

Formation of Periodical Authorship in 1920s Korea

Distant and Close Reading

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First published 2023

ISBN: 978-1-032-38337-8 (hbk)

ISBN: 978-1-032-38339-2 (pbk)

ISBN: 978-1-003-34455-1 (ebk)

3 Thematic Mapping of *Kaebyoŏk* and the Rise of the Prophetic Critic

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DOI: 10.4324/9781003344551-4



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Taylor & Francis Group

NEW YORK AND LONDON

3 Thematic Mapping of *Kaebyoŏk* and the Rise of the Prophetic Critic

Literature in General Interest Magazines

In the previous chapter, I discussed how the first literary coterie magazine *Ch'angjo* shaped the collective authorship of creative writers. To recapitulate, *Ch'angjo* linked the collaborative practices of conceptualizing the ideas of art for art's sake and those of figuring aesthetically distinctive individuals. The coterie writers' identification of themselves as the "creators of art" worked both positively and negatively. On the one hand, their disposition for *belles-lettres* provided an effective basis for positioning aspiring writers at the vanguard of modern literature, but on the other hand, their artistic exclusivity dissociated *tongin* from the rest of society.¹ Both socially and textually, these writers distinguished themselves by excluding others. A literary coterie magazine stood for "modern literature's autonomy that was realized in the context of [print] media," and literature was its *raison d'être*.² Including social discourses in the magazine was not their main interest.

While *Ch'angjo* dwelled on ideas of art, general interest magazines tended to cover social phenomena instead. Of the general interest magazines in the 1920s, *Kaebyoŏk* (The Opening, 1920–1926) was the most prominent in terms of the scope and depth of its interest in society. Published by the young activists of Ch'öndogyo (the Heavenly Way religion), *Kaebyoŏk* aimed at modernizing the religion's Confucian humanism. But through its notion of "*chönggyo ilch'i*" (aligning the political with the religious), the magazine also engaged contemporary issues faced by educated readers.³ As one of the few magazines permitted to cover political matters, *Kaebyoŏk* regularly reported on current sociopolitical affairs and carried critiques and comments on social ideologies such as Marxism along with pieces of realist fiction. More importantly, though, the magazine discussed how to achieve social reforms under colonial rule. Chapter 3 thus questions the status of literature as just one constituent in a general interest magazine, alongside attention to domestic issues, world affairs, religious

doctrine, and social exposition, among other subjects. What kinds of keywords did contributors use and how did they organize them thematically as part of visualizing Korea's future and reforming its society?

A quantitative approach to conceptual history arose in response to these questions. For instance, Hō Su studied how the term *cheguk* (empire) was signified in early 20th century periodicals by searching for the frequency of *empire* and of co-occurring words (those located before and after the keyword). Diachronically tracing the changing meanings of *empire*, its co-occurring words and compound words (i.e., *cheguk chu'ii* or imperialism), Hō concluded that the major users of the terms shifted from colonized Koreans to their Japanese colonizers.⁴ He notes a corresponding shift in meaning, from criticizing the imperialist usurpation of a neighboring country's sovereignty to "affirming the hierarchy of modern civilizations," which supported colonialism.⁵

Hō's quantitative approach answers the question of keywords contributors employed by measuring mainstream usage of terms, but it only partially addresses the second question of how keyword usage translates into organization of the major themes or topics of the time. This is because Hō did a keyword search, not a corpus analysis of the whole text, and he did not examine the entire range of topics. Examining which keywords constitute what kinds of topics in a given text is indeed a challenge given the selection of words depends on a researcher's subjective decisions. Suppose you look for key terms for the topic of socialism. What words would you choose along with the term *society*? *Equal distribution*, *economic justice*, or *means of production*? How about *the haves*, *the have-nots*, or *revolution*? Problems of selection only compound as your research expands to include more years. In fact, this issue of selecting keywords to construct a certain topic troubled Raymond Williams. When writing *Keywords*, Williams aimed to find the relational meanings of a word from the perspective of historical semantics. Unable to decide which category—what he called a "field"—to assign to the term *representative*, however, he gave up on trying to edit his vocabularies under thematic categories.⁶ While keeping the terms in alphabetical order, he instead tagged each entry by adding cross-references to other entries.

Selecting keywords to find a topic might also require a radical shift of perspective, from close reading based on a researcher's training in the humanities to quantitative reading performed by a disinterested computer. As an example of the latter, topic modeling is designed to assign topics by measuring the probability of particular keyword usages, beyond simply locating co-occurring words.⁷ It thus has the merit of revealing how different topics are semantically interrelated in a larger text and how they changed over time.⁸ A good illustration of topic modeling from the field of German literature is Matt Erlin's study of 154 works of fiction published

from 1731 to 1864. Using topic modeling, Erlin searched for a hundred major topics, drew networks of the stories that were linked through the same topics, and compared the groupings with a conventional narrative of German literary history.⁹ This allowed him to interpret latent topics difficult to excavate through close reading and to locate lesser-known writers who bridged different topics, both major and minor.

By drawing on such cases of topic modeling in literary studies, this chapter will pursue three objectives: First, to identify frequently appearing keywords and their co-occurring words; second, to visually plot magazine topics linked by those keywords; and third, to do close readings of the articles carrying the above keywords and topics. The purpose of these quantitative and qualitative methods is to examine the kinds of literature that emerged, in part, through social and religious topics in the magazine. In particular, I will explore *Kaebŏk* for how literature's interplay with other areas of inquiry led to what Han Ki-hyŏng called "*munhak ūi sasanghwa*," or the ideologizing of literature.¹⁰ In other words, the chapter aims to trace how the nature of literature changed from self-contained knowledge and analysis of creative works to an ideology that acted upon society and the world.

What we call an ideology might be understood as the imaginative power to rearrange the past and envision the future. Within the field of literature, literary criticism is particularly fertile ground for such ideological imagination. In colonial Korea, the future orientation of ideological critique acquired an especially poignant role given how the colony was, in any formal political sense, precluded from imagining its own future. Korea's introduction to Marxist ideas of socioeconomic reform, together with ideological resonance between the Ch'ŏndogyo religion and Marxism, have often been credited with the rise of critical voices in *Kaebŏk*. Specifically, the literary genre of *sin'gyŏnghyangp'a munhak* (New Tendency Literature, hereafter NTL) embodied such critique by assessing the trends among realist stories and proactively imagining the future.¹¹ The leftist critic Pak Yŏng-hŭi called such NTL critics of *Kaebŏk* "men of the epoch and prophets" (*sidaea wa yeŏnja*).¹² My point here is that these critics, Pak's "prophets," emerged from the seemingly ordinary repetitions of words and concepts that accrued in debates on different worldviews. Through this discursive accumulation—a sedimentation more far-reaching and finely nuanced than a simple link between Ch'ŏndogyo religion and Marxism would suggest—the *Kaebŏk* contributors could establish authorship by preemptively shaping the literature to come. The collective rise of this prophetic critic is the main concern of this chapter.

***Kaebŏk*: Contributors and Contents**

Kaebŏk was the organ of Ch'ŏndogyo Youth Society (Ch'ŏndogyo Ch'ŏngnyŏnhoe); a brief sketch of this organization helps us understand

the social and religious ideas of the magazine. The Society's history goes back to Tonghak (Eastern Learning), the predecessor of Ch'ŏndogyo, which was founded by Ch'oe Che-u (1824–84) in 1860. Tonghak led the spiritual movement to integrate the three dominant Eastern religions of Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism against the “wicked” expansion of Western learning (*sŏhak*). The nationalist ideology embedded in the Tonghak movement led to the peasant uprising of 1894–1895 against Western and Japanese forces in Korea. However, in the 1900s, Tonghak members eventually suffered defeat at the hands of Japan. Following that loss, the movement split into two groups: The pro-Japanese Ilchinhoe (Advance in Unity Society) and the nationalist Ch'ŏndogyo.¹³

Ch'ŏndogyo leaders actively participated in the massive March First Independence Movement in 1919; however, political engagement brought heavy consequences to their organization, which was still in its infancy. Many senior and junior leaders were arrested and imprisoned, including the third patriarch Son Pyŏng-hŭi (1861–1921), O Se-ch'ang (1864–1953), and Ch'oe Rin (1878–?). As a result, the Central Headquarters of Ch'ŏndogyo (Ch'ŏndogyo Chungang Ch'ongbu) was unwilling to get involved in nationalist movements of any form. In contrast to the passivity of Ch'ŏndogyo's main institute, a number of young believers formed alternate organizations within the religion with aspirations of developing them into nationwide associations.¹⁴ Soon after 1919, the religious and nationalist passions of Yi Ton-hwa (1884–?) and Pak Tal-sŏng, among others, led to the creation of the Lecturing Society of Ch'ŏndogyo Disciplines (Ch'ŏndogyo Kyori Kangyŏnhoe).

The Lecturing Society's objectives were twofold. First, it aimed to strengthen religious principles and reorganize the Ch'ŏndogyo structure, which seemed to be on the verge of collapse. Secondly, the Lecturing Society planned to engage more aggressively with social and nationalist movements as a way to gain popular support from the colonized masses.¹⁵ By April 1920, it had developed into the Ch'ŏndogyo Youth Society, establishing branches nationwide. The initial members of the Lecturing Society, notably Pak Tal-sŏng and the renowned children's story writer Pang Chŏng-hwan (1899–1931), became the leading figures of the Youth Society. Along with new members such as Kim Ki-jŏn (1894–1948?), these individuals would go on to serve as the core reporters and editors of *Kaebyŏk*.

Kaebyŏk published a total of 72 issues between June 1920 and August 1926, with each issue consisting of about 150 pages. It was printed monthly in Seoul, distributed nationwide through bookstores and local Ch'ŏndogyo branches,¹⁶ and had an average circulation between 8,000 and 9,000 copies.¹⁷ The publisher was the Society of *Kaebyŏk* (Kaebyŏksa), which consisted of Yi Ton-hwa (editor-in-chief) and Kim Ki-jŏn (managing editor) and other section editors, most of whom were from Ch'ŏndogyo.¹⁸ Despite this embodied intellectual debt to Ch'ŏndogyo, the magazine also

gave serious attention to other areas including social ideologies, reports on local culture, and literary works that realistically depicted the wretched life of the colonized.

Kaebŏk's content supports diverse forms of writing and takes a serious interest in society. Table 3.1 illustrates these various intellectual commitments by breaking down the magazine's 2,074 total articles into four categories: Reports, expositions, creative works, and literary reviews.¹⁹ As shown here, reports on current social and political affairs, expositions (social and literary), creative works, and literary reviews represent 38, 34, 22, and 1 percent, respectively, of total articles. To get a sense of *Kaebŏk's* attention to social concerns, consider that adding social themes together (social reports + social expositions) would account for a remarkable 57 percent of the total; a parallel grouping of literary themes (creative works + literary expositions + literary reviews) yields only 38 percent.

Indeed, reporting on current affairs (*sisŏ* and *pogo* in Korean) which were not carried in the coterie magazine *Ch'angjo* represents the single biggest area of coverage by the magazine's editors and reporters. This emphasis resonated deeply with the magazine's biggest special feature, "Chosŏn munhwa ŭi kibon chosŏ" (Basic Research on Korean Culture).²⁰ For that marquee element, the *Kaebŏk* reporters conducted extensive ethnographic and sociological surveys on the industries, education, and cultures of a target region by presenting folktales, legends, and rituals, along with interviews of influential as well as ordinary villagers.

Compared to the ethnographic and sociological specificity of current affairs reporting, the genre of social expositions included expository writing and commentary on society in broader, more generalized terms (religion, philosophy, politics, economy, and culture). In other words, social exposition abstracted ideas from the contingencies of place. Various kinds of writing falls under this category: The Ch'ŏndogyo-theorist Yi Ton-hwa's essays on religious cosmology and the role of religion in modern society;

Table 3.1 Distribution of genres in *Kaebŏk*

<i>Genres</i>	<i>Number of Articles</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Reports on Current Affairs	791	38
Expositions	711	34
Social	[403]	[19]
Literary	[308]	[15]
Creative Works	461	22
Literary Reviews	19	1
Others	92	5
Sum	2,074	100

Sŏn U-chŏn's essays on the economic life of Koreans under colonial rule; Kim Ki-jŏn's introductions to the social ideas of Western thinkers like Nietzsche, Rousseau, and Bertrand Russell; and leftist Kim Ki-jin's critiques of Barbusse's radical perspectives on internationalism.

The genre of literary exposition includes critical discussions of world-views articulated from a literary perspective as well as debates on current literary trends, particularly the social functions of literature and writers. Examples include essays by Hyŏn Ch'ŏl on how to analyze fiction; aspects of ideological literature (*sasang munye*) by Kim Ki-jin and Pak Yŏng-hŭi, once-ardent followers of romanticism who became supporters of Marxism in *Kaebŏk*; and debates between so-called cultural nationalist writers and leftist authors on the imperatives of socialist literature. It shows efforts by *Kaebŏk* writers to connect literary trends and ideas to discussions about society and its ideologies.

Though creative works make up a smaller portion of the magazine's whole than they do in the coterie magazine, they played an important role in allowing any qualified writers to publish their works irrespective of their background, whether hailing from the coterie magazines, such as *Ch'angjo*, *P'yehŏ*, and *Paekcho*. Aspiring fiction writers who later became canonical figures launched their careers through the magazine. They include renowned realist Yŏm Sang-sŏp, who began his career as a critic; short story master Hyŏn Chin-gŏn (1900–1943); Yi T'ae-jun (1905-?), a rare stylist of the Korean language; and Yi Ki-yŏng (1895–1984), a future icon of North Korean literature, among others. The category of creative works also includes creative pieces by active literary critics like Kim Kij-in and Pak Yŏng-hŭi, whose realist short stories depict the lives of the poor and the struggles of dissident intellectuals. Although the magazine did publish poems, *Kaebŏk* put its emphasis on fiction.²¹

Finally, the genre of literary reviews encompasses monthly, quarterly, and yearly evaluations of literary works. Though these practical critiques comprise only one percent of *Kaebŏk* articles, they served nonetheless as important vehicles for the transformation of social ideologies into norms for literary analysis. Crucially, they were also an obvious measure for comparison and competition with other magazines reviewing the same works, and *Kaebŏk* editors were fully aware of this.²² Perhaps partly for this reason, literary reviews at times became sites for heated debate on the role of critics and standards for literary evaluation. I will look at literary reviews more closely in later sections.

***Kaebŏk* and New Tendency Literature**

Of the various forms and contents of *Kaebŏk*, it was the genres of creative works and literary expositions that most attracted the attention of

contemporary critics. In particular, critics who later became Marxist literary theoreticians attended closely to the moment of transition from belletristic (or bourgeois as they called it) to leftist literature. In his article, “Today’s Literature and Tomorrow’s Literature,” Kim Ki-jin proposed that Korean writers pursue power rather than beauty.²³ According to him, today’s literature rises up against naturalism—against its cold-hearted, impassive worldview and disinterested attitudes toward social reality—while tomorrow’s literature manifests the power and passion that flows from the people’s actual lives. For Kim, it was thus a “historical imperative” that “tomorrow’s literature should shake hands with the proletariat masses.”²⁴

Pak Yŏng-hŭi saw Kim’s hope for future literature reflected in recently published short stories. In his “New Tendency Literature and its Status in the World of Letters,” Pak enumerated ten short pieces and claimed that they represent what he called “new tendencies”; he defined these tendencies as the expression by poor protagonists of deep dissatisfaction with socioeconomic discrimination through acts of extreme, unrestrained violence, such as suicide, arson, and murder.²⁵ Interpreting such violent expression of personal wrath as characteristic of the “pioneers who dreamed of a new society,” Pak grouped those stories under the umbrella term “*sin’gyŏngbyangp’a munhak*” or New Tendency Literature and argued that transitioning to NTL was an “historical imperative.” That imperative was handed down to the 1930s and 1940s Marxist critics who desperately wanted to confirm the continuity of modern Korean literature during the crackdown on anti-imperialist and socialist literature. To these critics, NTL was a canonical genre of realism that heralded the yet-to-come literature of the proletariat.²⁶

There have been two kinds of scholarship on the rise of NTL through *Kaebŏk*: One focused on its literary canonization, the other on its broader relevance to social and religious ideology. With regard to the former, Pak Sang-jun analyzes 54 critical writings carried in the magazine and identifies differences between the actual literary trends in NTL works and the ideological orientation of its critics.²⁷ In other words, the realist depiction of personal wrath in NTL stories differed from the aspirations of class consciousness that NTL criticism sought to highlight. Pak concluded that NTL, which equated the former with the latter, was historically constructed by Marxist critics such as Im Hwa and Kim Nam-ch’ŏn and the scholars who studied them.

The second approach looked for the broader conceptual background of NTL criticism. Intellectual historians combed the articles on Ch’ŏndogyo’s humanitarian ethics, bourgeois nationalism, and Marxist socialism and identified the ideology of “social reformism” (*kaejoron*) as the common denominator.²⁸ Following their lead, literary historians such as Han Ki-hyŏng took stock of critical works on social reforms and relevant literary works, and claimed that the main feature of literature presented in

Kaebyŏk was the “ideologizing of literature” (*munhak ūi sasanghwa*).²⁹ In particular, he examined the Ch’ŏndogyo ideal of people-centrism (that people should be treated like heaven), how it was adopted by the literary writers and critics of the magazine, and how it then shaped discussions about socialist literature. Although he did not explicitly mention NTL, he offers an ideological schema stretching from Ch’ŏndogyo to Marxism that serves as solid basis for understanding the rise of NTL.

Despite their efforts to cover the magazine thoroughly, those scholars tended to read *Kaebyŏk* selectively for specific historical or literary purposes. Pak limited his scope to creative and critical writings only; and although Han included religious articles for his discussion of literature, the selection of Ch’ŏndogyo doctrines focuses on ideas of social reformism which share common ground with Marxism. That methodological tendency to select and link similar texts blinds scholars to the broader spectrums of a concept expressed through lexically diverse contexts. Scholars were thus predisposed to see society in terms of ideas embedded in Ch’ŏndogyo and Marxism but could not locate the idea of the self.

My point here is that the theme of *saengmyŏng* or vitality/life that so deeply engrossed the romantic writers of *Ch’angjo* did not disappear in *Kaebyŏk*. On the contrary, interlaced with *Kaebyŏk*’s many other themes, *saengmyŏng* underwent a sophisticated process of signification. In particular, the theme of *saengmyŏng* interpenetrated and competed with that of *saenghwal*, a term that denotes ways of living or livelihood and shares significant semantic ground with Ch’ŏndogyo, Marxism, and NTL. As we will see in later sections, the theme of *saengmyŏng* influenced Ch’ŏndogyo’s theorization of cosmology, the Marxist socialization of individuals, and the NTL critic’s historical imperative to envision the future of Korean literature. At the same time, it also revamped the contexts of romanticism.

In order to locate the interplay of different themes in the larger semantic structure, the statistics on content and genre distribution provided in table 3.1 will not suffice. Though they give an overview of major and minor components of the magazine texts, these figures do not investigate the *interaction* of the words, concepts, or topics. A possible methodological solution to this problem is to break the texts down into categories smaller than genres (such as corpus) and rearrange them in order to identify more precise topics. In the following sections, I will lexically examine the digitized *Kaebyŏk* text by finding the key terms that occur with high frequency as well as the words that tend to appear together with them (co-occurring words). Analyzing co-occurring words allows us to look into the semantic contexts of the attendant high frequency words, which in turn helps us to map out the thematic structure of the magazine. In the end we will return, armed with a new approach, to the issues of concern to the emergent NTL critics.

Data Collection and Word Frequency

My research team collected the digital version of the *Kaebŏk* text from the KHIS.³⁰ With the digital text collected from the online database, we then performed natural language processing and lexical analysis by using a morphological analyzer called “Komoran.” Compared to other programs, this Java-based morpheme analyzer is better at examining irregular word segments. It also allows researchers to add their personal dictionary, which facilitates analysis of text by specifying targeted words. Using this program, we analyzed morphemes by sentence unit and deleted stop words, including particles, prefixes, suffixes, and pronouns to identify common nouns. For this process, identical words with different spellings (“*ŏlgul*”=“*ŏlgol*”: Face; “*nodongja*”=“*rodongja*”: Laborer; “*rŏsia*”=“*rosŏa*”: Russia, etc.) and synonyms (i.e., “*p’uro*”=“*musanja*”: Proletariat) were found and identified as one word. As a final step, we then deleted words with vague meanings, such

Table 3.2 Thirty keywords from the top 100 most frequently appearing words in *Kaebŏk*

Rank	Words	Frequency	Rank	Words	Frequency
5	<i>sahoe</i> (society)	7264	49	<i>chonggyo</i> (religion)	1863
6	<i>chagi</i> (self)	6444	50	<i>nodong</i> (labor)	1863
7	<i>saenghwal</i> (ways of living)	6082	53	<i>chojik</i> (organization)	1800
10	<i>undong</i> (movement)	3978	55	<i>saengmyŏng</i> (life)	1762
12	<i>kyegŭp</i> (class)	3595	58	<i>munhak</i> (literature)	1623
14	<i>sasang</i> (ideology)	3459	62	<i>kukka</i> (country)	1559
16	<i>segye</i> (world)	3387	65	<i>hyŏngmyŏng</i> (revolution)	1489
17	<i>Ilbon</i> (Japan)	3170	74	<i>yŏksa</i> (history)	1321
19	<i>minjok</i> (ethnic nation)	2952	76	<i>chedo</i> (institution)	1308
26	<i>yŏja</i> (woman)	2333	82	<i>palttal</i> (development)	1236
32	<i>chayu</i> (freedom)	2172	88	<i>chisik</i> (knowledge)	1122
35	<i>ch’ŏngnyŏn</i> (youth)	2115	91	<i>munmyŏng</i> (civilization)	1105
36	<i>yesul</i> (art)	2112	93	<i>t’aedo</i> (manner)	1101
38	<i>sarang</i> (love)	2081	96	<i>pangpŏp</i> (method)	1086
46	<i>minjung</i> (masses)	1915	99	<i>nongmin</i> (farmer)	1053

as *pangmyŏn* (aspect), *moyang* (shape), and *kkadak* (reason), from the list of common nouns extracted from the data cleaning process.

The most frequent word is *uri* (we), and the next is *Chosŏn* (Korea).³¹ *Sahoe* (society) is ranked fifth. According to Pak Myŏng-gyu, Korean intellectuals in the 1920s considered colonial Korea to be a society where the nation-state no longer endured and imagined “society as an alternative public sphere which could substitute for the state.”³² The frequent use of the term *sahoe* may have reflected this attitude. Other frequent words in the chart include *chagi* (self, no. 6), *sarang* (love, no. 38), and *saengmyŏng* (life, no. 55), and they reflect romantic literature as shown in *Ch’angjo. Sasang* (ideology, no. 14), *chonggyo* (religion, no. 49), and *chisik* (knowledge, no. 88) pertain to serious mental activities. *Kyegŭp* (class, no. 12), *yŏja* (woman, no. 26), *ch’ŏngnyŏn* (youth, no. 35), *minjung* (masses, no. 46), and *nongmin* (farmer, no. 99) present specific collective subjects. *Undong* (movement, no. 10), *nodong* (labor, no. 50), *hyŏngmyŏng* (revolution, no. 65), and *chedo* (institution, no. 76) describe how those particular collective subjects engaged with society by organizing, running, and expanding their groups. *Chayu* (freedom, no. 32), *paltal* (development, no. 82), and *munmyŏng* (civilization, no. 91) may have referred to the main goals of social reform. At first glance, these frequent words indicate the magazine’s serious intellectual orientation, and its contrast to other 1920s general interest magazines such as *Pyŏlgŏn’gon*, which included light reading on hobbies, sports, and celebrity gossip for entertainment.

Among the frequent words just noted, a seemingly ordinary but highly specific literary word is *saenghwal*. It is one of the terms used to translate the core notion of life in English. Another translation of life, *saengmyŏng*, discussed in Chapter 2, referred to the vitality of living things, the totality of what made an individual as such, and in literature it served as a keyword to express the notion of art for art’s sake and romantic dreams of individuals. In contrast, *saenghwal* meant livelihood, in particular a person’s economic condition and means of living in society. Thus, in literature, *saenghwal* was often used to realistically portray the wretched life of the people under colonial rule. Kim Ki-jin wrote, “if literature originates from the ‘mindset of *saenghwal*’ (*saenghwal ūisik*) then we cannot help reforming our social organizations, where such consciousness is determined.” He also argued that given such a mind, it is necessary to “reform the roots of art or literature from the ground up.”³³ As the phrase “mindset of *saenghwal*” suggests, the term often implied the concept or imperative to look into social and economic life of the people, along with a corresponding demand from the poor for social changes and a determined transition from romanticism to realism. In other words, this frequency chart not only indicates the relative importance of the keywords based upon their appearance in the magazine, but it can also allow us to infer major themes through the possible combinations of the words. This approach, however, is synchronic: It displays the frequency data across the entire publication run (1920–1926) as a single snapshot, a single temporal unit. It would therefore do little to illuminate changes in the contributors’ interests over time.

Diachronic Analysis of Paired Words

A simultaneous diachronic analysis of the 100 most frequent words in a single chart would either be impossible or incomprehensible. But the task becomes manageable by looking at pairs or triplets of words instead and noting changes in their frequency. The following figures show some of the results of diachronic analyses that highlight changes of interest in the pairs and triplets relating to self and society. The horizontal axis denotes publication years of the magazine given in half-year increments (a=first half, b=second half). The vertical axis shows average word frequency per month, tweaked for publication irregularity. Although *Kaebbyök* was a monthly magazine, colonial censorship and other factors usually resulted in fewer than twelve issues per year. Instead of using the half-year sum of the word frequency for comparison, I therefore divided that half-year sum by the number of issues.

Figure 3.1 shows the results of comparing the frequency of two words, *society* and *self*. The two elements in the graph track closely until 1922 then diverge sharply before converging again in the final months. From 1924 to 1926 the use of *society* surged, whereas that of *self* dropped significantly, which indicates that concerns about society overpowered interest in or commitment to individualism. Looking next to a pairing of *society*



Figure 3.1 *Society and self*

with *saenghwal*, figure 3.2 reveals that *saenghwal* tracks closer to *society* than it does to *self*. This observation is substantiated most clearly in the period after 1924, when the frequency of *saenghwal* increased drastically at the very moment that *self* went into decline. The graph also shows an increase in the use of both *society* and *saenghwal* during the latter half of the magazine's publication years. But there is a curious time gap between the peak use of each term—for *saenghwal*, it was the first half of 1925, while the peak for *society* occurred in the first half of 1926. The duration of both peak times was also short and followed by steep declines, especially *saenghwal*, which dropped from 136.5 to 37 in under a year, as if its expiration date had arrived. One wonders if *saenghwal* appeared in order to bring public attention to social issues and then disappeared. Or was it for some other reason?

A clue to this question can be found in the following two graphs. Figure 3.3 compares the frequency of *saenghwal* with *class*. The term *class* refers to social stratification based on different levels of wealth, and when appearing in conjunction with *struggle*, *consciousness*, or *revolution*, it specifically meant economic inequality between the haves and the have-nots. The magazine's interest in such economic issues registers as very low during the early 1920s. But it increases gradually, then surges dramatically from the second half of 1925, reaching its peak in the first half of 1926.



Figure 3.2 Society and *saenghwal*



Figure 3.3 *Saenghwal* and *class*

As figure 3.4 shows, this peak is higher than the peak position for the everyday term *saenghwal*.

That explosive representation of *class* is also conspicuous when compared with *society*. In the early 1920s, *society* appeared more than *class*—as many as four times in a single issue of *Kaebŏk*. Yet in the first half of 1926 this pattern reversed, with *class* outstripping references to *society* by about 1.27 times. Over the entire publication run of the magazine, *society* was the fifth most frequently appearing word (total 7,215). That *class* outshone it in 1926 (with a total of 3,604 occurrences) reflects the intensity with which the magazine contributors obsessed over the economic structure of society and economic aspects of life. Use of *saenghwal* satisfied that obsession in the early 1920s, but *class* later became the preferred term for addressing specific issues of economic inequality. Returning to the question of whether *saenghwal* had appeared in order to bring public attention to social issues, it seems more accurate to say that *saenghwal* reserved momentum for the rise of *class* rather than *society*. And yet, references to *sahoejuŭi* (socialism) averaged just 10.2 per issue, lower than other key

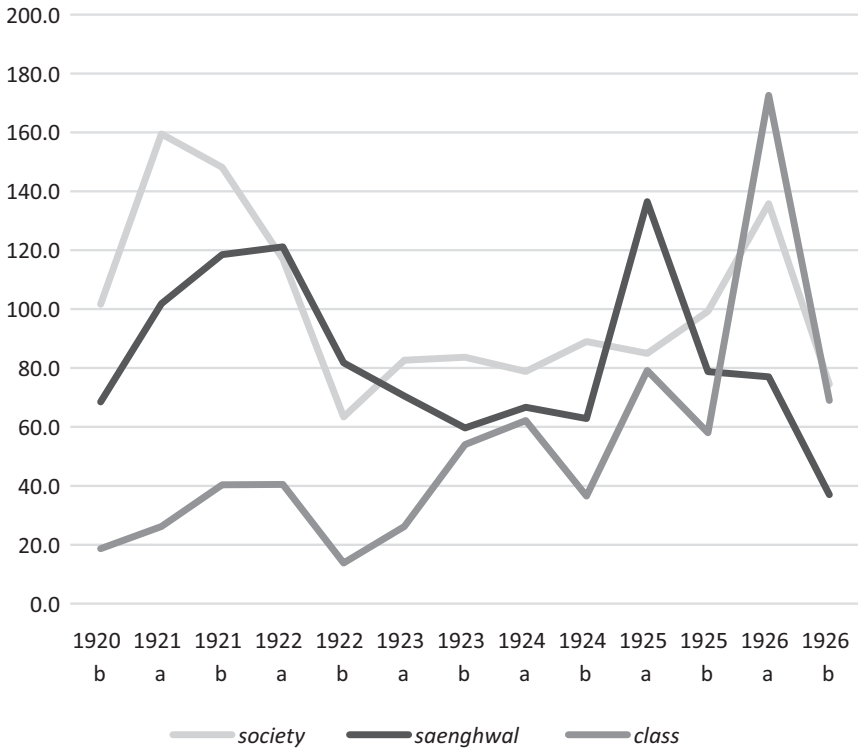


Figure 3.4 Society, saenghwal, and class

terms. This indicates that *class* did not necessarily imply the Marxist sense of revolution. During this transition of interests from individuals to a larger body of people associated for the sake of political and economic reforms, what happened to literature? What implications for literary history does the time lag between the peaks of *saenghwal* and *class* signify?

The frequent appearance of *saenghwal* and *class* seems to confirm two things in the existing narrative on Korea's literary history. First, the conventional time frame for the transition from romanticism to realism maps nicely onto the period before and after 1925 shown in the graphs. According to the renowned Marxist critic Im Hwa, that transition took shape when Kim Ki-jin and Pak Yöng-hüi, the main leaders of the romanticist coterie *Paekcho*, moved to *Kaebyök*. From as early as July 1923 to as late as December 1925,³⁴ they contributed a series of critical writings that interpreted the pent-up anger in literature as passion for social reforms.³⁵

Second, the term *saenghwal* was closely associated with discussion on the emergent NTL of the mid-1920s.³⁶ Kim Ki-jin, we recall, used “the mindset of *saenghwal*” to bring social reform to the attention of intellectuals.³⁷ Pak then argued for the role of literature in social reform, stating “it should be our *saenghwal* that leads our literature and art” in order to move to realism through NTL.³⁸ Later, other leftist critics including Yi Ik-sang praised realist works as “literature for *saenghwal*,” as opposed to literature for art.³⁹ *Saenghwal* then became recognized among literary scholars as a signifier for NTL.⁴⁰ Given that NTL was not a socialist literature based on the class consciousness of the masses, however, Marxist critics devoted themselves to preparing for the coming of proletariat literature. The criss-cross of the two terms, *saenghwal* and *class*, around 1925 describes this moment of literary transition.

But perhaps the above narrative sounds *too literary*, the result of reading a few literary expositions, reviews, and short stories, rather than studying all the articles of the magazine. With little consideration of social expositions and reports on social affairs, one cannot account for why occurrences of *saenghwal* exceeded those of society or why *class* outstripped *saenghwal* in frequency during the last years of the magazine. Perhaps Im Hwa’s version of the narrative of transition from romanticism to realism, which finds a key impulse in Kim Ki-jin and Pak Yŏng-hŭi’s new beginning as Marxist critics in *Kaebŏk*, hangs too much on the individual friendship and mutual interests of these two, as if they were somehow the main cause of thematic and stylistic changes in the literary field.⁴¹ As noted in the introduction, this case nicely illustrates the notion of social affiliations transforming textual interactions. But if a claim that Kim and Pak led the transition from romanticism to realism in Korea now seems overblown, a better narrative still seems elusive.

We can make more headway locating the meaning of literature by reversing our point of view: Instead of using literary articles as a basis for inferring the ideology of the magazine more broadly, we derive specific literary insights from an understanding of the entire text of the magazine. What we learned from the simple statistics on word frequency and diachronic understanding of paired words is that the main concern of the magazine contributors was society, not literature. We should therefore pay more attention to the themes related to society, and based on that understanding, study how these themes interacted with those more specific to literature. By doing so, the meaning of literature would emerge in conjunction with social issues. In that analytical process, word frequency alone would not yield a thematic analysis because semantic examination is missing. With that deficiency in mind, subsequent sections will look at the words that co-occur with the high frequency words noted above, and examine the entire semantic network of the magazine through topic modeling. I will

pay particular attention to semantic relationships that made *saengmyöng* a keyword for romantic ideas, and made *saenghwal* a keyword for addressing social issues. I then explore how the two themes contributed to shaping a kind of literary critic specific to *Kaebyök*.

Thematic Mapping of *Kaebyök*

According to David Blei, topic modeling aims to “discover the hidden thematic structure in large archives of documents.”⁴² As a point of departure for finding invisible relations among topics, we accept the following hypothesis: A body of text is not something written by a single writer or an assemblage of them but a combination of potential topics or themes that are grouped and divided according to the distribution of its words.⁴³ If we can calculate the probability that a target word belongs to a topic and determine the size of these topics in the document, we can then examine clusters of major topics and their interrelationships. LDA (Latent Dirichlet Allocation), the topic modeling method I used for this chapter, works this way.

As an illustration, let us imagine a document composed of many topics, where each topic consists of frequencies of various words, and each word may belong to one topic or many. For example, take the homophonous word *sagwa* in Korean (a homonym of both *apple* and *apology*). If words like *pear*, *strawberry*, and *grape* appear near it, they can be grouped under the topic of fruit. If instead the nearby words are *sorry*, *fault*, *mistake*, and *responsibility*, they would be grouped under the topic of apology. LDA determines whether a word like *sagwa* would belong to the topic of fruit or apology by calculating how often the term appears in a single topic, and how frequently the topic including that word appears throughout the entire document.⁴⁴ One should note, though, that a topic is latent, which means that the distribution of words is not associated with an explicit topic label, but with “a set of word probabilities.”⁴⁵ Given different parameters, we may have different results for a topic or “a weighted list of related words.”⁴⁶ Despite this latency, the use of topic modeling helps us grasp the semantic structure of a larger text. In the present analysis I do not view the results of topic modeling as facts but use them to reveal and probe little-known interactions between major topics.

Applying the LDA method to *Kaebyök* resulted in 50 topics containing 20 keywords.⁴⁷ As noted, a topic is a list of words, which I then label by inferring relationships among their meanings. For instance, Topic 26 has *we*, *Korea*, *society*, *hyöngje* (sibling), *self*, *yörobun* (everyone), *tongp’o* (compatriot), *nation*, *nara* (country), *maïm* (mind/heart), and *saenghwal*. Many of the nouns for collective subjects appear frequently, including *society*, *sibling*, *compatriot*, *everyone*, and *nation*. But the most frequent of all (except for overly vague referents like “we” and “Korea”) is “society,”

(literary theory), and at a greater distance to *chagi ūisik* (self-consciousness), *world, love* (sarang), and *namnyŏ kwan'gye* (gender relations). In the case of *reconstruction*, nearby themes include *saenghwal*, *saengmyŏng*, *sahoe ūisik* (social consciousness), *sisa* (current affairs), *kukche kwan'gye* (international relations), *class*, and *kyoyuk* (education). Further away, *reconstruction* links to *ideology*, *puin munje* (women's issues) and *tongnip munje* (independence issues). Unlike *society* or *reconstruction*, the topic labeled *munhak haengwi* (literary activity), located in the bottom left of figure 3.5, is not near the center of this thematic network.⁴⁸ Yet it still links to those central nodes through the intermediate node labeled *literary theory*, which connects in turn to *saenghwal* and *saengmyŏng*. All three of these mediating topics lie in close proximity to the main topics of *society* and *reconstruction*. This topological reading allows us to imagine how, even when topics related to literature are not core themes in *Kaebyŏk*, they may play a crucial role in bridging other topics with each other.

The idea that social reconstruction is a core element of *Kaebyŏk* has been convincingly argued by other researchers.⁴⁹ What the thematic map adds is an intuitive sense of how strongly and straightforwardly a given topic is linked to others, especially the central themes of *society* and *reconstruction*. For example, in the 1910s and 1920s a new social entity, *youth*, attracted great attention. Despite this intensity, the *youth movement* in *Kaebyŏk* is located on the periphery of the network (bottom right-hand corner of figure 3.5). The node itself is also quite small in size, which means it has relatively few connections to other words, and is positioned farther from *society* and *reconstruction* than the nodes labeled *farmers issues* and *class 1* and *class 2*. We should not read the distance of various topics from the central themes as if it were real: Given different parameters, details of the image would change. What the map does provide is a sense of how minor themes were connected to major topics.

Saengmyŏng and *saenghwal* are located between *society* and *reconstruction* and have a direct and proximate link with *literary theory*. It thus appears that *saengmyŏng* and *saenghwal* form an important central axis in the thematic network. Besides *saengmyŏng* itself, keywords that constitute the theme *saengmyŏng* include those like *self* and *chaa* (ego) that stress the individual over the collective; words related to religion and philosophy such as *uju* (universe), *chonggyo* (religion), *silchae* (substance), *chilli* (truth), *ingkyŏk* (personality), *ūisik* (mindset or consciousness), and *ch'owŏl* (transcendence); and terms in the domain of arts and literature like *nature*, *creation*, and *expression*. For the case of *saenghwal*, keywords include words like *we*, *saenghwal*, *insaeng* (life), *hyŏnsil* (reality), *kot'ong* (agony), *saengmyŏng*, *in'gan* (human), *world, love, siin* (poet), *truth, piae* (grief), *haengbok* (happiness), *hŭimang* (hope), *ideology, value, yŏngwŏn* (eternity), *muhan* (infinity), as well as *saenghwal* itself.

With this list of keywords in mind, it seems difficult to define *saenghwal* as a literary term, especially given its weak association with similar words like creation and expression. But many words seem to evaluate experiences of reality, such as *reality*, *agony*, *grief*, *happiness*, and *hope*. Is it possible that *saenghwal* expresses a condition in which unspecified writers experience agony and grief but remain forward-looking without abandoning the possibility of hope and happiness in their future? In that scenario, we can infer that while *saengmyōng* was used more professionally in a particular field like religion, individuals who were not specified subjects used the more general term *saenghwal* to evaluate reality.

And yet, we still find examples of terms in literature which co-occur with *saenghwal*, like *reality* and *grief*, especially in literary expositions, whether written by Japanese or Korean authors. In providing a definition of naturalism, for instance, the renowned Japanese literary critic Hasegawa Tenkei (1876–1940) used the expression, “the **grief** at the revelation of **reality**” (*genjitsu bakuro no hiai*). This expression was actively adopted by Korean writers who had studied overseas in Japan during the late Meiji and early Taisho periods, including Yi Kwang-su.⁵⁰ Kim Ki-jin evoked a similar sentiment when he stated, “It is as if romanticism, following the guidance of passion, eventually feels the ‘**grief of reality**’ [. . .].”⁵¹ The context in Kim’s case was his disillusionment with romanticism, which first aimed at producing art for art’s sake, but drifted further and further away from reality, and in the end was forced to confront a life full of agony grounded in reality.

On the strength of the examples thus far, I would like to stress the novelty of this lexical examination of the major topics in *Kaebŏk*. Unlike previous studies of *saenghwal*, which focused only on the term itself and several other words, topic modeling engages with a larger group of words that are measured for their semantic connection. This draws attention to seemingly unrelated but potentially meaningful contexts that would otherwise have been ignored. Topic modeling also helps us observe new thematic connections to existing concepts, as with terms of Japanese naturalism that circulated in Korea. It also helps expose the interconnectedness of different topics that arises from co-occurrence of keywords. As table 3.3 illustrates, the two topics *saengmyōng* and *saenghwal* have six words in common, including the term *saengmyōng*. This shows not only that a straightforward division of the two topics is already impossible, but also that making sense of one idea depends on the semantic context of others.

Having established the lexical and semantic connections, we can draw a network of writers who concentrated on each topic. The graph in figure 3.6 is a network created by locating and linking the authors who employed 70 percent of the 20 keywords of each theme, *saengmyōng* and *saenghwal*. If the author used more keywords in a theme and did so more frequently,

Table 3.3 The keywords of the two topics, *saengmyŏng* and *saenghwal*

Topics	Keywords
<i>Saengmyŏng</i> (in underline)	<i>cha</i> (ego); <i>ingkyŏk</i> (personality); <i>oin</i> (we); <i>uju</i> (universe); <i>chonggyo</i> (religion); <i>chongsin</i> (spirit); <i>silchae</i> (substance); <i>ŭisik</i> (mindset or consciousness); <i>ch'owŏl</i> (transcendence); <i>mulchil</i> (material); <i>hwaltong</i> (activity); <i>ch'angjo</i> (creation); <i>p'yobyŏn</i> (expression); <i>chuii</i> (principle)
<i>Saenghwal</i> (in bold)	<i>saenghwal</i> ; <i>uri</i> (we); <i>segye</i> (world); <i>hyŏnsil</i> (reality); <i>kot'ong</i> (agony); <i>piae</i> (grief); <i>sarang</i> (love); <i>haengbok</i> (happiness); <i>hŭimang</i> (hope); <i>sin</i> (poet); <i>sasang</i> (ideology); <i>kach'i</i> (value); <i>yŏngwŏn</i> (eternity); <i>muhan</i> (infinity)
Shared (in underline and bold)	<i>saengmyŏng</i> (vitality); <i>insaeng</i> (life); <i>in'gan</i> (human); <i>chagi</i> (self); <i>chayŏn</i> (nature); <i>chilli</i> (truth)

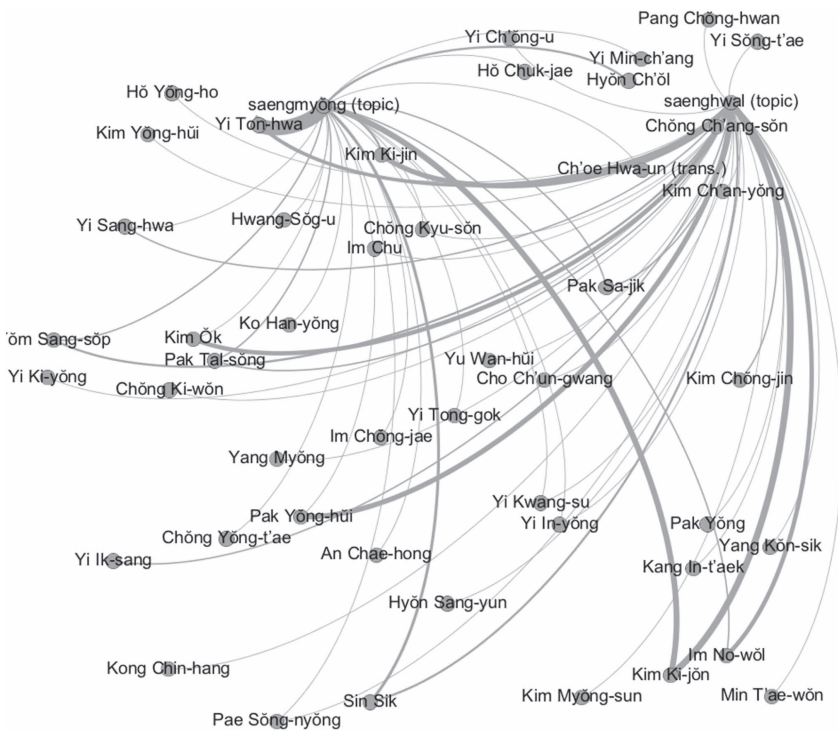


Figure 3.6 Network of writers who wrote about the themes of *saengmyŏng* and *saenghwal*

their line is thicker and their node is located closer to the hub. The number of articles associated with thematic keywords could also have been expressed through node size, but this detail was omitted for the sake of visual clarity. Overall, the above graph substantiates some of the assertions made in existing accounts of literary history but also reveals new details, sometimes through the medium of perplexing conundrums that demand explanation.

With regard to *saengmyŏng*, the most notable literary writers include Yi Kwang-su, Yŏm Sang-sŏp, Hyŏn Ch'ŏl, and Yi Sang-hwa; and the most notable of *Kaebŏk*'s reporters and editors include Pak Tal-sŏng and Yi Ton-hwa. Apart from Hyŏn Ch'ŏl and Hwang Sŏg-u, all authors are connected to *saengmyŏng* and *saenghwal* and therefore dealt with both topics. Yi Kwang-su, Yŏm Sang-sŏp, and Yi Sang-hwa have links that are relatively thin and also have nodes which are located similar distances away from the center of *saengmyŏng*, whereas Yi Ton-hwa is located right next to the center, and his connection to this theme is very thick. It is not immediately clear why Yi Ton-hwa, a prominent theorist and activist in the Ch'ŏndogyo youth movement for social reform, is closer to the center of *saengmyŏng* than other figures, even Yi Kwang-su and Yŏm Sang-sŏp, who emphasized individuality in their work.

Unsurprisingly, the theme of *saenghwal* is linked to leftist writers and critics, such as Kim Ki-jin, Pak Yŏng-hŭi, Yi Ik-sang, and the leftist sympathizer and author of children's stories Pang Chŏng-hwan. These individuals advocated for the modernization of literature through social reconstruction. More surprising is that the romanticist poet Kim Ŏk, who did not associate his own name with realism and socialist literature, and Im No-wŏl, the symbolist poet who promoted art for art's sake, have a connection with *saenghwal*, along with *saengmyŏng*. The case of Pang Chŏng-hwan is also odd. The children's story writer Pang was a core figure in Ch'ŏndogyo's social movement and also a leader in the socialist youth movement. That such a figure is located further away from the central core of *saenghwal* than Kim Ŏk and Im No-wŏl deserves explanation, as does the relative thickness of the edges representing Kim and Im compared to Pang.

These observations and conundrums demand a close reading of *Kaebŏk* articles. Although close reading in research of *Kaebŏk* long preceded computer-aided thematic analysis of keywords and topics, the latter opens up many new avenues for subsequent close readings to explore. In particular, topic modeling facilitates a focus on the text as a whole without being affected by the content or form of the article or the author's reputation. It also allows a researcher to envision the text's entire thematic structure while doing a close reading; one need not miss forests for trees or vice versa. Such close reading would focus less on the topics themselves and more on the interplay and interactions *between* topics, with the larger aim of

understanding how the non-literary perceptions of *saengmyŏng* and *saenghwal* were appropriated to constitute modern literature.

The Interdependence of *Saengmyŏng* and *Saenghwal*

The Theme of Saengmyŏng

Among the 71 articles that are related to *Kaebŏk*'s theme of *saengmyŏng*, 11 included at least one paragraph containing more than 10 out of its 20 keywords (50 percent or more). Some of the 11 articles remind one of examples from *Ch'angjo*, which sought an individual's unique interiority without necessary connection to the outer world. Others saw individuality as inseparable from discrete organic bodies, themselves embedded in the physical and social universe. Examples of the latter include "Oin ūi sinsasaenggwan" (Our New Perspective on Life and Death, 1922) by Yi Ton-hwa, "Inkyŏk palchŏn ūi tojŏng e taehan sagyŏn" (On the Path to the Development of Individuality, 1922) by Pae Sŏng-nyŏng, "Haebang ūi piaie" (The Sorrows of Liberation, 1922) by Yi In-yŏng, and "Kŭndae munye" (Modern Literature and Art, 1922) by Kim Ŏk. These *Kaebŏk* writers tried to rediscover a more secular and social version of individuality by placing it in the physical universe, especially in society where people managed actual lives.

In "Our New Perspective on Life and Death," Yi Ton-hwa explains how the material and biological substance of *saengmyŏng* communicates and circulates in the universe.⁵² A distinctive premise in his view of life is that energy in the universe is interchangeable with human consciousness and emotions, meaning that not only humans but all material things possess *saengmyŏng*.

Whatever the object, everything has a pushing and pulling energy so this pushing and pulling energy can be seen as a type of emotion. Thus, this pushing and pulling energy is like love and hate if we put it into human definition.⁵³

In Yi's view, all matter begins as an atom and grows into the molecules which then form the cells in an animal. In other words, Yi is arguing that humans can feel love and hate as a result of the multi-cellular aggregation that is the human body.

From this extreme macroscopic perspective that embraces all things in the world, Yi developed the idea of life as a cornerstone to connect individuals with the universe. He states:

What is called "self" is formed through the individual expression of the enormous universe's great consciousness. The consciousness of the self

does not possess the elements of **life** and death, but from the beginning, it itself is forever characteristically permanent because of the **vitality** of **life**.⁵⁴

In this sense, the death of a person is not the end of all but simply that individual's return to the universe. "Even though I return to the great energy of the universe after my death [. . .] I will forever be remembered and preserved [. . .] in the great-meaning and the great-senses and be immortalized."⁵⁵ Compared to views where life resided within self-contained, inward-gazing individuals (recall discussions of Kim Tong-in in Chapter 2), Yi's model constitutes the individual in its relations with the wider universe.

Yi Ton-hwa's idea of *saengmyŏng* is also important for identifying another religious origin of modern romanticism. If one root of romanticism was, as Yi Ch'ŏl-ho claimed, the Christian religion as translated through Japanese writers and thinkers, then another was the newly emergent religion of Ch'ŏndogyo in Korea. The conceptual historian Hŏ Su discussed Yi's ideas of *saengmyŏng* while tracing how the religious concept of Ch'ŏndogyo became secularized as an ideology of social reconstruction.⁵⁶ In particular he divided the period from the 1860s to the 1930s into three phases and then matched each to one of Ch'ŏndogyo's three core concepts: *ch'ŏn* (heaven), *sin* (god), and *saengmyŏng* (life).

Throughout the first phase, the concept of heaven, set forth in early scriptures like *Tongkyŏng taejŏn* (The Canon of Eastern Learning, 1880), acted more as a religious marker than a signifier for spiritual and material change. Thus, according to Hŏ, it existed in a very weak form within a social reformist context until 1905 when the major leaders of the religion changed its name from Eastern Learning to Heavenly Way. In this second phase, the religious body of Ch'ŏndogyo stressed the idea of god more than that of heaven, despite the name change to incorporate evolutionary ideas that aimed to reach a human being's material and spiritual perfection.⁵⁷ Yi states that "while a material's lump tissues should be seen as a separate living thing, its primary tissue should be seen as a part of the organism making up the great energy of the universe and also as a living spirit."⁵⁸ Likewise, he viewed human beings as an extension and form of tissue making up the physical universe, and believed their vitality and spirit continued to evolve through subsequent generations after each individual died physically. "The reason for life's evolution is that people are in the image of god, who are trying to be like and become him as a human being. [. . .] The ultimate goal of life is to become him—god."⁵⁹ This statement elegantly captures Ch'ŏndogyo's vision of the goal and endpoint of human evolution: To perfect ourselves and thereby become god.

In the 1920s, the notion that humans evolved into god transformed into a concept about an individual's inner parts, and then expanded to include a sense of society or other entity beyond the individual. It was in this third time period, Hŏ Su argued, that the meaning of *kaebŏk* (which literally

refers to opening) “expanded in the dimension of social reform,” while concepts like “heaven” or “god” helped crystallize the social meaning of life.⁶⁰ Yi’s previous idea of life’s immorality, expressed in calls for social reform, took a step toward political ideology that encompassed a love for one’s nation and for universal humanity. Yi then responded to egalitarian reform movements that arose after the introduction of Marxism in the 1920s.⁶¹ In the end this led to the religious principle of “people are heaven,” which in turn encouraged young Ch’ŏndogyo believers to become more social and approachable to the public.

Kaebyŏk was an organ for the Ch’ŏndogyo Youth Association, but it also carried social and artistic expositions beyond its interest in religion. Among them, Pae Sŏng-nyŏng’s “On the Path to the Development of Individuality” shows the conceptual traits of individuality that were passed on not only from *Ch’angjo*’s romanticists, but also *Kaebyŏk*’s universalists.⁶² In terms of placing individuality in the context of society and also the universe, Pae’s basic position is similar to Yi’s. As a condition for enabling that relationship, he underscored the legitimacy of social reform as a way to institutionalize the “people’s active expression of their own personal value and worthiness.”⁶³ The relationships between the individual and society and between society and the universe are accepted as axiomatic in the first paragraph of the essay.

We, who are living in the modern age, affirm the **infinite** evolution of the universe and the **eternal** progress of society. Founded in this law of **infinite** evolution and **eternal** progress, we pursue the creative development of individuality [*inkyŏk*]. Our contemporary social movement aims to reconstruct society to make it more adequate for this creative development of individuality and the same is true of destructing old systems to raise the impulse to build a new society.⁶⁴

According to Pae, this expansion of individuality at the societal level—what he describes as a change “from the unconscious gathering of the masses to the consciously organized management of society”—depends upon a foundation of sympathy, which he defines as “ways in which an individual sees the *saengmyŏng* of others as his or her own.”⁶⁵ Viewing the other as oneself leads one to be considerate toward and responsible for the other, a capacity that encompasses not only family, but also scales up to include local community, society, and nation.⁶⁶ Thus engaged, sympathetic people view society’s joys and sorrows as their own and “embrace humanity as a whole” through the medium of their everyday, mundane attention.⁶⁷

Of note here is that Pae extended an all-encompassing and all-embracing individuality beyond the social level to include the entire universe. The ultimate goal of this socialized individuality is to be harmonized with the “transcendent, unifying character of a living god,” a rarefied entity Pae calls “the cosmic figure of individuality.”⁶⁸ It is surprising to see Pae Sŏng-nyŏng

writing such words in 1922, given that he was a Marxist activist and theorist. He took part in the Hwayohoe (Tuesday Society, 1924–1926, named for the day Karl Marx was born), published many essays related to socialism, and in 1926 joined the Communist Party of Korea (1925–1928). His emphasis on fulfilling individuality through active socialization is also intriguing for its rhetorical resonance with Yi Ton-hwa’s universalization of life. That two individuals with such different ideological backgrounds echoed each other so clearly suggests that interest in the socialization of individuality was widespread, even if the evidence remains circumstantial.

Employing the key term *saengmyōng* in *Kaebŏk* had the further consequence of raising the social status of women. In her essay, “The Sorrows of Liberation,” Yi In-yōng criticizes Western thinkers who speak out against women’s rights.⁶⁹ In terms of human rights, for instance, French Enlightenment thinkers like Jean-Jacques Rousseau respected individuality and considered liberty and equality to be “more important than one’s *saengmyōng* or life.”⁷⁰ And yet, this same voice also asserted that women do not have any personality at all: “Wives are made to make men happy, [. . .] women judge everything but in fact don’t know anything about real life and are incompetent in ethical and rational domains.”⁷¹ Yi criticized Rousseau’s male-centered principles of human rights and argued that women more closely resemble the ideal human archetype.

The great person I look for is someone who connects the Holy Spirit and the mystical to **reality**; someone who harmonizes the **universe** with the individual and **nature** with **life**, and [. . .] a courageous warrior who has seized victory after fighting against futility who has awoken to the **truth** of **life** and announced one’s definition of **life**—it is a person greater than Jesus Christ and Buddha.⁷²

Yi’s description of an ideal human archetype is reminiscent of Yi Ton-hwa’s god as the pinnacle of human evolution as well as Pae Sōng-nyōng’s “universalized individuality,” where individuals embraced the interests of society and the whole universe as their own. Through this ideal archetype, Yi In-yōng further claims that women are superior to men in terms of art, ethics, and competencies related to living in the real world. Taking these claims in order, Yi notes that the beauty in women’s bodily curves and the aesthetic sensibilities expressed in their faces—the subjects of countless literary and artistic creations—are artistic masterpieces from the hand of god, a claim that would make no sense if applied to the male counterpart. Women also have a stronger moral consciousness than men. As an illustration, Yi discusses how the main character in *A Doll House* (1879) considers his wife, Nora, an object of his lust and pleasure. Nora, for her part, treats him with love despite his demeaning gaze and treatment and thus demonstrates a

capacity to elevate herself that is absent in him. Lastly, women who manage the household, care for the children, and create peace and happiness in the family are profoundly competent at dealing with the complexities and difficulties of real life. Yi concludes that men should acknowledge these strengths, and that women must be given the same rights as men.

Kim Ök's "Modern Literature and Art," meanwhile, highlights usage of *saengmyöng* in literary discussions. He reinstates the romanticist emphasis on human spirit as a major impetus for breaking free from the material socialization of individuals.⁷³ Yet his appeal to romanticism only makes sense in the context of the socialization of individuals as discussed by Yi Ton-hwa and Pae Söng-nyöng. Referring to *Kindai bungaku jikkö* (Ten Lectures of Modern Literature, 1912) written by the Japanese critic Kuriyagawa Hakuson (1880–1923), Kim describes literary transitions from naturalism to new romanticism. The naturalistic view of life is commonly explained by expressions such as the "materialist mechanism," which defines the vital phenomena of life either in terms of materialist functions pertaining to a lifeless machine or with reference to the "inevitable outcomes of heredity and environment."⁷⁴ The effect of that naturalism was not just the destruction of old literary traditions, including classicism, but also creation of a new type of romanticism.

According to Kim, bygone romanticism was indifferent to an individual's material life, whereas science did observe it, though only on a superficial level that ignored the individual's spiritual activities. New romanticism, at the intersection of these radically different streams of thought, embraced the development of modern science but with the aim of prioritizing the "individuals' spiritual and sensorial life" formed through their "material experience."⁷⁵ What new romanticism eventually pursued, in other words, was the extraordinary wonder and mysterious utopia of human imagination.

The real and the imaginary are not opposites but, at the very bottom of one's **reality**, there lies the wonders of the imaginary. In other words, the literature of new romanticism is not a fictitious ideal of the past or some eccentric record, but a search toward an ideal imaginary utopia with a firm foundation on **reality**.⁷⁶

Here, Kim emphasizes the importance of symbols. Naturalistic description only touches upon the external and material aspects of reality and cannot do justice to the serious analysis of a human mind. New romantic literature can correct this drawback, especially through the role of symbols in poetry because symbols are what traverse the divide between visible and invisible, between material and spiritual, and between finite and the infinite.⁷⁷ Kim thus reestablishes the human spirit and wonder in the material lives of actively socialized individuals through the window of modern literature.

Social and literary expositions that are selected through topic modeling reveal a common interest among contributors in socializing individuals, a goal denoted most meaningfully by use of the term *saengmyŏng*. The coterie writers of *Ch'angjo* isolated individuals from society and explored their interiority, which had hardly been a main subject in traditional literature. In *Kaebŏk*, those introverted individuals were no longer the main interest. Individuals were being reimagined as key constituents of society, the world, and even the physical universe through the ideas of naturalism and mechanical materialism. As the focus of concern shifted from religious to social eternity, intellectuals became attentive to social reforms that could secure the future of society and nation, in part through appeals to universal humanism. In this sense, the desire for social reform in the early 1920s was conceptually far removed from a Marxist version of economic struggles. There was an attempt to elevate the social status of women; however, it did little for the analysis of society's economic structure. The idealism of coterie writers like Kim Ŏk proved resilient: This idealism offered naturalism as a detour to re-appropriate mystic wonder and utopia, now inseparable from social reality. All of these literary and non-literary semantic activities burst into the open through the shared use of *saengmyŏng*.

The Theme of Saenghwal

Turning to *saenghwal*, the theme was represented by a total of 94 articles containing 70 percent of the magazine's keywords. In six of those articles, density of keyword usage reached at least ten keywords per paragraph. Of those, I will examine three articles having *saengmyŏng* as a topic: "Saenghwal ũi chogŏn ũl ponwi ro han Chosŏn ũi kaejo saŏp" (Korea's Reformation Project Based on its Living conditions 1 and 2, 1921) by Yi Ton-hwa, "Yesul kwa insaeng, sinsegye wa Chosŏn minjok ũi samyŏng" (Art, the New World of Living, and the Calling of the Korean People, 1922) by Kyŏngsŏ Hagin (Yi Kwang-su's penname), and "Sahoe chuŭi wa yesul, sin'gaein chuŭi kŏnsŏl ũl ch'angham" (Celebrating the Creation of Socialism, Art and New Individualism, 1923) by Im No-wŏl.

Yi Ton-hwa's essay addresses the ways in which Korean intellectuals should rebuild society by elaborating on the meaning of *saenghwal* as a fundamental basis for labor. According to him,

not only food and clothing constitute *saenghwal*; [. . .] but more broadly things like law, politics, science, and economy create *saenghwal*—These are the necessary conditions for *saenghwal*, and along with religion, morality and art are all within its realm.⁷⁸

Referring to the broad boundaries of *saenghwal* with numerous repetitions of the term, Yi redefines its meaning in religion, economy, art, and other

fields. He denies the argument that religion solely exists for the afterlife. Calling this argument a “shallow perspective,” he asserts that we should “pursue a *sinang saenghwal* (religious life)” to gain spiritual pleasure and satisfaction rooted in “*hyönjae saenghwal* (the current ways of managing life).”⁷⁹ He emphasizes that religion is “the ultimate truth that emerged to supplement the flaws of reality,” and affirms that there is no *hyönsil saenghwal* (real life) that is free from the religious one.⁸⁰

As these quotes show, Yi used various compound words with *saenghwal*, such as *sinang saenghwal*, *hyönjae saenghwal*, and *hyöngsil saenghwal* to specify the abstract states or conditions of living in which the term is embedded. By employing those compound words, he underscores that our life is not separate from the wider, deeper reality of the present. What, then, is the most important development that constitutes a real life? In Korean society of the 1920s, the answer was labor, also a key basis for an egalitarian society. Where the yangban aristocrats of the Chosön Dynasty maintained their hereditary social status without working, the realities and sensibilities of 1920s Korea motivated a conviction that every person should engage in some kind of labor. Pondering this society and its abolished hereditary system, Yi writes that labor is indeed “another shape of a person’s *saengmyöng* (life); without labor there is no *saengmyöng* and without *saengmyöng*, there is no person,” and thus “labor is the delight that exudes from the movement of *saengmyöng*.”⁸¹ Going a step further, he suggests developing the professional skills of laborers to cultivate industrial, agricultural, and artistic experts. Observe how frequently Yi employed the term *saengmyöng*, and how that frequency resonates with the task of explaining labor as a fundamental condition for an egalitarian society. And recall, by way of contrast, how coterie writers employed the same term before, not to define a sense of individual commitment to a collective, but to detail art as a way of probing the interiority of an individual mind.

Yi’s emphasis on labor, however, did not entail devaluation of art. On the contrary, art was for him a point of convergence for areas like religion, labor, and morality that were linked to real life. In his view, it was not that Korean people lacked artistic talents, but that these talents were abandoned because they were “self-possessed by a dogmatic adoration of Confucian morals,” and that as a result, their “*saenghwal ch’wimi* (hobbies of everyday life) became plain, tasteless, and even depressing like today.”⁸² To revive “*yesul ū saenghwal*” (the artistic life) of the Korean people, Yi suggested promoting literature, art, music, and theater, and integrating art in institutions related to every field.

Such things as improving religion by integrating art, implementing education by integrating art, and developing morality by also infusing it with art—if we improve all aspects of life by infusing art into them, after ten years, I ensure that Korea will rightly have its fundamental solution.⁸³

As these quotes suggest, *saenghwal* spans many categories, from religion to morality to art and also thrives through a broad and at times eccentric link with co-occurring words like “the hobbies of everyday life” and “the art of life.” Taken together, these expressions refer to the practical aspects of human life or social reality. To Yi Ton-hwa in 1921, labor straightforwardly meant the techniques and efforts of the professional sector, and he believed that society could become better through the promotion of labor in various areas like morality, religion, and art.

Indeed, Yi Ton-hwa saw labor as foundational for what he called *saenghwal ūi yesulhwa* (literally “artification of life,” or integration of art in life), an idea and position echoed by Yi Kwang-su in his critical essay, “Art, Life, the New World, and the Calling of the Korean People.” Through careful deployment of the term *saenghwal*, Yi Kwang-su argues for the artistic remodeling of individuals and the public.⁸⁴ He first divides life into personal and social dimensions, such as *kaejŏk saenghwal* (personal life) and *sahoejŏk saenghwal* (social life), then links the former to art through the pursuit of joy or happiness and the latter to love in the sense of morality, exemplified by Tolstoy’s philanthropism. He then merges the two separate layers of individuals/society and morality/art into one, as expressed in his slogan “morality and art are one.”⁸⁵ He provides two routes toward this goal: Artistic remodeling of personality and artistic reconstruction of labor, the latter evoked in the phrase *nodong ūi yesulhwa* (literally “artification of labor,” or integration of art in labor.)⁸⁶

Artistic remodeling of a subjective individuality is possible through personal effort and education—in other words, self-cultivation. Yi Kwang-su argues that we can attain happiness and joy sufficient to penetrate various *insaeng ūi saenghwal* (aspects of our entire life) by cultivating an informed appreciation for the beauty of sculpture, color, acoustics, and dancing.⁸⁷ But personal effort alone cannot achieve this collective “artification of labor” given an economic system reliant on slave-like labor that exchanges manpower for money and an abundance of people whose labor is frozen because they do not have jobs. Yi thus argues that Korea must first “revamp its social organizations centered on its economic system,” which would create free jobs for each individual and also a society with artistically creative labor.⁸⁸ Doing so would help harmonize each individual with various aspects of society—economy, religion, morality—and thereby attain *saenghwal ūi yesulhwa*, the artification of life.⁸⁹

Yi Kwang-su’s idea of art in the essay resembles Yi Ton-hwa’s in its use of *saenghwal* more often than *saengmyŏng* when indicating labor as a basic condition for the enrichment of life. The two are also similar in referring to labor as the skills of professional workers rather than as part of a Marxist notion of class consciousness derived from labor’s dependence on capital. Another similarity is that Yi Kwang-su, like Yi Ton-hwa, aimed to change

society through the ethical rigors of self-cultivation, not through a total economic overhaul in response to class consciousness. Also, like Yi Tonhwa, Yi Kwang-su's theory of art contrasts to the ideas of prior coterie members who used the term *saengmyŏng* to valorize self-satisfaction and the perfection of an inward-looking individuality. Although Yi Kwang-su's writings were neither socialist nor romanticist, his belief in the social dimension of life and art put him particularly at odds with Im No-wŏl's "new individualism," an anti-socialist view of art that reflected a broader elevation of the personal over the social.

According to Im No-wŏl's essay "Socialism and Art," socialism sought to obtain materialistic gratification by holding private property in common and distributing it across society.⁹⁰ In emphasizing commonality, this socialization had the negative effects of making people "live with only limited instincts," after "mechanizing the entire human race" and eliminating the subjective pleasures derived from mankind's refined amusements, attractions, civility, and extreme beauty.⁹¹ Addressing the extent to which labor—which derived from forced mobilization, not voluntary cooperation—paralyzed the spirituality of the people, he argued that "*yesulga ui saenghwal*" (the life of an artist) who is dominated by materialistic socialism "is bound to go astray and grow corrupt."⁹² With individualism, by contrast, Im saw no need to intervene in or judge other people's lives. On the path toward full development of one's character, our "*kamgak saenghwal*" (sensory life) "necessarily knocks and explores the mysterious doors of art" such that, indeed, "we cannot create *saenghwal* without art."⁹³ In the end, Im concludes that we cannot compromise ourselves with socialism, whose materialism attempts to limit the spiritual power of a person, or with capitalism, which measures the value of human character through the concept of ownership. Only with individualism can we "realize the full development of one's character, while the public also enjoys their absolute freedom."⁹⁴

Im No-wŏl's viewpoint may seem misconceived through a contemporary lens, for it does not differentiate between economic methods of thinking like capitalism and socialism and other ethical perspectives such as self-cultivation and individualism. Yet this level of inclusion may have been relatively easy and even natural for intellectuals at the time, who had to confront numerous new theoretical models related to identity, economy, and art all at the same time. Such exposure, combined with social anxiety and rapid-fire change under colonial rule, may have made intellectuals more adept at assimilation and experimentation. In his essay, the term *saengmyŏng* refers to the traditional realm of subjective beauty and spiritual power. This realm is strengthened through use of *saenghwal*, as in phrases like *kamgak saenghwal* (our sensory life) and *yesulga ūi saenghwal* (life of an artist), which served to articulate the elevated human desire to go

beyond our elementary physiological needs and “knock on and explore the mysterious doors of art.” His comparison of the material aspect of life and mechanical labor as a way to demarcate the importance of spiritual power and artistic pleasure was unprecedented.

In *Keywords*, Raymond Williams called a particular set of interrelated words a cluster and deployed it to discover the moment when semantic interconnections coalesced into new structures.⁹⁵ If the list of co-occurring words and the thematic map in earlier sections intuitively demonstrated William’s semantic interconnections among the main topics of *Kaebŏk*, the subsequent close reading of *saengmyŏng* and *saenghwal* went further in identifying the moment when the two seemingly contrasting ideas connected to each other to form a new meaning beyond their initial semantic context. Previous usage of *saengmyŏng* in religious circles, like Christianity or Ch’ŏndogyo, had developed a practice of associating the self’s subjective senses and desires in a vast universe. Meanwhile, the use of *saenghwal* encompassed the breadth of experiences relating to how different individuals meet and interact under the material conditions of labor. Illuminated by this new conceptual context of *saenghwal*, and cleared of our own presumptions about reality, Kim Ŏk’s new romanticism and Im No-wŏl’s individualism could revise our previous understanding of individuality. Without the context of *saenghwal*, their discourses on the autonomy of individuals and art would have been difficult to form. Close reading of *saengmyŏng* and *saenghwal*, moreover, confirm that their conceptual changes over the time were not simply linked but also radically interdependent. Even this heightened sense of context, however, could not fully account for how would-be leftist critics such as Pak Yŏng-hŭi and Kim Kijjin, writing in the early 1920s, responded to Kim and Im’s use of *saenghwal* in new romanticism by re-appropriating it for class-based literature: The rationalization of *saenghwal* in the context of *class*, our topic for the next section, didn’t occur until around 1925.

The Rise of Prophetic Critics

The year 1925 marked a turning point in the development of ideologies in Korean literature. In August of that year, the early-1920s proponents of various spectrums of socialism, such as anarchist idealism for non-hierarchical society, mutual aid, egalitarian arguments for freeing slaves, and socialism as an anti-imperialist approach, all worked together to establish the organization KAPF (Korean Federation of Proletarian Artists in English, 1925–35). This sea change affected the direction of writing by the *Kaebŏk* contributors. As we learned earlier, the frequency of *saenghwal* was higher than that of *class* in 1925, until the latter surged all of a sudden and in 1926 far outpaced *saenghwal*. The tone of social critics, including

the famous Ch'ondogyo theoretician Yi Ton-hwa, began to engage and reflect upon leftist ideas. In particular, as Pak Yŏng-hŭi took the position of editor-in-chief of *hagyemyŏn* (the section on education and arts), the literary characteristics of the magazine shifted radically toward the left. Pak took two important steps as editor. First, he singled out literature that flew the banner of "art for art's sake," redefined it as "bourgeois literature," and attacked it. And second, in order for the writers of non-class-based literature to adopt leftist ideologies, he strengthened the role of criticism in the literary scene. Stylistically speaking, those changes manifested in the magazine as close interaction between social exposition, literary exposition, and practical criticism. Earlier in the chapter, we noted how literary expositions by Yi Kwang-su and Im No-wŏl corresponded to Yi Ton-hwa's social expositions through the interconnectedness of *saengmyŏng* and *saenghwal*. In the mid-1920s, correspondence between social and literary expositions expanded to encompass actual reviews of works. Through *Kaebyŏk*, that enhancement of criticism's ideological function and its connectedness to expositions and reviews contributed to the rise of a new type of critic.

We can observe a conspicuous attempt to appropriate socialism through the concept of *saenghwal* in the activities and fortunes of *Sinsaenghwal* (New Life, 1922–23), a short-lived journal (total of 16 issues) run by Christian nationalists who participated in the 1919 Independence Movement, and anarchists who believed in Peter Kropotkin's philosophy of mutual aid. From the beginning, the publisher for Society of New Life was strongly critical of capitalism, to the point where it ran afoul of censors: Almost half of the inaugural issue had to be deleted, but eventually the entire issue was blocked from publication. The tensions came to a head in the eleventh issue, which carried featured articles commemorating the fifth anniversary of the Russian Revolution. The issue was banned from publication on the grounds of promoting class struggles and socialism, the publisher and editor were imprisoned, and in January 1923, the magazine was ordered to discontinue.⁹⁶

Social critics in *Kaebyŏk* were not inattentive to this sort of journalistic tragedy or to the underlying reality of harsh censorship. Despite the danger of being caught, critics pushed themselves to understand Marxism more deeply, and started redefining the agents of socialist movements in Korea by differentiating Leninism from Marxism. According to traditional Marxist theory, it was the factory laborers, the most severely exploited by the industrial bourgeoisie, who had to lead the proletarian revolution. But the economic situation in Russia was not sufficiently mature enough to produce enough factory workers for a successful revolt against the capitalist system. Lenin recognized this and moved to enlighten and mobilize the poor farmers, who he then led to victory in the Revolution of 1917. Referring to this history of the Russian revolution, Pak Ch'un-u proposed that intellectuals

in Korea, too, should work with deprived farmers, noting significant similarities between the Korean and Russian cases.⁹⁷ From a similar Leninist position, the former reporter of *New Life*, Chŏng Paek, called for a coalition between youth and farmers organizations.⁹⁸ SY, meanwhile, argued that tenant strikes should be understood as part of the overall class struggle, and that they should be nurtured to destroy the discrepancies within the capitalist economy.⁹⁹ These articles by Pak, Chŏng, and SY appeared in *Kaebŏk* between 1925 and 1926.

The deepening of Marxist economic ideas affected the religious and social reformism of Ch'öndogyo theorists. Yi Ton-hwa, we recall, initially adhered to religious materialism, which emphasized the interaction between the biological substance of a human being and the physical elements of the universe. That nexus, which located heaven in this world, was governed by a simple egalitarian view of labor as a basis for non-hierarchical society. What was underlined in his materialistic perspective of the universe was the interconnectedness between the individual, the society, the nation-state, the world, and the universe. This integrative worldview provided a conceptual framework for intellectuals to engage with the local and marginal issues of Korea in the context of an interlinked contemporary world. In short, Yi's idea of an organic universe and limitless communication between things in the world turned Ch'öndogyo's religious interests toward social engagement.¹⁰⁰ In the meantime, around 1925, this organic view of the world rooted in harmony and balance between part and whole was gradually replaced by the Marxist attack on capitalism. Yi started criticizing a capitalist economy that unethically nurtured possessive desires among the rich, who attempted to oppress and "eat" others by means of money.¹⁰¹ He also inveighed against the scientific rule of nature for its aimless and mechanical principle and its construction of a human being as nothing more than a combination of organic cells.¹⁰² Opposed to a society operating under merciless capitalism and mechanical scientism, Yi advocated for one grounded in a notion of mutual aid, one that elevated and safeguarded *saram söng* or human nature.

Yi Ton-hwa's turn to Marxism had several meaningful impacts on the literary landscape of *Kaebŏk* before and after 1925. His status as a top-ranked Ch'öndogyo theoretician and his de facto editorship of the magazine must have played a key role behind the scenes in securing Pak Yöng-hüi as editor-in-chief of the literary section. More importantly, Yi's religious narrative provided a form of rhetoric in whose terms Korean writers could accept Marxism and comprehend social changes on the horizon. One might call it a prophetic narrative with a macroscopic perspective of the social. To be sure, such a future-oriented vision was already embedded in Ch'öndogyo. After receiving the divine revelation from heaven in 1860, Ch'oe Che-u founded the religion in order to change the world. As the title

of the magazine *Kaebyök* (the opening of a new and better world) denoted, Ch'öndogyo believers accepted as destiny that a great upheaval was coming, that the existing world order would flip upside down, although they did not know when or how it would happen. On the one hand, this future-oriented rhetoric offered scant hope for ordinary Koreans navigating life in colonial society, where prospects for the future were either occluded or bleak. On the other hand, it encouraged Korean intellectuals to be more attentive to Marxist historical materialism, wherein society was determined to develop from primitive communism to socialism through the proletarian overthrow of bourgeois capitalism.

Among literary and social critics of the time, it was Pak Yöng-hüi who combined the Marxist's historical materialism with Ch'öndogyo's prophetic rhetoric. In 1925, he arranged a special feature and wrote articles on this topic, including "Debates on Class Literature" and "New Tendency Literature and Its Status in the World of Letters."¹⁰³ Through these featured literary expositions, Pak and his leftist colleagues carefully spread the cause of class-based literature among cotemporary literary authors. "Debates" was devoted to the justification of leftist literature through the rebuttal of belletristic writers, while his literary exposition of NTL proposed a new literary genre more oriented toward power, one whose reviews of short stories expressed a futuristic vision.

Upon assuming the editorship in January 1925, Pak began attacking bourgeois literature. He arranged a special feature "On Yi Kwang-su" for which he himself wrote a piece devaluing Yi's works as nothing but cheap moralizing. Although Yi's emphasis on ethics successfully transitioned from old Confucian conformism to new "free love" and "liberation of women," Pak argued, it also generated a sentimentalism in readers which merely revealed them to be weak.¹⁰⁴ He then harried renowned writers to comment on *kyegŭp munhak* (class literature) in the next month's issue. The resulting eight contributors represented a good balance between "pure" and leftist literature, but Pak allowed the latter more space to justify why class literature deserved attention. Kim Tong-in, a living icon of romantic individualism, argued that it did not: One cannot pronounce the advent of a self-sufficient "animal literature," he contended, simply because animals are the principle subject being represented.¹⁰⁵ Kim Ki-jin objected to this reasoning based on subject materials and argued that the ideology of the writer should be what distinguishes between a proletarian and bourgeois literature.¹⁰⁶ Yöm Sang-söp, a well-versed fiction writer and critic who championed the depiction of life as it is, recognized the necessity of identifying an emergent proletarian literature. But he opposed its ideological promotion if it meant sacrificing the independent status of art.¹⁰⁷ Pak Yöng-hüi, too, worried about the autonomy of literature but said it is impossible to pursue autonomy under capitalist society because individuals as laborers

were exploited all day as if they were simply machines. Where bourgeois literature merely acknowledged such social evils, and persisted by doing so, proletarian literature expressed a determination to abolish them. It was in this distinction, Pak argued, that class literature inevitably arose.¹⁰⁸

In these critical debates, the *Kaebŏk* critics sought a common motif embedded in the stories they discussed and settled on destitution. Kim Ki-jin, for instance, probes the self-destructive act of arson by the female protagonist in Hyŏn Chin-gŏn's "Pul" (Fire, 1925). Kim interprets her violent action as self-protection, a way of avoiding being sexually abused by her new husband, to whom she had been sold in order to relieve her family's starvation. In "Illyŏkkŏkkun" (A Rickshaw Puller) by Chu Yo-sŏp, Kim sees the protagonist's death by starvation as symbolizing the economic disparity in Chinese society.¹⁰⁹ Based on these frequent descriptions of the poor in short fiction, and interpreting their transgressive actions such as suicide, manslaughter, and arson as expressions of social resistance, Kim declares that "the literary sphere has progressed."¹¹⁰ His commentary is insightful in describing a short story's literary orientation beyond the scope of the work viewed in isolation. Those observations also tie back in to analysis of the specific story, demonstrating the close connection between the forms of literary exposition and practical criticism.

Less than six months after Kim's review, Pak published a historic literary exposition titled "New Tendency Literature and Its Status in the World of Letters."¹¹¹ In this essay Pak highlights ten short stories and one poem, including Kim Ki-jin's "Pulgŏn chwi" (Red Rat, November 1924) and Ch'oe Sŏ-hae's "Kia wa sallyuk" (Destitution and Massacre, June 1925). He argues that these works share a new tendency to feature protagonists or narrators who notice systematic inconsistencies embedded in current bourgeois society and who subsequently attempt to destroy them verbally and physically. Essentially, Pak subscribes to what Kim called "new tendencies," the violent and resistant actions expressed by literary protagonists and recognized them by defining a new genre: NTL.

To gain a sense of this new tendency to which Kim and Pak refer, let us consider one example of NTL stories, Ch'oe Sŏ-hae's "Destitution and Massacre." It concerns four family members in Manchuria: The male protagonist Kyŏng-su, his sick wife, his young daughter, and his mother. Kyŏng-su begs a stingy herbalist for medicine for his wife who has suffered a stroke. Knowing that Kyŏng-su had no money to pay for the medicine, the herbalist directs him to draw up a contract agreeing to be his *mŏsŭm* (a male servant, a farmhand, or a slave) for a year. While Kyŏng-su is visiting the herbalist, his mother goes to a neighboring village to beg for rice from a Chinese landlord. She is bitten by his dog and carried home, covered with blood. In the end, Kyŏng-su hallucinates that monsters torture him and

his family. Unable to withstand their sufferings, he slaughters his family, attacks nearby shops and the Chinese police station, and kills passersby and policemen, all the while shouting, “Kill ’em all. Destroy this world! Destroy this world like pandemonium! Kill ’em all!”¹¹² Kyöng-su is then shot to death.

In reading this supposedly representative NTL story, one is impressed by the gap between actual characteristics that such stories illustrate on one hand and the formal issues at which NTL directs its criticism on the other. In the above story, while the herbalist’s act of making Kyöng-su a farmhand to repay his debt hints at the possibility of class struggle, Kyöng-su’s aimless explosion of rage derails that prospect entirely. Not only does it lead to a tragic chain of events for his family and the community, but it does so without the slightest sense of awakening among his poor neighbors or, arguably, even in himself: Hallucinations, after all, were a big part of what sent him over the edge. Although his destitution, and the notion of hardship more generally, are indelibly captured in this short piece, such descriptions, however potent and poignant, are not enough to qualify as proletarian vision. The identity markers that NTL stories were supposed to have—class consciousness, utopian vision for a better future, collective identity of the poor masses—rarely appear in works by so-called NTL writers, such as Ch’oe Sö-hae or even Kim Ki-jin. In short, there were no NTL stories in 1925, only NTL criticism.

To put it differently, Pak Yöng-hüi proactively took the new tendencies of poverty-driven violence to be an ideological sign demonstrating the rise of proletarian literature rather than simply evaluating their potential to characterize a group of literary works. His proposal of NTL can thus be interpreted as a pronouncement of his own ideals at a moment when NTL stories did not yet reflect the class consciousness he wanted to identify. One might also understand this move to proclaim a literary genre as his preemptive claim to literary authority through the act of reviewing. The literary circle in 1920s Korea was still small, evident in the extent to which the two major magazines, *Kaebyök* and *Chosön mundan*, shared many literary contributors and often evaluated the same literary works. Competition over main writers and literary reviews might have pushed Pak to pursue ideological literature and preemptively establish its authority over literature based on the autonomy of art. While showcasing his own membership among the ideological critics, he also foresaw the rise of those other critics he described as “both a man of the epoch and a prophet.”

At a glance, Pak’s preemptive moves seem immature, yet they apparently manifested his self-reflexive observation that imported Western literature failed to accurately reflect the wretched life of Koreans. In criticizing

Korean writers for merely mimicking Western literary trends without having fully digested the culture, Pak states:

These days, it takes a year or half a year for even [new] ideologies to come to us via Tokyo . . . We were busy following the ideologies of our precedents without considering the close relationship between *saenghwal* and literary environments. In other words, we managed a mimetic life: prior to tasting the true beauty of yearning, we imported naturalism, and we also introduced idealism before seriously tasting the naturalism of others.¹¹³

Stressing how the Korean environment is constituted in close affinity between literature and *saenghwal*, Pak warns against a superficial mimicry of Western literary trends, which came to Korea mainly through Japan. “[I]n our current situation,” he argues, “it is not literature and art that should lead our *saenghwal*, but it should be our *saenghwal* that leads our literature and art.”¹¹⁴ Where “literature and art” refers to foreign imports, “our literature and art” signifies works of Korean origin. Pak is urging Korean writers not to lean on Western literature and art in the process of creating an indigenous equivalent, exhorting them instead to reflect on the real lives that Korean people manage to live under colonization. He was evidently aware that his contemporary literary moment could not accommodate such a call, which he described as his own “new idealism,” and as “a prophecy rather than a tendency of the literary sphere.”¹¹⁵

If Pak Yŏng-hŭi and Kim Ki-jin attempted to re-appropriate Im No-wŏl’s new romanticism from class-based literature, it was the closely-knit, mutually informing textual fabric of *saengmyŏng* and *saenghwal* in *Kaebŏk* that made their new tendency critiques possible. This process of interlacing different ideas supported the routinization of practical criticism. While regularly critiquing the literary works of the previous month, Kim and Pak were able to incorporate social and literary views that anticipated a world to come. In the end, ideological critics with a forward-looking worldview could not have appeared without *Kaebŏk*, a place where discussions about religion, especially Ch’ŏndogyo, and social ideologies like Marxism constellated into norms of literary interpretation.

Conclusion

I want to suggest that it is only at this price, by way of a complex play of simultaneous and antithetical messages, that the narrative text is able to open up a concrete perspective on the real future.

Frederic Jameson¹¹⁶

So far, we have examined how ideological critics with future-oriented visions arose from and within *Kaebyök*. I demonstrated in the last section that Kim Ki-jin and Pak Yöng-hüi appropriated the idea of *saenghwal* as part of class literature by proposing NTL. This much, perhaps, is less a meaningful discovery and more a reiteration of conventional literary history, supported in some new detail from the perspective of semantic networks. Regarding *Kaebyök* as a platform, one might wonder how the thematically disciplined critics discussed here emerged at all in the pages of a general interest magazine intended for intellectual masses.

But perhaps its broad scope, its agglomeration of different social languages, concepts, forms, and temporalities, helped make it fertile ground. As a category of publication, the notion of general interest is essentially permission to ignore everything except what catches your eye, and that permission applies as much to contributors as to readers. In preparing a submission, you rummage around, collect what you need, make sense of a few conceptual threads, write your piece, and hand it over without the thematic, disciplinary, or ideological constraints that would limit submissions to a narrower publication. Their heteroglossia, in other words, is part of what makes magazines a potentially illuminating vantage point for comprehending the 1920s, the formative years of modern literature in Korea. Bakhtin saw the novel as a genre where heterogeneous social languages connected, competed, and confronted one another.¹¹⁷ By those terms, a magazine should be even more open to heteroglossia, for it is not constrained by the formal structures of the novel: Plot, time-space setting, the requirement that it end. Formal openness, indeed, entailed a space for Korean intellectuals to think and speak, even under the colonial surveillance.

A corollary is that, for a single scholar at least, the full heteroglossic diversity of ideas moving through the magazine is difficult to assess, especially in the glance provided by a single chapter. I therefore employed the computational method of topic modeling to produce a more complete macroscopic overview of topics, a perspective that close readings preclude.¹¹⁸ I also shifted from the question of how ideological critics arose in *Kaebyök* to how the magazine helped shape their rise. Doing so revealed what Jameson called “a complex play of simultaneous and antithetical messages” that belies the meaning one makes. In his analysis of Lu Xun’s “Diary of a Madman” (1918), Jameson captured the appalling moment when the narrator came up against the vicious practice of cannibalism in premodern China. That ghastly reality returned in none other than the narrator’s daily life, where modern bureaucracy and power prevailed. In other words, only through the “complex play of simultaneous and antithetical messages,” exemplified by cannibalism and bureaucratic daily life, does the narrative close itself. Although Jameson examined the specific case of antithetical

messages simultaneously encountered, whose peculiar dynamics should not be generalized, the underlying endless interplay between foreground and background, one always ceding to another, is the driving force behind all semantic relations. This chapter has explored these relations in detail for the cases of *saengmyŏng* and *saenghwal*.

The prophetic critic, I argue, resulted not only from interactions between literary works and critiques or between literary expositions like romanticism or realism and Marxist social expositions, but also from the thematic uses of *saengmyŏng* and *saenghwal* that run through *Kaebŏk*. Of particular relevance were those discourses concerning Ch'ŏndogyo's monistic cosmology with its future-oriented vision and its linkage of heaven to the secular world. Through such interactions beyond genres, *saengmyŏng* and *saenghwal* emerged as ideologies to connect social worldviews to practical criticism geared toward the ideological reviews of literary works. Amidst these concerns, did the Korean critics of the time have any interest in developing critical terms to improve the techniques of writing fiction?

Notes

- 1 Pak Hŏn-ho, "Tonginji esŏ sinch'un munye ro – tŭngdan chedo ūi kwŏllyŏk chŏk pyŏnhwan" (From Coterie Magazines to Newspaper Contests: The Transition of Power in Recruiting New Writers), in *Chakka ūi t'ansaeng kwa kŭndae munhak ūi chae saengsan chedo* (Seoul: Somyŏng Ch'ulp'an, 2008), 84–85.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 87.
- 3 Yun Hae-dong, "Hanmal ilche ha Ch'ŏndogyo Kim Ki-jŏn ūi 'kŭndae' suyong kwa 'minjok chuŭi'" (Reception of 'the Modern' by the Ch'ŏndogyo Kim Ki-jŏn and [his] 'Nationalism' in the End of the Taehan Empire and the Colonial Period), *Yŏksa munje yŏn'gu*, no. 1 (December 1996): 209–261; Chŏng Yŏng-sŏ, "Ilche ha Ch'ŏndogyo Ch'ŏngnyŏndang ūi undong nosŏn kwa chŏngch'i sasang" (The Directions of the Ch'ŏndogyo Youth Party and Its Political Ideologies During the Colonial Period), in *Kaebŏk e pich'in singminji Chosŏn ūi ōlgul* (Seoul: Mosinŭn Saramdŭl, 2007), 123–178.
- 4 Hŏ Su, "Ōhwi yŏngyŏlmang ūl t'onghae pon 'cheguk' ūi ūimi" (The Meanings of "Empire" Seen Through Networks of Words), *Taedong munhwa yŏn'gu*, no. 87 (September 2014): 505–506.
- 5 *Ibid.*, 535.
- 6 Raymond Williams, *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*, revised ed. (London and New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 23–25.
- 7 John W. Mohr and Petko Bogdanov, "Introduction-Topic Models: What They Are and Why They Matter," *Poetics* 41, no. 6 (December 2013): 546.
- 8 David M. Blei, "Probabilistic Topic Models," *Communications of the ACM* 55, no. 4 (2012): 77–84.
- 9 Matt Erlin, "The Location of Literary History: Topic Modelling, Network Analysis, and the German Novel, 1731–1864," in *Distant Readings: Topologies of German Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: Camden House, 2014), 55–90.
- 10 Han Ki-hyŏng, "Kaebŏk ūi chonggyojŏk isangjuŭi wa kŭndae munhak ūi sasanghwa" (The Religious Idealism of *Kaebŏk* and the Ideologizing of Modern Literature), *Sanghŏ hakpo*, no. 20 (June 2007): 59–69.

- 11 Ibid.; Pak Sang-jun, *Han'guk kündae munhak üi hyöngsöng kwa sin'gyönghyangp'a* (The Formation of Modern Korean Literature and New Tendency Literature) (Seoul: Somyöng Ch'ulp'an, 2000); Ch'oe Su-il, *Kaebyök yön'gu* (A Study on *Kaebyök*) (Seoul: Somyöng Ch'ulp'an, 2008).
- 12 Pak Yöng-hüi, "Chö'sön mundan üi ch'oesin kyönghyang" (Up-to-Date Tendencies of the Literary Sphere in Korea), *Kaebyök*, no. 44 (February 1924): 94–96.
- 13 Yi Yong-gu (1868–1912) is a disciple of Son Pyöng-hüi. He set up the Inchinhoe (Advance in unity society) and worked on populist but non-nationalist local activities, such as regional tax reforms and the construction of railways. Those efforts gained local support, yet at the same time invited a serious question of national sovereignty. Realizing this, Son severed ties with the Ilchinhoe group and started a new chapter under the name of Ch'öndogyo. Yumi Moon, *Populist Collaborators: The Ilchinhoe and the Japanese Colonization of Korea, 1896–1910* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2013).
- 14 Ch'oe Su-il, *Kaebyök yön'gu*, 379.
- 15 Chöndogyo Ch'öngnyöhoe Chungang Ponbu, ed., *Ch'öndogyo Ch'öngnyöhoe p'alsip-yönsa* (80 Years of Ch'öndogyo Youth Association) (Seoul: Künnamu, 1988), 99–104.
- 16 Ibid., 106. There is a report that Ch'öndogyo Youth Association had 107 branches nationwide and about 7600 members, as of 1921.
- 17 A monthly sale 8,000 to 9,000 copies in the 1920s is remarkable given that, as of 1930, the illiteracy rate was 77.74 percent and the circulation of daily newspaper *Tonga ilbo* was about 60,000. Pak Hön-ho, *Chakka üi t'ansaeng*, 32–33.
- 18 They included Pak Tal-söng (social affairs editor), Ch'a Sang-ch'an (1887–1946, economic and political affairs editor) and Hyön Ch'öl (1891–1965, literature and art editor; taken over by Pak Yöng-hüi from 1925). Except for Hyön and Pak, the initial publishers of *Kaebyök* were all from Ch'öndogyo. Ch'oe Suil, *Kaebyök yön'gu*, 401.
- 19 In his book, *A Study on Kaebyök*, Ch'oe Su-il has categorized the writings in the magazine into three groups: *nonsöl* (formal essays): 322 articles; *munhak* (literature-related pieces): 788 articles; and *chapmun* (miscellaneous writings), which are neither *nonsöl* nor *munhak*. Despite his meticulous record-keeping, Ch'oe's grouping of three modes of writing is less useful in terms of mapping out the interaction between the literary and the social, because it attempts to stylistically differentiate one form from another. The issues concerning society were covered not only in the *nonsöl*, which offered in-depth reviews of politics, ideology, and class, but also in the *chapmun*, which addressed current affairs (*sisä*), public reports, and activities of contemporary social organizations, albeit more informally. Fiction, poetry, plays, and literary essays in *munhak* also articulated social issues. Ch'oe Su-il, *Kaebyök yön'gu*, 57. To address this weakness, I have classified the articles thematically and stylistically, at the same time, trying to find in the form of criticism a mode of expression that enabled a dialogue between social and literary concerns.
- 20 The special feature lasted for two years between 1923 and 1925 (no. 34–64, April 1923–December 1925). The serialized articles covered the entirety of the country, including 13 *to* (provinces), 218 *kun* (counties), 2,507 *myön* (sub-counties), and two islands of Korea.
- 21 Ch'oe Su-il, *Kaebyök yön'gu*; quoted in Han Ki-hyöng, "Kaebyök," 50.
- 22 "Practical Criticism," with P and C capitalized, refers to a method of close reading in New Criticism which regards literary works as self-contained verbal entities, distinct from scientific and social writings. Martin Coyle, Peter

- Garside, Malcolm Kelsall, and John Peck, eds., *Encyclopedia of Literature and Criticism* (London: Routledge, 1991), 11. Practical criticism, in my use, also means the analytical reading of literary works; however, I do not follow New Criticism's premises. On the contrary, I show how in colonial Korea, practical criticism was a historical product of the intersection between social and literary perspectives.
- 23 Kim Ki-jin, "Kūmil ūi munhak kwa myōngil ūi munhak" (Today's Literature and Tomorrow's Literature), *Kaebŏk*, no. 44 (February 1924): 41–54.
 - 24 *Ibid.*, 54.
 - 25 Pak Yōng-hŭi, "Sin'gyōnghyangp'a munhak kwa kŭ mundanjōk chiwi" (New Tendency Literature and its status in the World of Letters), *Kaebŏk* 64 (December 1925): Munye 3.
 - 26 Kim Nam-ch'ōn, "Modōn munye sajōn" (Modern Encyclopedia for Art and Literature), *Inmun p'yōngnon* 2, no. 1 (January 1940); Im Hwa, "Chosōn sinmunhaksaron sōsōl" (An Introduction to the History of New Literature in Korea), *Chosōn chungang ilbo* (November 1935), in Im Hwa, *Im Hwa sinmunhaksa*, 362–363.
 - 27 Pak Sang-jun, *Han'guk kŭndae munhak*.
 - 28 Yun Hae-dong, "Hanmal ilche ha," 209–261; Hō Su, "1920-yōn chōnhu Yi Ton-hwa ūi hyōnsil insik kwa kŭndae ch'ōlhak ūi suyōng" (Yi Ton-hwa's Perception of Reality and the Reception of Modern Philosophy Before and After 1920), *Yōksa munje yōn'gu*, no. 9 (December 2002): 175–216; Hō Su, "1905–1924-yōn Ch'ōndogyo chonggyo sasang ūi hyōngsōng kwajōng" (The Formation of Ch'ōndogyo's Religious Ideologies from 1905 to 1924), *Yōksa munje yōn'gu*, no. 12 (June 2004): 187–224.
 - 29 Han Ki-hyōng, "Kaebŏk."
 - 30 Han'guk Yōksa T'onghap Chōngbo Sisŭt'em (KHIIS), koreanhistory.or.kr. Among the numerous colonial magazines, the KHIIS serves to provide the fully digitized text of seven magazines, including *Kaebŏk*, *Tongwang* (Eastern light, 1926~1932), *Pyōlkōn'gon* (Another world, 1926–1934), and *Samch'ōlli* (Three thousand-ri, 1929–1942), along with twelve enlightenment journals published in the 1900s. See the detailed list and description of each magazine in Korean, KHIIS, "Han'guk kŭn-hyōndae chapchi charyo sogae" (Introduction to Korean Modern and Contemporary Magazine Materials), accessed August 29, 2022, http://db.history.go.kr/introduction/intro_ma.html. Although this online archive is organized well by volume, issue, and table of contents, and can also be searched online, it is incomplete for use as research data in many respects. For instance, out of the 72 issues of *Kaebŏk* published during the 1920s, no. 28 (October 1922) and no. 69 (May 1926) are missing. Furthermore, as mentioned in the Introduction, the original text of *Kaebŏk* was typed letter by letter into its electronic form by typists, rather than being converted through an optical character recognition (OCR) system. As many typists copied from different *Kaebŏk* editions compiled by different publishers, such as Kaebŏksa, Osōngsa, and Yōngsin Academy, it is near impossible to trace where a particular edition was used and typed. According to the Korea History Database, "Issues no. 28 and 69 are missing among a total of 72 issues of *Kaebŏk*. [. . .] It is suspected that the Kaebŏksa edition was used as the original script during digitization but it is also assumed that other editions, such as those by the Osōngsa and Yōngsin Academy, were also referred to." Consequently, it is hard to check any typographic errors, such as missing words or misspelled words, without an original version to compare. In addition, the digital version of *Kaebŏk* has left

out non-textual elements in the original magazine, such as its cover, commercial advertisements, and visual images. Nevertheless, this text is the only available digital text of *Kaebyŏk*. I believe it is better to attempt to build a meaningful understanding even with an insufficient body of text instead of waiting until the text becomes complete, if it ever does, because we can supplement the text and understanding in the future.

- 31 It is necessary to think further whether “we” (*uri*) indicates a first-person plural or Korean society or public. “*Uri*” was included to show that there is a term that contrasts with words referring to individuals, such as “oneself” and “ego.” However, it is true that where “*uri*” only functions as a part of compound nouns such as “*uri Chosŏn*” (our Korea), no significant meaning can be found.
- 32 Pak Myŏng-gyu, “1920-yŏndae ‘sahoe’ insik kwa kaeinjuŭi” (1920s Awareness of ‘Society’ and Individualism), in *Chisik pyŏndong ūi sahoesa* (Seoul: Munhak kwa Chisŏngsa, 2003), 278. As shown above though, other terms were also available for the nation state, such as *minjok* and *kukka*, along with *Chosŏn*.
- 33 Kim Ki-jin, “Promeneade Sentinental,” *Kaebyŏk*, no. 37 (July 1923): 86.
- 34 Ibid.; Pak Yŏng-hŭi, “Sin’gyŏnghyangp’a munhak kwa kŭ mundanjŏk chiwi.”
- 35 Im Hwa, *Im Hwa sinmunbaka*, 351–360.
- 36 Yi Ch’ol-ho, “Sin’gyŏnghyangp’a pip’yŏng ūi nangman chuŭijŏk kiwŏn” (The Romanticist Origins of New Tendency Criticism), *Minjok munhaksa yŏn’gu*, no. 38 (2008): 235.
- 37 Kim Ki-jin, “Promeneade Sentinental,” 86.
- 38 Pak Yŏng-hŭi, “Sin’gyŏnghyangp’a munhak kwa kŭ mundanjŏk chiwi,” Munye 1.
- 39 Yi Ik-sang, “Saenghwal ūl wihan yesul” (Art for *saenghwal*), *Chosŏn chi kwang*, no. 75 (January 1928).
- 40 Hong Chong-sŏn, “Sin’gyŏnghyangp’a pip’yŏng e nat’an-an saenghwal munhak ūi pyŏnch’ŏn kwajŏng” (The Changes of *saenghwal* Literature Reflected in New Tendency Criticism” (MA thesis, Seoul National University, 1981).
- 41 Im Hwa, *Im Hwa sinmunbaks*, 351–360.
- 42 Blei, “Probabilistic Topic Models,” 77.
- 43 David M. Blei, Andrew Y. Ng, and Michael I. Jordan, “Latent Dirichlet Allocation,” *Journal of Machine Learning Research* 3 (2003): 996.
- 44 In Ted Underwood’s blog, the author uses the example word “lead” to calculate the probability of whether this word would belong to the topic of leadership versus the topic of heavy metal. Ted Underwood, “Topic Modeling Made Just Simple Enough,” *The Stone and the Shell* (blog), April 7, 2012, <http://tedunderwood.com/2012/04/07/topic-modeling-made-just-simple-enough/>.
- 45 Mohr and Bogdanov, “Introduction—Topic Models,” 547.
- 46 Matt Erlin and Lynne Tatlock, eds., *Distant Readings: Topographies of German Culture in the Long Nineteenth Century* (New York: Camden House, 2014), 58.
- 47 When I was deciding the number of keywords per topic, numbers above 20 resulted in too many words being shared across different topics, while fewer than 20 resulted in ambiguous topics that were difficult to grasp. After dropping the number of topics from 50 to 20, the 20-topic option did not have enough topics to cover the various subjects that were covered in *Kaebyŏk*.
- 48 The topic of *literary activity* includes keywords like *mundan* (literary circle), *ch-akka* (writer), *sin* (poet), *pip’yŏng* (criticism), *ch’angjak* (compose), *sosŏl* (fiction), *tokcha* (reader), *muncha* (set of letters), *p’yŏhyŏn* (expression), *naeyŏng* (content), *hyŏngsik* (form), *kach’i* (value), and *pŏnyŏk* (translation).

- 49 Ch'oe Su-il, *Kaebŏk yŏn'gu*, 396–404; Hŏ Su, “1920-yŏndae chŏnban Yi Ton-hwa ūi kaejo sasang suyong kwa saram ‘sŏng’ chuŭi” (Yi Ton-hwa’s Reception of Reconstruction Ideology and Human-ism in the First-Half of the 1920s), in *Kaebŏk e pich’in singminji Chosŏn ūi ōlgul* (Seoul: Mosinŭn Saramdŭl, 2007), 179–231.
- 50 Ann Sung-Hi Lee, *Yi Kwang-su and Modern Korean Literature: Muijŏng* (Ithaca: Cornell East Asia Series, 2005), 34.
- 51 Kim Ki-jin, “Kŭmil ūi munhak,” 46.
- 52 Yi Ton-hwa, “Oin ūi sinsasaenggwan, ūisik kwa sasaeng = saengmyŏng kwa sasaeng = yŏnghon kwa sasaeng” (Our New Perspective on Life and Death: Consciousness and Life-Death = Vitality and Life-Death = Soul and Life-Death), *Kaebŏk* 20 (February 1922): 17–31.
- 53 *Ibid.*, 20.
- 54 *Ibid.*, 23.
- 55 *Ibid.*, 30.
- 56 Hŏ looked through magazines, like *Kaebŏk* and *Ch’ŏndogyohoe wŏlbo* (Ch’ŏndogyo Monthly, 1910–1938); the catechism *Tonggyŏng taejŏn* (The Canon of Eastern Learning, 1880) written by Yi Ton-hwa; a collection of poetry and songs called *Yongdam yusa* (Songs of Yongdam, 1881); and other articles and writings related to the teachings of Ch’ŏndogyo, including *Innaech’ŏn yoŭi* (The Essentials of the Idea of ‘People Are Heaven’, 1924).
- 57 Hŏ Su, “Tonghak, Ch’ŏndogyo esŏ ch’ŏn kaenyŏm ūi chŏn’gae” (The Development of the Ideas of Heaven in Eastern Learning and Heavenly Way), in *Tu sichŏm ūi kaeyŏmsa: Hyŏnjisŏng kwa tongsisŏng ūro ponŭn Tong Asia kŭndae* (Conceptual History from Two Perspectives: Modern East Asia from Both Local and Synchronous Perspectives) (Seoul: P’urŭn Yŏksa), 227, 234.
- 58 Yi Ton-hwa, “Chilli ūi kŭnjŏ rŭl ōhaech’i mara” (Don’t Misunderstand the Foundation of Truth), *Ch’ŏndogyohoe wŏlbo* 52 (November 1914): 10, quoted in Hŏ Su, “Tonghak,” 235.
- 59 Yi Ton-hwa, “Insaeng ūn sin e ch’ulya, sin e kwi, ko insaeng ūi mokchŏk ūn to rŭl kage chae” (Life Is to Come from God and to Return to God at Death, the Purpose of Life Lies in the Realization of the Path), *Ch’ŏndogyohoe wŏlbo* 61 (August 1915): 17, quoted in Hŏ Su, “Tonghak,” 235.
- 60 Hŏ Su, “Tonghak,” 239.
- 61 *Ibid.*, 241–242.
- 62 Pae Sŏng-nyŏng, “Inkyŏk palchŏn ūi tojŏng e taehan sagyŏn” (On the Path to the Development of Individuality), *Kaebŏk*, no. 24 (June 1922): 40–46.
- 63 *Ibid.*, 40.
- 64 *Ibid.*
- 65 *Ibid.*, 45.
- 66 *Ibid.*, 46.
- 67 *Ibid.*, 45.
- 68 *Ibid.*, 46.
- 69 Yi In-yŏng, “Haebang ūi piae” (The Sorrows of Liberation), *Kaebŏk*, no. 20 (February 1922): 31–36.
- 70 *Ibid.*, 58.
- 71 *Ibid.*, 33. Rousseau’s male-centrism echoes the views of *Ch’angjo* writers, such as Yi Il and Kim Tong-in.
- 72 *Ibid.*, 35.
- 73 Kim Ōk, “Kŭndae munye” (Modern Literature and Art), *Kaebŏk*, no. 21 (March 1922): 31–36.
- 74 *Ibid.*, 31.
- 75 *Ibid.*, 33.

- 76 Ibid., 34.
- 77 Ibid., 36.
- 78 Yi Ton-hwa, “Saenghwal ūi chogŏn ūl ponwi ro han Chosŏn ūi kaejo saŏp 1” (Korea’s Reformation Project Based on Its Living Conditions 1), *Kaebyŏk*, no. 15 (September 1921): 6.
- 79 Ibid., 6.
- 80 Ibid., 7.
- 81 Yi Ton-hwa, “Saenghwal ūi chogŏn 2,” *Kaebyŏk*, no. 16 (October 1921): 23.
- 82 Ibid., 19.
- 83 Ibid., 21.
- 84 Kyŏngsŏ Hagin (Yi Kwang-su), “Yesul kwa insaeng, sinsegye wa Chosŏn min-jok ūi samyŏng” (Art, Life, the New World, and the Calling of the Korean People), *Kaebyŏk*, no. 19 (January 1922): 1–21.
- 85 Ibid., 5.
- 86 Ibid., 6, 12. The phrase, which Yi quotes, comes from Pyotr Alexeyevich Kropotkin.
- 87 Ibid., 8.
- 88 Ibid., 15.
- 89 Ibid., 16.
- 90 Im No-wŏl, “Sahoe chuŭi wa yesul, sin’gaein chuŭi kŏnsŏl ūl ch’angham” (Socialism and Art, Announcing the Creation of Neo-Individualism), *Kaebyŏk*, no. 37 (July 1923): 21–29.
- 91 Ibid., 21.
- 92 Ibid., 23.
- 93 Ibid., 26–27.
- 94 Ibid., 29.
- 95 Williams, *Keywords*, 22–23. A deliberate choice of certain words for such an objective, he admits, cannot avoid obvious limitations; however, the conscious choice of words could be the only way to examine “networks of usages, reference, and perspectives.” Williams, *Keywords*, 23.
- 96 Han Ki-hyŏng, *Singminji munyŏk: Kŏmnyŏl, ijung ch’ulp’an sijang, pi-singminja ūi munjang* (The Colonial Sphere of Letters: Censorship, a Dual Publication Market, and the Language by the Colonized) (Seoul: Sŏngkyunkwan Taehakkyo Ch’ulp’anbu, 2019), 167–168.
- 97 Pak Ch’un-u, “Segye nongmin undong ūi kwagŏ wa mirae” (The Past and the Present of Rural Movements in the World), *Kaebyŏk*, no. 63 (November 1925): 14–20.
- 98 Chŏng Paek, “Ch’ŏngnyŏn kŭp nongmin yangchŏng tongmaeng, che-2 hoe chŏnggi taehoe e imhaya” (The Second Regular Meeting of the Youth and Farmers Associations), *Kaebyŏk*, no. 58 (April 1925): 5–9.
- 99 SY, “Sojak undong ūi kwich’akchŏm” (The Conclusion of Tenant Movements), *Kaebyŏk* 65 (January 1926): 19–23.
- 100 Albert Park, “Visions of the Nation: Religion and Ideology in 1920s and 1930s Rural Korea” (PhD diss., University of Chicago, 2007), 183.
- 101 Yi Ton-hwa, “Saram ūi him kwa ton ūi him. Saram ūi him ūro saram ūl tomnŭn sahoe rŭl mandŭrŏ nohaya hal kŏsi animnika?” (The Power of People and the Power of Money: Should We Not Construct a Society That Helps People with the Power of People?), *Kaebyŏk*, no. 56 (February 1925): 5.
- 102 Yi Ton-hwa, “Saeng ūi kaejŏk kach’i wa chŏnjŏk kach’i” (The Individual and Collective Values of Life), *Kaebyŏk*, no. 63 (November 1925): 5.
- 103 Pak Yŏng-hŭi, “Kyejŭp munhak sibiron” (Debates on Class Literature), *Kaebyŏk*, no. 56 (February 1925): Munye 43–55; Pak Yŏng-hŭi, “Sin’gyŏngnyangp’a.”

- 104 Pak Yŏng-hŭi, “Munhaksang ũro pon Yi Kwang-su” (Yi Kwang-su Seen from a Literary Perspective), *Kaebŏk*, no. 55 (January 1925): 87.
- 105 Pak Yŏng-hŭi, “Kyeġŭp munhak sibiron,” 48.
- 106 *Ibid.*, 44.
- 107 *Ibid.*, 52–54.
- 108 *Ibid.*, 49–52.
- 109 Kim Ki-jin, “Sinch’un mundan ch’ongġwan” (Overview of Literature in the Spring Quarter), *Kaebŏk*, no. 59 (May 1925): Munye 3–4.
- 110 Kim Ki-jin, “Mundan ch’oegŭn ũi il kyŏngnyang” (A Recent Tendency in the Literary Sphere), *Kaebŏk*, no. 61 (July 1925): 124.
- 111 Pak Yŏng-hŭi, “Sin’gyŏngnyangp’a munhak kwa kŭ mundanjŏk chiwi.”
- 112 *Ibid.*, 39.
- 113 Pak Yŏng-hŭi, “Chŏsŏn mundan,” 94–96.
- 114 *Ibid.*, 96, repeated in Pak Yŏng-hŭi, “Sin’gyŏngnyangp’a munhak kwa kŭ mundanjŏk chiwi,” Munye 1.
- 115 Pak Yŏng-hŭi, “Chŏsŏn mundan,” 96.
- 116 Fredric Jameson, “Third-World Literature in the Era of Multinational Capitalism,” *Social Text*, no. 15 (Autumn 1986): 77.
- 117 M.M. Bakhtin, *The Dialogic Imagination* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1981), 262–263.
- 118 However, we should not treat *Kaebŏk*’s thematic maps as representing the invariable historical reality of the time. The scope, relations and details that the maps show vary according to the given parameter settings.

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