from a newspaper or a magazine, I indicate the year of publication instead of page.

12) From the earliest Miracle plays of the 12th century, when the first Anglo-Norman colonizers arrived in Ireland, theater in Ireland was linked to the island's colonization by England, and was confined to secure centers of colonial administration. Hence, in spite of the existence of the thriving Smock Alley theater in the 18th century and a popular and patriotic theater in the 19th century, many of the most talented members of the Irish theater community focused their career on the London stage. The Abbey Theatre which opened its doors to the public in December 1904 was the first Irish theater which was more than a provincial or colonial derivative of the London theater(Rubin 467).

first appeared even before the annexation of Korea by Japan and increased after the March 1st Independence Movement in 1919: for three years from 1920 to 1922, four hundred and seventy six articles including ten leading articles were published in *The Dong-A Ilbo*, one of the nationalist newspapers, in relation to the Irish political situation and the Irish independence movement. This affinity between their situations aroused interest in Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement as the product of a colonized people. Of course, Korean people also had affinity for other colonized countries such as India and Vietnam. Articles on the political situations of those countries were published quite often. But here, the affinity did not lead to interest in their drama. One of the reasons for that was they were not European countries: modernization meant Westernization to Korean intellectuals at that time. Ireland was the only Western European country that had both an early and a late colonial experience (Deane 3).

Thirdly, Korean writers emphasized the Irish dramatic movement as part of the Irish nationalist movement (An 1933, Bak N. 1933, Gim G. 1935). They pointed out that the Irish dramatic movement had emerged as a form of cultural nationalism due to the failure of political struggles - the downfall of Charles S. Parnell, the leader of Home Rule. Then they emphasized the nationalistic aspects of Irish drama and its contribution to the emergence of the Irish Free State in 1922.

Fourthly, Korean writers emphasized the international prestige of Irish drama, and the Abbey Theatre (Gim G. 1935, Yu C. 1932, Yi H. 1930). They emphasized the contribution of Irish drama to the introduction of Irish culture to the world and to the improvement of its standard to an international one. The prestige of Irish drama and Irish playwrights were one of reasons for this particular national literature being selected.

The Korean writers emphasized patriotic and nationalistic aspects and sometimes distorted the facts. According to them, Irish people had poetic imagination, a mystic nature and loved humor. They also aspired to ideals of

meditation and wandering. They believed that these inclinations originated in their history of suffering: they had a long history as victims of invasion and colonization. The understanding of Irish people was also reflected in their appreciation of Irish plays. For example, Dunsany's fantasy play *The Glittering Gate* was seen as depicting Irish people who longed to break the fetters of colonialism (An 1933). Thus, Dunsany was considered as a nationalist writer.

As seen above, the leaders of the modern Korean theater movement were interested in the Irish dramatic movement because of their political connotations rather than literary or aesthetic value. They were interested in the context in which the plays were produced rather than individual plays or playwrights.

Although more than half of the publications were written by leaders of the modern Korean theater movement - Gim Gwang-seop, Yu Chi-jin, Jang Gi-je and Jeong In-seop, - rest of them were written by poets, novelists, and scholars. Therefore, Irish drama was considered a means of fostering a nationalistic movement among intellectuals as well as in the literary world as a whole. Irish drama translation was formed in this context. But the formation of an Irish drama translation cannot be understood without an analysis of the producing agents, that is, the 'habitus' of translators, because, in Bourdieu's terms, the practice of Irish drama translation was not determined only by the modern Korean theater 'field'. Here we will investigate individual history - trajectory in Bourdieu's terms - of Irish drama translators.

5. Trajectories of Irish Drama Translators

Nine translators participated in translating Irish drama for publication or stage performance during the colonial period. They are as follows:

Name of the translator	Title of Irish drama (the year published or staged in Korea)
Gim U-jin	<i>The Glittering Gate</i> (1921*, 1923)
Bak Yong-cheol	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i> (1921) <i>Riders to the Sea</i> (1922)
Jo Yeong-dae	<i>Fame and the Poet</i> (1924)
Choe Byeong-han	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i> (1927)
Jang Gi-je.	<i>Riders to the Sea</i> (1930) <i>The Shadow of a Gunman</i> (1931) <i>Golden Doom</i> (1931) <i>The Magnanimous Lover</i> (1932*, 1935)
Choe Jeong-u	<i>The Rising of the Moon</i> (1931) <i>The Gaol Gate</i> (1932*, 1933) <i>The Workhouse Ward</i> (1935)
An Yong-sun	<i>Fame and the Poet</i> (1934)
Yi Ha-yun	<i>The Tents of the Arabs</i> (1936)
Yim Hak-su	<i>The Words upon the Window Pane</i> (1939)

* refers to the year when the work was performed on the Korean stage. It is not possible to know whether translated texts published and performed on the stage are the same because scripts used for the stage are not available now.

Gim U-jin who translated and staged Irish drama for the first time in Korea was born of a patriotic father, a government official. As a schoolboy he read Shakespeare, Victor Hugo and Gabriele d'Annunzio and created a novel entitled *Science Literature* at the age of seventeen. Later he majored in English literature at Waseda University in Japan and came to take interest in theater while he was studying there: he studied and emulated as a model Shakespeare, Strindberg, Ibsen, and Shaw (Yu M., *Inmul Yeongeuksa* 17-41). He also organized a modern drama research group entitled Geukyeseul Hyeophoe together with other Korean students in Japan and studied classical and modern Western drama. When Geukyeseul Hyeophoe organized the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe to have a theater tour in Korea, he financed and directed the theater performances produced by the company. As one of the repertoires, he recommended Lord Dunsany's *The Glittering Gate*, which he himself translated into Korean and directed. Just before the theater tour, he published an article,

"About the So-called Modern Drama"¹³⁾ as a student at Waseda University. In the article he argued that modern theater should focus on the liberation and salvation of the human soul and should aim at education and entertainment of the people. Thus, the Company's tour performance can be interpreted as one of activities that he put his theory into practice. He was so enthusiastic about theater as to persuade Hong Hae-seong, who later became a leader in the Korean theater world, to quit his study as a law student and shift his course toward theater (Gim Y. 1931)¹⁴⁾. Gim was ambitious to develop a new theater movement in Korea. He planned with Hong to establish a theater devoted to stage plays in Gyeongseong (now Seoul), form a group with kindred spirits and start a new theater movement in Korea after they finished their studies in Japan (Gim Y. 1931). While he was studying drama at Waseda University, he translated an essay entitled "Bernard Shaw as an Irishman"¹⁵⁾ and as a graduate thesis he wrote "*Man and Superman* - A Critical Study of its Philosophy" in 1924. While other leaders of the modern Korean theater movement regarded Shaw as an English writer, he seemed to have been interested in Shaw as an Irish writer. After that he wrote many articles relating to the modern Korean theater movement: "A Word toward the Korean Literary World Where There is No Genuine Korean Language," "Modern American and European Playwrights," "The Story of *Le Théâtre Libre*," and "The First Step toward the Modern Korean Theater Movement," to name a few.

Bak Yong-cheol (Yu M., *Inmul Yeongeuksa* 112-48, Kwon 361-62) was born of a wealthy farming family. He liked theater and film in his childhood. Later he studied at Aoyama Institute in Japan and entered the department of

13) This article was published in *Hakjigwang*, a bulletin of the Korean students' society in Tokyo.

14) After the tour of the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe, Hong transferred from the Department of Law at Chuo University to the Department of Arts at Nihon University.

15) This is a translation of the first chapter of "An Irish Protestant" in *Appreciations and Depreciations* authored by Ernest A. Boyd.

German Literature at Tokyo Kaikokuo University in 1923. While he was studying in Japan, he made friends with painter Yi Seung-man, poet Hong Sa-yong and critic Gim Gi-jin, who all participated in the Korean theater movement in the Towolhoe Theater Company since 1923. He also had Yi Ha-yun, Yi Heon-gu, Ham Dae-hun and Gim Jin-seop as his literary friends, who became the leaders of the modern Korean theater movement later. Therefore, it seems that he came to be interested in theater under the influence of his peer group. Later, he worked as a member of Haehoe Munhakpa and Geukyesul Hyeophoe, translating *The Merchant of Venice* and *A Doll's House* into Korean.

None of the biological trajectory is known about Choe Byeong-han. However, he is known to have been a member of KAPF (Korea Artista Proleta Federatio) Tokyo branch, New Tsukiji Little Theater, Tokyo Proletarian Theater Company, 3.1. Theater Company, Dongjisa, KOPF Korean Council, Goryeo Theater Company, and Tokyo New Theater Research Association. His social trajectories show that he was interested in proletarian theater and he worked in Japan. Especially his trajectory as a member of the New Tsukiji Little Theater reveals his possible relationship with Hong Hae-seong¹⁶). The New Tsukiji Little Theater's predecessor was the Tsukiji Little Theater, the leader of the *shingeki* (new drama) movement in Japan. The Tsukiji Little Theater was founded in 1924 by Hijikata Yoshi, a member of a well-known aristocratic family, and Osanai Kaoru, a leading figure in the *shingeki* movement. With the death of Osanai Kaoru in 1928, the Theater was divided into two companies in 1929 according to their ideological directions: Tsukiji Little Theater and proletarian New Tsukiji Little Theater (Kim 287-88). The Tsukiji Little Theater before the split was where Hong Hae-seong was in training as an actor. Hong

16) Hong was one of the members of Geukyesul Hyeophoe, who organized the Donguhoe Theatrical Troupe. He wrote articles relating to the modern Korean theater movement and led Geukyesul Yeonguhoe, a leading theater company in Korea, from 1931 to 1935.

was with the company from 1924 to 1929.

Jang Gi-je translated the most Irish plays into Korean, a total of four. If O'Casey's *Juno* and *The Paycock* are included, which he translated but could not stage due to the colonizer's censorship, this would make five (Jeong 141, Yu C. 1932). Jang majored in English literature and was a member of Geukyeosul Yeonguhoe and Haeoemunhakpa. The members of Geukyeosul Yeonguhoe and Haeoemunhakpa, including Yu Chi-jin, Gim Gwan-seop, Yi Ha-yun and Jeong In-seop, were keenly interested in Irish drama. These members wrote many articles relating to Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement. Jang also wrote articles about his translations of Irish drama: "Regarding the Scripts for the Production of *Silheom Mudae*: A Word from the Translator of *The Magnanimous Lover*"(1932) and "*The Gaol Gate* - Dramatic Text for the Production of *Silheom Mudae*: A Word from the Translator"(1932).

Choe Jeong-u also studied English literature at Tokyo Imperial University. After he came back to Korea, he worked as a professor of English literature at Boseong College. He also was a member of Geukyeosul Yeonguhoe.

There is no record about An Yong-sun. An wrote one theater review and two essays about Irish playwrights which reveal An's taste toward theater and Irish drama: "To the Fourth Theater Production of Geukyesul Yeonguhoe"(1933), "An Essay on Contemporary Irish Dramatist: Lord Dunsany"(1933), and "A New Irish Comedy Writer: George Shiels" (1934).

Yi Ha-yun(Bak 1816) majored in English literature at Hosei University in Tokyo. While he was studying there, he joined Haeoemunhakpa and started his career as a writer. In 1927 he started *Haeoemunhak*, an organ of Haeoemunhakpa, to translate and introduce foreign literature to the Korean public. He also joined in organizing Geukyeosul Yeonguhoe in 1931. He mainly translated poems, but he wrote critical essays in the fields of poetry, novel and drama. His only article in relation to the Korean theater movement was "The Establishment of Dramatic Literature" (*Jogwang* 1939). And later he

wrote an essay about the Irish literary renaissance in 1956.

Yim Hak-su majored in English Literature at Gyeongseong Imperial College in Seoul. He started publishing poems in the 1930s (Kwon 807). Considering he wrote for *Simunhak*(Poetic Literature) magazine of which the members worked for the Geukyesul Yeonguhoe theater company, it seems that he was influenced by his peer group and acquired an interest in Irish drama. Finally, nothing is known about Jo Yeong-dae.

Overall, these translators had very similar social trajectories that determined their literary tastes when they began to translate. Most of them had the experience of studying or staying in Japan. Considering the modern Korean theater movement was started by and evolved around Korean students who studied in Japan, the peer group or social ambience may have provided particular contexts in which these translators acquired their tastes toward theater, accordingly Irish playwrights.

Secondly, many of them were involved in the modern Korean theater movement directly or indirectly as members of a theater company or as writers of articles on Irish playwrights or the Irish dramatic movement. Gim U-jin, Jang Gi-je, Choe Jeong-u, and Yi Ha-yun were the leaders of the modern Korean theater movement when they began to translate, and An Yong-sun indirectly participated in the theater movement by writing theater reviews and essays about Irish playwrights. Their involvement in the theater movement reveals the influence of the field of modern Korean theater on all of them.

Thirdly, their membership shows the influence of the peer group on their tastes. Jang Gi-je, Choe Jeong-u and Yi Ha-yun were all members of Haeoemunhakpa and Geukyeosul Yeonguhoe. Among the members of these two organizations, Yu Chi-jin, Gim Gwang-seop and Jeong In-seop were very interested in Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement. They wrote many articles about both Irish drama and the Irish dramatic movement, and Jeong In-seop visited Ireland in 1936.

Another prominent feature about the translators of Irish drama is that many

of them majored in English literature. This fact reveals their literary tastes. Lastly, in the case of Bak Yong-cheol and Yim Hak-su, their literary association seems to have influenced their tastes toward theater and Irish drama.

6. Conclusion

Every translation activity has a purpose, and to find out what that is, we need to ask questions such as: 'who did the translation?' 'why?' and 'how was the material translated?' Irish drama translations in colonial Korea during the 1920s and 1930s show diversity in subject area and theme, but it is not easy to find out their purpose, which could be traced by analysing the socio-political and socio-cultural context rather than looking at the texts themselves because the transfer of the texts seemed not to depend on the supposed intrinsic value of the texts itself alone.

With changes in the political field of colonial Korea, the modern Korean theater movement arose during the 1920s and 1930s. As a model to establish a national theater, the leaders of the movement showed interest in the Irish dramatic movement. This view of Irish drama in the field of modern Korean theater offered a crucial context wherein individual translators developed their dispositions towards Irish drama. The trajectories of the translators of Irish drama in relation to the field of the modern Korean theater show the fact. In other words, the translators' interest in Irish drama was political. This is why playwrights such as Dunsany and O'Casey, whose literary and ideological orientations were totally different, could be translated and imported side by side for the same purpose. Another important contributing factor to the formation of Irish drama translation was the central position of the translators in Korean theater. The importation of foreign drama was essential to the Korean theater movement. In conclusion, together with the position of the

translators within the field, the Irish drama translation as a site of subversion was the effect of the interaction between the Korean theater 'field' and habitus of the translators.

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[Abstract]

**Locating Irish Drama Translation
in Modern Korean Theater under Colonialism**

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This article is concerned with how translation is formed as a site of resistance and subversion in colonial contexts. Like other social practices in Bourdieu's terms, translation practice can be explained only when we understand the interplay between objective external structures (objective social structures and what Bourdieu calls the fields) and subjective internal structures (the producing agents and what Bourdieu calls 'habitus'). Drawing on Bourdieu's theory of social practice, this article attempts to explain translation practice as the interaction between external and internal structures. Using examples from Irish drama translated in colonial Korea from the 1920s to the 1930s, this article analyzes the process of formation of Irish drama as a site of subversion in modern Korean theater. It first looks at Irish drama translation in colonial Korea, then examines the resistant and subversive field of the modern Korean theater. Thirdly, it discusses the representation of the Irish dramatic movement in colonial Korea, which influenced drama translators and ultimately conditioned Irish drama translation. Finally it deals with social trajectories (as a series of positions successively occupied in translation field or adjacent fields) of Irish drama translators which reveal the influence on their choice of Irish playwrights.

▶ Key Words: colonial translation, modern Korean theater, Irish drama, subversion, field, habitus.

*Revised Korean Romanization System was used in this article.

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