

Changes to Literary Ethics of Tanka Poets on the Korean Peninsula during the Japanese Colonial Era

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Abstract This paper focuses on ethical changes among Tanka(短歌) poets in Joseon literary circles on the Korean peninsula during the Japanese colonial era. Joseon Japanese poetical literary circles lasted some 40 years from the beginning of the 1900s until Japan's defeat, changing across periods. The main characteristic of these circles was the emergence of local Joseon forms of Tanka between late 1920s to the 1930, at the height of the Joseon literary circles. This was the period when the exploration of Joseon was carried out by the Tanka poets, with multiple publications of Tanka magazines issuing collections of Joseon-related Tanka. However, in the 1930s, the number of Joseon Japanese poetical circles shrank, and Tanka became identified with national literature in the lead-up to the Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War. These events influenced both the flow of the Joseon literary circles and the creative beliefs in individual Tanka poets. Based on these observations, this paper focuses on Ryo Michihisa, a leading Tanka poet in Joseon literary circles. The analysis of Tanka reveals a wavering of individual ethical and creative beliefs towards the war that manifested between local aesthetics in Joseon literary circles and national literature.

Key words Colonial Japan literature; Tanka poets; Joseon literary circles; ethical beliefs; local aesthetics

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Introduction

The Japanese-Language literature of colonial Korea can be classified into that of Joseon natives and that of Japanese residents in Joseon. The Korean academic community has severely criticized the Japanese-language literature of the native people of Joseon as being pro-Japanese in terms of authors’ stance on nationalism and the nation-state. The 1940s, which were rife with pro-Japanese literature, have been labeled “the shameful dark ages of Joseon literature” (Chul Baek 399), and remained unmentioned for approximately twenty years after the liberation of Korea. In the 1960s, systematic research into pro-Japanese literature began with the publication of Jongkuk Im’s *Pro-Japanese Literature*¹. Although since the year 2000 the Korean literary world has re-evaluated the Japanese-language literature of Joseon natives as dual-language literature, ethical criticism of pro-Japanese literature and its exponents from a nationalist perspective is still a major feature in criticism of Korea’s colonial literature.

Another area within the Japanese-Language literature in colonial Korea was the writing of Japanese residents in Joseon, the academic analysis of which began in earnest in 2000. A lack of earlier scholarly research on this group indicates that the Japanese residents in Joseon residing in the Korean peninsula across the Japanese colonial era had been overlooked as diasporic individuals. However, recent studies have shed light on various media across different individuals throughout this process. It was found that “traditional Japanese poetry forms such as Haiku(俳句), Tanka(短歌) and Senryu(川柳) were mainstream flows in literature” (Inkyung Um 273). Among these forms, the genre of Tanka (31 syllables Japanese short poetry) has been the focus of various research interests as a large volume of poetry had been uncovered. These include works on the flows and characteristics

1 Jongkuk Im, *Pro-Japanese Literature*. Seoul: Pyeong hwa Publication, 1966.

that are specific to the era. However, a wholly ignored area of discussion has been the creative attitude and literary worldview of the Tanka poets, who were the main creators of Tanka by Japanese residents in Joseon. In pro-Japanese literature, often found in the Japanese literature by Joseon writers as identified in Korean literary circles, the issue of ethics within creativity is not restricted to Joseon residents. Some of the leading Tanka poets, who attempted to express the uniqueness of Joseon and its local culture through their activities on the Korean peninsula, made headway into the national canon during the Sino-Japanese War and the Pacific War. The key questions relate to the provenance of the changes in the creative attitude for Japanese Tanka poets in Joseon and how these poets' pro-war Tanka should be evaluated.

The current paper evaluates the trends of Tanka poetry in the Japanese colonial era within the Japanese literature by Japanese residents in Joseon and attempts to identify the route by which the Joseon literary circles reached the canon of national literature. This study also focuses on the question of how the issue of literary ethics can be applied to the Tanka poets who represented the Joseon literary circles and identifies the trends of change in the creative attitudes of Japanese residents in Joseon who were active in the Korean peninsula during the colonial era. By identifying these literary expressions and ethical issues of the Japanese residents in Joseon, this paper attempts to construct a novel overview of literary activities of Japanese-language writers active on the Korean peninsula.

From the 1920s to Mid-1930s: Trends in Joseon Literary Circles in the Korean Peninsula and the Pursuit for the Local Culture of Joseon

Military rule, which became the governing system of choice of the Japanese Governor-General of Korea after Japan's forced annexation of the country in 1910, was heavily criticized for triggering the March First Independence Movement in 1919. At that time, Japanese residents in Joseon often proposed the 'cultureless Joseon' theory, claiming that there was no unique traditional culture in Joseon. However, the March First Independence Movement, inspired by the principle of national self-determination of communities around the world, exerted a tremendous influence on Korean politics, society, and culture, leading to the Japanese Governor-General of Korea's claim to advocate the recognition of Korean culture after the 1920s.¹

It is difficult to assess the specific aspects, broad effects, and limits of this cultural politics, but in regard to literary activities, it is notable that a plethora

1 See Byeongho Jung, 28

of newspapers and magazines were published and distributed in this period. In this social and cultural atmosphere, specialized magazines in the diverse fields of traditional Japanese-language poetry such as Tanka, Haiku, and Senryu were founded, and numerous works were created and enjoyed a welcoming reception. Traditional Japanese-language poets in Korea had been involved in creating such work since the early 20th century. Later in the 1920s, they came to clearly realize their responsibility for studying and understanding Joseon culture. Evidence of this understanding can be found in Korea's premier Tanka magazine, *Shinjin* (眞人).

Launched in 1923 *Shinjin* began publishing in the mid-twenties special issues such as “*A Review of Local Literary Circles*” (1926.1), “*A Study of Joseon Folk Songs*” (1927.1), and “*The Nature of Joseon*” (1929.7), in order to promote literary circles on the Korean Peninsula. Through these special issues, *Shinjin* actively sought a leading role and position in Joseon literary circles by studying the ancient songs and literature of Joseon in collaboration with Joseon literary scholars:

There should be deep and great folk songs especially in a place like Joseon.... It would be better to have more magazines of distinct local color. It is therefore great to have *Shinjin* on the Joseon peninsula. (Tatsuo Nagata 9,10)

People who live in such an environment are born with the arts inside them... The artistic effects (of Joseon) that we can see are completely different from those of China. Also, the land, which has a long history, has created a distinctive form from the inside of unrecognized folk arts. (Noritaka Asakawa 48)

A review of articles published in these special issues of *Shinjin* reveals that the magazine's focus on traditional Joseon folk songs was an attempt to discover the local characteristics of Joseon. *Shinjin* also discussed the artistic value of Joseon folk songs and folk art. It firmly rejected the discriminatory perception that Joseon culture was merely a carbon copy of Chinese culture, which was the core content of the ‘cultureless Joseon’ theory established prior to the 1910s. *Shinjin* emphasized the fact that unique literature can be born in its own native environment and culture. It is clear that Japanese writers of poetry in Joseon attempted to discover the unique cultural particularities of Joseon based on its distinctive cultural climate and folklore. In addition, as indicated in a plethora of examples, Tanka works that fully internalized Joseon culture emerged.

I am unskilled at throwing sticks for a game of yut, but I finally won.

I threw the sticks with a shout but it was risky one. Gae was there, not geol.

(Morio Ichiyama 1928.4, 6)

As a car stopped in front of a *Jumak*, the smell of fermented *kimchi* wafted out.

There is an eomeoni reading a letter while swaying her body. It is as if she is keeping a rhythm.

(Morio Ichiyama 1928.5, 6)

These Tanka works dealt with the Joseon cultural climate and contained Korean words that only existed in Joseon, such as “Yut(Korean traditional game),” “Jumak(酒幕)(Korean traditional bar),” “Eomeoni(鮮女)(mother),” “Kimchi(Korean traditional food),” and “Geol(杰)/Gae(開)(different outcomes of a game of Yut).” These demonstrate Shinjin poets’ attempts to realize directly the native stories of Joseon through Tanka works. During the mid-1930s, large-scale anthologies that illustrated the particularities of and attachment to Joseon in Tanka began to be published.

The mid-1930s saw the publication of the largest-scale works, *Tanka anthology about the Joseon local color* (朝鮮風土歌集) and *Tanka anthology of Joseon* (歌集朝鮮), which were both major oeuvres expressing a love for Joseon and its uniqueness in Tanka. *Tanka anthology about the Joseon local color* is a particularly important historical data source that shows the production of large volumes of Tanka as the Joseon literary circles focused on the local color of Joseon.

Published by *Shinjin* in 1934, *Tanka anthology about the Joseon local color* exclusively selected Tanka on the themes of nature and the scenic spots and places of Joseon. Befitting its title as the largest book of songs in the Korean peninsula, it carries 533 themes and some 3,000 Tankas, divided into sections on the themes of wind and land, plants, animals, and the provinces, as well as a “miscellaneous” chapter and an appendix. The wind and land section, made up of 123 themes of Tanka, is composed of poems on local subjects across all of Joseon, and thus differs from other books of songs in the same era. “The comment of Joseon’s local color words(朝鮮地方色語解註)” section in the appendix features explanations on the subjects local to Joseon that appear frequently in Tanka and of the pronouns found in Korean, which helps to transfer the understanding of the local color of Joseon in a lively manner. Planned and published under the subject of local colors of Joseon, *Tanka anthology about the Joseon local color* is a quintessential book of songs reflecting the characteristics of foreign literary groups that peaked in 1930s.

The Japanese Tanka poets in Joseon actively responded to the local discourse in other Japanese colonies such as Taiwan and Manchuria between 1920 and 1930s,

and chose local Joseon aesthetics as the literary method and subject. In other words, Japanese Tanka poets in Joseon during this era were a force that led the depiction of uniqueness and aesthetic impressions internalized in the Joseon culture. Particularly, the Japanese Tanka poets in Joseon surrounding *Shinjin* were attracted by the locality and culture of Joseon in the 1920s and 1930s and focused their literary efforts on determining and localizing the local essence of Joseon.

From the Late 1930s to 1945: Tanka as National Literature

The attitude and logic of Tanka poets in Joseon, who spearheaded the expression of the local Joseon culture through Tanka since 1920, changed significantly after the 1930s as the country moved towards war. As the war intensified in the 1940s, magazine publication was threatened due to the shortage of paper and other basic goods. Thus, despite competition and conflict, the government permitted the publication of only one representative magazine for each genre.

In 1941, all literary magazines published on the Korean peninsula were discontinued, and a consolidation of magazines by genre took place. After the complete consolidation of magazines, the Association of Joseon Haiku Writers first published its organ *Korean washing stick*(水碓) in July 1941. After the genre of Tanka was assimilated into the genre of poetry(詩歌), and the National Poetry Federation and magazine *The national poetry*(國民詩歌) were founded. Thus *The national poetry* was the only poetry magazine published on the Korean Peninsula at the end of the period of Japanese rule.

Aside from its publishing of the monthly *The national poetry*, the national Poetry Publishing Office also intermittently published poetry works, and three such works are confirmed. First is *The anthology of national poetry* (國民詩歌集), a March 1942 special edition, and this is the first poetry work by the National Poetry Federation for the purpose of offering “thanks” and “condolences” to the “dear soldiers of the army and navy, shining under their bright achievements.” The second is *The whole interpret of one hundred patriotic Tankas by one hundred poets*(愛國百人一首全釋) by Akira Sueda, published in March 1943. True to the goals of the Japanese Literature Patriotic Association, it consists of a simple annotated text to distribute the is *One hundred patriotic Tankas by one hundred poets*(愛國百人一首), widely distributed and memorized across Japan, which constituted a truly appropriate attempt for raising the spirits during the Greater East Asia War. Third is the November 1943 edition of the National Poetry Publishing Office, which appears to be its last work, titled *The anthology of national poetry*. This is a problematic resource that reveals the final form and path of Japanese poetry in the

Korean peninsula nearing the end of the Japanese colonial era.¹ The final trends of Japanese poetry literature enjoyed in the Korean peninsula can be examined through the six existing editions of *National Poetry* between 1941 and 1942, as well as the three short works explained above that were published by the National Poetry Publishing Office. As the Japanese war was extremely quick in its progression, the poetry works are primarily focused on the status of war, leading to the introduction of a theory of poetry based on national literature. The poetry and critiques during this era largely emphasized the status of war and the home front with the rationale of “patriotism” for Japan. As seen above, the majority of Tanka poems found throughout this era were either reports of wartime events or home front-focused and seemingly in support of the war at home. One other characteristic of the wartime Tanka is the effect of a warring Japan engaging in overseas conquests being linked to justified action backed by a long history since the era of the gods. The Tanka poets preceded writers of other genres in their aim to express the local culture of Joseon through the love, support, and understanding of Joseon. Yet they appeared to be freeriding on national literature that justified the history of the marching Japanese army with the intensifying of war. During this period, Japanese residents in Joseon and Joseon literary scholars all reverted to national poetry, and joined the path of national literature, or Pro-Japanese Literature.

By this time, the presence of Joseon literary circles had largely disappeared. However, even during the April 1943 introduction of the Joseon Literature Scholars Patriotic Association, the last literary association of its type, Tanka, Haiku and Senryu were three of the six areas of focus, along with literature, critique and poetry. The inclusion of these three forms indicates that the Japanese traditional poetry of Tanka, Haiku and Senryu made up half of Joseon literature. As such, nearing the end of the Japanese colonial era, Tanka established itself as a pillar of literature, and played a role in wartime propaganda.

As soon as they started to fight, they destroyed the US fleets in Pearl Harbor and were gone. (Ichio Imura 11)

Crack units advanced to the US mainland 8300 kilometers to the east, to South Africa 1200 kilometers to the west, to Australia 9200 kilometers south. (Nobuko Saiganji 76)

1 Inkyung Um, “*National Poetry: The Final Chapter of Japanese Poetry on the Korean Peninsula*,” *Border Crossings: The Journal of Japanese-Language Literature Studies* 3 (June 2016).

As this was not a situation to behave casually, the *mompe*-clad troops were diligent. (Ryo Michihisa 1941, 68)

When Jinmu Tenno crossed the sea for a conquest, there was no place for Aki and Kibi.

Though it was the era of the gods and there were forces of gods, they did not mean to cross the sea at once. (Ryo Michihisa 1941, 51)

As shown in the above example, the majority of Tanka found throughout this era were either apparent reports of contemporary wartime events, or homefront-focused poems that appeared to support the war indirectly at home. One other characteristic of the wartime Tanka as the effect of Japan warring overseas and engaging in overseas conquests being linked to as a justified action backed by the longtime history since the era of the gods. The Tanka poets, who have sought to express the local color of Joseon through the love, support and understanding of Joseon that preceded other genres, appear as if they are freeriding on national literature that justifies the history of the marching Japanese army with the intensifying of war. During this period, Japanese residents in Joseon and Joseon literary scholars all revert to National Poetry and join each other on the path of national literature or Pro-Japanese Literature.

At that point, the presence of Joseon literary circles largely disappeared. However, even during the introduction of the Joseon Literature Scholars Patriotic Association, which was the last literary association of its type, in April 1943, Tanka, Haiku and Senryu made up the other sections totaling 6 along with literature, critique and poetry. This indicates that the Japanese traditional poetry of Tanka, Haiku and Senryu have made up half of Joseon literature. As such, nearing the end of the Japanese colonial era, Tanka established itself as a pillar of literature, and plays the role of wartime propaganda.

Trends of Change in Literary Ethics for Tanka Poets

Among these trends of Joseon literary circles and crowds of Tanka poets, leading Tanka poets began to appear. Individuals with influence over Joseon literary circles included Morio Ichiyama(市山盛雄), Chihiro Momose(百瀬千尋), Akira Sueda(末田晃), and Ryo Michihisa(道久良). They were well-respected throughout the Joseon literary circles. They had either returned to Japan by the 1930s, had left no works that notably embraced the local color of Joseon, or had few surviving works from the 1940s, making it difficult to observe the trends in

Tanka creation on the Korean peninsula. However, Michihisa was active throughout the 1920s to the 40s, radically expressing the muddle, or the corruption, of literary ethics throughout the literary circles. Michihisa had been active on *Shinjin*, the Tanka publication, since the 1920s. Even after the major activities of *Shinjin* had moved to Japan in the 1930s, he was responsible for collecting the Tanka of Joseon and later independently founded *The Morning* (朝), a professional Tanka magazine, on his own. Moreover, in 1941, he was selected to be the publisher and editor of National Poetry, at the head of the branch of the Joseon Literary Scholars Patriotic Association in 1943, and the director for the overall organization. Therefore, it is reasonable to consider Michihisa as the quintessential Tanka poet on the Korean peninsula. An analysis of his work would enable understanding of the ethical changes of literary scholars whose attraction towards Joseon was shaken by war in the late Japanese colonial era.

Michihisa embraced Joseon from the late 1920s to the mid-1930s and helped Ichiyama Morio to lead the Joseon literary circles. In the 1920s, Michihisa continued to produce a series of commentaries on Joseon historical and unearthed relics, and published the essay “*Tanka of Joseon*” three times over a long period, in which he said “As *Shinjin* is a Joseon-inspired magazine, studying Joseon historical relics is highly valuable” (Ryo Michihisa, 1927:31).

I have one question. Still I have the question. Is it really possible to recite the poetry of Joseon in our language? I ask this question. Is it possible for the poetry of Joseon that I mentioned here to exist in reality? If I can recite Joseon poetry, it would seem that one possibility of the birth of poetry of Joseon can only come from a place where one loves the soil of Joseon and its people. (Ryo Michihisa, 1929, *Shinjin* vol.7, ed.1 :65)

When we sincerely love Joseon and are determined to die in Joseon, I think the taste of Joseon that the works contain will be sensed more vividly. (Ryo Michihisa 1937, *Shinjin* vol.15, ed.2 :33)

Over some ten years, Michihisa sincerely pondered whether the ‘true song of Joseon’ was possible in Japanese and emphasized his love for Joseon. This creative worldview of Michihisa continued throughout the 1930s. Evidence of this worldview is demonstrated in his statement of how the “true song of Joseon being “the Tanka of someone who loves Joseon and who is ready to bury their bones in Joseon”(Ryo Michihisa, 1937: 33), and his themes from the nature and culture of Joseon throughout his time at *Shinjin*. Particularly, the expression of being ‘ready to bury

their bones in Joseon' speaks to the extent of his love and passion for Joseon. He also edited a book of songs titled *Joseon* in 1937. The foreword of this book contains Michihisa's words that "the song of Joseon must be born from the nature of Joseon and an endless love for humankind. Care not for living overseas. The true path of our lives is left herein" (Ryo Michihisa, 1937: 33). The individuals that embraced the colonial Joseon with love and affection without any political viewpoint not only included Michihisa, but also Ichiyama Morio, "the pioneer of Joseon literary circles" (Gyotai Hosoi 12). A poet who fell in love with the people and the land of the peninsula, Ichiyama looked to Joseon as a second home. His book *Korea Hometown* (韓郷), and his Tanka herein were critiqued as follows "as he loves Joseon as his second home and cares for it, his choice of subjects are very familiar, and spots the truly sensitive situations that cannot be seen in a casual traveler" (*Shinjin*: 1931:79). However, with Ichiyama returning to Japan in early 1930s, Michihisa led the Tanka poems that were founded on a love for Joseon. Examples of Michihisa's Tanka that demonstrate his love for Joseon are shown below.

Somewhere in your daughter's face, light with hope, I feel a new Joseon coming.

The autumn sky is light and clear, this peace that I feel naturally in the mountains.
(Ryo Michihisa 1929, 124, 125)

In the garden, the tower of Silla, this tower is smooth like the lighting of the autumn.

While nothing is spectacular, this organized look, it makes us stay.
(Ryo Michihisa 1937, 52)

Loving the depth, akin to that is natural to the white vases of Joseon.
(Ryo Michihisa 1936, 34)

Various Tanka were left by Michihisa, what is notable among them is his loving gaze on such subjects as the people, nature, towers, and vases of Joseon. Moreover, the Tanka that depict the simplicity and deep beauty of the vases and the old tower of Silla symbolized his Tanka worldview of Joseon. These Tanka from Michihisa were in stark contrast to the opinions of a Joseon lacking in culture that were widespread among the Japanese people. Michihisa embraced the cultures and traditions unique to Joseon and expressed his thoughts towards them.

However, with the outbreak Sino-Japanese War, Michihisa's Tanka worldview

shifted dramatically. He had no choice but to respond to the times, as at the start of the Pacific War, he was placed on the executive board of the Tanka division of the Joseon Literary Scholars Patriotism Association. The books of songs published before *National Poetry* in September 1941 from the late 1930s, including, *The Modern Joseon Tanka Collection*(現代朝鮮短歌集) and *The Holy War*(聖戰) were published entirely by Michihisa himself. The Tanka in this book depict Michihisa's emotions towards war, along with the progression of the war.

The Japanese flag that hangs, which I view in a day that will mark a glorious page in the Japanese history.

The holy war of constructing the new East Asia, we now enter this age.

(Ryo Michihisa 1938, 21,29)

As shown above, *The Holy War* contains Tanka that almost uniformly praise war. These war Tanka were in stark contrast to Michihisa's works from less than a year before, where he published a book called *Joseon*, recognizing the unique culture of Joseon and literary of its cultures and land. Moreover, the Tanka are composed of words that directly portray the war, such as "Imperial Army," "fighter jets," "enemy base," "battle," "all-out attack," "by death," and "destruction," which show the reality of Tanka utilized for war propaganda and as national literature. The shameless beautification of war through words such as "glorious" and "holy" in Michihisa's Tanka reveals a leading example behind the change in the creative attitude of a Japanese literary scholar in Joseon. In this vein, the forced intervention of political logic onto the literary ethics of respecting the uniqueness of Joseon and respect for the local color of Joseon honed by one individual Tanka poet destroyed such ethics; Michihisa succumbed to admitting that he was a tool in Japan's war efforts. Michihisa's Tanka worldview was narrowed to the subject of war with the publication of *The Holy War*. Moreover, he included the following Tanka in *The Anthology of National Poetry*, which he was responsible for editing and publishing:

In the might and beauty of His Highness's army defeating the Southwestern Pacific, there are the citizens.

We are citizens in a country of perpetual history, ruled by a confident emperor.

(Ryo Michihisa 1942, 40)

As shown in the poem above, Michihisa's Tanka works after the 1940s do not depict

the local characteristics of Joseon that he sought in the Joseon literary circles. This disappearance of local color was not limited to the aggressive diction contained in the aforementioned Tanka. Now, Michihisa's Tanka no longer reflected that "literary of the Joseon Tanka is to love the land and the people of Joseon" (Ryo Michihisa, 1929: 65). Particularly, the singling out of "citizens" in his Tanka reveal that Michihisa's Tanka worldview degenerated into national literature. In other words, his love for Joseon was deformed into a love that only gained meaning when Joseon was swallowed by Japan as "citizens" using Japanese in the "nation" of Japan. Moreover, Michihisa placed these words of warning for those familiar with war Tanka at the end of the Japanese colonial era, in his editing commentary of 1943 *The anthology of Joseon poetry* (朝鮮詩歌集).

Literature must undoubtedly strive for victory. However, in the midst of this fierce battle, it can never be forgiven to take a thingism or undoubting attitude. Now, fair judgments would be delivered to simple innovators or free-riders. Our last goal is to follow the single route of the nation of the emperor. I hereby reject all free-riding, simple works from now on. (Ryo Michihisa, 1943: 101)

In this way, Michihisa strongly appealed against the superficial war Tanka that gained popularity through the state of war. Moreover, in his emphasis that everything else is meaningless other than literature focused on war, it is possible to identify a deformed belief of Tanka creation, where the local color that was originally the true form of Tanka is now abandoned in favor of the "single route of the nation of the emperor (天皇)" in the 1940s. Ryo Michihisa can be seen as a quintessential literary scholar whose attitude has changed towards Joseon, which he had originally viewed as the subject of creative ethics.

Conclusion

The focus of this paper is the Tanka poets and Tanka among Japanese residents in Joseon during the Japanese colonial era, an area largely excluded from scholarly discussions of war literature and ethics. First, the Joseon literary circles were diachronically reviewed to identify changing trends in the attitudes of literary creativity and content, from the 1920s to Japan's defeat. The results indicated that the main issue between the 1920s to mid-1930s, in which Joseon literary circles were in a period of stability and at their height, was the local culture of Joseon during this period. The Tanka poets brandished their internal love for Joseon, expressing these thoughts through Tanka. This behavior contradicts with the early

Japanese colonial rule where the culture of Joseon was oppressed and destroyed, and drew interest from literary circles in Japan. Moreover, essays and critiques focusing on the local color, uniqueness and specificity of Japan were largely produced during this period. However, entering the late 1930s, this independent creativity shown by Joseon literary circles transformed into national literature.

Ryo Michihisa, in particular, sang Tanka that were surprisingly in line with the war, almost making readers doubt the fact that he had once led the Joseon literary circles in terms of the subject of local culture in the 1930s. The usage of war vocabulary and aggressive expressions within Tanka depict a change in Michihisa's creative tendencies. However, a more important point is his reference in his Tanka to the people of Japan as citizens of the Imperial, denoting a change in his perception towards Japan. These changes indicate that the issue of creative attitude and ethics, such as wartime collaboration and national literature during the colonial era, were not issues confined to Japanese literary scholars in Japan or Joseon writers on the Korean peninsula.

Just as Joseon scholars had approached pro-Japanese literature from a literary ethics perspective, Japan also placed the responsibilities of war on the literary scholars after the war. As the literary scholars led the collaboration and beautification of war, abusing their literary status, the blame led the literary scholars to engage in self-criticism. Just as discussions on the responsibilities and classifications of pro-Japanese literature continue in Korea today, it is similarly difficult to simply process the issue of the responsibilities of war and literary ethics for literary scholars. Michihisa, for example, had been the managing editor of the Tanka section of *The Anthology of National Poetry*, which is possibly the last known Japanese-language poetry in the Korean peninsula. In *The anthology of national poetry*, displaying the theme of student soldiers as the present state of war, the face of war poetry is clear, riddled with national literature and pro-Japanese sentiment. However, although the majority of the essay deals with the agreement with war and beautification of warriors, there are many Joseon-inspired subjects. Even the fact that it was titled *The Anthology of National Poetry* indicates that Joseon could not be entirely abandoned.

Therefore, the discussion on the ethical attitude of writers, created by the merging of the subjects of literature and ethics along with the Japanese colonial era, requires further clarification through the analysis of other resources. The present study recommends an investigation of the contention between local Joseon culture and national literature as well as the contradiction in the internal logic characteristic of literature in the late Japanese colonial era in genres other than Tanka.

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