

The Emergence of the Modern Concept of “Munye” in Korea

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Abstract

“Munye” is an opaque and problematic concept, in the sense that while there is some overlap with modern literature and art, it is also closely connected to other areas such as science and culture. Munye’s conceptual formation was connected in many respects to complex and heterogeneous elements, such as the dissolution of traditional ideology, contact with Western civilization, the appearance of the modern mass media, the expansion of Japanese imperialism, the efforts of Koreans to overcome colonial rule, and so forth. Focusing on these kinds of problematic issues, the present study attempts to examine the process through which “munye” was employed and represented during the Korean enlightenment and colonial period, and tries to figure out how the concept of munye constituted a peculiar realm of meaning, which cannot find an accurate match in terms such as literature, art, science, or culture.

Keywords: *mun, munye* (literature and art), *do/dao*, letters, literature, art, concept, culture, colonial modernization, mass media, journalism

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Introduction

This paper investigates the process of the emergence of the modern concept of *munye* (literature and art) from the point of view that the concept of *munye* is not a permanent or essential entity, but rather a socially-constructed product. As we shall see, *munye* is an opaque and problematic concept in the sense that while it shares some overlap with literature and art, it is also closely connected to other areas. Furthermore, it retains vestiges of the concept of *mun* (litera), which implied the ideal of the world in East Asia. *Munye* is therefore an offspring of *mun*, along with *munmyeong* (civilization), *munhwa* (culture), *munhak* (literature), *hangmun* (learning/sciences), and *munsa* (a literary person), etc. *Munhak* was translated into English as “literature” and was modernized by being freed from its wide and rigorous meaning of premodern times. However, *munye* was modernized in a different manner, so that it remained close in some respects to the vestiges and connotations of *mun*, which came apart and were disseminated during the Korean enlightenment period.

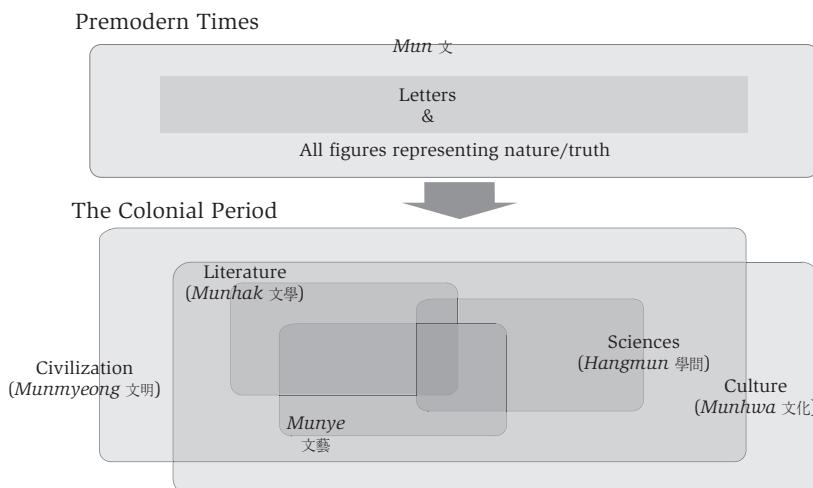


Figure 1. *Mun* and Its Offsprings

To see how this new concept of *munye* was formed and established, we need a dynamic viewpoint which encompasses not only discourses within the fields of art and literature, but also political structures and social institutions outside the field. This is because *munye*'s conceptual formation was connected to complex and heterogeneous elements, such as the dissolution of traditional ideology, contact with Western civilization, appearance of modern mass media, expansion of Japanese imperialism, and Koreans' attempts to overcome colonial rule, among other issues. This paper attempts to understand one of the special features of the Korean modernization process by focusing upon relevant problematic issues. It also examines the process through which *munye* was employed and represented during the Korean enlightenment and colonial period.

The Dissolution of the Ideology of *Mun*, and the Independence of Modern Literature (*Munhak*)

The word “*mun*” (litera) uncovers a great scope of the East Asian tradition. Until the Zhou and Qin periods, there were no clear distinctions between the concepts of *mun*, *munhak* (literature) and *hak* (learning) (Chen 2001, 4). *Mun*, for instance, could refer to “all kinds of books and cultural aspects.” Furthermore, it did not just mean a piece of writing but could represent every form that nature takes. The sun, the moon, and the stars are the heavenly *mun*; plants and trees the earthly *mun*; poetry, calligraphy, courtesy, and music are the human *mun* (Jeong 1791). *Mun* therefore defined all kinds of figures and designs where nature revealed itself, and was not solely limited to written forms.¹ As a form of nature, *mun* was valid only if it included *do* (*dao* in Chinese), the principle of nature. Since *mun* was

1. For instance, in the best-known Chinese premodern literary theory book *Wenxin dialong* (The Literary Mind and the Carving of Dragons), *mun* designated a wide range of things, such as “gorgeous rhetoric,” “aesthetic word expression,” “aesthetic forms of all creatures,” or “the existing cultural state of things of humans” (M. Kim 2006, 45).

considered as an entity representative of the *do* of the ancient sages, and *hak* (learning) was considered to be the acquaintance of and mastery of the teachings of the sages, they were inseparably linked, commuting and mediating with each other. Considering the tight bond of "*mun-do-hak*," writing was therefore the very manifestation of natural order. Writing meant the expression of the orderly phenomena of the human condition, and "the materials for writing had been established as a standard form or canon which was called the Six Scriptures from the ancient times" (Bae 2006, 26-27). Accordingly, individual creative expression was of little account in the process of writing. What mattered was to improve and cultivate the mind, the core of the whole universe, making it stand for and realize itself. This was the reason why natural order and traditional custom, rather than subjective expression, were given such strong emphasis in writing.

There arose the new learning trend called *Silhak* (Practical Learning) and a new type of Chinese character writing that freed itself from traditional forms in the late Joseon Dynasty. However, they could not be linked to the modern age, as servility or sycophancy towards China was severely criticized and the responsibility of national crisis was attributed to the customs of the *literati* who "respected only abstract *mun*."² During the Korean enlightenment period, *mun* became the direct target of attack for the first time, a response seen as a means to confront the national crisis. The domination of *mun*'s ideology dissolved rapidly in lamentation over "the idiocy of worshipping *mun*." Consequently deprived of its ideological depth, *mun* came to deteriorate into mere letters or the mechanical instrument of communication.³ After the uniting power of "*mun-do*-

2. King Gojong's "Royal Edict on Education" (promulgated in February 2, 1895) was representative of such thinking. It started with this sentence: "Education should be done in a certain way. First, education should discern the practical from the vain." This reflected a practical view of education. It also said: "In reading and learning letters, those who indulge in the useless writing of the ancients and who do not care for the change of time are no better than a useless stripling, no matter how skillful their writings may be."

3. Criticism of *munyak* was one the regular themes in mass-media columns in the Korean enlightenment period. Jang Ji-yeon (1908) and Bak Eun-sik's work (1907)

hak" and the social ideology of *mun* came to pieces, writing as the basic level of *mun* left its traces behind in the words "munhak" and "munye." The term *munhak*, in particular, was one of the most frequently used words in the modern enlightenment period.

Munhak, a combination of *mun* and *hak*, kept the ideological heritage of *mun* until around 1910. The implication of *munhak*, meaning "polite letters and wide knowledge," was divided into three levels during the Korean enlightenment period. *Munhak* meant: 1) all written materials; 2) knowledge in general; and 3) writings of higher knowledge.⁴ The last meaning included the modern English meaning of "literature." The first meaning indicated the degraded status of *mun* as a mere instrument of writing, while the second and third reflected the traces of the traditional term's use as an ideology.

Munhak was subjected to enlightenment ideology, as it had something in common with the traditional concept of *hangmun* (learning/sciences). Most of the figures in the Korean enlightenment movement aspired to acquire Western knowledge to establish an independent nation-state with social wealth and a powerful army. Thus,

are representative articles of the attacks upon the tradition of *munyak*. The next example shows that *mun* had degraded as an instrument of writing: "Writing is something like a brush and paint of a painter or a camera of a cameraman." See "Hanmun geulja-wa gukmun geulja-e gwanhae" (The Relationship between Chinese Letters and Korean Letters), *Daehan geuriseudo in hoebo* (January 17, 1990).

4. In the next examples, the word "munhak" is used to indicate a similar thing to language art (or aesthetic language), centering on poetry and novels. Yi In-jik, the best-known modern *munhakga* (literary man), observed Japanese theater circles months before. See "Sumun surok" (Occasional Reports), *Daehan hakhoe wolbo* 8 (October 1908): p. 55. "Poetry is also a part of ideological *munhak*. However, since poetry also includes things of evil, there are lots of people who merely make a jest of *mun* through poetry and who do not endeavor to address essential human issues" (D. Yang 1906, 16); "Chinese poetry and writings have flowed in and established a form of *munhak*" (C. Shin 1909). Unlike these, the following examples inherited the traditional concept of *mun*, which idealized the meaning of *munhak* as high and superior knowledge. "If we keep following recent trends, the 4,000-year-old name of *munhakguk* (literary nation) will disappear immediately." *Deahan mail sinbo*, "Yi's Appeal," January 26, 1910. The third concept of *munhak* seems to be formed in the process of refining this idealized *mun* or *munhak* into a form of language expressions.

learning was inseparably connected with the commands of enlightenment. Most forms of writing were made subject to enlightenment ideology, so *munhak* hardly had the opportunity to consider the unique features of each genre and to introduce its own new ideas of the art of writing. In this context, the introduction of the Western concept of "literature" played a decisive role in reducing the areas of *munhak* generically to linguistic arts, such as poetry, novel, drama, etc.

It is generally acknowledged that the starting point of *munhak* as a modern concept was Yi Gwang-su's two articles, "The Value of Literature" (1910) and "What Is Literature?" (1916), in which he suggested the meaning of *munhak* as a translation of the word "literature."⁵ Yi's definition of *munhak* was a turning point for the Korean modernization of the concept of literature. He declared that *munhak* was "a work of writing that includes elements of emotion" and that the meaning of *munhak* was "writing a book to make people feel a sense of beauty and pleasure, not by examining but by feeling something." Dividing the human mind into intelligence, emotion, and righteousness, and assigning a particular area (truth, beauty, and goodness) to each, Yi declared the independence of literature as an expression of emotion and beauty. According to Yi, science and ethics seek to satisfy intelligence and righteousness, while literature pursued the satisfaction of emotion. This definition of literature was closely connected to the momentous transformation of humanism in Korea. It suggested that interest in emotion and beauty makes an individual independent of political demands, and that individuals becoming aware of their feelings and desires seek to confer maximum meaning on themselves as internal beings. Based on this given independence of emotion and beauty in the human mind, literature (*munhak*) could acquire an independent status and develop the logic to theorize its own identity.⁶ Furthermore, according to this defini-

5. The change in the system of knowledge reflected in Yi Gwang-su's articles has been previously examined in an article by Hwang Jongyon (1999, 9-39).

6. In the period, the word "*misul*" (painting art), which included craftwork, painting/calligraphy, and art, was losing its meaning of "service for the nation" as its ultimate purpose. Losing its axis of identification, in that period, *misul* was differ-

tion, *munhak* not only became part of the aesthetic field along with painting and music, but also occupied an equal field alongside science and ethics.

However, the new definition of *munhak* was not elastic enough to embrace the reality of various writing forms alongside artistic desire in the early modern period and the legacy of traditional writing. Indeed, the works of Yi Gwang-su revealed an argumentative and didactic tone, much closer to intelligence and righteousness than to emotion. Since the modern condition of the period compelled literature to enlighten rather than work as art, Yi's definition could be seen as a mere ideal limiting the area of literature. Furthermore, the categorical definition of literature on the basis of emotion and beauty leads to various issues, including the question of distinguishing traditional genres, such as biography, praise, dissertation, doxology, historical tale, and verses, etc. Besides this, there were other dilemmas: the question of the ambiguous line between literature as science and literature as creative writing; and questions about the aesthetic nature of writings other than poetry, novels, and plays. The concept of *munye* was to share, supplement, substitute, and expand the relevant issues in the borderline of the modern literary category, while appropriating the traditional concept of *mun*.

The Rise of *Munye* and Its Connection with *Yesul*

Munye, a combination of *mun* and *ye* (art), meant “the art/technique of *mun* and *ye* playing the role of turning *mun* into a form of action.” *Munye* stood for the practice of *mun*, or in other words, the cultivation of knowledge and writing itself.⁷ However, the term was not

entiated from its higher concept of art, as noted by Kwon (2000, 53-75).

7. The following are some examples: “*Daoyi* [*doye*] is the base of the practice of a mind, *munye* is examining the principle and is used for practical affairs” (*Shiyijing wendui juanyi lunyu* +—經問對·卷一·論語 [Questions and Answers on the Eleven], vol. 1); “When you have extra power after practice, you should learn. Righteous behavior is the beginning and *wenyi* [*munye*] is the end at this time” (*Lunyu jingyi* 論語定義 [Essential Meanings of the Analects]).

used frequently until the first decade of the twentieth century. The first example of its usage after Western contact was found in the area of education. Jang Eung-jin, the first person to major in modern education, said in *Taegeuk hakbo* (Journal of the Taegeuk Society) that “the curriculum is divided into two subjects in the modern school: physical training and *munye*” (1907, 5). In a similar way, the Wonsan School, which opened in 1883 as the first modern school in Korea, divided its classes into “*munye* class and military arts class” (Y. Shin 1974, 194). Here, *munye* was indistinguishable from *hangmun* (learning/science), and preserved both the comprehensive meaning of *mun* and the traditional affinity between *mun* and *hak*.

Examples of usage, whereby *munye* was reduced to the narrower sense of “a kind of writing,” began to appear in magazines in the early 1900s. In those years, newspapers and magazines devoted columns to Chinese character poetry and prose; columns had such titles as *sajo* (beautiful words), *sarim* (forest of words), *munwon* (garden of writing), *mullim* (forest of writing), and even the word *munye* itself. Such columns provided excellent Chinese poetry and prose writing and included critical commentary, though titles and contents of genres were not very uniform. However, the very fact that the media introduced and promoted a separate column to pieces of writing of aesthetic value, beyond the issue of their enlightening arguments or content, indicates that the appreciation of beautiful writing had never ceased to exist. *Munye* reflected this recognition in a period when *mun*, now degraded into a mere instrument, was groping for its unique area of meaning on the basis of aesthetic value.

In that case, what connection did *munhak* (literature) and *munye* have? Unlike the case of literature/*munhak*, in which the concept, conflated with learning/*hangmun* until the 1900s, was repressed by the demand for enlightenment, *munye* was used in a more technical sense through the performative role of *ye*. The approach to the concept of *munye* was through writing as “composing.” Until around 1910, *munhak*, in its higher meaning, defined writings of high quality, especially on enlightenment ideas, while

munye referred to “well-written writings” or “writing itself” at the level of the sentence.⁸

Taeleo munye sinbo (Western Art and Literature Weekly; *Taeleo sinbo*, hereafter), a weekly newspaper issued from September of 1918 through February of 1919 and the *Joseon munye* (Literature of Joseon), a magazine which issued two volumes in 1917-1918, used the term *munye* in their titles, and therefore marks the introduction of the term into general and popular use. As the title indicates, the primary aim of *Taeleo sinbo* was to report on Western literature and to publish creative literary works; in fact, it acted as the catalyst for turning the literary trend from a focus on the literature of enlightenment toward esthetic literature in the 1910s. *Joseon munye*, on the other hand, was established primarily by pro-Japanese Confucian scholars who were attempting to revive traditional Chinese-character literature, which was seriously in decline at the time. The lackluster response it received testified to the irrelevance of Chinese-character literature.⁹ Though contrary in purpose, both periodicals shared in defining the category of *munye*.

The aim of the *Joseon munye* was “to study and practice *munye* on the spot, and to strive for the development of *munye* by collecting and encouraging writing against calls for the abolition of Chinese—character writing.”¹⁰ It specified its target genres as “*munye* of vari-

8. A similar example was seen in the journal of *Sonyeon* (The Youth), published by Choe Nam-seon. *Sonyeon* prepared a space for “Boys’ *mundan* (writing)” and announced in the first volume: “In this journal we have established a ‘Boys’ *mundan*’ to encourage boy’s *munye*.” Here, *munye* was also used to express the meaning of writing action, as it was used in other enlightenment journals of the period. “Boys’ *mundan*” was important in that it also distinguished between *munye* and *munhak*. In the editorial announcement, Choe explained the reason the space of “Boys’ *mundan*” was short, saying: “We could not make much space for ‘Boys’ *mundan*,’ since we established this column not to assert for boy’s literature, but to encourage and enjoy boy’s writing. Here, *munye* was used to indicate writings, and the term was not given the same weight as *munhak*.

9. On the characteristics of *Joseon munye*, see Ju (1986, 161-186).

10. “*Joseon munye-ui changgan*” (Publication of *Joseon munye*), *Joseon munye* 1 (1917): pp. 2-3.

ous kinds, including poetry, songs, calligraphy, and painting.”¹¹ It was due to the influence of the tradition of *mun* that *munye* did not restrict itself to letters. Calligraphy and painting were part of *mun* in its dimension as the essential culture of the learned man. Meanwhile, the first issue of *Taeseo sinbo* declared in its preface that its purpose was “to promote taste and practical benefit” by “substantially interpreting and publishing . . . any news regarding the Western literary world, including novels, poetry, songs, music, arts, drama, etc.”¹² The categories designated corresponded almost exactly to that of art (*yesul*), which was also acquiring a meaning of its own in the late 1910s. In fact, the *munye* represented in *Taeseo sinbo* was close in meaning to the Western concepts of literature and art. Many of the writers in *Taeseo sinbo*, including Kim Eok and Baek Dae-jin, had been students in Japan, where the term *munye* was already in use; it had meant *hangmun* (learning/science) and *yeneung* (art) around 1870, and became a translation of the English word “literature” or “literary art” around the 1890s.¹³

In the two examples of *munye*, the example in *Taeseo sinbo* borrowed its meaning from literature and art, while the example in the

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11. “Joseon munye-ui changgan” (Publication of Joseon *munye*), *Joseon munye* 1 (1917).
 12. “Eduitorial” (Editorial), *Taeseo munye sinbo* 1 (September 16, 1918): p. 1.
 13. In Japan, around 1870, *bungei* (Japanese word for *munye*) meant “learning” (*gakumon*), “art” (*geino*), or “learning” (*gakumon*) as well as “technical art” (*geino*), as indicated in dictionaries of Chinese characters, such as *Kango jirui* 漢語子類 (1869) and *Kango benran* 漢語便覽 (1870). From the late 1880s and the early 1890s, *bungei* started to include the meaning of “literature”; *bungei* was one of the translations of the English word “literature” in the 1888 *Kanei taisho jiten* (Chinese-English Dictionary), and also was defined as “the art of literature” in *Kotokai* 語解 (The Word Explanation) in 1891. Later, the meaning of *bungei* expanded to include the modern meaning of art, described as “literary art or literary work” in the 1896 *Kanei daijiten* (The Great Chinese-English Dictionary), and as “art literature” in the 1904 edition of the *Kanbutsu daijiten* 漢佛辭典 The Great Chinese-French dictionary. According to *Kokugo jiten* 國語辭典 (The National Word Dictionary, 1915), *bungei* basically meant “*gakumon* (learning) and *geino* (technical art),” and later indicated similar things to literature, and was also used to refer to “literary art” and “literature and painting” (*bijutsu*).

Joseon munye inherited the classic tradition; yet they were similar in indicating artistic creations generically, including both linguistic and non-linguistic arts. The traditional concept of “art of *mun*” and the Western concept of “arts and literature” were mutually connected with the word *munye* in its lower conceptual sense. There was, however, a difference in orientation between the two.

Examining the methodology of figuration, we can see that the *Joseon munye* devoted its efforts to guiding creative writing methods.¹⁴ Its elaborate introduction to compositional methodology owed much to already established knowledge about generic composition. The composition of Chinese letters had been elaborated over thousands of years of history, and the *Joseon munye* planned to revive *munye* by concentrating its efforts on the appropriate introduction of this compositional methodology. Considering its devotion for the standardized forms of creative work, it seems that *munye*, from the perspective of the *Joseon munye*, was primarily based on the formal completion of writing. In other words, it was faithful to the technical meaning of “art/technique of *mun*.” It was also the result of traditional thought that, through its columns including *munye* in their title, the magazine included detailed content dealing with things seemingly irrelevant to artistic work, such as beautiful natural objects, legendary places, and traditional theatrical customs. According to the traditional thought that considered the objects of *mun* and those of *mun* itself (expressive of the objects) inseparable, it was not so strange an idea that artistic objects should be part of *munye*. However, the efforts of the *Joseon munye* did not continue, since it was biased toward the

14. *Joseon munye*'s interest in creating methodology was revealed in the publisher's announcement of the first and second volumes. In volume I, it announced: "this journal . . . takes a practical approach to the study and creation of *munye* and aims to replace lecture notes and references by collecting works (of *munye*)"; the second volume added: "the journal aims to become a lecture about poetry, letters, calligraphy, and painting, and to encourage beginners." Many columns were devoted to the creation of different works of *munye* in its many forms: "Basic Poetry Learning," "The Path of Writing," "Writing Methods for Novelists," "The Source of Calligraphy and Painting," "Discussion of Calligraphy Methods," "Arguing on the method of painting," and "*Munye* for Korean Writing." *Joseon munye* 1 and 2.

technical meaning of art/*ye* and could not develop sufficiently.

On the other hand, *Taeseo sinbo* went to great pains to identify the spirit and values that it should aim at to promote this new concept of art and literature. It concentrated its energies on the introduction of Western trends in literary thought, such as Decadence and Symbolism, and explained the spirit and the practice of the poetry of those trends as a new model of *munye*. Most importantly, it paid close attention to the question of the fundamental spirit of “art/*yesul*.” What *Taeseo sinbo* emphasized most, in order to establish an artistic philosophy, was the realization and expression of the internal life of the “I,” or “the individual.” Personal success stories, such as “The Best Businessman in the World,” “A World-Famous Inventor, Edison,” “World-Famous Actress,” “Successful Man of the World,” “World-Success Story,” “World-Famous Orator,” “The Key to Success,” and others predominated its non-literary writings. “Individualism” was being raised as a standard of new value that could compensate for the external loss when the possibility of an independent nation-state formation collapsed. Expanded to the realm of art, the emphasis on sovereignty and self-improvement of the individual developed into an assertion for artists to discover their inner selves to the extent of truthful expression. Against the frustration of reality, the artists of *Taeseo sinbo* shared the belief that they should “advance step by step towards a new way of consolation while fighting against the archenemy of misery . . . and must find out the true ‘I’ and revive the ‘I’” (E. Kim 1919a, 5), and that the most important task for the artist to undertake was to discover and express “the secret place of ‘I’ . . . of the bottom of [one’s] heart” (Maupassant 1919, 7). Thus, the internal life of a unique individual was considered the source from which every work got its unique form. A coherent form intersecting every work could not be possible on the premise that “Every work of art (*yesul*) was the product of mind or spirit . . . and the artistry of every individual varies on each person’s harmony” (E. Kim 1919b, 5). As “the rhythm having its basis on the poet’s breath and throbbing makes a poem, which has an absolute value produced by the mind and spirit of the poet” (E. Kim 1919b, 5), the form of a work

should come into being autonomously from the poet's subjectivity and individuality, not just by a universal way of composition.

In this way, creative writing was understood not as the object of literary work but as a product of the poet's subjectivity. The work of literature and its material were no longer considered to be related organically as they were in the *Joseon munye*. *Taeseo sinbo* made it clear that creative writing was a fictional form, which implied a refusal of the traditional organic bond between literary works and the world. It said that "munye does not create a fact but expresses the world which is already created (by God)" and argued that *munye* itself supplemented the narrow-mindedness of social areas (Baekak-sanin 1919, 7), such as religion. Therefore, the fictional creation was no longer considered merely a form of false wordplay. From this perspective, creative works became established as independent objects, which could acquire a unique meaning in the social arena, owing not to the value of the object they described but to their own intrinsic value as works of individual reflection and expression.

As a result, the concept of *munye* in *Taeseo sinbo* shared a similar identity with *munhak* (literature), which, then, became an autonomous area, placing significant value on the mind and spirit of writers and appreciating the fictional form they created. In fact, the most important sub-genre of *munye* was literature, which encompassed the theoretical and practical implications of *munye* in both the *Joseon munye* and *Taeseo sinbo* together. In this sense, literature (*munhak*) and *munye* were so closely connected that they were hard to distinguish.

However, *munye* was revealed to have some differences from literature (*munhak*) in that it only designated creative writing and did not include scientific works, whereas literature during the period included scientific writings (theses, reviews, etc), as well as creative writing (poetry, novels, drama, etc). From a traditional point of view, "literature" included the meaning of "learning (*hak*) *mun*" and stayed within the limits of the tradition that connected "writing (*mun*)" with "learning (*hak*)."¹ The *mun* in *munye*, on the contrary, became a separate area and a pure form of writing. Thus, "learning

about *mun*" and "munye" came to have the meaning of "learning" in a different manner.

Modern Media and the Expansion of *Munye*

The concept of *munye* generally carried three different meanings in the 1920s and the 1930s. First and foremost, *munye* meant "literature (*munhak*),"¹⁵ but there are many examples that show that it was used to refer to art in general,¹⁶ or "culture (*munhwa*)" including academic and popular arts.¹⁷ *Munye* as vocabulary was in frequent use in the middle of the colonial period. The role of media in the period of the 1920s-1930s was critical for the general spread of the concept of *munye*. Literary prize contests began to be organized as part of mass media and columns were devoted to *munye* or *hagye* (art of learning), giving *munye* an institutional dimension.

From the first, the concept of *munye* developed in close relation with reader-contribution columns, such as "*sajo*, *sarim*, *munwon*, *mullim*, *munye*" in newspapers and magazines in the early 1900s. The reader-contribution institution was fueled by the prize-contest system in the magazine *Cheongchun* (Youth), and the *Maeil sinbo*

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15. There are many examples in which *munye* refers to *munhak*. The two most typical examples can be seen in the following: "There is no way to possibly promote proletarian *munye* in the present situation" (G. Yi 1929, 90); "*Munye* refers to an artistic expression through language and letters" (Yeom 1928).
 16. *Taeseo sinbo* provides many examples in which *munye* refers to art. Examples typical of the 1920s and the 1930s are seen in the following: "It is proper that *munye* (music, fine arts, dancing, architecture, sculpture, etc.) should give pleasure" (G. Yi 1926, 39); "In spite of the activities of the proletarian *munye* alliance and the KAPF poets' alliance, proletarian literature is at a gridlock without any considerable literary outcome" (G. Yi 1993, 17).
 17. The following are examples in which *munye* refers to *munhwa*. "*Munye* or, broadly speaking, *munhwa* cannot be accomplished in an easy way" (Yeom 1929, 87); "Although the revival of *munye* (the Renaissance) means studying of old classics, . . . it is a movement that yearns for and tries to revive the culture of ancient Greece" (Ko 1920, 91).

(Daily News) in the 1910s, which gained even greater popularity in the 1920s through such publications as *Gaebyeok* (Opening the Dawn), the *Joseon mundan* (Joseon Literary Circle), the *Dong-A Ilbo*, the *Chosun Ilbo*, and others. Reader-contribution and prize contests had two purposes: to promote communication with readers, and to cultivate new participants and organize modern literary circles. The prize contest adopted various titles, such as Writing Wanted, Prose and Verse Wanted, Prize-Offering Contest, etc. Toward the 1920s, the institution incorporated the term *munye* in such titles as “Prize Offering *Munye* in Every Issue,” “Spring *Munye*,” “Youth *Munye* Prize Offered,” “Reader’s Spring *Munye* Contest,” and contributed significantly to the popular use of the term.

Furthermore, literary prize contests not only created a literary public, but also expanded literary sub-genres, a circumstance which would lead to changes in the categories of literature.¹⁸ The prize contests in newspapers in particular included a variety of genres, such as *sijo* (a three-lined Korean poetic form), folk songs, Chinese poetry, children’s songs, fairytales, theses, diaries, epistles, compositions, true stories, etc., as well as major literary forms, such as poetry, novels, and drama. It invited calligraphy, paintings and cartoons, as well as written genres; moreover, along with fictional writings, there were also non-fictional works, including true stories, legends, historical anecdotes, etc.

Literary prize contests no longer adhered to the artistic view of *munye* advocated in *Taeseo sinbo* in the middle of the colonial period. Disrupting such dichotomies as fiction/non-fiction, literature/non-literature, artistic/practical, modern/tradition, the prize-contest

18. For example, in a contest held in 1935, the *Dong-A Ilbo* collected short stories, plays, nonfictions, tales, new-poetry, *sijo*, folk songs, Chinese poems, children’s songs, fairytales, paintings, calligraphy for learning characters, personal writing, comics, and legendary stories about pigs, the zodiac animal of the year. In the same year, the *Chosun Ilbo* collected articles, short works of fiction, songs, fairytales, children’s songs, and children’s paintings. In the case of *Maeil sinbo*, real stories, tales, new poetry, *sijo*, Chinese poetry, legends, fairy tales, calligraphy, and children’s songs were wanted. See C. Kim (2000, 66-67).

institution opened a fissure in the union between *munye*, literature, and art established in the late 1910s. Expanding its meaning into the old field of *mun*, which included various genres such as the thesis, true-life story, calligraphy, painting, and so forth, *munye* advanced in scope and resisted such limits as creativity, functionality, and modernity that were imposed on modern art and literature.

On the other hand, in terms of *munye* and *hagye* (art of learning), newspapers and magazines which conducted prize contests played an important part in widening the meaning of *munye* into the field of education and social work, beyond the realm of writing and creative work. General-interest magazines, such as *Gaebyeok* and *Byeolgeongon*, along with newspapers like the *Dong-A Ilbo* and the *Chosun Ilbo*, established separate departments dedicated to *munye* or *hagye* in order to undertake the businesses of science, literature, and art, and they adopted the practice of providing regular space for *munye/hagye*.¹⁹ *Munye/hagye* columns dealt with articles about science, housekeeping, and families, but *munye*, in its more strict senses, occupied the central position (Jo 2002, 157-158). As *munye* took a central position in the *hagye* columns, *munye* and *hagye* were so closely connected that it was hard to tell the difference between the two words.²⁰ This situation contributed to the connection of *hagye* and *munye*. As a result, the concept of *munye*, whose scope had shrunk into the mere art of writing and left out of "learning about *mun*," came to regain the early conformity with *hak* through the connection of *munye* and *hagye*. In other words, *munye* approached the broader category of literature, art and sciences by being closely related to *hagye*.

19. In addition, the *Maeil sinbo*, which previously did not have a *hagye* department, established one in the 1930s, hiring Choe Dok-gyeon as director and Choe Seo-hae as a reporter (Jeong 2005, 139-141).

20. This was not unrelated to the fact that the most *hagye/munye*-department staff members were men from literary circles. For example, Hong Myeong-hui, Hyeon Jin-geon, Yun Baek-nam, Ju Yo-han worked for *Dong-A Ilbo*, Kim Gi-rim, Yi Won-jo, An Hoe-nam, Yeom Sang-seop, and Chae Man-sik worked for the *Chosun Ilbo*, while Yi Tae-jun worked for the *Joseon Jungang Ilbo*, and Hyeon Cheol and Bak Yeong-hui worked for *Gaebyeok*.

Furthermore, the *munye/hagye* department and its column functioned as a powerful apparatus for social education beyond school education. As the *hagye* departments of newspapers assumed all the responsibilities of managing businesses, organizing lecture meetings, music concerts, tennis tournaments, speech contests, slide projection shows, free movie screenings, sewing and embroidery classes, knitting classes, exhibitions, practical technique classes, and so forth, it grew into an unchallenged agency for unofficial organizing of social work. *Munye*, in connection with *hagye*, thus participated in a range of fields, including not only unprofessional, scientific/cultural and leisurely activities, but also activities based on nonpolitical classes, such as children, women, etc, and rose to be the key word at the heart of these fields. It was at this point that *munye* intersected with the concept of culture (*munhwa*). To be precise, it was in the middle of the 1920s that the idea of dividing society into social domains (political, economical and cultural), became well established, and culture (*munhwa*) became an autonomous and independent field from the political and economical realms (H. Kim 2002, 124). Examples of the use of *munye* where it was conflated with *munhwa* emerged around 1930²¹ when *munye* became not only one of the main sub-categories of culture, but also to encompass the whole concept of culture (*munhwa*). This connection of “*munye-hagye-munhwa* (culture)” is the root of the still-current belief that *munye* is a shortened version of *munhwa yesul* (culture and art), not just *munhak yesul* (literature and art).

The prize contests and other activities of *munye/hagye* departments established *munye* as a social institution, a constituent unit of modernity.²² Combined with the emergence and spread of literary cir-

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21. It is not difficult to find an example of “*munhwa*” used as an equivalent of “*munye*.” Some examples include: “*Munye* is *munhwa* (culture) in the broader sense” (Yeom 1929, 87); “I call the culture adopting art as a crown, the ‘new culturalism’ or *munyeism* of the time” (M. Kim 1938, 221).
 22. *Munye* prize contests in newspapers were greatly welcomed by the public, and attracted a great many contributors. In the mid-1920s, when such institutions as the *munye* prize contest and reader’s *munye* columns had been firmly established, works of literature, music, painting, and physical exercise were seen as profitable

cles, the *munye/hagye* departments' ability to create and educate a literary public provided an institutional basis on which *munye* could expand its own role as a representative agent of culture (*munhwa*). One of the reasons for this conceptual enlargement was that *munye* was far more open to the traditional concept of *mun* than literature, though *munye*'s reference was less definite in the traditional sense. “*Hagye*” and “*munye*” were not translations of Western concepts, but compound words covering such English words as knowledge, learning, art, and literature; they were dependent on the traditional language customs no less than modern Western concepts and knowledge structure. Moreover, on the one hand, the performative function of “*ye/art*” had limited the meaning of *munye* to “the art/technique of *mun*.” On the other hand, the same performative function could enlarge the category of *munye* by encompassing a variety of performative processes in which *mun* was manifested and circulated in the social field.

Political Conflict over *Munye* and Its Conceptual Appropriations

The concept of *munye* faced two pressing problems while its meaning was expanding as an emblem of culture (*munhwa*) through the role of the modern print in the 1920s and 1930s. Its separation from and reconciliation with the political arena is one issue; the problem of vulgarization as a result of its wide circulation in the public is another.

After the March First Movement, the colonial government launched a policy of “cultural politics,” permitting the publication of national newspapers and periodicals such as the *Dong-A Ilbo*, the *Chosun Ilbo*, and *Gaebyeok*, even while it attempted to oversee and exercise control over them through its censorship practices. The

abilities, and work in these fields was considered a desirable future (H. Yi 2005, 112).

newspaper and publication law, officially announced in the late 1900s, regulated the press and publishing throughout the colonial period. Newspapers and magazines made every effort to fulfill their proper function despite legal restrictions; interpretation of the concept of *munye* was to play an important part of the conflict. One typical case of the conflict was the indictment incident for the magazine *Gaebyeok* in 1920. The imperial police imposed a fine on the magazine on the grounds that one of the articles in the sixth issue violated clause 26 of the newspaper law. The clause stated that, “one cannot state things that corrupt social order and manners.” *Gaebyeok* questioned what part of the clause its article had violated. Realizing the ambiguity of the given clause, the police authority cancelled the fine, but soon announced that the same article violated the clause 5, which stated that one could publish “articles only about *haksul* (sciences) and *giye* (art), or price information.” With this incident for momentum, *Gaebyeok* interpreted “*haksul* (sciences) and *giye* (art)” as “*haksul* (sciences) and *munye*,”²³ and framed a policy to concentrate its efforts on the sciences and *munye* by limiting its scope to “the press, sciences, religion, and *munye*.²⁴ With this policy, the editorial department of *Gaebyeok* revealed quite a different attitude from the colonial authorities toward the meaning of “sciences” and “*munye*.”

The colonial authorities intended to understand *haksul* and *munye/giye* as pure science and art, unrelated to political or ideological matters. However, *Gaebyeok* attempted to overcome the limitations of censorship by intentionally emphasizing the political and ideological aspects of *haksul* and *munye* since it was being forbidden to

23. The article “Bonji pilhwa-ui jeonmal” (A Report of the Incident of Being Indicted for Writing this Journal), *Gaebyeok* 8 (February 1921): p. 148 wrongly wrote “*haksul munye*” as “*haksul giye*” which was written in the clause number 5 of the press law. This kind of change does not seem to be unnatural considering the usual application of the word *haksul munye* both in Japan and in Korea at the time. This was the reason the interchange of “*giye*” and “*munye*” was not indicted or pointed out by the colonial government.

24. For more on the incident with *Gaebyeok*, see Song (2008, 7-35).

publish political articles. That is, *Gaebyeok* introduced socialist discourses in the field of scientific learning and criticized the reality of Joseon through statistical analyses, utilizing the “sciences” as a field of political discourse and highlighting *munye* as a field of ideology and practice. *Gaebyeok* had already included many essays on art and literature written by Hyeon Cheol, Kim Yu-bang, and Kim Eok during 1920-1922, and considered *munye* as “literature and art” or “literary art.” Its perspective on *munye*, however, was highly political. *Gaebyeok* argued that *munye* should “express current troubles to the full.”²⁵ According to the magazine, *munye* should not only assume the responsibility of “restoring a bright prospect to ideas and discovering the truth of the age,” but also “make an effort to impact on the progress of ideas and improvement of living, on the firm basis of human life.”²⁶ From the viewpoint of the magazine, *munye* must bear the burden of reality and fulfill its duty to address social problems and conflict. It was owing to this policy line that *Gaebyeok*, in combination with socialist groups, enabled left-wing literary men, such as Yi Gi-yeong and Song Yeong to appear as writers around 1923, and opened its pages to KAPF writers, such as Kim Gi-rim and Choe Seo-hae, among others. Furthermore, *Gaebyeok* brought in Hyeon Cheol, a drama specialist, as a manager of the *munye* department and paid great attention to theatrical genres.²⁷ It also was not irrelevant to the magazine’s intention of using the agitational power of theatrical art, given that dramatic art was considered the most useful genre to approach the public.

The case of *Gaebyeok* was not the only example where the concept of *munye* was appropriated as a political means by nationalist and socialist groups. While *Gaebyeok* stressed the politics of *munye* as literary works, the *hagye/munye* columns of *Dong-A Ilbo*, *Chosun*

25. “Hyeonsang soseol daemojip” (Prize Contest for Novels), *Gaebyeok* 58 (May 1925): pp. 60-61.

26. “Sinchun dokja munye daemojip” (A Spring Invitation for Readers’ *Munye*), *Gaebyeok* 55 (January 1925): p. 98.

27. The fact that *Gaebyeok*’s interest in plays was related to drama’s ability to move the masses has been previously observed in an article by Choe Su-il (2007, 44-77).

Ilbo and *Sidae Ilbo* enhanced the political aspect of *munye* by emphasizing its role as criticism (review). Literary criticism took up the major coverage of these *hagye/munye* columns. For example, according to the database of titles provided by the *Chosun Ilbo*, the total number of articles in its *hagye* column in 1927 was 46; it consisted of 14 creative writings (including travel essays and book reports), 6 brief news stories, and 25 critical reviews.²⁸ Among these critical reviews, 22 were political or socialistic reviews based on class consciousness or materialistic standpoints like “Artistic Attitudes of the Proletarian Artists at the Present Stage” (October 9, 1927), or “The Character and Thought of Dulbak, the French Materialist” (December 21–23, 1927). The situation was much the same with the *munye* column, which was often included in the *hagye* column. Except for the contribution with its own title as “Students’ Munye,” most articles in the *munye* column were brief news stories and reviews, and many of the reviews were ideological writings like “Comments on the Proletarian” (*Chosun Ilbo*, February 5–March 4, 1927), “The World of the Dialectic and the World of Feeling & Thought” (*Chosun Ilbo*, January 27–February 1, 1928).²⁹

The case of *Chosun Ilbo* shows that from the mid 1920s, criticism came to the fore as the fourth literary genre, differing from creative writings like poetry, novels, and drama. As it drew close to *hagye*, the scientific nature of criticism played a part to blur the division between *hagye* and *munye*, which had been approaching literary art.

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28. This figure from the database provided by the *Chosun Ilbo* gives only a rough idea because the database does not show article’s column title in many cases. It is assumed that the number of articles in the *hagye/munye* column will increase much more if it includes non-literary articles about education, sciences, house-keeping, and woman and children.
29. The situation was the same with the *hagye* column of the *Sidae Ilbo* (1923–1926), which consisted of literary works, reports, and reviews. For example, on the 8th of December, 1924, the ‘Monday Hagye Column’, which then allotted the *hagye* column one entire page, included a short serial novel by a socialist, two poems, and three review/contributions entitled “The Intelligentsia and the Proletarian Edification Movement,” “A Report on the Alumni Association,” and “The University and the Working People.”

Furthermore, contemporary criticism was being led by the social movement camp who tried to induce *munye/hagye* into the political, which was shown in the case of *Gaebyeok*. Therefore, *munye*, which once drew near to *munhak* (literature) as an independent artistic field in the late 1910s, was appropriated as a term charged with a highly political and scientific connotation through the rise of "criticism" and the initiative of the social movement camp.

This trend continued into the following decade. In the 1930s, newspapers were increasingly incorporated into the capitalist system, and imperialist Japan intensified its censorship of speech. The result was an increase in the space given in periodical publications to *munye/hagye* columns. Though its political vein was weakened, criticism was still central in the "*hagye/munye* column" and proletarian literary critics continued to be active.³⁰ It was through the *hagye/munye* column that the groundbreaking essays from the left, like Im Hwa's theory of realism (*Dong-A Ilbo*, October 8–14, 1937), An Ham-gwang's theory on peasant literature (*Chosun Ilbo*, August 13–November 1, 1931) and essays on current events like "Hitler and the Ravaging of German Literature" (May 20, 1933) first appeared. Kim Nam-cheon's reminiscence, "the critical writings of *munye* acted even as a substitute for social and political criticism" (N. Kim 1940) testified to the political weight imposed on *munye* in those days.

30. In 1933, there were 347 articles entitled *hagye* in the database of the *Chosun Ilbo*. Though highly political articles were considerably reduced, the number of reviews by critics of proletarian literature like Im Hwa, An Hoe-nam, Bak Yeong-hui, Yi Won-jo, etc. totaled 98, one third of the total number of articles, and the types of articles included in the *munye* column were similar to those usually included in the *hagye* column. According to the database, two thirds of the *hagye* articles in 1933 were about *munye*. Among the total 17 articles entitled *munye* independent of *hagye*, six articles were written by critics of a proletarian literary line. The *hagye/munye* columns included theses of a nationalist and socialist line such as "The Historicity of National Consciousness and Literature of Nationalism" (January 24, 1933), "Class Partisanship of Religion and Morality-Ethics" (August 20, 1933), etc. and political articles dealing with current affairs such as "Hitler and the Ravaging of German Literature" (May 20, 1933), and "The Army Camps of the World Powers: Weapon Production and Personnel Organization" (July 5, 1933), etc.

Ironically, *munye* was also one of the strategies imperial Japan chose as a major part of its mass-media policy, aiming to propagate the modernization (as the Japanese perceived it) of the Korean people, and to train Koreans as obedient subjects of the imperial regime. Imperialist Japan needed an institution to represent modern changes in Korean society (Han 2005, 69-105), and *munye* was one of the media activities that the regime actively condoned.³¹ Korean nationalist media, however, tried to exploit imperialist policies by guiding the connotation of *hagye* and *munye* toward the political. In the process, *munye* was transformed into a cultural arena of conflict, in which the desire of the colonial power to domesticate and the nationalist will to resist stood firm against one another.

In the meantime, the nationalist project of political and ideological conflict through *munye* had to confront the public taste for vulgar and ephemeral content. *Munye* needed to engage the public in order to acquire ideological influence, but it was very hard to do so while still maintaining artistic and ideological quality. What was worse, as newspapers and magazines were rapidly commercialized in the 1930s, capitalist marketing strategies favored the increasing vulgarization of *munye* content and style. To attract the attention of the public, *munye* columns in general-interest magazines like *Byeolgeon-gon* (New World) and *Samcheolli* (Korean Peninsula) substantially increased the number of non-literary and popular articles such as happenings around town, nonsense, anecdotes, dramatic sketches, and light essays, and also included interviews with actors, surveys targeting authors, gossip about the literary and entertainment circles, etc. Moreover, the popularity and vulgarity of *munye* increased still more as new media, such as the phonograph record, radio broadcast-

31. One colonial censor discussed the closing of *Gaebyeok* in the *Maeil sinbo*. He said, “About Joseon *munye* journals, the government especially tried to guide them onto the right path (instead of punishing them), but could not easily achieve this, so we had a firm reaction to the journal with the agreement of the viceroys” (*Maeil sinbo*, August 3, 1926). This allusion reflects the fact that *munye* was a strategically-approved realm of the colonial press policy.

ing, and film, staked a claim to *munye* as well. Magazines specially devoted to *munye*, such as the *Munye wolgan* (*Munye Monthly*), first published in 1931, the *Joseon munye*, first published in 1929, and *Yesul* (*Art*), first published in 1935, also scrambled to include news about theatre, radio, and movie circles, and a movie magazine was launched in 1928 with the name *Munye yeonghwa* (*Munye Movies*) in order profit from the authority of the word *munye*.

With the usage of *munye* having expanded in such a way, the term “pure *munye*” came into circulation in the late 1920s to distinguish the field of pure literature. By these means, producers of pure literature and high art attempted to distinguish between their own work and popular works of *munye*. They retrospectively designated *Changjo* (*Creation*), *Baekjo* (*The White Wave*), and *Sinsoseol* (*New Novel*), among others, as “pure-*munye*” magazines,³² and called such fictional works as “*Mujeong*” (*Heartless*), “*Gaecheokja*” (*The Pioneer*), and “*Jaesaeng*” (*Restoration*), works of “pure-*munye*.³³ In the same context, there was confusion of meaning implicit in the term “*munye yeonghwa*,” which initially denoted movies based on literary works, and later took on the additional meaning of artistically excellent movies.

Against the vulgarization of *munye*, intellectuals like Yang Ju-dong argued that it was “a writer’s duty and honor to lift up the people rather than to go down to them” (J. Yang 1929/1982, 86). The *Dong-A Ilbo* even printed an article presenting an elitist argument of “art-for-art’s-sake,” insisting that “the world of letters is not for the people . . . the creative writer creates only for his ideal, irrespective

32. Some examples include: “*Sinsoseol* (*New novels*), a pure-*munye* journal, was renamed into *Haebang* (*Liberation*) and started to publish entertaining, low-quality articles dealing with eroticism or the grotesque” (M. Kim 1931, 62). “The pure-*munye* journal, *Changjo* (*Creation*) published its first volume in February 1919” (*Samcheolli* 1936); and “The year of Daisho 10th, (he) edited the pure-*munye* journal *Baekjo* (*The White Wave*) (*Samcheolli* 1937).

33. Yi Gwang-su’s pure-*munye* works, such as “*Mujeong*,” “*Gaecheokja*,” and “*Jae-saeng*” sold almost 4,000 copies. See “*Seojeok sijang josaji*” (*A Report on the Book Market*), *Samcheolli* (October 1935): p. 137.

of the people" (H. Choe 1926, 3). It was also a part of the same effort to preserve the proper function of *munye* to popularize the term "literary man" (*munsa*) who stood against the specialization of literary circles, as well as the vulgarization of *munye*, and to place emphasis on the consciousness of the ideal of "literary man" as a social leader.

As various groups, such as nationalist and socialist movement camps, the art-for-art's-sake camp, colonialists, capitalists, and others tried to appropriate the meaning of *munye* in their own ways, the term itself came to have diverse layers of meaning: 1) literature ("pure *munye*"); 2) literature and art ("pure *munye*"); 3) science and art; 4) literature and art in a broad sense, including radio broadcasting, film, phonograph records, historical stories, and discussion; and 5) culture (*munhwa*). These diverse meanings resulted from the process whereby the traditional concept of *mun* compromised, incorporated (or was affiliated with/opposed to) related concepts, such as art, science, literature and culture under the influence of competing social forces, like imperialism, nationalism, socialism, capitalism, and the art-for-art's-sake movement.

What was peculiar in this process was that the various appropriations of the *munye* concept contributed to the formation of the subject ultimately irreducible to the interest of forming a modern state. Imperialist Japan presented *munye* as a harmless concept in order to propagate the modern change of Korean society under colonial rule, and to domesticate the Korean people as colonial subjects of the imperial state. However, the concept was not so readily brought into service envisioned by imperialist Japan. Undergoing a range of appropriations by competing cultural and political various forces, *munye* came to become an ideological arena, which was not subservient to the colonial ruling ideology of the imperial state. It undermined and exposed divisions in their universalistic ideal of modernity. While the concepts of *munhak*, *yesul*, *haksul*, and *munhwa* form the universal symbolic order of the modern West, "*munye*" is linked to these concepts but is always slippery in its association with them, free from the semantic confinement of any specific ideology on the level of

everyday experience and practice. In other words, the function of *munye* was double-edged. When connected with the trend of specialization, westernization, and vulgarization, *munye* represented a form or vision of modernity that was not entirely contradictory to the interest of Japanese imperialism. Being a part of colonial modernization, *munye* functioned as an agency to alleviate the contradictions and conflict of colonial circumstances. At the same time, it continued to fluctuate in meaning as an area that stood against the values and beliefs of westernized or universal modernization and caused a fissure in it.

Conclusion

The modern concept of *munye* was organized from the conjunction of heterogeneous and asynchronous things, such as traditional meaning, the Western experience of literature and art, and the visions of future art in the colonial period. Unlike many other concepts like culture, civilization or literature, which were each translated from Western words, the modern concept of *munye* had its origin in the translation of two related but different Western words: Literature and art, one of the reasons for *munye* to be more openly connected with the traditional language-custom of *mun* and *ye* later. After it was abridged into the narrow meaning of “writing skill” in the Korean enlightenment period, it was actively combined with other conceptual fields, such as the sciences (*hagye*) and culture (*munhwa*), owing to the openness of the word during the 1920s and the 1930s. In the course of the colonial period, the meaning of *munye* varied dynamically, distinguishing itself from the meaning of “literature,” “art,” “science,” and “culture,” while still simultaneously defining some aspects of their meanings.

During the colonial period, therefore, the meaning of *munye* was appropriated diversely by different interest groups. Colonialists, nationalists, capitalists, and commercialists made use of the word for their own sakes, meaning that *munye* as a concept was of crucial

importance to complex processes of negotiation, complicity, refusal, affiliation, and revolt to/with the concepts of literature, art, sciences, and culture, according to the political and social interests of each group. As a result, *munye* constituted a peculiar realm of meaning, which cannot find an accurate match in terms like literature, art, science, or culture; it was this, in fact, that made *munye* incompatible to the Japanese imperialist project to form a modern Korean society in accordance with Japan's own ideology and imperial interests. In this vein, the modernization process of the concept of *munye* could be said to be located in an in-between realm, constantly creating fissures in the Western-centered ideal of modernity and Japan's appropriation of an analogous model.

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GLOSSARY

<i>Baekjo</i>	白潮	<i>Mujeong</i>	無情
<i>Byeolgeongan</i>	別乾坤	<i>mullim</i>	文林
<i>Changjo</i>	創造	<i>mun</i>	文
<i>Cheongchun</i>	青春	<i>munhak</i>	文學
<i>dao</i> (Ch.) ▶	<i>do</i>	<i>munhak yesul</i>	文學藝術
<i>do</i>	道	<i>munhwa</i>	文化
<i>Gaebyeok</i>	開闢	<i>munmyeong</i>	文明
<i>Gaecheokja</i>	開拓者	<i>munsa</i>	文士
<i>giye</i>	技藝	<i>munwon</i>	文苑
<i>hagye</i>	學藝	<i>munyak</i>	文弱
<i>hak</i>	學	<i>munye</i>	文藝
<i>hangmun</i>	學文	<i>Munye wolgan</i>	文藝月刊
<i>Jaesaeng</i>	再生	<i>Munye yeonghwa</i>	文藝映畫
<i>Joseon mundan</i>	朝鮮文壇	<i>sajo</i>	詞藻
<i>Joseon munye</i>	朝鮮文藝	<i>Samcheolli</i>	三千里

<i>sarim</i>	詞林	<i>Wenxin dialong</i> (Ch.)	文心雕龍
<i>Silhak</i>	實學	<i>ye</i>	藝
<i>Sinsoseol</i>	新小說	<i>yeneung</i>	藝能
<i>Taegeuk hakbo</i>	太極學報	<i>yesul</i>	藝術
<i>Taeseo munye sinbo</i>	泰西文藝新報		

(Ch.: Chinese)