

The Contribution of Translated Western Drama to the Modernization of Korean Theatre*

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Abstract

The modernization of Korean theatre began at the turn of the 20th century with the reception of Western theatre. In particular, the establishment of plays originated from the transfer of Western plays since no play format existed in Korea. The 1910s signified the beginning of the acceptance of Western culture via Japan. In the 1920s, the introduction of Western plays began in earnest through the contribution of Korean students in Tokyo. Compared to the second-hand translations in the 1920s, the plays in the 1930s were directly translated from their original language. Plus, most translations were of a complete play, not an abbreviated or a partial translated version. In the 1930s, translated plays widespread realistic drama and contributed to the establishment of realistic Western-style theatre in Korea. By country, British dramas, which was based on Irish dramas, were the most introduced, with about 60 plays, due to Ireland's similar colonial situation to Korea. Next, there were over 40 Russian dramas, and French and German plays were respectively about 20 each. Meanwhile, about 10 American dramas were also introduced mainly in the 1930s, and Ibsen was introduced as a representative of Northern Europe. Translated dramas set a model for Korean playwrights to follow. Modern Korean playwrights came into being roughly around the 1920s. Students' amateur groups in the 1920s and the Dramatic Art Research Society of the 1930s played major roles to produce these translated Western plays. In short, translated Western plays during the colonial era sparked the development of Korean modern plays.

한국근대극은 20세기 초반 무렵부터 서구연극의 소개와 그 수용에서 시작되었다. 특히 한국에 서구식 희곡이 부재하였기에, 창작 희곡의 정착은 서구 희곡에 크게 기인하였다. 1910년대는 일본을 통한 조심스러운 서구 문화 수용이 시작되었으며, 1920년대는 서구 희곡이 소개되었는데, 특히 윤백남, 현철, 김우진, 박승희 등 일본 유학생의

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공로가 컸다. 이 시기는 일본어에서의 중역(重譯) 시대로, 번역된 희곡이 대부분 내용을 요약한 축역이거나 다양한 희곡이 부분적으로 소개되었다. 1920년대의 다양한 서구 희곡의 소개와 비교하여 1930년대는 직역(直譯) 시대로, 대부분의 희곡들이 일본어를 통하지 않고 직접 그 원래 언어에서부터 번역되어 소개되었다. 원작을 전부 번역한 완역이 많았기에 오히려 새로운 번역 작품 숫자는 1920년대보다 줄었다. 1930년대 번역된 희곡은 사실주의 희곡이 대부분이어서 한국에 사실주의 근대극을 정착시키는 데 지대한 공헌을 하였다. 여기에는 극예술연구회의 공로가 컸다. 특히 비슷한 식민 정치적 상황으로 인하여 아일랜드 작가들이 유독 많이 번역되고 사숙(私淑)되어, 그 영향력이 지대하였다. 1910년대에는 극소수의 희곡이 번역되었고 1940년대는 전쟁으로 인하여 사실상 번역이 거의 중단되었기에, 해방 전 서구 희곡은 1920년대와 1930년대에 주로 번역되어서 새로운 한국 근대극의 기틀을 잡았다고 하겠다.

Key Words

the age of second-hand translations, the age of direct translation from original languages, modern Korean drama, an abbreviated or a partial translation, a complete translation

Introduction

The modernization of Korean theatre began at the turn of the 20th century with the reception and incorporation of Western theatre, though there were other opinions that considered its autogenous origins to be the 18th century. In particular, the establishment of plays originated from the transfer of Western plays since no play format existed in Korea. Even to this day, the poverty of creative plays is an issue, so the number of translated plays in Korean theatre is high.

The 1910s signified the beginning of the acceptance of Western culture via Japan. In the 1920s, the introduction of Western plays began in earnest, especially through the contribution of international students in Tokyo. Baek-Nam Yun, Cheol Hyeon, UJin Kim, and Seung-Hee Park, who accepted translated plays during this period, were all foreign students from Tokyo. Compared to the translations of various Western plays in the 1920s, the plays in the 1930s were directly translated from their original language (i.e. not translated through Japanese). Plus, most translations were of a complete play, not an abbreviated or a partial translation. In the 1930s, translated plays generalized realistic drama and contributed to the establishment of realistic Western-style theatre in Korea. In short, translated Western plays during the colonial era sparked the development of Korean plays. This approach however could be in danger to simplify that modern Korean dramas just followed or imitated Western dramas.

The intent of this paper is to examine and organize the acceptance of translated plays that may have influenced the formation of Korean modern dramas, and by doing so, it is intended to examine a major

factor in the formation of the Korean modern drama. The overseas translated plays had an indispensable and profound influence on the formation of the modern Korean drama, so this paper would like to summarize and examine the translated plays. Thus, this work will examine translated Western plays from two periods: the 1910s to the 1920s and the 1930s to the Liberation of Korea in 1945. Overall, since very few plays were translated in the 1910s and any translations were almost banned in 1940s, Western plays were mainly translated in the 1920s and the 1930s, opening the way for modern Western drama.

The Start of Translated Western Plays (1910s~1920s): The Age of Second-hand Translations

The first mention of Western theatre came from Gil-Jun Yu's *The Record of Western Travelog* (Seo-yu-Gyeon-mun 西遊見聞) in 1895. However, the introduction of the play did not actually appear until the late 1910s. The first translated play was *Katyu Sha* (1916), an adaptation of Tolstoy's *The Resurrection* by an unknown translator. This is presumed to be a second-hand translation of *Katyu sha*, which was popular in Japan. The first English work to be translated into Korean was *Tales from Shakespeare* by Charles and Mary Lamb, also in the late 1910s.¹ It was an extract with elementary translations, likely from Japanese, but nevertheless a good introduction to Western drama. Shakespeare was introduced as a representative of the Western culture rather than a playwright. The first performance of a Western story was *Brothers* by the Sinpa theatre in 1914. It was an adaptation of the Japanese play *The Sin of the Past*, which was an original adaptation of an English novel, a series published in *The London Times*. It was highly unlikely that the theatre company knew the series and that the play was originally from an English novel. In 1919, the operetta *La Mascotte* by Edmond Audran was published in *Sam-Kwang Journal*, which was edited by musician and poet Nan-Pa Hong. It was also from a Japanese translation. These introductory translations were rudimentary, containing mainly parts of the summary. However, these early translations were significant in that they provided specific introductions to the Western play genre at the time of the Sinpa theatre before the start of realistic theatre. Once these introductory translations opened up a new horizon, they spurred the transfer of Western plays, especially the modern Western plays that the culture at the time desired. Along with other emerging literary genres of this period, Sinche Poetry (新體詩) and New Novel (新小説), these translations pursued forms and thoughts from Western culture for the purpose of enlightenment. In other words, the

1910s was a period of early enlightenment; snippets of Western cultures were randomly introduced via Japanese culture.

The 1920s marked the uprising and frustration of the March 1st Independent Movement and the so-called Japanese cultural politics that followed. The 1920s, which had a link to the 1910s, a period of careful acceptance of Western culture through Japan, and to the 1930s, a period of somewhat stable reception, was indeed a transitional period for the acceptance of Western literature. The introduction of modern Western drama began to take off after carefully breaking the limits of the 1910s, which was based on adaptations and second-hand translations from Japanese theatre. Although the 1920s still saw most of the translated scripts based on Japanese translations, the contributions of students studying in Tokyo were great. All of them, including Cheol Hyeon, WuJin Kim, Seung-Hee Park, and Baek-Nam Yun, contributed to the settlement of Western drama in Korea. Ultimately, student theatre groups, including the Dramatic Arts Association, Towolhoe, and Song-Kyung Hakwu Association in the first half of the 1920s and Ewha Women's University and Yeonhui University in the second half of the 1920s, established their pioneering status in Korean theatre.

Translated Western plays can be divided into classical and modern drama, and the introduction of modern dramas was quantitatively large. This is closely related to the fact that society at the time aimed for a Western-style modernity, and, in particular, the 1920s was a time when Western realistic literature was accepted. Before addressing modern drama, it is important to examine its predecessor.

A. The Introduction of Classical Western Drama

Classical Western writers introduced in Korea in the 1920s were William Shakespeare, Victor Hugo, Johann Goethe, and Friedrich Schiller from the three countries of England, France, and Germany. They represented their respective countries, but the choice of Hugo was a bit weak since there were Molière and Racine in French classics. But it is worth noting that Hugo was a representative author of French Romanticism, and Shakespeare, from the English Renaissance, was a re-evaluated author in the era of Romanticism. Moreover, Goethe and Schiller were authors who led the “Storm and Stress” era of Germany.² Overall, the acceptance of Korean classical theatre was centered on the representative artists of the Romantic period, which was just before the era of modern drama.

Shakespeare's introduction was definitely active. Although they were extract and adapted versions, many works of Shakespeare's were translated into Korean, including *The Tempest*, *The Merchant of Venice*, *Cymbeline*, *Hamlet*, *Romeo and Juliet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, *King Lear*, *Julius Caesar* and *A Midsummer Night's Dream*. Among Shakespeare's 38 works, 10 (including partial translations and adaptations) were introduced. In

fact, the same works were introduced several times depending on their popularity. More tragedies than others were translated or at least adapted, including the so-called four major tragedies (*Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, *Othello*, and *King Lear*). Among them, *Hamlet*, *Macbeth*, and *Romeo and Juliet* (translated title: *The Sorrow of a Love Story*) were published as books. Popular interest seemed to sway toward *The Merchant of Venice* and *Hamlet*, as they were translated and performed many times. However, their translations were abridged, cut down, and still highly likely from Japanese. Among these translations, *Hamlet*, translated by Cheol Hyeon, and *The Merchant of Venice*, translated by Sang-Su Lee, could be representative of the Shakespeare translations in the 1920s. Considering their tone, word order, and use of vocabulary, it was likely that they were translated from Japanese rather than from the original English version.³ Nevertheless, they did have a considerable level of translation in terms of expression and completeness. Many schools chose Shakespeare for their productions for the purpose of practicing English. Although these productions were aimed at learning English rather than focusing on the production itself, they were important in spreading Shakespeare throughout Korea. For example, Kyung-sung Commercial High School produced *Julius Caesar* (titled *Antony and Brutus*) in 1925, and Ehwa Women's University produced *The Merchant of Venice* in 1929. These academic productions inspired commercial theatres to produce Shakespeare in the near future.

Regarding French classics, a record exists that *O, Heartlessness* (*Les Misérables*) by Victor Hugo, the master of Romanticism, was performed by the Stage Theatre Research Society (舞臺劇研究會, 1920.2) and the Minjung Theater Company (1923.2) (Lee 1966, 124). It was also translated with the title *O, Heartlessness, Cosette* by In-Geun Bang in *Youth* (靑年) magazine in April 1928. The adaptation of the novel was insufficient as an introduction to French drama, and it seemed that the adaptation was performed as excerpts, considering the length of the original novel.

Regarding German works, Goeth's *Faust* and Schiller's *The Robbers* (*Die Räuber*) were the first to be introduced. *Faust* was actually introduced several times. After partial translations were published in magazines, such as *Hyundai* (1920.3), *New Youth* (新靑年, 1921.2) and *Hakjickwang* (學之光, 1921.6), the full play was introduced in the *Siege Daily Newspaper* in 1925. However, it was only an abbreviated translation by Tae-Yong Ha. Schiller's *The Robbers* was a representative German romantic play, translated by Moon-Ho Park and performed by the Joseon Language Theater in 1929. Yes, the reactions of the audience were unfavorable.

The classics from the three countries of England, France, and Germany in the Romantic era were mainly introduced, but compared to the introduction of modern drama, they constituted a small proportion. This activity suggests that the longing for the West at that time was directly connected to the aspiration for the Modern Era.

B. The Introduction of Modern Western Drama

The introduction of modern Western drama was mainly centered on Great Britain (including Ireland), Russia, and Germany. These countries were likely the leading countries of modern Western dram. While the introduction of French plays to Korean audiences was insufficient, there were many introductions of Irish works, a country under similar colonial rule. In fact, in the 1920s, not only was Ireland a British colony, but it was difficult to differentiate between the British and the Irish playwrights since theatre artists from Ireland eventually gained fame in London and were related to the English by blood. In addition, Scandinavians Ibsen and Strindberg were introduced in Korea several times. The introduction of modern drama was usually directly connected to the introduction of realistic plays. This was because modern drama started as realistic theatre, and rebellion against it opened a new era in theatre history.

As mentioned above, the introduction of British modern drama was based on the introduction of Irish theatre due to Ireland's similar colonial situation. Because Korea was under Japanese occupation during that time, current intelligentsia felt a sense of kinship with British-occupied Ireland. Hence, writers of the Abbey Theatre were more frequently introduced compared to other English writers. The introduced modern British and Irish modern plays in Korea were from George Bernard Shaw, Lord Dunsany, Lady Gregory, Oscar Wilde, and John Millington Synge. Among them, Lady Gregory's *The Rising of the Moon*, Lord Dunsany's *The Glittering Gate*, and Synge's *Rider to the Sea* were popular.⁴ None of these could be considered a representative work from the playwrights except for *Riders to the Sea*, a one-act play. Thus, these introductions can not be counted as a well-rounded introduction of the Irish Theatre Revival Movement since major Irish writers such as William Yeats and Sean O'Casey were not introduced. Moreover, a few of Shaw's works, including *Mrs. Warren's Profession* and *How He Lied to Her Husband*, were translated. Also, Oscar Wilde's Bible-inspired *Salome* was repeatedly translated. Shaw and Wilde undoubtedly represented two qualities of modern British drama: progressive social reformism and art supremacy. However, considering that Shaw's major works were not yet introduced and Wilde's *Salome* was repeatedly introduced, Korean audiences at this time only received snippets of the entirety of modern British drama. Ultimately, the translations of these modern plays were less abridged compared to Shakespeare's, although they were still derived from Japanese editions.

Students' groups attempted English productions in the 1920s. In 1921, DongWuHoe, the association of self-supporting students with the help of the Association of Theatre Arts, produced Lord Dunsany's *Glittering Gate*, which was performed at the Abbey Theatre in Ireland.

ToWolHoe, a leading students' cultural group that later became a professional theatre company, performed Shaw's *How He Lied to her Husband* as one of its first repertoires in 1923. Also, ToWolHoe produced Lord Dunsany's *The Gods of the Mountain*, adapted from Japanese in 1924, and Lord Dunsany's *Fame and the Poet* and Synge's *In the Shadow of the Glen* in 1925. These productions show that Irish writers were very popular and influential in Korea, owing to their similar national situation. The new Western realism was introduced by student cultural groups' productions, partially fulfilling the pioneering role of the Independent Theatre Movement that took place in the Western world.

The introduction of modern Russian drama was stronger than any other country's drama, and, most of all, the major writers were well-selected for Korean audiences. Tolstoy and Chekhov were introduced, influenced by Turgenev and Pushkin, who paved the way for modern Russian literature. If only Gogol and Gorky had been included, the introduction of modern Russian artists would have been complete. Most of the significant works from each writer were introduced. The selection of plays was not strictly limited to genre but rather consisted of works that were adapted from novels. It was noteworthy that Tolstoy's plays, such as *The Power of Darkness* and *The Living Corpse*, were introduced in addition to the adaptation of the novel *The Resurrection*.⁵ On the other hand, the introduction of Chekhov was a little inadequate because his translated works were only early one-act plays, such as *The Bear*, *A Marriage Proposal*, and *The Wedding*. The introduction of a full-fledged play, which showed Chekhov's natural psychological realism, was delayed until the 1930s.

Unlike Russian works, German plays were characterized by the introduction of Expressionist plays. Germany, which was belated in realism, took the lead in modernism and developed the Expressionist play first. Although Wilhelm Meyer-Förster's *Old(Alt) Heidelberg*, which gained great popularity through ToWolHoe's performances, had been introduced many times, it was difficult to regard it as a major work. Georg Kaiser's *The Burgheers of Calais* and Ernst Toller's *Masses Man* were noted as representative Expressionist writers and works. The introduction of Gerhart Hauptmann, a prominent naturalist playwright, was also noticeable, but the introduced work was *The Assumption of Hannele*, which was not naturalism. Germany's introduction of the Expressionist play was of great significance, as it was Korea's first introduction to Western modernism that deviated from realistic or naturalistic trends. At this time, Korean theatre had been delayed in making a leap toward modernism because such introductions and acceptance were not fully achieved.

The introduction of French drama was surprisingly insignificant. Few translated works existed, except for Maeterlinck's *The Blue Bird*.⁶ Compared to other countries, it was strange that no realistic play of France, where the modern Little Theater Movement was prominent, was

introduced. Maeterlinck, the representative of symbolic playwrights, was introduced, but it was a novel adaptation rather than a play and its reception was not completely favorable. Moreover, the introduction of American drama was also insignificant, but it would have been difficult to introduce it in earnest since the 1920s was the era when modern American drama was just beginning.

Most noteworthy was the introduction of Ibsen and Strindberg, who pioneered modern Western drama. The famous *A Doll's House* appeared twice as a complete work, which was rare at that time. It was even performed by Cheol Hyun, who founded the first acting school called Yesul Hakwon (藝術學院) in 1920. Hyun taught acting and dancing classes, which mostly used modern Western plays as practice. This school was closed shortly after opening due to the conflict of casting roles among students. Another acting school, also by Hyun, started in 1924. This school performed *A Doll's House* in 1925 and received the attention of Korean intellectuals (Lee 1966, 100). In addition, Strindberg, who wrote about a confrontation between a man and a woman from a masculine standpoint in *Miss Julie*, received a production by ToWolHoe. At the time, Strindberg, who represented the position of men, gained public sympathy. The significance of these playwrights paved the way for modern theatre with realistic plays but also initiated the issue of women's awakening and social debates. At that time, references to *A Doll's House* generally addressed the issue of women's liberation, but no discussion analyzed its realistic elements. The debates of the time eventually ended with the liberation of women, such as criticism that stated, "Ibsen describes the pain of awakening a wife who seeks to break free from the restraint of the family system and freedom as a human being. Where a woman calls out to become a human before becoming a woman."⁷ As such, the issue of women's liberation emerged in tandem with modern consciousness in Korea, and, ultimately, Ibsen's *A Doll's House* provided a decisive moment in social and theatrical history.

Works by Ferenc Molnár from Hungary and Čapek from Czech Republic were also introduced. In particular, Karel Čapek's *R.U.R.*, or Rossum's *Universal Robots*, in 1920 was a masterpiece that showed humanism while unfolding the first virtual future of high-technology called Robot. Besides, it was also noteworthy that drama based on the contents of the Bible had been in the Church from an early age but was published in print starting in the 1920s.

Considering the common characteristics of the 1920s translated dramas examined above, it can be said that a limitation of the plays was that they were mostly translated from Japanese translations, not from the original languages. Therefore, the selection of authors and works was, of course, limited to those that were introduced to Japan, and it was dependent on the taste of the translator rather than a standardized translation. Second, as it was difficult to deal with new foreign works, there was a tendency to repeatedly showcase previously in-

troduced authors or works. In addition, the complete translation of an entire work was rare except for a book, and it was usually extracted randomly and translated or translated based only on an outline. Many translations and productions were still abridged editions or were only the famous parts of the plays. Moreover, there had been no conscious effort for everyday conversational language or translational style yet. In other words, modern Korean theatre was not yet fully developed, but the groundwork for Western realistic theatre was set up in the 1920s. Compared to the 1910s, the number of translated works in the 1920s was surprisingly large, and the countries and writers introduced were also diverse.

The Settlement of Translated Western Plays (1930s~The Liberation):

The Age of Direct Translation from Original Languages

Based on the limited translations of various Western plays in the 1920s, the most translations of plays directly from their original languages and of the whole works were in the 1930s. However, there was still a limitation as the proportion of single-act plays (compared with multi-acts plays) remained high. Many translations were actually performed during this time, owing to the emergence of professional academic theatre companies, such as the Dramatic Art Research Society (劇藝術研究會). The acceptance of Western plays did not deviate significantly from the introduction of Western realist plays, which greatly contributed to the firm establishment of modern Western realistic theatre in Korean theater history. The Dramatic Arts Research Society tremendously contributed to the cultural climate of direct translations from the original languages and turned the plays into performances. It could have been a unique entity to accept translated plays in the 1930s and establish the Little Theater Movement of the West. Translations of plays were almost banned due to military imperialism in the 1940s until the Liberation.

Overall, the introduction of Western drama in the 1930s focused more on modern and contemporary plays than those in the 1920s even though classical drama continued to arrive. This time period contributed greatly to establishing Western modern realistic theatre in Korea. Before looking at modern drama, classical drama in the 1930s will be examined first.

A. The Introduction of Classical Drama

The number of translated classical dramas was small, and there were no new works except for Shakespeare's *The Taming of the Shrew*

(1931) and Molière's *The Miser* (*L'Avare*, 1936). The introduction of Shakespeare, who was active in the 1920s, had slowed down, but now his works were translated completely rather than partially. For example, *The Taming of the Shrew* was newly translated in the 1930s along with the complete translations of *Hamlet* and *The Merchant of Venice*. The translations of classical drama were only a few compared with those of modern drama in the 1930s. However, it was noteworthy that classical French master Molière was newly introduced. Overall, the translation of excerpts from plays, which was common in the 1920s, was avoided and was often introduced as a performance not as a play itself in the 1920s. In addition, it was believed that the translators were language or literature majors, so the translations were from the original, not the Japanese, texts. Because plays were complete translations directly from their original languages, the number of translated works decreased significantly compared to the previous generation. A detailed list of classic translations from this period can be found in the appendix.

B. The Introduction of Modern Drama

As far as modern drama was concerned, British drama was introduced mainly from the Irish plays. In fact, except for Shaw's *Arms and the Man*, all writers and works from the United Kingdom were Irish. Irish national literature, which the Abbey Theatre in Ireland promoted, deeply connected with Korean theatre artists. Yeats, Mrs. Gregory, and Synge were all closely related to the founding of Abbey Theatre, and Dunsany, Irving, and O'Casey were all playwrights discovered by the theatre. In the 1930s, Yeats, Irving, and O'Casey were newly introduced, and additional plays of Mrs. Gregory were introduced. However, there was a limit to the new play introductions, as the controversial plays that made Abbey Theatre famous had not yet been introduced in Korea.

As for British works, Shaw's *Arms and the Man* was the most important work. With a modern reinterpretation of the long-standing European theme of "love and honor," this work, which cleared the illusion of so-called noble love and pursued a practical victory of love, became a satirical satire suitable for the Korean cultural climate, which put importance on saving face. Meanwhile, many translations of John Galsworthy were introduced, which seemed to be due to the fact that he received the Nobel Prize for Literature in 1932. The Dramatic Arts Research Society tried to stage his first play, *The Silver Box*, but it was canceled due to censorship. *The Fugitive* was not Galsworthy's main work, but it was presumed to have been introduced several times because it depicts patriotism. In addition, his other plays such as *Justice* by Yonsei University students' theatre group and *The First and the Last* by the Dramatic Arts Research Society were also performed.

Introductions to modern Russian drama were active in the 1930s as they were in the 1920s. In contrast to the 1920s, the 1930s came clos-

er to the core of modern Russian drama. Chekhov's *The Cherry Orchard* was performed, and instead of Turgenev's or Pushkin's modern novels, *The Inspector General* by Gogol, who was one of the beginners of Russian modern plays, was translated and performed. Tolstoy's *The Power of Darkness* was also performed. As the Russian translator, Dae-Hoon Ham, a Russian major, was definitely outstanding, and, therefore, the ability to translate from the original work was further advanced.

Directors were important in spreading translated plays as much as the translator since the performance actually had greater effects than the translation of the play. Hae-Seong Hong was noted for his advanced realistic productions of a series of modern Russian plays, including *The Cherry Orchard* and *The Inspector General*. Meanwhile, Chi-Jin Yu directed *The Power of Darkness* after Hong moved to the Oriental Theatre. In the case of Russia, relatively central artists of modern drama were appropriately selected and introduced, but regrettably, Gorky's *The Lower Depths* was omitted for an unknown reason.

Contemporary anti-realistic Expressionist plays dominated the German plays introduced in Korea. Because of their similar political backgrounds, Japan and Germany could form a war alliance. Göering and Kaiser were first noted as representative of German Expressionist plays. However, the introductory works were not the most prominent plays, and the performances were even poorer, so Expressionism did not take root in Korea. According to a performance review of Göering's *The Sea Battle* at the time, it was a pain to listen to an incomprehensible line, and that's why some of the crowd gave up and returned home.⁸ This reaction was due to not only the difficulties of Expressionist plays, but also the performances that did not grasp the core characteristics. Meanwhile, the plays of Ottomar and Remarque were introduced as social realistic dramas, but they were not widely known; they ended with only one or two performances due to Japanese repression and censorship.

Just as the introduction of French drama in the 1920s was insignificant, there also were not many remarkable works in the 1930s. *La Paix Chez Soi* by Georges Courteline, performed by the Dramatic Arts Research Society, expressed a section of everyday realistic life of France, but it was far from being a quintessential modern French drama. A performance review stated that because this minor work was seen at the Japanese Seukkigi Small Theatre (築地小劇場),⁹ it seemed to be influenced by Japanese translated plays. *Le Paquebot Tenacity*, or *Marius*, had multi-acts and were semi-popular plays different from the French realist play. As such, the lack of introduction to French drama could have resulted from the fact that France was geographically distant and was a powerful nation that had no direct interest in Japan at the time. However, considering the fact that the masters of modern Japanese drama studied directly at the Free Theatre in France, the lack of introduction to French drama remains questionable.

Compared to the 1920s, the introduction of American theatre made the greatest progress, both quantitatively and qualitatively. First of all, the introduction of Eugene O'Neill, who made American drama independent from European drama, was noted. The realistic plays of O'Neill, such as *Beyond the Horizon*, were mainly introduced. Because American plays were so successful in Korea at the time, active contemporary American plays, such as Maxwell Anderson's *Winterset* and Clifford Odets' *Awake and Sing!*, also started to arrive.

Many American works also found success in Korea. While *Porgy* was published as a novel in 1925 without much attention, its opera version *Porgy and Bess* in 1935 was met with explosive popularity in America. *Porgy and Bess*' 1937 performance in Korea by the Dramatic Arts Research Society was indeed a contemporary performance. Even though it was very sentimental and romantic, it was a work that showed the framework of American naturalistic plays because the local colors of American Southern society were excellently depicted and a human sacrificed under the environmental conditions and inheritance issues was well-described. Additionally, premiered in the U.S. in 1935, showing the complete beauty of the early American realistic play and was performed in Korea in 1938 by the Dramatic Arts Research Society. *Winterset* is a romantic popular drama based on a true story, which premiered in the U.S. in 1935 and then was performed in 1938 by the Dramatic Arts Research Society in Korea. Whether the rapid dramatic turnaround or the conflict between love and revenge suited the Korean public's taste, this play was recorded as the most frequently re-performed work, as much as three times by the Dramatic Arts Research Society. It was surprising that many contemporary American plays were introduced. It was of great significance that these contemporary hits were introduced mainly for performances rather than for publishing in Korea. Since these works were very popular, they seemed to be performed without much financial difficulty.

Among the playwrights from the other countries, Ibsen was first noticed. Two of Ibsen's most representative realistic plays were accepted in Korea. Along with the already-introduced *A Doll's House*, *Ghosts*, which he wrote in response to Nora's running away in *A Doll's House*, was translated in 1933 and performed in 1934. Moreover, *The Vikings at Helgeland* was performed by Jung-Ang-Mu-dae Theatre in 1938 (Lee 1966, 244). It was Ibsen's early work, which was written with material from a Northern legend. Though it was far from a realistic play, it was introduced due to its ability to inspire a heroic and national spirit. In addition, *The Lady from the Sea* was performed by Yonsei University student theatre group in 1932. The students seemed to be interested in Ibsen beyond his realism; the play portrayed the desire of a woman psychologically and symbolically.

On the other hand, many Polish writers, such as Zamenhof and Henryk Sienkiewicz, were surprisingly introduced, but they did not have

much influence on Korean theatre. The reason they were introduced in the first place was probably because both countries faced the same colonial situation. Aside from Polish writers, the most notable writers, Arthur Schnitzler and Karl Schönherr, from Austria, where a delicate and fin-de-siecle culture blossomed, were introduced. They were the core writers of the Vienna Circle and were, therefore, the perfectors of delicate realism. They introduced new psychological and impressionistic plays. Schnitzler's *Blind Geronimo and His Brother Belief* in 1938 and Schönherr's *Belief and Home* in 1936 were performed by the Dramatic Arts Research Society. Although the introduced works were not the playwrights' most prominent plays, the introduction of the Vienna Circle in Korea was meaningful. Moreover, Italy's Luigi Pirandello was also a notable playwright whose works were introduced. He won the Nobel Prize for literature in 1934 and was considered one of the most influential artists in contemporary theatre. Although his introduced play, *The Imbecile* in 1933, was not his core work, the performance showed the high liberal arts level of the Dramatic Arts Research Society. Alongside the productions mentioned above, Biblical dramas were actively published in Korea. Biblical drama had been introduced steadily since the introduction of Christianity. This type of drama was occasionally published in newspapers or magazines in the 1920s, and the volume increased even more in the 1930s. Many works featured the themes of depicting the birth of Jesus or the joy of Christmas and sharing goods with neighbors. Meanwhile, a children's drama book was also published, and it was noted as the first children's drama book.

Overall, compared to the 1920s, efforts in the 1930s to translate from the original language became clearer, and the translations were faithful to the originals rather than to adaptations or outlines. It was also noteworthy that the number of works performed increased. Indeed, Western realistic plays became widespread with the translations of the 1930s.

Because the Japanese as well as the colonized Koreans were involved in war during the first half of the 1940s, all cultural activities were controlled by the Japanese governor-general of Korea. All Korean theatre companies were only allowed to produce so-called "National Theatre," which heightened the war spirit and spread the propaganda of the Japanese government. Thus, modernization of Korean theatre regressed in this period, and translations of foreign plays were generally prohibited. Korea was finally liberated in 1945 after Japan lost World War II, and a new era began.

Conclusion

The modernization of Korean theatre actively began with the reception of Western plays. The translated works played an important role in introducing Western theatre to Korea. Before the Liberation, translated plays were introduced almost 300 times, excluding translations and adaptations of Japanese *Sinpa* theatre. Since works that had been introduced multiple times had been redundantly counted, far fewer works have been actually introduced. This was because the introduction of translated drama was largely dependent on the knowledge and taste of the translators rather than the overall understanding of Western drama. Overall, there were many overlapping introductions of plays and playwrights. The way of translation was as follows: once a play was introduced in either an extracted or an adapted version, a more complete translation followed and then the final complete version came. Plus, Japan was the route to providing many Western works.

As for the translations, the introduction of one-act plays rather than full-length plays was the mainstream, and there was a tendency for more incidental one-act plays to be introduced rather than the longer, representative works of major authors. Modern dramas were overwhelmingly introduced rather than classical ones, showing once again the modern-oriented culture at that time. Mainly realistic and naturalistic plays were introduced, and German Expressionist plays were noted as a first introduction to the anti-realist movement. In fact, until the 1960s, Korean plays were in the process of accepting modern Western realistic and naturalistic plays, so the influence of them on modern Korean drama was undeniable.

The translated dramas can be examined and divided into two periods. There were more translations in the first period than in the second period. Thinking of the explosive increase in translated plays in the 1920s compared to the 1910s, the decrease of translated plays in the 1930s was somewhat unexpected. However, the plays were mainly excerpts or shortened translations in the 1920s, but the numbers did not increase because translators attempted to complete the translations in the 1930s. In addition, direct translation from the original language rather than Japanese was also the reason that reduced the number of translated plays in the 1930s.

By country, British dramas were the most introduced with about 60 plays. Except for about 20 plays by Shakespeare, the introduction of modern drama was similar to that of Russia. In addition, the introduction of modern British drama was mainly based on Irish drama due to Ireland's similar colonial situation to Korea. Next, there were over 40 Russian dramas, probably due to regional proximity, political influence, and similarity of the two nations' preferences. France and Germany were similar in terms of quantity, and about 20 plays were introduced from each country. However, from France, minor works

were introduced, whereas in Germany, Expressionist theatre, which was a major movement of Germany, was introduced. Considering the importance of France in Western modern drama, the introduction of French drama is the most insufficient compared to many other countries. Meanwhile, about 10 American dramas were also introduced, mainly in the 1930s. Although not many in number, the introduced American works were both full-length and even received performances, some of which were hits, adding to their significance for Korean audiences. Lastly, Ibsen was introduced as representative of Northern Europe, and his influence on women's liberation was greater than any other playwright.

Translated drama played a great role in establishing the dramatic genre, which the traditional Korean theatre did not have. They set a model for Korean playwrights to follow. Modern Korean playwrights came into being roughly around the 1920s, and the influences of translated plays were reflected in the plays of Korean playwrights. In general, like the Western realistic plays, the Korean plays focused on social problems, such as sexual taboos, early marriages, and patriarchal tyrannies. They used everyday language and detailed descriptions of environments following the footsteps of Western realism. Some playwrights were particularly influenced by specific Western playwrights. UJin Kim (金祐鎮:1897-1926)'s play *Lee Youngyeo* in the 1920s shows the influence of Bernard Shaw's *Mrs. Warren's Profession*. More direct influences were shown in the plays of the 1930s. For example, Chi-Jin Yu's (柳致眞:1905-1974) *The Prince in Hemp Clothes* (麻衣太子) reflected *Hamlet*, while his *Jujube Tree* (*Daechu Namu*) had a similar situation like that in *Romeo and Juliet*. Seduk Ham (咸世德:1915-1950)'s *Sad Talent* (Seo-geul-peun 才能) borrowed its motif from *Birthright* by T.C. Murray, an Irish dramatist who was closely associated with the Abbey Theatre.

Furthermore, the realistic modern theatre came into being through the works of students' amateur groups in the 1920s. Their new productions heavily incorporated Western realism and, overall, achieved the realistic style. The Dramatic Art Research Society of the 1930s not only further expanded the original realistic plays but also succeeded in producing realistic theatre. The modernization of Korean theatre via the reception of Western realism was fully achieved by this company. Most of the translated plays the company produced were modern realistic ones, except for Shakespeare and a few others. Therefore, this company, along with the other contributing factors discussed above, gave impetus to the modernization of Korean theatre. Indeed, the translated Western plays were the beginning of modern Korean theatre.

Appendix:

List of the representative translated plays before 1945¹⁰

Play	Translator	Source	Date ¹¹
Shakespeare			
<i>The Tempest</i>	Kuribyoung	<i>Gidok Chongyeon</i> 3	1919.1
<i>The Tales of Shakespeare</i>	Kuribyoung	<i>Gidok Chongyeon</i> 14-25	1919.11
<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	Chonwon Oh	<i>Hakseangge</i> 4-6	1920.10-12
<i>Cymbeline</i>	Unknown	Seoul one anniversary	1920.12.15
<i>Hamlet, The Prince of Denmark</i>	Cheol Hyeon	<i>Gaebuek</i> 2:5-3:12	1921.5-1922.12
<i>Romeo and Juliet</i>	Sungyu Jung	Pakmun Publisher	1921.9
<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	Chonwon Oh	Kyungseung Publisher	1922
<i>Macbeth</i>	Hayeop Yang	<i>Joseon Newspapers</i>	1923.3.24-4.2
<i>Hamlet, The Prince of Denmark</i>	Cheol Hyeon	Pakmun Publisher	1923.4
<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>		Kyungseong Commercial High School	1924.1.30
<i>Hamlet</i>		Same as above	
<i>Romeo & Juliet</i>	Yangsaek Rok	<i>Sinchonji bokgan</i> 2	1924.4
<i>King Lear</i>	Unknown	<i>Sinyeosung</i> 2:6	1924.8.30
<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	Sangsu Lee	Joseon Book Publisher	1924.9.17
<i>Othello</i>	Youngtaek Chon	<i>Joseon Mundan</i> 2-5	1924.11-1925.2
<i>Julius Caesar</i>	Kwangsue Lee	<i>Donga Newspapers</i>	1926.1.17
<i>The Tempest</i>	Kunchun	<i>Chongyeon</i> 6:3-4	1926.3-4
<i>A Midsummer Night's Dream</i>		Jungang Yeonye Daehoe	1926.11.17
<i>Hamlet</i>	Simkyung Sunin	<i>Joseon Newspapers</i>	1929.11.17-20
<i>Petruchio and Katherina</i>	Unknown	Ewha Women's Univ.	1931. 2
<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	Unknown	<i>Yeosul</i> 1:2	1935.4.1
<i>Hamlet</i>	Unknown	Nangmanjwa performance	1938.1
<i>The Merchant of Venice</i>	Yeongchul Park	Dongkwang Publisher	1940.5.20

Goethe

<i>Faust</i>		<i>Hyundai</i>	1920.3
<i>Faust</i>		<i>New Youth</i> (新青年)	1921.2
<i>Faust</i>		<i>Hakjickwang</i>	1921.6
<i>Outline of Faust</i>		<i>Siege Daily Newspaper</i>	1925
<i>Faust the part 1</i>	Hisun Jo	<i>JungAng</i>	1934.8
<i>Faust the part 1</i>	Hwan Gwan	<i>SiHak</i>	1939.5

Schiller

<i>The Robbers</i>		Joseon Language Theater	1929
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Victor Hugo

<i>O, Heartlessness</i> (<i>Les Misérables</i>)		Stage Theatre Research Society(舞臺研究會)	1920.2
<i>O, Heartlessness</i> (<i>Les Misérables</i>)		Minjung Theater Company	1923.2
<i>O, Heartlessness,</i> <i>Cosette</i>		<i>Youth</i> (Cheong-Nyon)	1928.4

Molière

<i>The Miser(L'Avare)</i>		Joseon Yeonguek Hyophoe	1936
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Modern Playwrights**A. England/Ireland:****Bernard Shaw**

<i>Mrs. Warren's Profession</i>	Ujin Kim		
<i>How He Lied to Her Husband</i>	SeungHee Park	Towolhoe	1923.7
<i>Aurora</i>		Towolhoe	1923.9
<i>How He Lied to Her Husband</i>		Towolhoe	1924.9
<i>Arms and the Man</i>	KwangSeop Kim	DARS performance	1933.6

Oscar Wilde

<i>Salome</i>	YoungHee Park	<i>Paekjo</i> 1:1/1:2	1922.1-5
<i>Salome</i>	JaeMyon Young	Pakmun Publisher	1923.7
<i>Salome</i>	Cheol Hyeon	<i>Yesaeng gwa Hwajang</i> 2	1926.1.17-?
<i>Salome</i>	CSY Saeng	<i>Dongsung</i> 2-?	1927.1.20-?

Lord Dunsany

<i>Glittering Gate</i>	Ujin Kim	Kukyeosul Hyophoe	1921.7
<i>The Gods of the Mountain</i>	SeungHee Park	Towolhoe	1924.6
<i>Fame and the Poet</i>		Towolhoe	1925.
<i>The Compromise Of The King Of The Golden Isles</i>	GiJae Jang	<i>Monyewolgan</i> 1:1	1931.11
<i>The Tents of the Arabs</i>	HaYun Lee	<i>Donggwang</i> 4:8	1932.8
<i>The Tents of the Arabs</i>		Yonsei Univ.	1933.6
<i>Fame and the Poet</i>	YeongSsoon An	<i>Joseon Newspapers</i>	1933.12.6-9
<i>Fame and the Poet</i>	YeongSsoon An	<i>Joseon Newspapers</i>	1934.12.6-9

Lady Gregory

<i>The Rising of the Moon</i>	HaeA	<i>Gaebeuk</i>	1921.10
<i>The Rising of the Moon</i>	BeongHan Choi	<i>Daejung Kongron</i>	1930.6
<i>The Rising of the Moon</i>	JongWu Choi	<i>Joseon Newspapers</i>	1931.10.3-15
<i>The Gaol Gate</i>	JongWu Choi	<i>Theatre Arts Studies</i>	1932.6
<i>The Workhouse Ward</i>	JongWu Choi	<i>Dongkwang</i> 4:7	1932.7
<i>The Gaol Gate</i>	JongWu Choi	<i>Joseon Newspapers</i>	1933.2.9-14

Yeats

<i>Poems</i>	Su Ihm	<i>Munjang</i> 1:3	1939.4.1
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Synge

<i>Rider to the Sea</i>	HaeA	<i>Gaebeuk</i>	1922.7
<i>The Shadow of the Glen</i>		Towolhoe	1925
<i>Rider to the Sea</i>	GiJae Jang	<i>DaeJung GongRon</i>	1930.3
<i>Rider to the Sea</i>		<i>ByelGeonGon</i>	1930.11

Sean O'Casey

<i>The Shadow of a Gunman</i>	GiJae Jang	<i>Joseon Newspapers</i>	1931.8.21. /9.22
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St. John Greer Ervine

<i>The Magnanimous Lover</i>	GiJae Jang	DARS performance	1932.6
<i>The Magnanimous Lover</i>	GiJae Jang	<i>Dongkwang</i> 4:7	1932.7

John Masefield

<i>The Tragedy of Nan</i>		Kyungseong Women's Christian Youth Group	1934
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<i>The Tragedy of Nan</i>	YeongCheol Park	Dongkwangdang Publisher	1940.5
John Galsworthy			
<i>Justice</i>		YeonHee Univ.	1932.12
<i>Defeat</i>	K.S	<i>ShinDongA</i>	1933.1
<i>Defeat</i>	Kwangsup Kim	YeonHee Univ.	1933.12
<i>The First and the Last</i>	GiJae Jang	DARS performance	1936.2
Eugene Pillot			
<i>Hunger</i>	Unknown	ToWolHoe	1923.7
Jack London			
<i>Love of Life</i>	YoHan Ju	<i>Dongkwang</i> 6:8	1926.12
Arthur Caesar			
<i>Napoleon Barber</i>	MuAe	<i>Donga Newspapers</i>	1929.3.1-5
Eugene O'Neill			
<i>Ile</i>	ChiJin Yu	Baejae High School	1933.1.14
<i>Ile</i>		<i>JungMyong Journal</i>	1933.6.15-7.15
<i>Beyond the Horizon</i>		DongYangYeoSuJja	1938
Mr. & Mrs. Heyward			
<i>Porgy</i>	GiJe Jang	DARS performance	1937.1
Jeannette Marks			
<i>The Merry Merry Cuckoo</i>	SoHyang Lee	DARS performance	1938.5
Maxwell Anderson			
<i>Winterset</i>	GiJe Jang	DARS performance	1938.7
<i>Reproductions</i>			1939.2&5
Clifford Odets			
<i>Awake and Sing!</i>	HangSeok Soh	DARS performance	1938.9
B. Russia:			
Ivan Turgenev			
<i>On the Eve</i>	Cheol Hyeon	<i>GaeBeok</i> 1:1 (Magazine)	1920.6

Alexander Pushkin

The Squire's Daughter PaekNam Yun MinJung performance 1923.2

Leo Tolstoy

Katyusha(Resurrection) Unknown 1916
Resurrection Unknown MuDaeGeuk Performance 1920.2
The Power of Darkness KwangSu Lee *Book* 1923.1
Resurrection ToWolHoe performance 1923.9
The Living Corpse MyongHee Jo *Book & ToWolHoe performance* 1924.3
Resurrection ToWolHoe performance 1924.9
What Men Live By Ewha Women's university performance 1933.10
Resurrection DaeHun Ham DARS broadcast 1934.2
Katyusha DaeHun Ham DARS performance 1937.4
The Power of Darkness KwangSu Lee DARS performance 1936
The Living Corpse MyongHee Jo PyeongMunGwan Publisher 1938.3

Dostoevsky

Crime and Punishment Nangmanjwa performance 1938.9

Anton Chekhov

The Bear Yesul Hakwon performance 1920.2
The Bear Eon Kim Mudaageuk performance 1920.2
The Bear Cheol Hyeon ToWolHoe performance 1923
A Marriage Proposal Eon Kim *HaeWeo MunHak* 1:1 (Magazine) 1927.1
Swan Song Eon Kim *HaeWeo MunHak* 1:2 (Magazine) 1927.7
The Wedding *Hyundae Critics* 1:9 (Magazine) 1927.10
Cherry Orchard Ewha women's high school performance 1930
The Bear DaeHun Ham *Joseon Daily Newspapers* 1931.8
A Marriage Proposal DaeHun Ham *SinJoseon* 1:3 1932.9
The Anniversary DaeHun Ham *Joseon Daily Newspapers* 1933.1

Gogol

The Inspector General HoYeon DangIn *HakSaeng* 2:9 1930.9
The Inspector General DaeHun Ham DARS performance 1932.5

C. Germany

Wilhelm Meyer-Förster

Old(Alt) Heidelberg SeungHee Park ToWolHoe performance 1923.9

Georg Kaiser

The Burghers of Calais *Sidae Daily Newspapers* 1925.11.24

Ernst Toller

Masses Man *Sidae Daily Newspapers* 1925.11.30

Gerhart Hauptmann

The Assumption of Hannele HyungWu Yeom *Hyundae Critics* 1:1 1927.1

Göering

The Sea Battle HiSun Jo DARS performance 1932.6

Remarque

All Quiet on the Western Front New Construction performance 1933.11

D. France

Unknown

Louis 16th BaekNam Yun Minjung theatre performance 1923.2

Henri Meilhac

Carmen SeungHee Park ToWolHoe performance 1924.6

Maeterlinck

The Blue Bird Ewha women's high school performance 1927.2

Anatole France

The Man Who Married A Dumb Wife Ewha women's high school performance 1928.2.

Jules Renard

Poil de Carotte HeonGu Lee DARS performance 1934.9

Georges Courteline			
<i>la Paix chez soi</i>	HeonGu Lee	DARS performance	1935.11
Charles Vildrac			
<i>La famille Moineau</i>	Heongu Lee	<i>JoGwang</i> 3:1	1937.1
<i>Le Paquebot Tenacity</i>	Heongu Lee	DARS performance	1938.12
Jean Cocteau			
<i>Cri écrit</i>	HeonGu Lee	<i>JoGwang</i> 4:4	1938.4
Marcel Pagnol			
<i>Marius</i>		<i>YeaDam</i> 7:7	1941.9
<i>Fanny</i>	SeDeok Ham	Hyundae Theatre performance	1941.9
E. Other Countries			
Ibsen (Norway)			
<i>Nora</i>	HwaBaek Yang	YoungChang Publisher	1922.6
<i>A Doll's House</i>	SangSu Lee	Hando Publisher	1922.11
<i>The Lady from the Sea</i>	SangSu Lee	Hando Publisher	1923.6
<i>A Doll's House</i>	Cheol Hyeon	Joseon Actor's Studio Performance	1925.9
<i>The Lady from the Sea</i>		Yonsei University Performance	1932.6
<i>Ghosts</i>	JeongHo Lee	<i>SinYeoSeong</i> 7:10	1933.10
<i>The Vikings at Helgeland</i>		JungAng Mudae Performance	1938.1
<i>A Doll's House</i>	YongCheol Park	Donggwangdang Publisher	1940.5
Strindberg (Sweden)			
<i>Creditors</i>	SeungHee Park	ToWolHoe Performance	1923.9
<i>Miss Julie</i>		ToWolHoe Performance	1925.9
Karel Čapek (The Czech Republic)			
<i>R.U.R.(Rossum's Universal Robots)</i>	GwangSu Lee	Dongmyong Publisher	1923.4
<i>Pictures from the Insects' Life</i>		Jeongsin Women's High School Performance	1928.9
Ferenc Molnár (Hungary)			
<i>The Good Fairy</i>	Seo An	<i>JoSeonJiGwang</i> 9: 7	1928.12

Arthur Schnitzler (Austria)

<i>The Green Cockatoo</i>	HiSun Jo	JeungMyong Publisher	1933.5
<i>Blind Geronimo and his Brother Belief</i>	ChiJin Yu	DARS performance	1938.2

Schönherr (Austria)

<i>Belief and home</i>	HangSeok Seo	DARS performance	1936.9
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Henryk Sienkiewicz (Poland)

<i>The Lighthouse keeper</i>	JaeSeo Choi	<i>InMun Critics</i> 1:3	1939.12
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Luigi Pirandello (Italy)

<i>The Imbecile</i>		DARS performance	1933.11
<i>The Imbecile</i>	YongChoel Park	DongGwangDang Publisher	1940.5

Notes

1. *Christian Youth* (基督青年), 1919.
2. “It was a proto-Romantic movement in German literature and music that occurred between the late 1760s and early 1780s. Within the movement, individual subjectivity and, in particular, extremes of emotion were given free expression in reaction to the perceived constraints of rationalism imposed by the Enlightenment and associated aesthetic movements” (quote from Wikipedia on “Sturm und Drang”).
3. Byeong-Cheol Kim speculated that both of *Hamlet* translated by Cheol Hyeon and *The Merchant of Venice* translated by SangSu Lee seemed to be using the translation of Tsubouchi Shōyō(坪内逍遙) (Waseda University Press, 1909), a master of Japanese modern drama.
4. Introductions were mostly centered on one-act plays.
5. Byeong-Cheol Kim also speculated that *The Power of Darkness* was translated from Japanese translation of *Yamano Chika*(闇の力) (Translated by Uno Giyonoske, 1919.3.30) based on the similarity of tone, word, pronunciation of proper nouns, etc.
6. Maeterlinck was born in Belgium, but wrote plays in Paris and was a representative playwright of symbolism. Thus, his plays were considered as French plays.
7. Kim, Seok-Song, “A Study on Sexual Relationships (1,2)”, K1:1 (1921.5.1), 1:2 (1921.6.1.)a.
8. Park, Yong-Cheol, *Donga Daily Newspapers*, 1932.7.2.
9. Kim, Munjip, *Joseon Daily Newspapers*, 1945.11.30.
10. The list was made with the materials of Byong-Cheol Kim and Sugeun Kim along with newspapers and magazines before the Liberation (Lee 1994, 320-346).
11. Date is written in order of year, month, and date.

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