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**The identity of paradoxes
in contemporary Korean theater:
ideals versus realities**

Abstract

The research subject of this article is modern Korean theater, which began to develop in the early 20th century. However, the process of its development took place under extremely difficult conditions and reflected the violent political, social and cultural processes that were taking place on the Korean peninsula. These had a huge impact on the development of Korean theater and the activities of theater companies. They also became a source of numerous paradoxes, which were in part the outcome of the specific nature of the theater itself, and in part due to the dramatic inability to reconcile creative ideals with the realities of occupied Korea (1910–1945). The research aims to show that the phenomenon of paradox, understood as a conflict between Korean artists' motivations and the real effects of their activity, had a dramatic influence on the development of Korean theater in the first decades of the 20th century. The scale of this phenomenon justifies, in the author's opinion, the statement presented in the title, that the phenomenon of paradox defines the identity of Korean theater.

Keywords: Korean theater, sociology of theater, Cho Myōng-hŭi, *taejunggŭk*, *makkan*, Im Sŏn-gyu.



Introduction

The argument, presented in this article, is based on two theoretical assumptions.¹ The first one, proposed by prominent theater sociologists, grows out of the conviction that the drama is linked at many levels to social reality and develops in a cultural, historical and political context. This conviction was expressed by many theater theorists and practitioners, including John Gassner, who already in the 1930s claimed: '(...) the fate of the theater arts is inextricably associated with the fate of the society in which they exist. As goes society, so goes the theater.'² In a similar tone Aleksander Hertz, a Polish director, expressed his opinion in one of his articles that opposed the notion of theater as a simple autonomous artistic field and argued: 'We cannot consider theater as some category (...) above-social and above-historical. There is only a given theater, related to specific circumstances of time and place, conditioned by the totality of social situations. Theater is a fact of culture (...)'³ The existence of a 'profound concurrence between theater and society'⁴ was also emphasized by Georges Gurvitch, and Jean Duvignaud, a scholar who opened new perspectives for the sociology of theater. He argued that 'theater is a social phenomenon', 'an art involved in the living current of collective experience.'⁵ The French sociologist's view also corresponds with the conclusions of Morris Freedman, who put a lot of effort to find the sources of theater's social embeddedness, and noted that: '(...), drama is the most social, the one most immediately responsive to the context from which it emerges and in which it appears.'⁶ The above-quoted opinions, assuming the existence of a profound relationship between theater and social life, served the author of the article as a starting point. They enabled to formulate the concept of the work and helped to define the research perspective.

The second basic theoretical assumption, which is signaled in the title of the article, is contained in the conviction that theater art itself represents a paradoxical phenomenon. However, the paradoxical nature of theater can be understood in at least two ways, although it should be stipulated in advance that these two ways interpenetrate and often complement each other. Thus, it can be understood, firstly, as an intrinsic feature of theater

¹ Korean terms, names and surnames are written in the McCune-Reischauer transcription. According to Korean tradition, a one-syllable surname precedes a one- or two-syllable first name. Taking into consideration the repetitive nature of Korean surnames, the full version of the first and last name has to be provided.

² John Gassner, *Dramatic Sounding: evaluations and retractions culled from 30 years of dramatic criticism*, New York 1968, p. 227.

³ Aleksander Hertz, 'Zagadnienia społeczne teatru' (Social issues of theater), in: *Wprowadzenie do nauki o teatrze III. Odbiorcy dzieła teatralnego: widz – krytyk – badacz* (Introduction to Theater Science III. Receivers of a theatrical work: spectator – critic – researcher), ed. Janusz Degler, Wrocław [1938] 1978, p. 35.

⁴ Georges Gurvitch, 'Socjologia teatru' (Sociology of theater), (trans.) Krystyna Wojtynek, in: *W kręgu socjologii teatru na świecie* (Relating to the Sociology of Theater in the World), ed. Teresa Pyzik, Eleonora Udalska, Wrocław [1956] 1987, p. 34.

⁵ Jean Duvignaud, 'Dwa fragmenty. Wstęp. Praktyka społeczna teatru' (Two fragments. Introduction. The social practice of theater), *Dialog*, 12 (1971), p. 118.

⁶ Morris Freedman, *American Drama in Social Context*, London and Amsterdam 1971, p. 1.

showing ‘the dialectic of ambiguity *par excellence*’⁷ – a feature that is expressed in the fact that theater, on the one hand, embodies social processes and, on the other hand, constitutes a kind of escape from them⁸. This essentialist approach undoubtedly reveals an important aspect of drama. It is no coincidence that it is often compared to the metaphor of a mirror⁹, since, like a mirror, theater reflects the audience’s own image, allowing them, at the same time, to distance from it. However, the paradoxical nature of theater can also be understood in its non-artistic dimension as a direct result of the paradoxical dynamics of life itself, which, as John Gassner put it, is ‘a condition of disequilibrium, a state of crisis, conflict and change.’¹⁰ Jean Duvignaud expressed this dynamic in more radical tones, arguing that social life is in a permanent state of revolution, and theatrical art is most sensitive to the upheavals gripping this life¹¹. Adopting this interpretation, it should be concluded that the dynamics of a changing, unstable, often even dramatic reality fundamentally affects the functioning of the theater, giving rise to numerous paradoxes that find their expression on the theater stage and behind it, in real life. The validity of this hypothesis is confirmed by numerous examples from the history of world theater. Modern Korean theater, which is the subject of this article, is no exception, although, in the author’s opinion, the scale of paradoxes manifested in Korean theater in the first four decades of the 20th century is puzzling and compels any researcher to carefully analyze this phenomenon.

There is no doubt that these paradoxes are an offshoot of the extremely turbulent social processes that Korea witnessed at the dawn of the new century. The enormity of the political, social and cultural changes initiated at the end of the 19th century shattered the foundations of the familiar, traditional world, giving rise on the one hand to fear and frustration, and on the other hand, to enormous curiosity and fascination fueled by modern ideas and cultural achievements that were coming from the West, generally through Japan. One of many outcomes of this fascination was the reform of Korean theater, initiated in the first decade of the last century. It resulted in three main theatrical genres, the first of which – the classical *chunggŭk* opera – emerged from the traditional *p’ansori* theater, the second – the ‘new school’ theater (*sinp’agŭk*) – was based on Japanese ‘new school’ theater (*shinpa*, *shimpa*), and the third, called ‘new drama’ (*sin’gŭk*) was related to contemporary European drama¹².

It should be emphasized that the reform of Korean theater was an extremely complex and difficult process, made all the more difficult by the restrictive politics of Japan, which began its occupation of the Korean peninsula in 1910 and for more than three

⁷ Gurvitch, ‘Socjologia teatru’, p. 37.

⁸ Ibidem.

⁹ Ibidem.

¹⁰ Gassner, *Dramatic Sounding*, p. 109.

¹¹ Duvignaud, ‘Dwa fragmenty’, p. 118.

¹² For more on Korean theater reform in the first decades of the 20th century, see: Ewa Rynarzewska, *Teatr uwikłany: koreańska sztuka teatralna i dramatyczna w latach 1900–1950 (Theater entangled: Korean theater and drama in 1900–1950)*, Warszawa 2013, pp. 152–198.

decades interfered in all areas of Korean life, including the activities of Korean theater companies. There is no doubt that the Japanese occupation had a decisive impact on the development of modern Korean theater: it shaped public sentiment, led to the sharpening of ideological disputes, and became a source of economic exploitation and the dramatic impoverishment of Korean society. But above all the Japanese occupation, deprived artists of a solid institutional base and blocked freedom of expression, thus inhibiting the development of ambitious theater, which in the 1930s was almost completely dominated by popular entertainment theater (*taejunggŭk*, literally: ‘mass theater’) often serving as an ‘instrument of political and economic manipulation.’¹³ Due to the many problems Koreans had to deal with, the reform of Korean theater became, on the one hand, the fruit of consciously made decisions, and on the other hand, haphazard solutions¹⁴, which Korean artists, most often very young, initially mainly amateurs – introduced in an ad hoc, spontaneous, intuitive manner, often without a plan, generally without institutional support.¹⁵ Mistakes committed under such conditions were inevitable, and gave rise to numerous paradoxes. These were partly a result of the insufficient experience of Korean theater troupes, partly – and this seems more important – a result of some dramatic inability to reconcile creative ideals with the reality of the time – a testimony to the deep conflict between the motivations of artists and the effects of their actions, between artistic aspirations and social realities, of which Korean ensembles became hostage.¹⁶ The scale of this phenomenon seems, in the author’s opinion, to define the identity of Korean theater developing in the first decades of the 20th century. Demonstrating the validity of this thesis through selected examples is a fundamental research objective undertaken in this article.

The triumph of ideology: the play *Death of Kim Yŏng-il*

The play *Kim Yŏng-il ūi sa* (*Death of Kim Yŏng-il*), by Cho Myŏng-hŭi (1894–1938), marked a new and extremely important stage in Korean theater and represents a milestone in its history. The historical significance of this play was determined not only by the maturity of the literary convention and the importance of the social problem raised in it, but also by the possibility of staging it on stage. According to Korean theater scholars, Cho Myŏng-hŭi initiated the development of realistic drama¹⁷ and, just as importantly, the development of socially engaged drama, which radically broke with the tradition of entertaining *shinp’a* (‘new school’ theater) troupes that for the last decade kept presenting the sentimental themes dominated by love and betrayal.

¹³ Rynarzewska, *Teatr uwiklany*, p. 265.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 151.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*.

¹⁶ For more, see: Rynarzewska, *Teatr uwiklany*, pp. 218–251.

¹⁷ Kwŏn Yŏng-min, *Hanguk hyŏndae munhaksa* (*History of Modern Korean Literature*), Seoul 2003, p. 297; Yang Sŭng-guk, *Hanguk hyŏndae hŭigongnon* (*Study of Contemporary Korean Drama*), Seoul 2001, p. 83.

Drawing on his personal experiences¹⁸, Cho Myōng-hŭi focused on the problem of poverty among the Korean intelligentsia and exposed the acute ideological conflict that in his opinion intensified social divisions and struggles among Koreans. The play's main character, Kim Yōng-il, studies at a Japanese university and earns a living as a newspaper delivery boy. He learns of his mother's illness and tries to raise money to return to the country. He finds a wallet and, after struggling with hesitation, decides to return it to its owner. It turns out to be a Korean named Chōn Sōg-wōn, a wealthy compatriot. Kim Yōng-il asks him for a loan, but is met with a refusal. He reacts with agitation, which is fueled by Chōn Sōg-wōn's condescending, contemptuous tone. The argument between them ends with the intervention of Japanese military police and the discovery of anti-government leaflets in the pocket of Pak T'ae-wōn, one of the main character's friends. Kim Yōng-il is arrested, and after being released from custody, he dies as a result of worsening symptoms of pneumonia.¹⁹

The play *Death of Kim Yōng-il* was staged by the Theater Arts Association (Kŭg'yേശul Hyōphoe), one of the main groups of the amateur academic and school theater movement (*soin'gŭk*). This troupe organized touring performances in the summer of 1921 and was presenting its repertoire to Koreans for more than a month, from July 8 to August 17. It played in more than thirty places and was greeted with enthusiasm everywhere. Local people, for whom the troupe's performances were generally the first opportunity to encounter modern theatrical art, 'were ready to ram the doors just to get inside the building and see the prepared artistic program.'²⁰ Cho Myōng-hŭi's play was the most successful, which is hardly surprising. Its social message evoked a vigorous reaction in Koreans.

The Japanese censors sensed that this would happen, so for a long time they refused to grant permission for either the publication of Cho Myōng-hŭi's play, or its public display. They rejected it several times, rightly predicting that the image of the Korean student's plight would stir up public opinion. In the end, the Japanese accepted the play, but ordered it to be rewritten and removed many passages²¹, which as they suspected, would lead to riots in the audience. However, the Japanese authorities failed to see the entire context, which took on a new and stronger meaning on stage. They forgot that 'the printed word can at most arouse individual emotions, but the spoken word – collective emotions'²², and therefore the theater – as a form of public activity, a form of communication directly with people – 'is considered dangerous.'²³ Japan's censors, experienced in dealing with native groups, must have realized that 'a theatrical performance is a mass public

¹⁸ Sō Yōn-ho, *Hanguk kŭndae hŭigoksa (History of Korean drama of the kŭndae period)*, Seoul 1996, p. 110.

¹⁹ Cho Myōng-hŭi, *Kim Yōng-il ūi sa (Death of Kim Yōng-il)*, in: *Hanguk hŭigok chōnjip 1 (Anthology of Korean Drama, vol. 1)*, ed. Sō Yōn-ho, Seoul [1923] 1996, pp. 107–133.

²⁰ Yu Min-yōng, *Uri shidae yōn'gŭk undongsa (History of the theater movement of our century)*, Seoul 1990, p. 73.

²¹ Sō Yōn-ho, *Hanguk kŭndae hŭigoksa*, p. 100.

²² Zygmunt Hübner, *Polityka i teatr (Politics and theater)*, Warszawa 2009, p. 41.

²³ Gassner, *Dramatic Sounding*, p. 228.

gathering'²⁴, in which individual emotions are amplified and can get out of control. They may have hoped that Korean audiences under the control of the Japanese regime would behave in a more restraint and self-controlled manner.

However, this was not the case. Koreans reacted extremely vigorously and spontaneously expressed their emotions. They also repeatedly joined in the scenic events, interrupting the actors and disrupting the dynamics of the performance. In the scene in which Kim Yōng-il fights with Chōn Sōg-wōn, they boldly expressed their dislike for the antagonist and kept shouting: 'Get that bastard, Sōg-wōn!'²⁵, and when the main character in the last scene died, they burst into tears, transforming the theater into a funeral home.²⁶ A similar scenario repeated in most places, providing vivid testimony to the audience's need to participate in the play and to identify with the message of it. Thus, the scenario showed the process of transformation from a 'theatrical fact' into a 'fact with an interpersonal dimension.'²⁷ Cho Myōng-hŭi's play served as a means of manifesting public sentiment, and the audience's reactions became 'an outlet for ferments that cannot otherwise express themselves.'²⁸ No one in the audience was bothered by the low level of acting presented by young, inexperienced students, who were performing on stage for the first time, virtually without any preparation.²⁹ Any acting and technical shortcomings were compensated by the student's commitment and the sincerity of their expressions, and above all by the power of the fictional world and its direct connection with social reality³⁰. It was these factors that triggered the exuberant reaction of Koreans, who saw in Cho Myōng-hŭi's drama a grain of their occupation reality – a dramatic everyday reality familiar to their own experiences.

It was no coincidence that in the audience were sitting women whose sons, husbands, and often grandchildren had traveled to Japan in hopes of getting a proper education and a job there. To them Cho Myōng-hŭi revealed as their advocate, who dared to portray their misery and hardship, the pain of separation and longing, loneliness and suffering. He touched on the problem experienced by hundreds, perhaps even thousands, of Korean families who chose to send their boys abroad, not only to Japan, also to Manchuria, believing that working abroad would help to improve their financial situation. This is why the drama of Kim Yōng-il, who dies in Japan from poverty, hunger and physical exhaustion, took on a symbolic dimension and became a parabola of the suffering of all Koreans.³¹ His death was interpreted by Korean audiences in a political context as a direct

²⁴ Hertz, *Zagadnienia społeczne teatru*, p. 54.

²⁵ *Tong-A Ilbo*, 18 July 1921, in: *Han'guk kŭndae yŏn'gŭksa charyojip 1 (History of Korean theater kŭndae – a collection of source materials, vol. I)*, ed. An Kwang-hŭi, Seoul 2001, p. 606.

²⁶ *Ibidem*.

²⁷ Etienne Souriau, 'Sytuacja dramatyczna a zbiorowe uczestnictwo' (Dramatic Situation and Collective Participation), (trans.) Jadwiga Lekczyńska, in: *W kręgu socjologii teatru na świecie (Relating to the Sociology of Theater in the World)*, ed. Teresa Pyzik, Eleonora Udalska, Wrocław [1953] 1987, p. 224.

²⁸ Hertz, *Zagadnienia społeczne teatru*, p. 53.

²⁹ Yu Min-yōng, *Uri shidae yŏn'gŭk undongsa*, p. 73.

³⁰ Rynarzewska, *Teatr uwikłany*, p. 313.

³¹ Yu Min-yōng, *Uri shidae yŏn'gŭk undongsa*, p. 73.

result of the loss of national independence. And the scene of Kim Yŏng-il's arrest by the Japanese military police became dramatic evidence of Japanese repressive politics.

However Cho Myŏng-hŭi's main concern was not to criticize the Japanese authorities, but to demonstrate the deep social divisions created by the feudal system of medieval Korea and reinforced in the early 20th century by the brutal realities of the developing capitalist system.³² Cho Myŏng-hŭi was certainly sensitive to national issues, and he was also aware of the importance of theater, which in occupied Korea of the 1920s became a part of the national independence movement (*minjok tongnip undong*) and, thus, a camouflaged form of struggle against the Japanese authorities.³³ In his drama, however, he chose to push political issues to the background and focus on class conflict. He was interested in the problem of unequal access to material wealth and social injustice, the sources of which he saw as callousness and human selfishness personified by the character of the rich Chŏn Sŏg-wŏn.³⁴

This message, though, was missed by Korean audiences, who ignored the elements of social criticism contained in Cho Myŏng-hŭi's play. Moreover, the audience elevated the play to the status of a political manifesto through which it could demonstrate its sentiments and 'desire to regain freedom.'³⁵ Koreans failed to see, or perhaps did not want to see, that the figure of the title character clashed with economic reality and the social dangers it engendered. Koreans apparently recognized that the main source of danger was the loss of independence, and this conviction made them watch Cho Myŏng-hŭi's drama through the political reality, its repressive policies of the Japanese authorities and political enslavement.

By perceiving stage events in their own way, Koreans confirmed, on the one hand, that the audience is crucial to the reading of a theatrical work³⁶, and on the other hand, that the theatrical and social system can 'interpenetrate' each other, but can also, as in this case, 'manifest contradictions.'³⁷ The divergence of the playwright's and the audience's intentions proved also that the realization of a stage work can get out of the playwright's

³² Rynarzewska, *Teatr uwiklany*, p. 315.

³³ Yang Sŭng-guk, *Hanguk kŭndae yŏn'gŭk pip'yŏngsa yŏn'gu* (*Historical outline of the development of Korean theater criticism of the kŭndae period*), Seoul 1996, p. 40; Yu Min-yŏng, *Hanguk kŭndae yŏn'gŭksa* (*History of Korean theater artists of the kŭndae period*), Seoul 1996, p. 514.

³⁴ This explains why members of the nascent proletarian movement considered the play *Death of Kim Yŏng-il* an artistic manifestation of their own social program and "the flagship work of the leftist movement". See: No Sŭng-hŭi, *1908 nyŏnput'ŏ 1950 nyŏndaekkaji ŭi Hanguk kŭndaegŭk yŏnch'ul* (*The art of repertory in Korean theater from 1908 to 1950*), in: *Hanguk kŭn hyŏndae yŏn'gŭk 100 nyŏnsa* (*100 years of Korean theater*), ed. Ch'ae Sŭng-hun et al, Seoul 2009, p. 217. They correctly read the message of the play, although they too resorted to a certain simplification, pushing aside the universal dimension of the questions posed in the art of Cho Myŏng-hŭi, who worked under the strong influence of the works of Tolstoy, Nietzsche and Victor Hugo. For more on this subject, see: Sŏ Yŏn-ho, *Hanguk kŭndae hŭigoksa*, p. 110.

³⁵ No Sŭng-hŭi, *1908 nyŏnput'ŏ 1950 nyŏndaekkaji ŭi Hanguk kŭndaegŭk yŏnch'ul*, p. 109.

³⁶ Dietrich Steinbeck, 'O socjologii publiczności' (*On the sociology of audiences*) (trans.) Krystyna Krzemień, in: *W kręgu socjologii teatru na świecie* (*Relating to the Sociology of Theater in the World*), ed. Teresa Pyzik, Eleonora Udalska, Wrocław [1970] 1987, p. 77.

³⁷ Gurvitch, *Socjologia teatru*, p. 38.

control and take on a life of its own. This kind of ‘dialectical’ nature of the relationship between the stage and the social life of the audience³⁸ is, of course, neither a new nor an exceptional phenomenon. What does seem to be unique in this case, however, is its radical nature. It revealed the power of the collective emotions of Korean audiences, becoming a great topic for research on the issue of Korean national identity.

Triumph of the stars: the abolition of *makkan*

As mentioned in the introduction, in the 1930s the Korean stage was dominated by popular entertainment theater (*taejunggŭk*).³⁹ Its artistic program was rather defined, and in the early days usually included three plays, called ‘morality drama’ (*injŏnggŭk*), ‘comedy’ (*hŭigŭk*) and ‘tragedy’ (*pigŭk*). A small number of *taejunggŭk* troupes tried to introduce some changes into this fixed repertoire but all their attempts served for marketing purposes and were to increase audience attendance. Significant changes came with the inclusion of artistic shows, known as *makkan*. Their development was initiated in 1927 by Kim So-rang (1891–?), one of the leading actors of the ‘new school’ (*shinp’agŭk*) theater. He adopted these shows recognizing that they would entertain audiences during the often-prolonged intermissions, when sets were changed on stage. For him *makkan* shows were, at least initially, a handy artistic ploy to occupy the attention of bored audiences and bolster the troupe’s budget.⁴⁰

Subsequent companies realized the enormous potential of *makkan* shows and began to incorporate them into their repertoire. By the early 1930s, *makkan* were already an integral part of the theater program, and as their popularity grew, they began to be presented as an independent show, called a ‘*makkan* play’ (*makkan’gŭk*). Many *taejunggŭk* troupes even decided to hire an artistic director, who was to be solely responsible for the quality and level of the *makkan*. Most of the troupes decided to limit their repertoire in favor of *makkan*, abandoning the staging of ‘comedy’ plays⁴¹; others, such as Yewŏnjwa (literally: ‘garden of art’), left only ‘morality drama’ and *makkan* shows, as they concluded that the latter would guarantee high audience attendance.⁴² ‘*Makkan* plays’ ‘became soon the hallmark of the popular entertainment theater’⁴³ and its highlight, although it had little to do with drama.

In the early days, it consisted of solo vocal performances, performed a cappella, and improvised genre scenes, generally maintained in a satirical style. As time passed,

³⁸ Steinbeck, *O socjologii publiczności*, p. 73.

³⁹ The only exception was the Institute for Theater Arts (Kŭg’yesul Yŏn’guhoe), which presented plays that borrowed from the repertoire of contemporary Western theater.

⁴⁰ Yu Min-yŏng, *Hanguk kŭndae yŏn’gŭksa*, p. 328.

⁴¹ Ko Sŏl-bong, *Chŭng’ŏn yŏn’gŭk (Theater in the Eyes of Witnesses)*, ed. Chang Wŏn-jae, Seoul 1990, p. 23.

⁴² Kim Nam-sŏk, ‘Kŭktan Yewŏnjwa ŭi ‘makkan’ yŏn’gu’ (The ‘makkan’ play of the Yewŏnjwa troupe), *Ŏmun Nonjip*, (58) 2008, p. 273.

⁴³ Ko Sŏl-bong, *Chŭng’ŏn yŏn’gŭk*, p. 23.

however, it began to diversify more and more, enriched by dance shows and musical concerts, performances by jazz and revue artists, as well as containing elements of Western boulevard theater, which arrived via Japan.⁴⁴ Eventually it began to resemble a huge, well-stocked ‘supermarket’⁴⁵, where everyone could find something for themselves. In order to attract the audience, the management of the troupes reworked *makkan* shows, and gave them new, often hybrid forms with exotic-sounding names: show (*syo*), variety show, nonsense comedy (*nōnsensū k’omidi*), skits (*sūk’ech’wi*).⁴⁶ These names expressed the spirit of the new era, but at the same time exposed the mechanisms of the consumer lifestyle and the intensively developing entertainment industry, whose main goal was to bring an audience hungry for new attractions.

For this reason, *makkan* shows were presented by leading *taejunggŭk* theater stars such as Yi Kyōng-sŏl (1912–1934), Chŏn Ok (1911–1969) and Kim Sŏn-ch’o (1910–?) – the stars often called ‘queens of tears’ whose vocals and acting moved audiences, eliciting their applause and ovations. The ‘*makkan* art’ was also successfully performed by Kang Hong-sik (1907–1971), Shim Pul-ch’un (1908–1976) and Hwang Chae-gyōng (1906–1977), who combined their acting careers with the function of director and writer. Their participation in *taejunggŭk* performances unveiled a common artistic practice, and at the same time showed the power of popular entertainment theater, which, as it turns out, was able to entice even Yun Paeng-nam (1888–1954) known as the first theater theorist who a decade earlier had fiercely criticized entertainment performances, accusing the companies of ‘presenting such worthless tricks [*yuhŭi*] with no respect for the people.’⁴⁷ His performance with Yi Aerisu (1910–?) confirmed the dominant position of popular entertainment theater and proved its incredible flexibility and openness to different currents, conventions and styles.⁴⁸

Makkan shows offered simple entertainment. Evoking tears and laughter, artists allowed audiences to forget the reality of occupation and the worries of everyday life. However, it also aroused scorn and distaste. Most of the critics belong to the so-called ‘new drama’ (*sin’gŭk*) movement, which has its roots in contemporary European drama.⁴⁹ Fans of Strindberg and Chekhov felt offended by the satirical convention of *makkan* and their trivial plots; they were highly dissatisfied with the obtrusive comic elements, the parody and the foolish acts, the silly expressions of situational and verbal comedy, which included

⁴⁴ Kim Mi-do, *Hanguk kŭndaegŭk ŭi chaejonmyōng (A new look at Korean theater of the kŭndae period)*, Seoul 1995, p. 51.

⁴⁵ *Tonga-A Ilbo*, 20 May 1931, in: *Hanguk kŭndae yŏn’gŭksa charyojip 4 (History of Korean theater of the kŭndae period – a collection of source materials, vol. IV)*, ed. An Kwang-hŭi, Seoul 2001, p. 250.

⁴⁶ For more on this topic, see: Rynarzewska, *Teatr uwikłany*, pp. 205–209.

⁴⁷ Yun Paeng-nam, *Tonga-A Ilbo*, 5 October 1921, in: *Hanguk kŭndae yŏn’gŭksa charyojip 1*, p. 569.

⁴⁸ The dominant position of popular theater is proved also by the collaboration of popular entertainment theater artists with proletarian groups.

⁴⁹ Modern Western drama began to be staged in the early 1920s by amateur student groups. In the following decade, it formed the core of the repertoire of the Theater Arts Institute (Kŭg’yesul Yŏn’guhoe), which operated from 1931 to 1938.

randomly selected linguistic effects and simple onomatopoeic expressions.⁵⁰ For them it did not matter that most of the improvised *makkan* scenes dealt with important social issues, since they were presented in a comical and exaggerated manner serving only to provoke uncontrolled and often even unjustified laughter.⁵¹

For this reason, enthusiasts of ‘new drama’ condemned ‘*makkan art*’ from the very beginning and called for its removal from the theatrical repertoire. The list of the most ardent opponents included poet Sim Hun (1901–1936), who as early as 1932 attacked *taejunggŭk* troupes, demanding that they exclude *makkan* from their artistic program. ‘Do away with the *makkan!*’ – he appealed in the *Tonggwang* (Light of the East) magazine. ‘They probably allow you to gain the audience’s sympathy. However, you have forgotten that even a salesman is obliged to follow certain rules! The audience may not be familiar with the art of theater, but you, who are so often mocked, should maintain your own dignity and take care of your good name. (...) There are not enough words to describe the disgusting, offensive acts you are doing on stage during solo shows, revues and the like. (...) It is hard to watch it. It’s hard to listen to it. (...) I saw those vulgar displays of yours, listened to those disgusting dialogues of yours, and was thinking whether you even realize that among the audience applauding you are educated students, well-mannered gentlemen and ladies from the good houses. These *makkan* of yours are destroying order in the family and in society. They absolutely must be abolished!’⁵²

An equally uncompromising stance was taken by Hong Hae-sŏng (1894–1957), Korea’s first professional stage director, who devoted an entire article to the necessity of removal of ‘*makkan art*’. In this article with the very persuasive title ‘Hŭnghaenggŭg ŭi chŏnghwa nŭn makkanmul ŭi p’yeji’ (The purification of commercial theater requires the elimination of *makkan*), he argued: ‘If *makkan* performances are not eliminated, we cannot expect the purification of popular theater. If popular theater is not purified, the Korean theater community will not be able to perform its social function and effectively create culture. Meanwhile, most theater companies are striving to expand *makkan*. (...) These troupes are destroying the theater, as they focus on entertainment that satisfies the audience’s low needs and compensates for mediocre emotions. Such action is nothing but suicide.’⁵³

The entertaining display of *makkan* was condemned not only by theater theorists like Sŏ Hang-sŏk (1900–1985) and An Ham-gwang (1910–1982), but also by writers: Yi T’ae-jun (1904–?), Paek Ch’ŏl (1908–1985), Pak Yŏng-hŭi (1901–?) and Ch’oe Chŏng-hŭi

⁵⁰ Ch’oe Tong-hyŏn and Kim Man-su, ‘1930 nyŏndae yusŏnggi ŭmban e suroktoen mandam – nŏnsenŭ – sŭkech’i yŏn’gu’ (Mandam, nŏnsenŭ, sŭkechi in the phonography of the 1930s), *Hanguk Kŭg’yŏsul Yŏn’gu*, (7) 1997, p. 72.

⁵¹ Kim Chae-sŏk, ‘1930 nyŏndae yusŏnggi ŭmban ŭi ch’on’gŭk yŏn’gu’ (The Art of ch’on’gŭk from 1930s gramophone records), *Han’guk Kŭg’yŏsul Yŏn’gu*, (2) 1995, p. 60.

⁵² Sim Hun, *Tonggwang*, 1 October 1932, in: *Hanguk kŭndae yŏngŭksa charyojip 5 (History of Korean theater of the kŭndae period – a collection of source materials, vol. V)*, ed. An Kwang-hŭi, Seoul 2001, pp. 581–582.

⁵³ Hong Hae-sŏng, ‘Hŭnghaenggŭg ŭi chŏnghwa nŭn makkanmul ŭi p’yeji’ (The purification of commercial theater requires the elimination of *makkan*), *Tong-A Ilbo*, 1 January 1935, Viewed 25 January 2013, <<http://newslibrary.naver.com/viewer/index.nhn?editNo=2&printCount=1&publishDate=1971-12-27&officeId=00020&pageNo=1&printNo=15455&publishType=00020&articleId=1971122700209201005>>.

(1912–1990). An unequivocal stance was also taken by Yu Ch’i-jin (1905–1974), a leading playwright and an initiator of Korean realistic drama, who appealed: ‘*Makkan* shows must be removed! For the sake of theatrical art! Theater troupes, as well as playwrights, directors, actors, stage designers – all artists associated with these troupes, are hostage to the popularity of *makkan*. They have all submitted to *makkan* and live in their shadow. This is deplorable! (...) This alliance of *makkan* and drama brings confusion in the theater, and inevitably leads the theater to decline. It is crucial to purify the theater from the atmosphere of *makkan*, from the turmoil that *makkan* causes!’⁵⁴

Abolition of *makkan* was eventually accomplished in July 1936 by the Far Eastern Theater (Tong’yang Kükchang)⁵⁵. It planned to stage the play *The Tragedy of Tanjong*, an adaptation of the novel by Yi Kwang-su (1892–?), which recalled the dramatic events of the mid-15th century, when the rightful ruler, Prince Tanjong (1441–1457) was deposed by his uncle, Prince Suyang (1417–1468), then sentenced to banishment, followed by death. The performance was prepared with great panache and a magnitude of artistic effects. These were to compensate for the lack of *makkan* shows, which the management of the Far Eastern Theater decided to withdraw from the evening program. The audience, however, wasn’t going to give up and began whistling and shouting during the performance: ‘Didn’t you prepare *makkan*? Present the show!’⁵⁶ A group of actors, among them Sim Yǒng (1910–1971) and Hwang Ch’öl (1912–1961), the biggest stars of the Far Eastern Theater, then came out to the agitated audience and managed to convince them that removing the ‘*makkan* play’ from the program was the right decision, as it was ‘poison to the drama.’⁵⁷ Thus actors took an active part in carrying out the reform of the theater, and as it turned out, played a key role in confirming their leadership function.⁵⁸ The Far Eastern Theater was soon followed by other *taejunggük* troupes, and within a few years *makkan* shows had almost completely disappeared from the Korean theater repertoire.

The withdrawal of *makkan* shows from the program was a momentous act. Taking into consideration that the Far Eastern Theater, like all *taejunggük* troupes, was dependent on the mechanism of the capitalist market and the opinion of the audience – it was also ‘an extremely courageous act.’⁵⁹ It is just a paradox that the abolition of the ‘*makkan* art’ was initiated by the Far Eastern Theater – that mecca of popular entertainment theater that from the very beginning created light entertainment on a rather massive scale, fully revealing the mechanisms of the commercial industry. Another paradox is that by withdrawing *makkan* from its repertoire, the Far Eastern Theater realized the main demand of the supporters of

⁵⁴ Yu Ch’i-jin, *Yiwǒnmanbo* (*Mindless Actions of Theater Groups*), in: *Tongnang-Yu Ch’i-jin 7* (*Collected Works of Tongnang-Yu Ch’i-jin*, vol. VII), Seoul 1993, p. 53.

⁵⁵ For more on the establishment and activities of the Far East Theater, see: Ewa Rynarzewska, *Teatr uwiklany*, pp. 252–267.

⁵⁶ Ko Söl-bong, *Chǔng’ǒn yǒn’gük*, p. 69.

⁵⁷ Ibidem.

⁵⁸ Steibeck, *O socjologii publiczności*, p. 79.

⁵⁹ Ko Söl-bong, *Chǔng’ǒn yǒn’gük*, p. 69. The management’s decision did not shake the Far Eastern Theater’s position, although for most Koreans, *makkan* shows were synonymous with theatrical art and the most perfect source of entertainment.

‘new drama’, who demanded recognition of the primacy of drama and for many years tried in vain to make this change. Artists from these two circles – ‘new drama’ and *taejunggŭk* – criticized and accused each other of hindering the development of modern Korean theater. At the root of their mutual resentment were different artistic ideals, life experiences and expectations of theater. The abolition of the *makkan* gave hope that representatives of the two circles would initiate some form of cooperation. This, however, did not happen, and it could not happen, since the revolutionary change was carried out by the *taejunggŭk* theater’s biggest stars. In doing so, these stars not only confirmed their enormous influence and popularity, but also justified maintenance of the ‘star system’, which the proponents of the ‘new drama’ couldn’t accept. The fact that abolition of *makkan* was initiated by the star actors that were themselves the main beneficiaries of those shows is another, probably not the last, example of the paradox that ruled Korean theater in the 1930s.

A triumph of emotions: the play *Deceived by love, money makes you cry*

An example of another paradox is presented by the play *Sarange sokko tone ulgo* (*Deceived by love, money makes you cry*), one of the most famous plays of popular entertainment theater, which for many years ‘monopolized the Korean stage’⁶⁰ and was seen as a symbol of *taejunggŭk* and ‘the hallmark of Far Eastern Theater.’⁶¹ The playwright of this play, Im Sŏn-gyu (1912–?) ‘was elevated to the status of a star overnight’⁶² and enjoyed the adoration of audiences for years to come, overshadowing other *taejunggŭk* playwrights. The premiere of his play was actually a coincidence, and most likely would never have happened had it not been for the political turmoil surrounding the play *The Tragedy of Tanjong*.⁶³ The management of the Far Eastern Theater had to immediately take the play off the poster and prepare a new production. Amid the scandal and facing the vision of the theater’s bankruptcy, they agreed to stage the play *Deceived by love, money makes you cry*, which they had previously firmly rejected, regarding it as a pure symbol of the worst kitsch.⁶⁴

The main character of Im Sŏn-gyu’s play is a young, honest girl called Hong-do, who earns a living as a courtesan-*kisaeng*. In this way she not only earns for her living, but also financially supports her older brother Ch’ŏl-su by paying for his law studies. With reciprocity, she falls in love with her brother’s friend Kwang-ho. The latter breaks off the

⁶⁰ Sŏ Yŏn-ho, *Hanguk yŏn’gŭksa – kŭndae p’yŏn* (*History of Korean theater – kŭndae period*), Seoul 2003, p. 233.

⁶¹ Ibidem.

⁶² Ko Sŏl-bong, *Chŭng’ŏn yŏn’gŭk*, pp. 72–73.

⁶³ For more on this topic, see: Rynarzewska, *Teatr uwiklany*, p. 371.

⁶⁴ Ko Sŏl-bong, *Chŭng’ŏn yŏn’gŭk*, p. 70; Yu Min-yŏng, *Hanguk inmul yŏn’gŭksa I* (*History of Korean Theater Artists*, vol. I), Seoul 2006, p. 542). The change in the Far East Theater’s management’s decision was probably influenced by the intervention of Hong Sun-ŏn, the theater’s owner, who, at the urging of Im Sŏn-gyu’s father-in-law, a certain Mun Su-il, a somewhat effusive *taejunggŭk* theater actor, forced the management to accept the previously rejected play.

previously arranged engagement with Hye-suk, an educated, ambitious girl representing the so-called 'new woman' (*sin yŏsŏng*) and, despite the fierce objection of his own family, marries Hong-do. After the wedding, he leaves the family home and travels to Beijing to study there. Taking advantage of his absence, his mother, sister and Hye-suk begin to torment Hong-do and plot to separate the couple. They intercept their letters, accuse Hong-do of infidelity, plant falsified evidence of her alleged adultery, and finally throw her out of the house. Hong-do shows up at the house the day Kwang-ho returns. Unaware that he is the victim of a plot, he spurns Hong-do, accusing her of infidelity and wickedness. Upon hearing of his plans to marry Hye-suk, Hong-do throws herself at her rival with a knife and in a fit of madness stabs her to death. She is arrested by her own brother, who in the last scene brings out Hong-do's diary and reads aloud the sad notes – irrefutable proof of her faithfulness and honesty.⁶⁵

By depicting the marriage of a student to a courtesan in his play, Im Sŏn-gyu addressed a very controversial social issue⁶⁶. However, the originality of his play was determined by the way he portrayed the figure of the courtesan, who for centuries had been an object of adoration and envy, but also contempt, disregard and hatred. The negative attitude towards courtesans was reflected and maintained in classical works, where the figure of the *kisaeng* was usually portrayed as an evil stepmother, a jealous concubine, a rival to the legitimate wife and a source of danger to the family. Such a negative, stereotypical and harmful image was reproduced by Korean writers in the early 20th century. It was also reproduced by theater companies, which thus exposed and reinforced deeply rooted social prejudices. In the 1920s, a few Korean writers tentatively began to change this stereotypical image, exposing the misery of the courtesan's plight and portraying her as a victim of her poverty.⁶⁷ Many factors contributed to the reevaluation of the negative image of the courtesan, among them the rapid growth of prostitution as a result of the dramatic impoverishment of Korean society.⁶⁸ Korean writers and playwrights had to take into account the social processes, as well as the fact that there were more and more women, sitting in the audience, among them also *kisaeng*. Trying to win their favor, they therefore began to create plays in which the main character, usually a courtesan, enters into a happy marriage with a wealthy, influential man. The comforting message contained in these plays, however illusory, was immensely popular with the women in the audience. The popularity of these plays thus helped sustain the companies' budgets, while also helping to reevaluate the negative image of courtesans.

Im Sŏn-gyu was the greatest contributor to this process. And it was him who eventually managed to transform the former mischief-maker and temptress, the source of evil and

⁶⁵ Im Sŏn-gyu, *Sarange sokko tone ulgo* (*Deceived by love, money makes you cry*), in: *Hanguk hŏngok chŏnjip 4* (*Anthology of Korean Dramas*, Vol. IV), ed. Sŏ Yŏn-ho, Seoul [1936] 1996.

⁶⁶ Rynarzewska, *Teatr uwiklany*, p. 373.

⁶⁷ For more on this topic, see: Rynarzewska, *Teatr uwiklany*, pp. 373–375.

⁶⁸ Yi Sŏng-hŭi, 'Yŏsŏng sunan sŏsa wa kabujangje ideollogi – 1910 nyŏndae mellodŭrama ūl chungsim ūro' (The image of women's suffering and patriarchal ideology – based on the example of the melodrama of the second decade), *Sanghŏ Hakpo*, (10) 2003, pp. 355–356.

demoralization into an ‘object of compassion.’⁶⁹ Thanks to him, the image of the evil *kisaeng* became a distant memory, supplanted by a new model that embodied the traditional ideal of a woman shaped by the values of Confucian ethics. The main character of the play *Deceived by love, money makes you cry* no longer resembled the old courtesan in any way; elevated to the status of a tragic heroine, she upheld the traditional ethos of women and conscientiously fulfilled the social role of a faithful wife and a loving, ready-to-sacrifice herself sister. By creating such an image, Im Sŏn-gyu gained applause not only from Korean women, but also from the conservative bourgeoisie, who recalled with nostalgia the old order of patriarchal Korea and the traditional customs that demanded a woman’s obedience, sacrifice and submission.⁷⁰

Therefore, it should come as no surprise that Im Sŏn-gyu’s play broke all the records of popularity. Koreans were banging on the doors of the theater⁷¹ to see the tragic fate of Hong-do. Very soon they also began to call for changing the end of the play. They weren’t going to accept the tragic resolution, although sentimental plays were far more popular, and Im Sŏn-gyu was seen as an ‘average playwright of melodramas.’⁷² In spite of that, Koreans demanded a happy ending, affirming that they formed an emotional community with the stage characters⁷³ and can ‘affect both the play itself and each other,’⁷⁴ Im Sŏn-gyu was opposed to these demands. In the end, however, he succumbed to the persuasions of Hong Sun-ŏn (1905?–1937), owner of the Far East Theater, and added a final scene in which Hong-do stands trial, is cleared of murder charges and acquitted.⁷⁵ In fact, Im Sŏn-gyu had no other choice. His position, like all the *taejunggŭk* playwrights’ positions, was too weak to let him refuse. By changing the ending of his play, he confirmed that a playwright, like any artist, is rather a slave than a master.⁷⁶ His example also sharply showed the fact that: ‘drama is constantly made and remade by contemporary pressures.’⁷⁷

The new ending of the play made the audience happy. It gave satisfaction to Korean’s desires ensuring what every sentimental comedy offered: a specific sense of humanism and a strong, though unspecified sense of fundamental ‘goodness of heart.’⁷⁸ The insane

⁶⁹ Yu Min-yŏng, *Kaehwagi yŏn’gŭk sahoesa (Social history of the theater of the modernization period [1876–1910])*, Seoul 1987, p. 102.

⁷⁰ Rynarzewska, *Teatr uwikłany*, pp. 377–378.

⁷¹ Ko Sŏl-bong, *Chŭng’ŏn yŏn’gŭk*, p. 71.

⁷² Yu Min-yŏng, *Hanguk innmul yŏn’gŭksa 1*, p. 550.

⁷³ Steinbeck, *O socjologii publiczności*, p. 78.

⁷⁴ Tomasz Goban-Klass, ‘Socjologiczna problematyka publiczności teatralnej’ (Sociological issues of theater audiences), in: *Wprowadzenie do nauki o teatrze III. Odbiorcy dzieła teatralnego: widz – krytyk – badacz (Introduction to Theater Science III. Receivers of a theatrical work: spectator – critic – researcher)*, ed. Janusz Degler, Wrocław [1969] 1978, p. 164.

⁷⁵ Ko Sŏl-bong, *Chŭng’ŏn yŏn’gŭk*, p. 70.

⁷⁶ Erick Bentley, *The Theatre of Commitment: and other essays on drama in our society*, London 1968, pp. 123–124).

⁷⁷ John Gassner, *Dramatic Sounding*, p. 110.

⁷⁸ Raymond Williams, ‘Społeczna historia form dramatycznych’ (A Social History of Dramatic Forms), (trans.) Tadeusz Sławek, in: *W kręgu socjologii teatru na świecie (Relating to the Sociology of Theater in the World)*, ed. by Teresa Pyzik, Eleonora Udalska, Wrocław [1961] 1987, p. 122.

act of Hong-do, who kills her rival out of despair, expressed the deep-rooted conviction that man lives on the edge of madness and transgression.⁷⁹ And this conviction gave rise to compassion and belief ‘in tolerance and goodness as basic virtues.’⁸⁰ The Korean audience became the Greek Antigone, and – just like her – was willing to follow the voice of the heart. Interestingly, Korean’s sympathy for the protagonist was fueled by their hatred for the emancipated Hye-suk, who aroused the resistance of the conservative part of the bourgeoisie and for that very reason, had to play the role of the bad character. The moral evaluation of the two characters, and consequently of their fates, was thus determined not only by Im Sŏn-gyu’s artistic vision and his personal preferences⁸¹, but also by social stereotypes and prejudices – old and new.

Paradoxically, Hong-do’s acquittal in the added part of the play meant no more or less than ignoring the legal mechanisms. What’s more, it pushed aside the truth of life and the elementary sense of justice mandating consequences for the act of murder. While the first version of Im Sŏn-gyu’s play unveiled the bitter truth of life and carried an important warning, the second version made a false promise and created an unrealistic vision of the world in which every injustice was to be rewarded, and winning the prize could not be obstructed even by committing a crime. The first version offered a substitute for truly tragic dramas, as it exposed Hong-do’s dramatic ordeal, elevating her to the status of a tragic heroine. In this sense, it also allowed her to experience ‘inward victory in spite of outward defeat’⁸², embodying ‘the paradox of suffering and exultation.’⁸³ In the new version, the audience could only be bored by exultation, since the positive solution invalidated Hong-do’s dramatic experience, and degraded her to the model role of the heroine of Korean classical works, in which ‘good triumphs and evil is punished’ (*kwŏnsŏn ching’ak*). Koreans, however, were willing to ignore all those philosophical divagations. Overpowered by empathy, they wanted to return to the past from which, paradoxically, they had so strenuously fled for more than three decades. The Korean audience wanted to protect their favorite from all the injustices of the world, perhaps seeing in the tragic ending a prediction of the fate of all women, and possibly even ‘the fate of the entire nation.’⁸⁴

Conclusions

All the examples of Korean theater paradox described in the main part of the article represent important examples, although not the only ones. The limited capacity of the article makes it impossible to describe many others, though it is worth mentioning a few,

⁷⁹ Ibidem.

⁸⁰ Ibidem.

⁸¹ Im Sŏn-gyu had private relationships with courtesans. He enjoyed spending time with them, and even had an affair with one. Kim Mi-do *Hanguk hyŏndaegŭk yŏn’gu* (*Monograph of contemporary Korean theater*), Seoul 2001, p. 147.

⁸² John Gassner, *Dramatic Sounding*, p. 115.

⁸³ Ibidem.

⁸⁴ Yu Min-yŏng, *Hanguk inmul yŏn’gŭksa 1*, pp. 551–552.

even briefly, since they will confirm the validity of the research thesis formulated in the title of the article. One such paradox is to be found already in the first stage of Korean theater reform that was supposed to create a new form of modern drama, but – in spite of many promises and expectations – incorporated traditional *p'ansori* theater using not only its literary sources but also even its vocal style. A paradoxical effect brought about the actions of Im Sōng-gu (1887–1921), the initiator of the development of Korean 'new school' theater, who was guided by idealistic and even patriotic motives⁸⁵, but ultimately led to the degradation of Korean traditional theater and as such, though indirectly, supported the actions of the Japanese authorities. It is paradoxical that Hyōn Ch'ōl (1891–1965), one of the most prominent theorists of modern Korean theater, tried to find the roots of national identity in Western art, while Hong Hae-sōng, the first professional director, a disciple of Osanai Kaoru (1881–1928), a staunch supporter of realistic European drama, had to accept the 'star system' that was a contradiction of the Stanislavski system, which Hong Hae-sōng introduced into Korean theater. A paradox was marked by the movement of amateur theater groups (*soin'gūk*), which justified their activities by the need to help their compatriots⁸⁶, although they often derived personal material gain from it.⁸⁷ A paradox is expressed in the worldview transformation of Yu Ch'i-jin, who at the height of his career abandoned realist convention and began to exploit the entertaining (*oraksōng*) and educational (*kyohwasōng*)⁸⁸ aspects of theatre, convinced that he would manage to combine 'intellectual message and high culture, amusement and entertainment.'⁸⁹

All of these examples and many others seem to confirm the existence of a deep interdependence between Korean theater and the surrounding social reality. They also reflect the dramatic entanglement of Korean artists – actors, playwrights and directors, who in the harsh reality of occupied Korea often had to negotiate, make concessions, give up their artistic aspirations or pay a very high price for remaining faithful to their ideals. The difficult conditions of working and living resulted in unintended results, yielded opposite effects and revealed unexpected contexts, exposing the paradoxical dimension of artistic endeavors. The scale of this phenomenon seems to justify the research thesis adopted in the article and, in the author's opinion, aptly defines the identity of contemporary Korean theater, which in the first decades of the 20th century had to face the paradoxes of reality, and thus became its victim.

⁸⁵ Yu Min-yōng, *Uri shidae yōn'gūk undongsa*, p. 47.

⁸⁶ For more on the activities of amateur academic and school theater (*soin'gūk*), see: Rynarzewska, *Teatr uwiklany*, pp. 90–99.

⁸⁷ *Tonga-A Ilbo*, 22 February 1921, in: *Hanguk kūndae yōn'gūksa charyojip 1*, p. 461.

⁸⁸ Yu Ch'i-jin, *Yōn'gūk ūi taejungsōng* (*The Popular Dimension of Theater Arts*), in: *Han'guk kūndae yōn'gūksa charyojip 5* (*History of Korean Theater kūndaegūk – a collection of source materials*, vol. V), ed. An Kwang-hūi, Seoul 2001, p. 425.

⁸⁹ Yu Ch'i-jin, *Chosōn ūi yōn'gūk ūn ōdiri* (*Where is Korean theater going?*), in: *Tongnang-Yu Ch'i-jin 6* (*Collected Works of Tongnang-Yu Ch'i-jin*, vol. VI), Seoul [1938] 1993, p. 348.

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