

**TRANSLATION AND URGENCY  
IN POSTBELLUM IMAGE BUILDING**  
**Translations from Korean published in the US after the Korean War**

Ester Torres Simón  
Universitat Rovira i Virgili



A dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the  
Diploma of Advanced Studies

Doctoral program in Translation and Intercultural Studies  
Universitat Rovira i Virgili, Spain

**Supervisors:**

**Professor Anthony Pym, Universitat Rovira i Virgili**  
**Professor Joaquín Beltrán Antolí, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona**

**2005**

## Table of Contents

Summary .....	4
Introduction .....	5
The Korean War's link to today.....	5
Literature Review .....	10
Translation Studies in Korea.....	10
Translation and post-war .....	11
Theoretical Background .....	13
Descriptive Translation Studies and Polysystems Theory .....	14
A look into the broader picture .....	18
Classifying the corpus.....	21
Indirect translation .....	23
Translation into non-mother tongue (L2) .....	24
Conclusion .....	26
Korea: The Hermit Kingdom .....	27
First contacts with the West: nobody's friend .....	27
Korea as seen by the world .....	31
The Korean War: a defence of principles .....	33
Translation and Korea.....	36
Definition of terms .....	37
Research Methodology.....	39
Expected Results.....	39
Data Compilation .....	42
Corpus for Analysis .....	44
Presentation of the works included in the corpus .....	45
Works before 1950 .....	45
Works found both in the Index Translationum and LTI.....	46
Works found only in the Index Translationum.....	47
Works listed in ILT.....	49
Other works .....	50
Presentation of the translators analyzed in the corpus .....	51
Missionaries.....	51
Foreign Scholars .....	52
Korean translators.....	52
Organizations.....	54
Other Languages.....	54
Presentation of the US publishers and relationships with other publishers .....	55
Asia-oriented publishers .....	55
Independent Publishers.....	56

Specialized publishers .....	57
Through connections .....	57
On Publishers.....	57
Data Analysis .....	59
Rise of translations.....	59
Korean Translators.....	61
Translation funding .....	67
Non-subsidized volumes.....	70
Proposals by translators .....	71
Proposals by publishers .....	72
On image building.....	73
Conclusion.....	77
Bibliography.....	80
Appendix 1: Corpus .....	85
Appendix 2: Corpus For Future Research.....	87
English-Korean translations published in the United States from 1975 to 2003 as registered in Index Translationum. ....	87
Translations published in Korea from 1950 to 1980 as registered by the Korean Translation Association.....	90
Appendix 3: False Translations.....	94
Appendix 4:Correspondence between John Meskill and Choe Pu'S descendents.....	96

## **Summary**

The Korean War marks the beginning of a relationship between South Korea and the United States, beneficial for both. The need to introduce South Korea to the United States population as a justification to the collaboration of the army into a Civil War unrelated to their country will be shown in the sudden subventions and support to Korean translations into English. Moreover, it will create a circumstance of urgency in which the ideal translation practice will have to be substituted by the forms of available translation: translation into non-mother tongue and relay translation. The urgency variable and the special characteristics of the situation will make most theoretical backgrounds inadequate in order to sustain a theoretical study.

## **Introduction**

This research will look into the practice of translation from Korean into English right after the Korean War, in order to discern to what extent a historical situation creates a real rise of translation demand and to what extent a government may play a moderator role in such a situation. If the government is not involved, the role of third parties as publishers' resources will be looked into.

### *The Korean War's link to today*

After the Korean War, new dates became part of Korea's national festivities, all of them summarized in two numbers: 3-1, 6-6, 6-25, 8-15. The first of March commemorates a popular uprising against the Japanese colonization that ended in thousands of wounded; the sixth of June celebrates the approval of the Constitution; the twenty-fifth of June remembers the beginning of the Korean War; the fifteenth of August marks the final independence from Japan. This was minor change followed by others.

First among these changes, the Korean War triggered US-Korean relationships. Despite previous acquaintances, mutual interest had been scarce and merely coaxed by Chinese and Japanese manoeuvres.

Second, the war had an indirect influence on the Vietnam conflict. In Kissinger's words, "While the critics of the Korean War were actually asking for stronger measures to reach success, the Vietnam War critics would aim at the acceptance of failure" (Kissinger 1996: 522). One of the reasons for this change of orientation was the fact that American

public opinion had exhausted most of its patience and resistance during the Korean War and was unwilling to leave more men to die for a war without a definite result. In and out, American troops had been fighting other countries' wars for more than twenty years.

Third, war and post-war difficulties brought about a major migration of Koreans to other countries. Before Japanese occupation, several Korean farmers had unofficially migrated to the USSR and China borders and to the Hawaii. By 1910, around 7000 workers had been admitted to Hawaii (Lee 2000). However, in 1905, Japan prohibited Korean migration to other territories and negotiated with the USSR and China the assimilation or return of Korean ethnical groups. Despite the prohibition, between 1905 and the beginning of the Korean War in 1950, around 900 students were recorded as entering the United States either illegally through China or under Japanese passports. Koreans had also reached Mexico, Europe (Germany and France), Russia and non-occupied China. Many of these refugees would build the resistance movement against Japan. Meanwhile, people with fewer resources began a voluntary migration to Japanese-occupied Manchuria and later or to mainland Japan. The outbreak of the Sino-Japanese War would result in "The National Total Mobility Act" in 1938, a plan which would encourage forced migration towards Japanese territory. Similar plans were approved in 1942 and 1944. In total, more than 2 million Koreans were recorded as migrating to Japanese territory, either voluntarily or forced. It is important to note, as well, the important "internal" migration from North Korea to South Korea during the War. After the war, Koreans migrated to North and South America (United States, Canada, Mexico, Argentina and Brazil). After the Vietnam War, Korean engineers and soldiers working with United States troops moved mainly to South East Asia and Oceania, thus creating connections all over the world.

Fourth, the Korean War set a precedent for direct involvement of one country in another country's civil war. The United States' aid to South Korea aimed at the establishment

of democracy and the decline of communism, taking the South Korean side and thus becoming the first direct intervention of a foreign power in the internal affairs of another country. Although it may be argued that the defenceless situation of Korea at that stage left the United States troops - with UN approval - without any other solution, it is still the first war fought in the name of another country's democracy.

The above-mentioned changes led, little by little, into the Republic of Korea we know today. The reconstruction of Korea was hard but successful: the spectacular economic recovery of the impoverished and destructed "Land of the Morning Calm" secured Korea a place among the Asian Dragons in the 1980s. It could be said that Korea is the perfect example of a country's fight for excellence. Despite four millennia of seclusion, thirty years of colonial repression, a divided peninsula and a permanent fear of attack, in 2005 Korea reached 16<sup>th</sup> position in the world's GDP purchase power parity rank (CIA: 2006)

This evolution alone justified military intervention – especially in the United States public opinion – but other improvements followed after the Korean War thanks to the new relationship between Korea and the United States. The US markets opened to Korean products, and some American products could be found in Korea for the first time. New communication channels opened, the most important of which was produced by the American presence in Korea. Other than the missionaries who had arrived in Korea in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, American troops were the first foreigners to establish themselves in Korea, bringing along their cultures and views and becoming not only the first witnesses of Korean ways but also representatives of foreign ways for Korean people. Korean students arrived in American universities and American researchers arrived in Korea. The Republic of Korea and the United States were getting acquainted in different ways. The American public opinion demanded more information on the Hermit Kingdom. Books on Korea began to appear in bookshops and translation exchanges rose.

The shift in international relations had brought in a shift in cultural exchange; translations gave the American public a new view on Korea. However, it was not always a direct view. Due to the lack of trained translators, other options had to be sought to fulfil the sudden demand. One solution was found in third-party mediators: translations of Korean works were made from German, French or Chinese. Another option was the use of false translations: accounts of the war were written in first person by Korean-Americans and then presented as translated Korean works. More often, returnees who had a good level of both languages carried translations from Korean.

All these changes –especially the creation of democracy – link the Korean case with more recent events. For instance, in there are events that are registered in the people's minds with a set of two numbers, or a number and the initial of the month: 9-11, 11-M, 7-7. We have recently seen a war that has made people reluctant to begin a third armed conflict – as seen in reactions against intervention in Iran. We are witnessing a conflict that was to be settled fast but it is still going on, creating more and more victims and refugees every day. We find a clash that has coincided with 90,000 Iraqi immigrants in the US 2000 census. We have seen A war that was presented as stopping of dictatorship and the creation of democracy.

The Iraq war has been on the news every day since its beginning, as the Korean War was in its time. People are interested In knowing more. The demand for books on Iraq is on the rise. A simple Amazon search shows how the number of books on Iraq published before 1990 (paperback and hardcover) was 1,606. If the publication parameter widens to 1992, after the 1991 Iraq-Kuwait conflict it had risen to 2,505. Nowadays, there are 40,547 volumes published on the subject. (Amazon.com: 2006)

These figure are arguable, however the increase is clear: war boosts interest and interest creates a demand. The role of translation in this rise is taken for granted. The

literature of a country is the visiting card of its culture. I would like to study to what extent translation plays a role in this presentation of culture and what tools are used to spread it.

In order to obtain this information, in a first stage all the volumes translated from Korean and published in the US from 1950 to 1974 will be located and studied. The external information provided by these volumes (introductions, notes, acknowledgements, as well as, author, translator and publishers' names) will give a picture of the situation of translation and the possible influence of the US support. Moreover, the influence of urgency on the translation process will be studied. In a later stage, we hope to bring into the picture other volumes which may play a role in the diffusion of Korean culture in the US: translations into English published outside the US and translations from Korean published in the US in a later period (see Appendix 2) as well as original works written in English and presented as translations (see Appendix 3).

The Korean War is a case in history close enough to our 21<sup>st</sup> century reality to allow the location of volumes and as to become an example of translation is part of image building. Hopefully, similarities between both cases could help predict the result of the current situation in terms of cultural spread.

## Literature Review

### *Translation Studies in Korea*

Translation Theory in Korea is very recent. Most studies date from the 1980s and are linguistics-oriented. In English we find Song Yo In's manuals on English-Korean translation: *Translation: Theory and Practice* and *Topics in Translation Studies* (Song Yo In 1975 and 1984). More recently, other case studies may be found in English like *Translation and Textuality* by Kirk Seung Hee (2001).

Some other works have been published on the topic of English-Korean translation in Korean but always from a contrastive linguistic point of view. That is the case of *Yeongeoreul Wurimal Cheoreom, Wurimal-eul Yeongeo Cheoreom. (English like Korean and Korean like English)* by Kim Seong-u or *Peonyeok tekeunikeu (Translation Technique)* by An Seong Hyo.

Lately, a few conference proceedings have been published that centre mostly on literary translation. This is the case of the papers delivered at the International Symposium on Translation of the Korean Literary Works (Hanguk munhak ponyeok kukjae haksulyo) in Seoul in 1996.

The creations of Translation Graduate Programs, the establishment of the Korean Society of Conference Interpretation and of the Korean Translation Association, as well as the hosting of the International Conference of Translation Studies in August 2004, are signs of the growing importance of translation studies in Korea. However, translation is still studied from

a linguistic perspective and few works can be found, even fewer in English. Theresa Hyun may be the exception with her work on female translators. Richard Rutt, a well-known Korean-English translator, has studied the work of James S. Gale, one of the first translators of Korean works, but his research has been published in form of reviews or critiques of Gale's writings. Brother Anthony of Taizé (A poetry translator and English literature professor) has written some articles on the lack of Korean-English translators (2002) while Peter H. Lee (A translator and Korean literature professor) published *Explorations of Korean Literary History* (1999) mentioning the same lack of translations.

However, nothing is found on the study of Korean translation into English after the Korean War. The lack of studies on the topic have proposed many difficulties and extra work to the research: there was no previous collected data nor organised corpus and it was necessary to look into many sources at the same time. Therefore, some of the variables that may often be discarded based on previous studies could not be refused in this research and had to be looked into.

### *Translation and post-war*

Postcolonialism has looked into the close relationship between conquest and translation. As examples, Vicente (1993) studies Filipino resistance to Spanish conversion, and Tymoczko (2000) looks into Irish renaissance under English domination. However, they approach translation as engagement, as a weapon to free a culture from an imposed subjugation, a topic far from this research.

Fowler (1992) studies the case of Japanese translations after the Second World War. His research highlights the importance of image rebuilt for the US public opinion after the War. Moreover, it stresses the role of government-supported organizations in the creation of an

image of Japan. This topic is pertinent to the extent that it studies the importance of image formation, and the role of translations in the fulfilling of a demand, as well as the real impact of such demand. The similarity in the perception of Korean culture and Japanese culture by Western readers creates another parallelism between Fowler's study and our own.

However, while Fowler centres exclusively on the role of publishers and the US interest in presenting Japan as an ally, our research would like to look also at the role of translation in this image building. Was translation a key tactic for presenting Korean culture? Were there other solutions employed? Who was translating and why?

Linn (2006) also mentions the role of a historical situation in the rise in demand for translation in her study of Dutch-Spanish translation. However, the position of Spanish and the relationship between these two countries is of a different nature and characteristics from the relationship between Korea and the US. Linn's insights are interesting but not comparable.

## **Theoretical Background**

The need to communicate has made translation a necessity. The need to communicate well has made it an ideal. Since the distinctions established within the Roman system, there have always been different attitudes as to the requirements for an ideal translation. The “word for word” versus “sense for sense” confrontation emerges time after time with different connotations and aims in relation to the concepts of communication and language predominant at the time: *ut interpretes vs ut orator* (Cicero 2001), formal equivalence and dynamic equivalence (Nida 1964), overt and covert translation (House 1977), resistant versus transparent (Venuti 1995), and others.

However, in cases of an urgent need for translation, the classic confrontations will be taken over by the most practical translation strategy (either faster or cheaper). Often the strategy will involve third players. That is, one may resort to common connections by obtaining the necessary information by indirect translation, or one may rely on the capacity of anybody capable of speaking both languages, without taking into account if the person is a professional translator or even whether that person translates into L1 (mother tongue) or L2 (non-mother tongue).

Most studies cover ideal situations or try to study the texts without looking at the broader picture. That is why there is little literature applicable to situations of urgency. One of the few studies that highlight urgency as a factor is Maria Sidoropoulou’s article on Greek translation. Sidoropoulou contrasted a text translated in an urgency situation to similar texts translated in normal situation in order to discriminate different treatment of metaphors and intensifiers. As hinted by her, urgency implies involvement and both result in a different

ethics of communication whose purpose is communicating with the Other. It results, as well, on a visibility of the translator.

Although some of these findings are applicable to our study and it is not discarded to look into its applicability in the Korean context, in this study we will be looking at the macrolevel and not at the microlevel as Sidoropoulou did. Moreover, as most of the translators studied are Korean, we wonder to what extent the ethics of communication is communicating with the Other or representing the Self.

Periods of great change or in which communication has had major importance – like the end of the Second World War - have required effective solutions to the translation process, a process that happens independently of ideals. Therefore, in order to understand this process, prescription must be abandoned in favour of description.

### *Descriptive Translation Studies and Polysystems Theory*

In the 1970s a new voice, composed of many, was raised in Translation Studies, proposing a new descriptive approach to the field. This voice included, among others, the Tel Aviv School (Even-Zohar, Toury), the Low Countries School (Hermans, Van den Broek, Lambert), J. S Holmes, Lefevere or some of the Czechoslovak group (Levy, Popovic, Miko). This new approach is summarized by Theo Hermans in *The Manipulation of Literature*:

What they have in common is, briefly, a view of literature as a complex and dynamic system; a conviction that there should be a continual interplay between theoretical models and practical case studies; an approach to literary translation which is descriptive, target-oriented, functional and systemic; and an interest in the norms and constraints that govern the production and reception of translations, in the relation

between translation and other types of text processing, and in the place and role of translations both within a given literature and in the interaction between literatures. (Hermans 1985: 10-11)

The “view of literature as a complex and dynamic system” alludes to polysystems theory, developed by Even-Zohar and presented in 1990 in the Spring issue of *Poetics Today*. Despite being a literary theory, it can easily be adapted to translation. Systems theory developed from Structuralism and Russian Formalism. As defined by Even Zohar, “A system is a dynamic network of relations which can be hypothesized for an aggregate of factors assumed to be involved with a socio-cultural activity and consequently the activity itself observed via that network” (1990: 85). So the literary system would explain how literatures form and develop, placing changes within a wider picture: a network of correlated systems. That is, cultural systems do not exist on their own but are related to social and political activities. If applied to translation research, this places translation in a wider socio-cultural field related to other disciplines.

This approach invites us to analyze the dynamics of systems from a historical standpoint: “The idea that any socio-cultural activity consists of such a network, i.e., that it can more adequately be analysed, as a historical phenomenon” (1990: 87). Even-Zohar understands the study of a socio-cultural activity as a historical phenomenon as the study of one system alone and its development, or in a literary system the dynamic struggle of replacement of central activity by peripheral ones.

The lack of clear-cut definitions, as mentioned in Pym (1998), and the broader scope it can be applied to, as criticized by Lambert (1998), let us see polysystems theory from a different perspective. A system by definition being a “network of relations” can be as big or small as the researcher wishes it to be. It could be argued that Korea’s translation system

alone may be analyzed on its own focusing on its specific background alone. Even Zohar claims that the centre of any system will aim at perpetuity, and the principle of dynamics, that is, that “change (from periphery to center) will be introduced or allowed into the center to the extent that it can provide such domination” (Even Zohar 1990: 91) would place translation into L1 into a peripheral position.

The central translation practice in Korea in the 20th century was mostly based on indirect translations, rewritings and translations into a non-mother tongue. Therefore, translation into English was not the norm but the exception. The best approved translation practices could not take over the central position because they could not provide such domination, that is, there were not (there are not) enough translators available to take over the role. However, as translation includes at least two countries, Korea’s situation cannot be looked into without taking into account its relationship to the US and, consequently, without taking into account what the central practices were in the US or indeed in the Western world.

The state of the system would have to be analyzed in the conditions given: “as the nature of stratification (whether it is "developed" or not), the age of the system (whether it is "young" or "old"/"established"), as well as the volume (‘richness’) of the repertoire available” (Even Zohar 1990: 91). That is, in the case of Korea, from the point of view of a young, developing system with a small available repertoire. Moreover, the cultural factor needs to be taken into account, as “This conversion [from center to periphery] is carried out with the means available to, and conditioned by, the given cultural system” (1990: 91). That is, we can argue that the norms which apply to translation practice in the West in relation to the ideal translation practice do not apply in Korea.

Korean culture was not a culture of translation as we understand it. The Korean alphabet was invented in 1443 but most works were still read and written in Chinese until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Literary practice accepted and encouraged the use of topics and quotations

from previous authors, imposing the knowledge of previous works over literary inventiveness. Therefore, some of the practices that were frowned upon by Western thought in the 20<sup>th</sup> century are completely acceptable in the Korean context. Therefore, not only the means to translate were unavailable but also the change was not required by the social context.

The presence of non-ideal translation practices, according to the Western view, may be supported in systems theory by the idea that a specific activity at a given time may be asked to fulfil a special role: “Depending on the specific activity (or any section thereof) at a given time, some functions are stronger in the sense that their contribution is assumed to be more indispensable (“important,” “crucial,” etc.) and are consequently considered to be more dominant than others” (Even Zohar 1990: 92). However, it is probable that in Korea such a practice as translation into L2 is historically understood and accepted.

Systems theory centres around the evolution of one system in itself, making it difficult to apply to the evolution of more than one system by mutual interference, not to mention to the evolution of two systems through the workings of a third one.

As the main figure of Descriptive Translation Studies (DTS), Gideon Toury may be the most rigorous in the application and study of these principles, putting into practice the “interplay between theoretical models and practical studies” (Hermans 1985: 10).

A key concept for Toury is norms. Norms are “the translation of general values shared by a community – as to what is right and wrong, adequate and inadequate – into performance instructions appropriate for and applicable to particular situations” (Toury 1995: 55). In other words, norms are the social constraints that a translator follows in order to avoid social sanction. Toury distinguishes three types of norms. (1) “Initial norms” govern the macro level strategy of the translators profiling the choice between the source culture norms and the target culture norms. “Adequacy” is the term used to refer to adherence to source culture norms while observance of target culture norms is known as “acceptability” (2) “Preliminary norms”

shape the beginning of the translation: the choice of the text, of text-types, of source-language, etc. (3) “Operational norms” centre around the act of translation itself and they are divided in (3.1) “matricial norms” which mark the outlay of the translation and (3.2) “textual-linguistic norms” which deal with the language constraints. Norms of the target text-culture influence translations, as translations are considered “facts of target cultures” in all cases (Toury 1995: 29). The strictly followed target side principle is severely criticised by Hermans (1999: 40) among others.

In the case of Korea, most of the translators are not part of the target culture but of the source culture. Not only were they translating into L2, but often were proven to be the initiators of the translation. Therefore, it is difficult to explain the instigation of translation by L2 translators when the source culture is taken for granted.

In the dichotomy between a source culture and a target culture, there is an underlying assumption of two unique agents and the role of a mediator is dismissed. Sometimes even the role of the source culture is dismissed, as seen in the definition of “assumed translation”: “all utterances which are presented or regarded as such within the target culture, on no matter what grounds” (Toury 1995: 32). Despite their recognition of translations as a specific type of text processing with value in itself, these descriptive approaches prevent the development of a theory involving more than one agent. Then, they cannot be applied to a corpus in which a third of the volumes are relay translations.

### *A look into the broader picture*

In the language world-system applied to translation, Heilbron defends the connection between economic power and language power, but recognizes at the same time that:

Instead of conceiving the cultural realm as merely derivative of global economic structures, it is more fruitful to view transnational cultural exchange as a relatively autonomous sphere, as an international arena with economic, political and symbolic dimensions. (Heilbron 1999: 432)

Heilbron's "cultural realm" resembles Even-Zohar's "system". If a language is defined against another on the basis of mutual unintelligibility, we can count more than 2000 in today's world. However, these languages are not at the same level, but structured in a hierarchy. According to de Swaan (2001) we find "central languages", "supercentral languages" and "peripheral languages". Some 98% of the languages of the world are not used by more than the 10% of the speaking population: these are the "peripheral languages" (de Swaan 2001; Heilbron 1999). A central language is that used or understood by nearly 95% of the population. Other languages, which have been important in the past because of a colonial situation or cultural power, are considered "supercentral" languages. These languages have worked sometimes as links between very peripheral languages and a central language. Chinese and Japanese have played such a role in the case of Korea.

Traditionally, peripheral languages were connected through speakers of both languages. However, the tendency has changed from an exchange of languages to understanding through a mutual knowledge of a "central language".

As Heilbron (1999) points out, translators often work as the multilingual subjects that connect two language communities. Therefore, translation becomes part of this global language system and it can be studied to show the variations in the relationships between languages. With translation "one can try to unravel the relationship between different countries and cultures" (Schoneveld 1983: 8).

Heilbron looks mostly into the relationship between two language communities. The relationships between English and Korean could be applied if third connections are studied and established. Moreover, in this case the problem consists in the lack of knowledge of the central language, that is, English. In the period studied, Korean was in such a peripheral position that its only connection with the centre was through supercentral languages, for example, Japanese, or other peripheral languages such as Chinese.

The power struggle outlined by Heilbron can be approached in terms of the “cultural turn” in Translation Studies. “Cultural Studies” do not refer to the study of cultural elements inside the translation, which is a practice found much earlier in the history of translation in the works of Nida, Newmark or Baker, but in the translation from culture to culture, where Scholars deal with elements like ideology or power. They are characteristic for having an explicit political agenda and they are not content with a neutral approach to cultural issues in society. The “post” theories see translations as carriers of ideology, and studying translations is thus a way of exposing those ideological views. Moreover, translators have the chance to use their work to fight against society and dominant cultures. Lefevere’s concept of “patronage” relates to power, and power can be associated both to the source text (from now and onward ST) as to the target text (TT).

Maria Tymoczko opened the way with her research on Irish oral tradition, together with Michael Cronin and Edwin Gentzler. Other authors like Spivak or Niranjana have focused in post-colonialism as well.

What most of these new approaches have in common is their representation of minorities in their attempt to overturn power, that is, to recover the power that historically they lost. Moreover, they analyze the relationship established through a translation practice between countries with different power.

Once again, though, they focus on a one-to-one power struggle, overlooking the possibilities of allies. Korea at the time we are studying was not trying to re-establish its identity in confrontation to the Japanese colonial power, as it had already been torn down by the outcome of the Second World War, but was in a process of reconstruction and of being presented to the world.

All these approaches seem suitable for our research. However, there is also a need to look into third parties since the characteristics of Korean background mean other countries may play an important role.

### *Classifying the corpus*

Minority languages may not have the same resources majority languages have (Cronin 2003). Much research has been carried out trying to uncover the factors that influence the translation flow, or more concretely, that promote a demand for translations from minority languages.

Among the main factors we find the role of the publishers' choices (helped by awards received by the writers, Book Fairs inviting certain countries, or government subsidies) and often the role of a particular mediator – Francisco Carrasquer for Dutch into Spanish (Linn 2006), Howard Strauss for Japanese into English (Fowler 2001). Special historical reasons may also account for a sudden rise of translations at a given time. For example, the desire to change the image of Japan after the Second World War (Fowler 2001) or the Second Vatican Council in the rise of Dutch translations into Spanish in the 1960's (Linn 2006).

As we have seen, Korea had been isolated for centuries until the end of the Second World War and, more precisely, until the Korean War brought the Hermit Kingdom to the attention of the American public. Americans became interested in the subject and this stimulated a demand for works about or from Korea.

However, given the previous isolation, what translations could be made easily available? Who was interested in translating and publishing them? Or, given that there were very few translations available, who could translate?

The expected answer could be outlined as follows:

Translators could be

- (1) those people who have some knowledge of Korean and are required to translate; bilinguals with no previous experience but who happen to be at the right place at the right moment;
- (2) people with a near native command of English and previous writing practice able to meet the demand;
- (3) people with a good command of English whose writing is double-checked by an L1 style corrector. Often the relationship between these people comes from a common contact and it can be traced back. If the corrector has a good knowledge of L2, the translation may have been done using the L2 native speaker as a consultant.
- (4) Due to longer relationships with other languages or previous interest in other countries, some works may have been written in a common third language. In such cases, the availability of professional translators makes the transition between a common third language and English easier, faster and, probably, more reliable.
- (5) Some works may be presented as translations, but may be more accurately named “pseudo-translations” (Toury 1995). In order to take advantage of the popularity of a topic in a given time, works on the culture or traditions of that language and country are bound to spread. So, works may be found by Korean authors written in English about their Korean experiences, becoming ambiguously Korean, but actually being accounts registered exclusively in English, with, sometimes, a later Korean translation.

Perhaps the most usual situation is when L1 authors explain their experiences in the L2 culture.

To summarize, translations may come from: (1) a non-trained translator working into L1; (2) a trained translator working into L2; (3) team translation; (4) relay translation; (5) Pseudo-translations.

### *Indirect translation*

The intervention of a third actor in a translation process is given little attention in Translation Studies. In the Routledge *Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies* (Baker 1998) there is no entry for “indirect translation”. Even-Zohar (1990: 92) talks about “indirect influence” but understands it as “[w]hen indirect, transfer takes place via domestication (domestication procedures), that is, by imposing source system functions on target system extant (home) means/carriers” and not as a third system’s role in the relationship between two systems. Shuttleworth and Cowie’s *Dictionary of Translation Studies* (1997: 76-77) defines “indirect translation” as the translations dilemma between “the need to give the receptor language audience access to the authentic meaning of the original, unaffected by the translator’s own interpretation effort” (Gutt 1991: 177) and “the urge to communicate as clearly as possible” (Gutt 1991: 177) is resolved in favour of the latter”. This definition is unrelated to our topic. The term “retranslation” was used by UNESCO as early as 1976 in its *Recommendations On The Legal Protection Of Translators And Translations And On Means To Improve The Status Of Translations*: “as a general rule, a translation should be made from the original work, recourse being had to retractions only where absolutely necessary” (UNESCO 1976). The fact that indirect translation has been a common practice does not deter theorists from either criticizing it or ignoring it. On the other hand, Toury devotes a whole chapter to indirect

translations (1995: 129-146), defending their existence and validity, as “mediated translations should be taken as syndromic basis for descriptive explanatory studies” (1995: 129). However, the defence of a mediated translation loses credibility in the strongly defended target-oriented approach by Toury himself (ibid: 29).

Only a few scholars have carried out actual research on indirect translation. Dollerup (1998) argues that the term “indirect translation” is misleading and “should be kept for the situations where two parties must communicate by means of a third intermediary realisation which has no legitimate audience” (1998: 19). He proposes the term “relay translations” defined as “a mediation from source to target language in which the translational product has been realised in another language than that of the original; the defining feature is that the intermediary translation has an audience, that is consumers of their own” (1998: 19). From now on we will accept the distinction given by Dollerup and we will use the terms “indirect translation” and “relay translation” as proposed above.

Perdu (2005: 68), in an article on translation into Arabic via English, highlights simplicity and economy as two of the main advantages of indirect translation from the point of view of a less translated language.

Whether there is a clear definition to it or not, relay translation is a common practice especially from minor languages into major languages.

### *Translation into non-mother tongue (L2)*

The claim that translators need to be bilingual speakers is often found in Translation Studies. Catford entrusts the success of equivalence research on a “competent bilingual informant or translator” (Catford 1965: 27). Mary Snell-Hornby requires translator training to form “not only a bilingual but also a bicultural specialist working with and within an infinite variety of

areas of technical expertise” (Snell-Hornby 1992: 11), an idea supported by Lefevere and Bassnet (1990: 11) who claim that biculturalism is more important than bilingualism. Although most linguists have long rejected the possibility of perfect bilingualism, many translation scholars openly support the claim.

In spite of the assumed bilingualism, a translator is expected to translate better into their mother tongue (or L1). Newmark dismisses the possibility of translating into a non-mother tongue (L2) by assuring that translating into L1 is “the only way you can translate naturally, accurately and with maximum effectiveness” (1988: 3). This traditional view of translation practices could be found earlier in Schleiermacher (1985: 322), or Walter Benjamin when he defines the task of the translator as “the release in his own language of that pure language which is under the spell of another” (Benjamin 1982: 80). Less prescriptive approaches tend to sanction translation into L1 or merely take it for granted.

However, the earliest translation practices did not put an emphasis on L1 translation. In classical Rome, before the dominance of translators like St. Jerome, Greek Christian translators did most translations into Latin. Chinese speakers did not do the first translations of Buddhist sacred texts into Chinese but they were prepared by Sanskrit monks. (Pokorn 2005: 34-35). Nida (1964) addresses his book *Towards a Science of Translation* to Bible translators working into L2 with the assistance of native speakers. In peripheral language communities, translation into L2 is common. Chinese translators, for example, are trying to change the distorted image of China presented in early translations into English (Lefevere 1990).

The position of majority languages in relation to minority languages, or central vs. peripheral, plays an important role in the choice of translation into L2. Minority languages are not spoken outside the language community and are rarely studied. Under these circumstances it is difficult to find translators with enough fluency to understand the source-text message

and transfer it into their own L1. The only available option for minority languages is to translate into L2.

### *Conclusion*

Different explanations could be found to explain the lack of studies of these partially outlawed practices: indirect translation and translation into L2, as well as the role of third countries in the building of a translated literature. Most translation theory deals with ideal situations or is based on chosen or controlled results. Moreover, most translation theorists look into the difficulties of major languages. Although minor languages tend to rely more on translation for survival, they have fewer experts studying their methodology (Cronin 2003).

All these theories are relevant for the present study. As we shall see, Korea had scarcely any contact with Western powers – not to mention languages – before the end of the Second World War. Before 1947 not more than a hundred Westerners had entered in Korea; by the end of the Korean War in 1953, thousands had crossed the peninsula from South to North and back and had decided to stay, putting Korea on the map of language interaction for the first time. The rapid change brought a long growth in the demand for translations into English, and there were not enough well-prepared English native speakers to fulfil that demand.

A systematic study of what was translated from Korean into English in the years before and after the Korean War can give insights into the common translation practices carried out in the situation of a rapid growth in demand.

## **Korea: The Hermit Kingdom**

*First contacts with the West: nobody's friend*

In our multimedia society, it is difficult to imagine that the country with the world's fastest Internet connection had hardly had any contact with a Western country before the end of the 19th century, and had no steady relationship until the second half of the 20th century. However, that is the case of South Korea.

Korea was not isolated from the world, though. The 222,154-sq Km. peninsula is surrounded by powerful and expansive neighbours. Its location between China, Russia and Japan ("a prawn in the middle of whales' fights" as a Korean proverb goes) ensured early contacts with its neighbours and mutual influence over history.

Sino-Korean relationships, for example, date back to ancient times but acquired a certain regularity in the 14<sup>th</sup> century with the rise of the Ming dynasty in China and the overthrow of the Mongol-dominated Koryeo dynasty by the Confucian Choson dynasty. The Choson scholars sought tributary ties with the Ming, which were formalized in the early 15<sup>th</sup> century and would last until the late 19<sup>th</sup> century (Kim 1999). Chinese influence can be observed in many aspects of Korean life: politics, social hierarchy and literature, among others. Although the Hangeul (the Korean alphabet) was invented in 1443 and promulgated in 1446 by King Sejong, the educated class rejected it and saw it as a script for the low class and the women. Chinese characters were used in high literature and it was not displaced until the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Lower literature usually borrowed Chinese characters, applying Korean meaning or sound to them. Buddhism, encouraged by its patron King Sejong, quickly adapted Hangeul as a way to communicate the sacred script to the masses, but novels in Hangeul did not begin to appear until the 17<sup>th</sup> or 18<sup>th</sup> century and official documents were all

written in Hangeul as late as the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Actually the use of hangeul in official documents was approved in 1894 with the Gabo reforms encouraged by the Japanese after the Sino-Japanese War as a way of diminishing the influence of China in Korea.

Japan acquired tributary recognition from China around the 15<sup>th</sup> century as well. The relationship between Korea and Japan was defined as neighbourly (“kyorin” or “of equal status” in contrast to “sadae” or “serving a superior”). After a decade of disruption following the Japanese invasion of 1592, diplomacy continued via Tsushima Island, which had always been considered neutral territory, until the Japanese Imperial restoration of 1868. The Japanese claim of divine descent unbalanced the equal status and deteriorated the relationship.

Nevertheless, before it became known as “The Land of The Morning Calm,” Korea was described as “the Hermit Kingdom,” for good reasons. Contacts with the Western world before 1947 were scarce. Many reasons can be found to explain this lack of communication.

The first factor is the internal affairs of the Goryeo Kingdom. While East and West were making their acquaintance in the end of eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century, Korea’s kings were facing early deaths: the Noron faction had given way to the Andong Kim clan, then replaced by the Cho clan to be recovered by the Kim clan again. These sudden changes led to instability in the country and the spread of nepotism and corruption.

This unstable situation was conducive to the spread of Catholicism. By preaching equality, Catholicism was a threat to strict Confucian hierarchy and class division. The rulers began to persecute the new religion, seeing how the less-favoured happily embraced it. Followers and priests alike were executed when discovered. This new religion became a second factor for the rejection of the foreign.

The situation of Korea’s neighbours also warned Koreans against evil white men. The defeat the Chinese suffered under the British army in 1839 resulted in the end of the Opium

Wars. The signing of unequal treaties in 1842 promptly provoked growing social resentment until the Taiping Rebellion of 1850. Joint repression by France and the British Empire succeeded in finally opening Chinese ports and the mainland to foreigners. The fall of China, the cultural mother of Eastern Asia, was a major shock to Korea.

At a similar time, in 1853, Commodore Mathew Perry from the US Navy arrived at the Japanese port of Uraga with his battleship and a letter from the US President requesting Japan to open their ports to trade with Americans. The request brought controversy in Japan, which had been closed to the West for the last 250 years of Tokugawa Shogunate. After a year, Japan reached the conclusion that negotiating was better than being forced to sign unequal treaties like China. In 1854 a trade treaty was signed with the US, and four years later there were treaties signed with France, Russia, Britain and the Netherlands. Changes brought revolution, and shortly a movement began to restore the Emperor to power and finish with the Shogunate of the past two centuries. This culminated in 1867 with the surrender of the last Shogun and the installation of the Emperor's court in Edo, now renamed Tokyo.

A further factor to consider is that the physical sizes of China and Japan had left Korea outside the focus of foreign attention. The few ships that had appeared near the Korean coast had been turned away with the information that it was illegal for foreigners to enter the country. Busy with Japan and China, the foreign powers showed merely passing interest in Korea.

In 1863, there was yet another change of king, and the Cho clan recovered the throne in the person of the Taweongun, who would reign in the name of his son Yi Myong-bok, a 12-year-old. Representing Confucian tradition, he was a radical anti-foreigner and became stricter on Christians, hence calling the attention of foreign powers. Russian warships appeared off the East Coast. An American merchant ship was burnt down when trying to sail up the river. A small French fleet was sent to the South coast and repulsed by the locals. An

American fleet was sent to investigate the loss of the merchant ship and then left after finding stronger opposition than expected. The Taweongun was encouraged by these victories and proclaimed his superiority, unaware that Korea was living on borrowed time only because none of the Western powers considered Korea important enough to send a large-scale invasion.

The attempts of Japan to mediate between Korea and the Western powers also failed. The Japanese imposition of the Treaty of Kanghwa in 1876 using Western tactics had deteriorated the fragile relationship between both countries. Japan had become too Western in Koreans' eyes. Korea felt safer behind the Taegongun ban on foreigners.

After some attempts to use the Japanese as mediators, the United States managed to negotiate a commercial treaty and sign the US-Korea agreement under the name of *The Shufeldt Treaty* on May 22, 1882, at Chemulpo, through Chinese ambassadors and after two years of negotiations.

However, the treaty would not last very long. It was not fulfilled in the long run due to the reluctance of the US to provide a military adviser to the Korean Emperor. "The US was a disinterested friend but had no intention to become a guardian" (Schnabel 1992: 4). After the Treaty of Kanghwa had meant the first open advances in Korean territory by the Japanese. No attention was paid to the fact that Japanese investors had acquired and were controlling large pieces of Korean land and infrastructures and Japanese troops had entered Korea in large numbers to protect Japanese treaties. The "protection" resulted in the Tonhak uprising, the intervention of Chinese troops and the first defeat of China in a Sino-Japanese War in the form of the Treaty of Shimonoseki in 1894, a treaty that would put Korea, and also Taiwan, in Japanese hands.

A few years later, the United States would make no objection to the Japanese colonization of Korea. President Theodore Roosevelt remarked, "We cannot possibly interfere

for the Koreans against Japan. [...] They could not strike one blow in their own defense” (Griswold 1938 as quoted in Schnabel 1992: 4). Before the annexation was official, in July 1905 a secret “agreed memorandum” had been negotiated between the US and Japan. The United States approved of Japan’s foreign policy over Korea and Japan stayed away from the American interests in the Philippine Islands.

The Japanese occupation brought many changes to Korean life. In the first stage, there was a movement to promote cooperation from Korea. Education was reformed so as to be Japanese-oriented and social pressure made Japanese displace Korean as an official language. During this period, the first Korean immigrants were invited to work in Japan or Japanese occupied Manchuria, which was in need of workers in preparation of a Sino-Japanese war. In a second stage, the situation hardened in Korea, forbidding any use of Korean and closing universities and positions to anybody not fully pro-Japanese. Japan now received two kinds of Korean visitors: those students able to attend university, and forced workers needed for the war industry. At this time, many fled to safer countries like the US, France, Germany or free China. Some of these people would generate networks outside Korea, linking them back to their country and working from abroad to regain Korean’s independence.

### *Korea as seen by the world*

The foreign networks worked for freedom during the ironhanded Japanese rule. The “Provisional Government of the Republic of Great Korea” was proclaimed in Seoul on the 1<sup>st</sup> of March 1919, provoking persecution by the Japanese troops and the exile of the instigators. Most of these patriots had studied abroad and had been part of the diasporas Japan itself had instigated. Syngman Rhee (who would later become the first president of South Korea), Kim Koo and others met in Shanghai on the 10<sup>th</sup> of April of the same year to establish a

provisional government. Although there were some contacts between the Korean government in exile and the US diplomatic corps, the main achievement of the group was a considerable following among Koreans abroad and passive support within Korea (Schnabel 1992).

During the Second World War Korea started to be considered a victim of Japanese aggression. A joint statement by the United States, China and Great Britain in December 1943, after the Cairo Conference, said, "The aforesaid three great powers, mindful of the enslavement of the people of Korea, are determined that in due course Korea shall become free and independent" (Department of State 1943: 448, as quoted in Schnabel 1992: 6).

With the end of the World War, the Korean Peninsula was divided between the Soviet and American armies, as agreed at the Yalta conferences. The division by the 38 parallel (proposed, drafted and approved in less than four days) would not put Korea completely in Soviet hands but looked good enough to convince the Communists to respect its status until the arrival of the nearest American army, which was in Okinawa - more than 1200 km. away.

The Soviet Union and the United States went to work under the cover of "socialism" on the one side, and "democracy" on the other, to carve out their own empires of influence. They began to share and contest the domination of the world. The Truman administration took advantage of the astounding comeback of the USSR, presenting the Soviet Union as not just a rival but as an immediate threat. It then established a climate of fear about Communism by showing revolutionary movements in Europe and Asia as examples of Soviet expansionism. This climate would steeply escalate the military budget and stimulate the economy with war-related orders, overcoming the American public opinion, war-weary and in favour of demobilization and disarmament. This combination of policies would permit more aggressive actions abroad, and more repressive actions at home (Zinn 1980).

In general, the US interest in Korea was limited. They did not consider it a strategic area, due to its small population and the lack of a developed industry or natural resources. The

only danger Korea's occupation by an unfriendly (Communist) power could mean to the US was as a threat to Japan and, then, to American freedom of movement. In general the American leaders were expecting two possible modes of aggression after the Second World War: a surprise Soviet attack on the US, or the invasion of Western Europe by the Red Army. Therefore, their perimeter of defence, in words of General Douglas MacArthur, commodore of the US army in the Pacific, "begins in the Philippines and continues through the Ryuku archipelago, including its main fort, Okinawa. Then it bends towards Japan and the Aleutian Islands until Alaska" (McArthur 1949, as quoted in Schnabel 1992: 9). By 1949 most of the US army was thus outside Korea and the US government felt safe with the increase of the army resources on the US borders and the activation of the Marshall plan in Western Europe.

Unlike the US, the USSR maintained a long-standing regard for Korea as a strategic area. Following Japan's surrender, their aim was to cover as much of the Korean peninsula as possible. According to Kissinger (1996: 505) the USSR understood the foreign policy towards Korea as an invitation for invasion, in the belief that if the US had let China become communist, they would not present any resistance to defend Korea, which was of less importance for their final aims.

### *The Korean War: a defence of principles*

However, North Korea and its presumed allies underestimated the interest of the US in the area. Surprised by a sudden invasion of the South of the 38<sup>th</sup> parallel, an attack they had never expected, the US understood it as proof that Communism was expanding and not slowly disintegrating as they had thought would happen. Therefore, and despite some strong geopolitical arguments, President Truman justified the intervention in Korea, citing the

“values and feelings of the American people and described the intervention as the defence not of North American national interests but of a universal principle” (Kissinger 1996: 508).

The campaigns in South Korea would later be called “limited war.” The Second World War was too close in time and the aim of the intervention was to make the North Koreans return north of parallel 38 without provoking other countries to take sides on the war. Political decisions placed restrictions on military strategy, and none of the external sides used its full military potential, with the exception of the two Korean governments. But there was nothing limited about the ferocity of the battles. According to the US Department of Defense, 36,574 Americans were killed and 103,284 wounded; other UN countries claim between 2,000 and 3,000 casualties. The Korea population was reduced by 2 or 3 million.

In a balance between full stop and full war, the conflict was developing. The frustration developing from this limited situation resulted in a systematic exploitation of the Korean conflict as a basic for accusations of Communist infiltrations in Washington.

In March 1947 Truman had issued Executive Order 9835, initiating a program to search out any "infiltration of disloyal persons" in the US government. This required the Department of Justice to draw up a list of organizations it decided were "totalitarian, fascist, communist or subversive [...] or as seeking to alter the form of government of the United States by unconstitutional means." Between the launching of his security program in March 1947 and December 1952, some 6.6 million persons were investigated. By 1954 there were hundreds of groups on this list. Not a single case of espionage was uncovered, although about 500 persons were released from their posts in dubious cases of "questionable loyalty" (Zinn 1980: 4). All of this was conducted with secret evidence, secret and often paid informers, and neither judge nor jury. The broad scope of the official Red Hunt gave popular credence to the notion that the government was riddled with spies. A conservative and fearful reaction ran through the country. Truman's commitment to victory over Communism, to completely

safeguarding the United States from external and internal threats, was in large measure responsible for making Americans convinced of the need for absolute security, the preservation of the established order and the need to be ready to take actions against Communists. Anti-Communism permeated culture at all levels: magazines, newspapers, serials, etc. It is not strange in this situation that everything happening in the Korean War was in the public eye.

In short, when the Korean War took place the US was fighting in different fields at the same time. At home, politicians were under pressure due to the Witch Hunt, US general foreign policy was determined by the Cold War, and the Vietnam conflict was beginning to grow.

At the same time, the Korean War had become the test for the idea of collective security. Success could be understood as the possibility of having “world guardians” maintaining the peace. Thus, the Korean crisis was indirectly responsible for the rise in the number of military powers in Europe as well as the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

The need to dismiss McArthur in April 1951 for public pronouncements against the official policy, together with the first nuclear test in the USSR, made the situation more delicate. However, Stalin was fully aware of the superiority of the US if a nuclear war was started and had no intention of taking the conflict any further. Eventually, a peace agreement was signed leaving the situation where it had started: divided by parallel 38. The difference was in the number of soldiers left in the country and the new foreign policy towards Korea, now considered the point of resistance against the Communists.

After the Korean War, Korea was completely devastated. Korea's reconstruction was presented as a humanitarian recovery operation and received massive aid from the United Nations under the auspices of the UN Korean Reconstruction Agency. However, many

reconstruction plans are suspected of being bound to intervention and armed conflict. According to Ekbladh (2003: 11), “The succour the reconstruction programs promised was crucial to attempts to justify the military and political interventions by the state and organizations that invoked them. At the same time the reconstruction plans were implemented to fulfil the strategic goals of the sponsors.” Reconstruction is not as straightforward as one would expect and it often covers government aims, but needs to involve elements that will prove to the public opinion that a benefit was bestowed upon the injured party.

### *Translation and Korea*

Korea had become an emblem of freedom and success. An adequate presentation of the country could further encourage the image of Korea as a developed, peaceful, ancient culture developing into a modern, well-educated and safe country. Such a restored image would soothe any doubt of public opinion about the convenience of entering another country’s war – an opinion that needed further encouragement in the view of the Vietcong’s resistance in the Vietnam War. The public was eager to know more about the country that had made the front page for the last three years, creating a demand for any information on “The Hermit Kingdom”. Little by little, the image of a peaceful Korea was so well encouraged that the Korean War was soon named “the Forgotten War”.

What was the role of translation in this image? Local writers are thought to be the best to highlight the merits of the real culture. Therefore, classical accounts, short stories and anthologies of poems are the kind of works expected to be published in English alongside personal accounts of the War –touching experiences showing humanity in the midst of hate – and books on Korean history and culture.

As few foreigners had been in Korea before, translation might be expected to play a major role in filling the rising demand for information on Korea. However, as few Korean-English translators were available, some other solutions proved necessary.

### **Definition of terms**

Due to the narrow line separating translations and pseudotranslations, it is important to define what is understood by “translation” in this research. First, we must bear in mind that the oral tradition has always been very important in Korean culture, through the existence of storytellers and the figure of *pansori*. The so-called Korean opera was a performance of a singer/storyteller and a drummer, who would pace the speed and give the dramatic twist to a legendary story. Pansori singers would equal to medieval minstrels. The Korean stories were passed down from generation to generation and were among the first secular writings in hangeul during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century. The neglect of the oral tradition in literary translation (as criticized by Tymoczko 1990: 46-55) forces us to look for a less traditional interpretation of translation than “rewriting of ST into TT”. On the other side of the axis, Toury defines translations as “anything presented as a translation” (1995: 146). However, such an open definition will not help us discriminate works written originally in English. Dollerup states one necessary factor to define a translation: “The existence of a translation depends on the possibility of identifying an original” (Dollerup 1999: 301). In his research on the Brothers Grimm’s translations, Dollerup needs to define translations against retellings, so the focus is not on the nature of the original – oral or written –but on the characteristics a translations has, as different to a retelling. These factors are:

- a) That they [translations] follow them [originals] in time

- b) that the relationship to the original is based on a translation process which is acknowledged by the target culture
- c) that they must have enough features in common with the original to be recognisable and recognised as translations. (Dollerup 1999: 310)

This definition of translation seems suitable for the purpose of our research.

In relation to the expected profile of translators and translations, it may be necessary to define some of the concepts.

Not much research has been done on outlining the most common practices in the case of a sudden rise of translation demand, but some of the possibilities have been looked into individually: translation into L1 (Pokorn 2005), relay translation (Dollerup 1998), team translation (Pokorn 2005; Nida 1964) and pseudotranslation (Toury 1995). Therefore, we will use their definitions for the purpose of this research:

Relay translation, as defined by Dollerup, is “a mediation from source to target language in which the translational product has been realised in another language than that of the original; the defining feature is that the intermediary translation has an audience, that is consumers of its own” (1998: 19).

Team translation will be understood as “cooperation between a native and a non-native translator” (Pokorn 2005: 36), without entering into the discussion of whether the target-language native speaker works as a style corrector or as an actual translator.

Pseudotranslations will be those works that fit into Toury’s definition of translation, that is, “anything presented as such”, without fitting into the definition of translation applicable in this research.

## **Research Methodology**

Our research will be organized as follows.

First, translations from Korean published in book form in the US prior to 1974 will be located. The study will focus on the period between the beginning of the Korean War (1950) and the end of the Vietnam War (1973). Both dates are assumed to be significant for the research for a number of reasons. The range is expanded to ensure a more accurate analysis of the figures.

Second, the translators, publishers and genres of the titles will be researched and studied in order to define the profiles of the translators, the profiles of the publisher and specific characteristics of the periods concerned.

Third, the covers, introduction, acknowledgments, prologues and translators' notes of the books will be read in search for information about the purpose and/or characteristics of the translation (i.e. subsidies, connections, problems, etc.). In particular, we will look into whether government or government-related organizations play a role in the translation.

Finally, the information will be analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively to throw some light on the main promoters of the rise in translations, whether the rise of translations from Korean into English was real and lasting, and what the role of third countries in the spread of Korean culture was.

### *Expected Results*

On the first matter, we expect translators to fit into the following possibilities: foreigners residing in the country for unrelated matters and usually well-connected; local scholars with a good knowledge of English and usually well known; and translators from a third language. As

the time range covers 20 years, trained professional translators, who have had that time to develop their skills, may translate the later volumes. Publishers may be either Asia-oriented or independent. Despite the demand for books on Korea, big publishers tend to avoid taking risks with little-known foreign writers and tend to centre on well-known figures. This void is filled in by independent publishers or university presses (Seldman 1988). When a publisher has taken a position in the industry it is difficult to modify such position to include other registers. As Bourdieu summarizes:

The relationship maintained by producers of symbolic goods with other producers, with the significations available within the cultural field at a given moment and, consequently, with their own work, depends very directly on the position they occupy within the field of production and circulation of symbolic goods. This, in turn, is related to the specifically cultural hierarchy of degrees of consecration. (Bourdieu 1995: 131).

The volumes themselves are expected to be mainly compilations of previous works or reference books. Compilations are faster and more easily arranged, while reference books have a buyer profile that ensures success: universities and researchers. If the quality was studied, it is likely that the volumes, prepared in a short time, would lack the accuracy a long carefully prepared translation may have. However, this factor will not be looked into from a textual approach, that is by comparison with the original, but only through references in the translator's notes or prologues. The most common translated genres are likely to be fairy tales, short novels and poetry. Unlike novels or theatre, these genres have in common the possibility of fragmenting the work in smaller segments. Then they can be published separately in specialized magazines or literary journals. Those genres could encourage the

translation of shorter works, their publication in periodicals and later a possible compilation of the already published translations. Moreover, while fairy tales are linked to the folk culture of a country, poetry shows their aesthetics and impressions.

With respect to the numbers of translations, we definitely expect an increase in the figures as there was very little translation activity before the Second World War.

In relation to the role of third countries, as Korea mostly had relations with China and Japan, those two countries are expected to play an important role in the distribution of Korean texts. However, historical factors pose a threat to potential dominant role of these two countries. Japan, on the one hand, had been the colonizer for nearly half a century, so it is unclear to what extent Koreans would want them to be the ones to give an image of Korea. China, on the other hand, was a Communist country, and the US was unlikely to accept a Communist view of Korea. Therefore, it is expected that these two countries will play a role in the diffusion of Korea and Korean through scholars that may have studied Chinese or Japanese culture and who could be slightly more prepared to study Korea than the average Humanities scholar.

## Data Compilation

In order to compile exact figures on the translation flows between South Korea and the US two main catalogues have been consulted: the *Index Translationum* (UNESCO 1950-2005) and the *Korea Literature Translation Institute Database* (Korean Culture and Arts Foundation). The decision to consult both derives from the lack of reliability of each of them separately.

On the one hand, the *Index Translationum* is the only international database readily available. However, as other authors have also noted (see Heilbron 1997 or Pym 1998), it presents various problems. To begin with, it has a problem with definitions. While in some countries volumes are just books (as is the case in Korea), in others volumes include doctoral dissertations, administrative documents or military papers (as is the case in the US). Moreover, there are great fluctuations in the data without any particular reason. For example, there are no data for translations published in Korea for the year 1968. Another difficulty is the presentation. Although nowadays the *Index Translationum* can be found and consulted through the internet, the volumes covering 1950 to 1974 are found in the traditional paper format only. That has slowed down our research in its first phase.

On the other hand, the Korea Literature Translation Institute (LTI Korea) was born in March 2001 with the acquisitions and integration of functions and responsibilities previously held by the Literature Department of the Korean Culture & Arts Foundation and the Korea Translation Foundation. Therefore, the LTI database is more exhaustive in relation to books. However, it has three major drawbacks. First, it includes volumes pending publication or published by minor companies in English in South Korea, which are very unlikely to have reached any other country. Second, some of the volumes included in the translation list are

compilations or studies written originally in English. Rewritings of traditional oral texts are also common, presenting the researcher with the question of defining what is meant by a “translation”, as the traditional focus does not deal with the oral tradition. Third, some of the volumes presented as first published translations in English from Korean were originally written not in Korean but in German, Japanese or Chinese.

Brother Anthony of Taize published an article on the availability of Korean literary works in English (Taize 2002). It provides other databases that may be consulted to double check the relevance of books and translations as well as full references of books.

For example, we find the Korean Culture and Arts Foundation (KCAF) has put online a list of 1,847 works of Korean literature translated into English. It contains mostly information on short stories published in hard-to-find periodicals or in books long out-of-print. As it provides the reference for different editions of the same work, it has proven very useful to discern the real publication data of some volumes, as well as the place of publication. Unfortunately, it does not always include reference to the publisher.

The *Introductory Bibliography of Korean Literature* published by KCAF in 2002 lists recent translations sponsored by them in different languages and has been of great help to analyze the current translation situation in Korea.

Another source of translated works was found at the Daesan Foundation’s home page. However, most of the works sponsored by this foundation have not been published and cannot be taken as a reference. In order to sample Korean literature, the quarterly *Korean Literature Today*, edited by Korean P.E.N. and funded by the KCAF, offers on-line translations of poems, short stories and segments of novels, some of which are listed in the KLT database. Similar samples can be found in the *Korea Journal*, a quarterly published by the Korean UNESCO. However, due to its lack of diffusion and recent publishing dates, these sources do not seem useful for our research.

One would think that the most reliable source of bibliographical information for works published in the US would be the Library of Congress catalogue. However, Korean works are listed in the Asian section, whose search options are slightly different from the main catalogue, not allowing publication date discrimination nor subject search.

### *Corpus for Analysis*

We initially considered as acceptable translations from Korean into English all those items that appear both in the *Index Translationum* and in the LTI database. However, reference to the other databases led to some surprising findings. First, some of the volumes had previous editions published in the UK or in Japan but distributed in the US. Second, other volumes were not translated from Korean but from German or Japanese. Third, side by side with the translations located in the main library of the University of Yonsei (where we did this research), other translations dating from the 1920s could be found. Therefore, the final list is sorted out as follows:

According to the *Index Translationum*, the total number of books translated from Korean into English and published in the US from 1950 to 1972 was fifteen. In addition, there is one volume registered as a translation from Korean into English published in Korea and two books on Korean history translated from Japanese. Out of the total of nineteen, two volumes are translations of Laws and Statutes, three other volumes are translations of Kim Il Song's speeches, and two volumes are re-editions. So the final number of literary works according to the *Index Translationum* is nine volumes – plus seven non-literary works.

According to the ILT, there are a total of 56 volumes translated from Korean into English during the same period (1950-1972). Of those volumes, fifteen were published

outside Korea and, of those fifteen, eleven were published in the US. Six of them appear in the *Index Translationum* as well.

Therefore, the total number of books includes the 17 volumes from the *Index Translationum* plus the four volumes included in ILT but not in *Index Translationum*. Moreover, three other volumes were found in the library, making a total of a corpus of 24 books.

### *Presentation of the works included in the corpus*

#### *Works before 1950*

Three volumes were located and certificated as translations published in the US: *Corean Tales*, *Korean Folk Tales: imps, ghosts and fairies*, *The Tiger of Tong San and other Corean Short Stories*.

Since the *Index Translationum* is posterior to 1950, those volumes were not found in the available databases but in the Underwood Division of the Rare and Old Books section of the University of Yonsei's library.

All three volumes are translations of Korean traditional tales compiled by church-related foreigners living in Korea. Different publishers published two of them in London and the US in the same year, and Tuttle would republish one of those two simultaneously in Japan and the US in 1963. This one is the only volume to reveal the authors of most of the translated tales: Im Pang and Yi Ryuk. Yi Ryuk was born in the mid 15<sup>th</sup> century, that is, before the Korean writing system was invented and centuries before it was began to be used in written literature. As the translator was fluent both in Chinese in Korean, the source texts could have been either the Chinese original or a translation into Korean of the Chinese original.

Other references were found in the bibliography of later volumes to at least two other compilations of tales in this period by Kang Younghill: *The Grass Roof* (Kang 1932) and *The Happy Grove* (Kang 1933). It is unclear, though, to what extent such books may be considered translations. While *The Grass Roof* includes some translations of poetry from unnamed Korean sources, the *Happy Grove* is a biography supposedly written in English but which includes some of the poems referred to in the *Grass Roof*.

Although these books will not be included in the total volume of translations analyzed, they are important as a comparative factor.

#### *Works found both in the Index Translationum and LTI*

Six volumes were quoted both in the *Index Translationum* and LTI from 1950 to 1974: *Folk Tales From Korea* (1953, 1969), *The Story Bag* (1955), *Before Love Fades Away* (1957), *Korean Folk Tales: Imps, Ghosts and Fairies* (1963, but the first translation was published in 1913), *In this Earth and in this Wind: This is Korea* (1967) and *Contemporary Korean Poetry* (1970).

With the exception of *Before Love Fades Away*, which was translated and published in Korea, none of the volumes were translated specifically for the publication but were compilations of previous works or translations by the authors/translators.

Three of them are compilations of folk tales. *Korean Folk Tales: Imps, Ghosts and Fairies* had already been translated and published in 1913. In 1963, Tuttle republished it simultaneously in Kobe and Vermont. *The Story Bag* is a translation of folk tales by the Korean storyteller Kim So-Un, written in Japanese under the title *Negi o ueta hito* in 1953. Tuttle published the translation in the US and Japan in 1955.

*Folk Tales From Korea* appears twice in *Index Translationum* and three times in LTI. Originally published by Routledge in 1953, it was later republished by Hollym International in 1969. Although it is supposed to be an original work compiled and translated into English by Jeong In-Sob, references in the prologue and cross-references in similar tales published in the internet indicate that most of the tales compiled may have appeared in the book *Ondoru Yawa* in Japanese, written by the same author adapting stories by Bang Jeong-Hwan. First published during the Korean War, this book devotes five of its eleven-page introduction to the glory of the Korean culture.

In 1970 the first poetry compilation appeared: *Contemporary Korean Poetry*. Since poetry is one of the most popular Korean genres, most of the poems had already been translated in journals and periodicals. A poetry volume published in Korea was *Before Love Fades Away* (1957). A second edition was found in the library. Although this text does not appear in either bibliography it was edited and republished in 1973 under the title *Stopping By*, after major changes. Any explanation lies in the land of guesses, but it is interesting to note that, in the introduction, the corrector mentions how “Mr. Kim Dong Sung [the translator] tried a free translation which is sometimes too liberal” (Cho 1957: Editor’s note). Moreover, the second edition includes in the acknowledgments a mention to a native speaker, which the first one lacks.

In the last volume, *In this Earth and in this Wind: This is Korea* (1967 and 1970), the scholar David J. Streinberg translates a compilation of editorials published in the early 1960s in the *Kyong-hyang Shinmun*, a Korean language daily in Seoul. The fifty translated articles began appearing weekly *The Korea Times* on November 16, 1966 before they were compiled.

*Works found only in the Index Translationum*

Eleven volumes are noted in *Index Translationum* only: *Dialogues for Training Intelligence Linguists* (1954), *The Yalu Flows: A Korean Childhood* (1956). *Law, Statutes, etc: The Korea Criminal Code* (1960), *A Short History of Korea* (1963), *Choe Pu's Diary: A Record of Drifting Across the Sea* (1965), *Law, Statutes, etc: Laws of the Republic of Korea* (1968), *A History of Korea* (1969), *Modern Korea, the Socialist North Revolutionary Perspectives on the South and Unification* (1970), *The History of Korea* (1971), *Revolution and Socialist Construction in Korea: Selected Writings, 1955-1970* (1972), *Juche! The Speeches and Writing* (1972). As eight of them are non-literary works, it is not surprising that are not compiled in the LTI. The other two, *The Yalu Flows* and *Diary: a record of Drifting Across the Sea*, have proven not to be translations from a Korean original.

*The Yalu Flows* was written by Li Mirok, a Korean activist, from his exile in Germany and, although it was translated into Korean later on, it was originally written in German. *Choe Pu's Diary: a Record of Drifting Across the Sea* is the record of Choe Pu, a Korean soldier who, traveling from Jeju Island to the mainland, encountered a storm and accidentally arrived in China. The original dates from the 14<sup>th</sup> century, that is, before the Korean language was invented. The suspicion that the original may have been written in Chinese was reinforced by an open letter by the translator John Meskill to a scholar studying his work where he praises the scholar's studies on Choe Pu and, praising the web page, adds "I should study Han'gul" (Meskill 2003: 1, See Appendix 4).

The rest of the books, being non-literary works, do not appear in the LTI. Three volumes correspond to speeches or texts by Kim Jeong Il, the North Korean leader. It is not surprising that they are difficult to locate in South Korea.

*Dialogues for Training Intelligence Linguists* is the first Korean textbook registered in the *Index Translationum*, but not the first one written. Since I have not located it, I do not have firm proof that it is a manual written completely in English, so it is difficult to see how a

textbook could be included in the Linguistic section of the *Index Translationum* as a translation from Korean.

*Law, Statutes, etc: The Korea Criminal Code* and *Law, Statutes, etc: Laws of the Republic of Korea* are both translations of the 1953 Korean Criminal Code and its revision, included in the “American Series of Foreign Penal Codes”.

*A History of Korea* and *The History of Korea* were translated with a twenty-year difference. When the Korean Studies Guide compilation was being edited in 1952, there was a lack of reliable Korean history books. There was only one available volume in English at the time: Homer Hulbert’s *The History of Korea* (1905) which, despite its intention, fails to outline the framework necessary to understand Korea and it seems to have been out of print by 1930 (Underwood 1931). Hatada Takeshi’s *Chosen-shi* (1951) arrived in the hands of the translators who were compiling the Guide and they decided to translate it. However, the translation would not be published until 1969. The author did not review the book before the final publishing, making it a little outdated. Korea’s recent history was still being lived at the time of the first publication (1951). That is why other accounts of Korean history were necessary. The Center For East Asian Cultural Studies attempted to fill in the lacuna through *A Short History of Korea* (1963) a translation of *Chosen-shi no shirube*. This is the official account of the Chosen Government under Japanese rule, which not only suffers from all the defects implicit in retelling a colony’s history by its colonizer but also lacks a sense of historical interpretation (see Lee, Hong et Cho 1967: 9-18 for further criticism). Another option proposed was *The History of Korea*, a new account written in 1970 by Han Woo-geun, professor of Korean History of Seoul National University.

*Works listed in ILT*

Listed in the ILT we find seven works unlisted in the *Index Translationum: Voices of the Dawn* (1960), *Anthology of Korean Poetry: From the Earlier Era to the Present* (1964), *The Ever White Mountain: Korean Lyrics in the Classical Sijo Form* (1965), *The Hermitage of Flowing Water and Nine Others* (1967), *The Bamboo Grove: An Introduction to Sijo* (1971), *Songs of Flying Dragons: A Critical Reading* (1974) and *Flowers of Fire: Twentieth Century Korean Stories* (1974).

*The Hermitage of Flowing Water* appeared in the *Index Translationum* in 1983 in its second edition, proving that the channels of information are not completely reliable. *Voices of Dawn* and *The Ever White Mountain*, in spite of appearing in the ILT, only give references to British and Japanese publications. However, *Voices of the Dawn* was distributed in the US by John Day Co., and Tuttle republished *The Ever White Mountain* in its normal combination, Kobe-Vermont, according to the Library of Congress database. Moreover, *Songs of Flying Dragons* and *The Bamboo Grove* were accepted in the Korean Series of the Translation Collection of the UNESCO.

Except for *Songs of Flying Dragons*, all the remaining titles are anthologies or compilations. Most of them rely on previous translations, especially in the case of poetry compilations. And among the poetry genre, sijo is one of the most studied and translated type of verse. Sijo is a Korean style verse composition written in hangeul and often sung. Poetry translation has been one of the most constant literary translation types from Korean into English, to the extent that, even nowadays poetry is the most translated genre from Korean into English (Taize 2002).

*Other works*

There are two more works that need special attention in spite of not appearing either in the *Index Translationum* or the *LTI: Korean Folk Reader* (1963) and *The Orchid Door: Ancient Korean Poems* (1970).

*The Korean Folk Reader* is a bilingual edition that includes three Korean Folk Tales handwritten in hangeul (Korean script) and their translation into English. According to the introduction, its aim is first to test the validity of the Korean romanization, as the Korean texts were given to a native speaker romanized in English and he would have to rewrite in hangeul, and, second, to provide a structural comparison between English and Korean for linguistic research. Therefore, although it is based on a translation, the translator is not mentioned and the purpose of the book differs from the classical approach.

*The Orchid Door* was originally written in 1935 and “done into English by Joan S. Grigsby”. It is part of a collection of Paragon Book that includes reprints of old texts. Some other texts have been found in this same collection but they are accounts of Korea written by foreigners.

### *Presentation of the translators analyzed in the corpus*

#### *Missionaries*

As the first foreigners to arrive in Korea, missionaries were also the first to study the Korean language, to translate Korean works and to write on Korea. In spite of the purpose of their rapid language learning – that is, the spread of Christianity – they were the pioneers in analyzing the Korean language and customs. Nowadays, they are still the best-recognized translators. Their works cover not only religious translation but also research into Korean folklore and traditions. They would often combine knowledge of Korean with a wide

understanding of the cultural situation in order to make their message reach the people. Horace N. Allen (1858 - 1932) first arrived as ambassador to Korea but eventually found in the Protestant church the way to understand Korea. James S. Gale (1863 -1937) is probably the most renowned translator. His work was later studied by another Christian translator, the Anglican Bishop Richard Rutt, who is still active. W. N. Gurney of the Methodist Church translated various works from Korean and published some in Milwaukee (US) through the Methodist Publishing House, Morehouse. Joan S. Grisby does not seem to have any other literary translations published.

### *Foreign Scholars*

David J. Streinberg was educated in China and then developed an interest in Korea. He was the representative of the Asia Foundation in Korea when, after being asked to write some articles giving his opinion on Korea, he opted to translate a series of articles on Korea by a Korean writer.

The East-West Center at the University of Hawaii and the University of California at Berkeley have also trained or hosted some scholars interested in Korea. We note Peter Hyun and Peter H. Lee, both of Korean origin.

### *Korean translators*

It is interesting to see how all the Korean translators involved in these volumes either had most of their education abroad or were distinguished members of society or related to distinguished positions.

It is not always clear to what extent the native speaker is considered a translator. Grafton K. Mintz, editor of the *Korea Times*, appears as editor in *The History of Korea* but he is considered co-translator in *History of the Three Kingdoms*, another translation with Lee Kyung-Shik published in Korea. In *The History of Korea* he acknowledges deep changes being made to the translation received from Professor Lee: “It was therefore felt that straight-forward translation into English would not be sufficient to make the book comprehensible and interesting to Western readers. [...] the publishers asked me to undertake a revision of the translation” (Han 1971: vii).

In a translation published in Korea but listed in the *Index Translationum*, Kim Dok Sun includes an editor in the acknowledgments of the second edition, but he claims to have rewritten the poetry himself: “Mr. Cho’s lyrical strain, however, came so close to my heart that I had little difficulty in my work. Often my pen moved as if I were writing my own poetry” (Cho 1957: Preface). He was the President of the *Korea Herald*, and Professor at Seoul University. At the time of the second printing (1972) he was Korean Ambassador to Argentina.

Chong In sob is the former Dean of the Hanguk University of Foreign Studies and Chung-an University’s Graduate School. He graduated from Waseda University during the war, he became associated with Mr. Bae, a famous children rights’ activist with whom he planned *Ondoruyawa*, a Japanese volume which includes most of the works presented in *Korean Folk Tales*.

Inez Kong Pai is a Hawaii-born Korean of a well-known family who graduated in politics. She is married to the former Korean Ambassador to Japan and Korean ambassador to Argentina in 1965.

Peter Hyun and Peter Hacksoo Lee seem to have had an extensive education abroad. While there is little information on Peter Hyun, Peter H. Lee is a well-known translator and

professor at the East-West Center in the University of Hawaii. According to Foreword to the *Anthology of Korean Poetry*, he is fluent in Korean, Chinese, Japanese, English, French, German and Italian.

### *Organizations*

Only two published volumes are presented as translated by organizations.

*Dialogues For Training Intelligence Linguists* was developed by the Korean Language Department of the Presidio of Monterey. The Presidio of Monterey holds the most important language school for the members of the Department of Defense, the Defense Language Institute (DLI). As the volume has not been found, it is difficult to see how it can be considered a translation. We assume it contains texts in Korean and translations of those texts.

The Korean Literary Translation Association translated and edited *The Hermitage of the Flowing Water*. It is not clear, however, who the translator was or whether the authors, who are alive and part of the Korean Literary Translation Association—Han Moosok, the main author was the vice-president at the moment of publication – offered an English version of their writing.

### *Other Languages*

Information about some of the translators of these volumes has not been found. For example, H. A. Hammelman's biography has not been located. He is (or was) most likely a German-English translator. No information has been found on the translators of the North Korean volumes: Li Yuksa and Takeshi Haga. For obvious reasons, both volumes have not been located in South Korea. Kim Do Shik is mentioned in the acknowledgments of the *Korean*

*Folk Reader* as the transcriber of the tales in hangeul, but it is not clear who translated the tales.

Setsu Higashi is Canadian-Japanese and she is married to a journalist in Tokyo. This is her first work as a translator as her usual occupation is as a housewife. B. H. Hazard and W. A. Smith are professional translators hired by the East-West Center of University of Hawaii to compile a bibliography of Korean works. They chose to translate *A History of Korea* from Japanese into English. They seem to be the only professional translators we have found working into their L1, if we consider that the main profession of the missionaries was not translating but christianizing Korea.

#### *Presentation of the US publishers and relationships with other publishers*

The publishing companies in charge of the volumes studied can be organized into four groups: Asia-oriented publishers, independent publishers (some of them with English connections), specialized publishers, or those who publish books on a specific topic, and easily reachable publishers covering those presses which have closer links to the translator than to the work itself.

#### *Asia-oriented publishers*

One of the main Asia-oriented publishers is Tuttle. Charles E. Tuttle is an American company with offices in Japan. They distribute both to the Japanese and the American market. It is considered one of the publishers with the best selection of Asian books, especially those related to the Japanese language.

Paragon Books was a small publisher dedicated to Asian studies. One of their main focuses was on reprints of books published in Japan during the 1930s. Later on it was absorbed by the International Cultural Foundation, a major company and, despite keeping a similar name “Paragon House”, it changed its focus to best-sellers and larger print-runs.

The United States Congress established the East West Center in Hawaii in 1960 in order to “promote better relations and understanding between the United States and the nations of Asia and the Pacific through cooperative study, training and research” (Lee 1974: inside cover). The University of Hawaii Press and the East West Center Press share the printing of the books resulting from research.

### *Independent Publishers*

Most of the independent publishers share the same location: New York. Grove Press was founded by Barney Rosset in 1951 and later merged with Atlantic books to form Atlantic Grove Press. It had strong connections with Routledge.

John Day Co had had previous contacts with Asia as the publisher of Pearl S. Buck’s stories. Since it has since disappeared, little further information on their range of publishing seems available.

Grossman was also an independent publisher at its founding in 1963. It had strong connections with Orion Press and English publishing houses. Later on it became Viking and was absorbed by the Penguin Group, one of the major British publishers.

E. P. Dutton would be eventually part of the Penguin group as well, becoming the publisher of “Everyman’s library”, a collection of classics. When it was first founded in 1886 it was an independent publisher with a wide scope.

### *Specialized publishers*

G. P. Putman's and Sons would also become part of Penguin (Periplus Publishing). In 1889 it had main offices in New York and London. Their main scope was children's books but it also has a good collection of Japanese books.

Two publishers specialize in reference books: ABC-Clio and F. B. Rothman. The first focuses on Humanities while the later on Law Studies. International Publishers has a broad selection of Socialist and Communist Literature.

One quarter of our corpus is published by university presses. Some of them have relationships with Asian Studies (University of Hawaii with the East West Center and Michigan State University have an Asian Program). Indiana University is famous for its language research programs. The rest, University of Arizona, University of Iowa, Harvard University and University of California, had a close connection with the translators or the editors of the works.

### *Through connections*

The two remaining publishers present special characteristics. Gateway Publishers advice writers on the best way to have their work published and distributed. That is, it works through subventions and grants acquired by the volume itself.

Morehouse Press is a small publisher founded by Frederick Cook in 1918 and it has a strong connection with the Anglican Church, often publishing works by Protestant authors and translators.

### *On Publishers*

Most of the publishers of the books studied in the corpus are independent publishers or very specialized publishers. They do not look for bestsellers, but are centered in specific interests: Asia, Economics, Communism, etc. Not much effort seems to come from bigger publishers to present Korean culture or image. Even from these smaller publishers, the volumes seem to be educational or merely anecdotic.

## Data Analysis

### *Rise of translations*

The hypothesis that a historical situation creates a real increase in translation demand is partially supported by the data. The data shows that a demand of information on Korea was created, but the demand was not covered completely with translations from Korean.

If we look at the volume of translations from 1950 to 1974 (see Figure 1), we notice there is a significant rise in the publications of translations from Korean. Previously there were only three translations published in the US, in 1889, 1913 and 1931. During the period studied, 24 volumes were published. There is certain regularity as well, as there are only five non-consecutive years without a single publication.

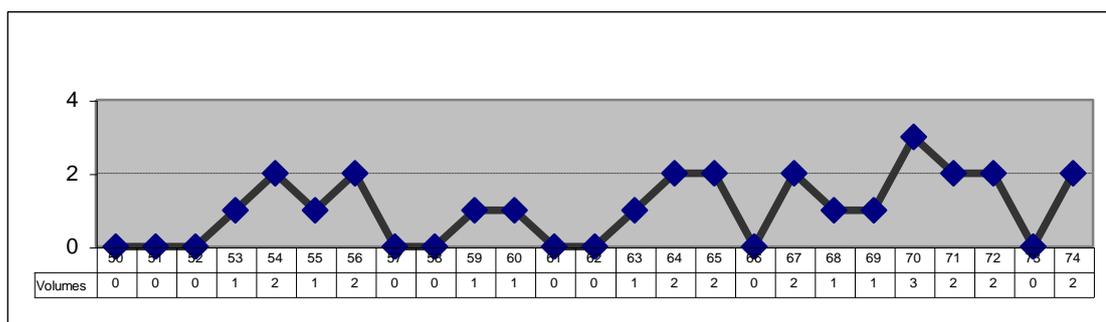


Figure 1: Translations from Korean into English published in the US.

Despite the significant increase, the total volume of publications is still very small for a 25-year period. The volume looks even smaller if we compare it with the number of translations from Japanese and Chinese published in the US during the same period (see Figure 2).

Japanese and Chinese translations, unlike Korean ones, seem to surpass regularity to show a tendency to grow.

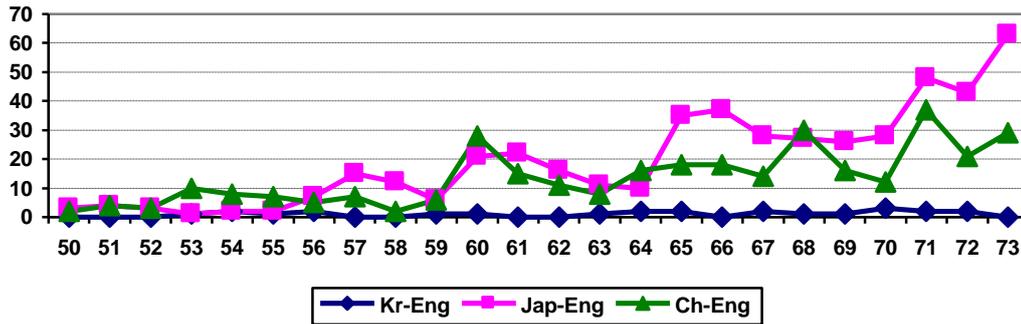


Figure 2: Translations from North-East Asian languages into English published in the US.

Moreover, if we look at the volumes more carefully, most of them are not direct translations from Korean but relay translations via Chinese, Japanese or German (see Table 1). Out of twenty-four volumes, four are translations Japanese, one is a translation from German and one is a translation from Chinese. Three other volumes are translations from North Korean speeches (one of them via Japanese) and therefore not representative of South Korean exports to the US. There are two other volumes that were published in London and then distributed in the US by fellow publishers. Still another volume was a reprint of a translation from Korean published in Japan in 1932. Therefore, only twelve volumes out of those initial twenty-four (fifty per cent) were translated from Korean targeting the American market. Therefore, if we define “country of import” as the country from which the American publication was imported, the volumes are divided as follows:

Table 1: Distribution of translations by country of import

Country of import	South Korea	Japan	North Korea	England	Germany	China
Number of Translations	13	5	3	2	1	1

That is, the sudden demand for information in the US about Korea, provoked by the Korean War and the post-war, seems to have increased the number of books related to Korea but has not necessarily caused a rise in translation practice from Korean into English.

## *Korean Translators*

From the data studied, we can conclude that there was some interest in Korean Literature – as the rise from three to twenty-four volumes shows – but that the interest was not large enough as to persuade publishers to invest in translations of Korean literature. There does not seem to be a constructed network of translators – as there was in Japan due to Tuttle’s interest – nor editors specialized in Korea – as Howard Strauss had been in Japan (Fowler 1992). Therefore, somebody needed to make up for the lack of direct contact between American publishers and Korean literature. In that situation, Korean translators played a very important role.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the role of translators into L2 is unclear. Little importance has been put on their performance, traditionally accepting translation into L1 as the ideal common practice. Translators into L2 nevertheless play a basic role in Korean translation.

The 21 translators working on the 25 volumes may be grouped as follows: ten Korean translators working on 13 volumes, two associations –one Korean, one American – working on one volume, seven English-speakers working on 6 volumes and two Japanese translators working on two volumes (see Table 2). Therefore, 13 translators were working into their L2.

Table 2: Translators and translations by translators’ mother tongue

	Translation into L1 (English)	Translation into L2 (L1 Korean)	Translation into L2 (L1 NonKorean)
Translators	8	11	2
Translations	6	14	2

Not only were the majority of the translators working into L2, but they were also working on more volumes than the translators working into L1, that is, than English mother-tongue speakers.

Two factors are of utmost importance in understanding why Korean translators seem to have done the majority of the works: availability and ability.

During the Japanese occupation of Korea, several Korean citizens opted to emigrate to other countries, for either political or economic reasons, or in order to continue their studies, as Korean universities closed at a later stage in the peninsula. This Diaspora was well educated and strongly motivated; they quickly settled in the new countries. Those who had moved for political reasons and many of those who had only education in mind would eventually become the Korean intellectual elite outside Korea and the most persistent fighters for freedom. When freedom and peace were both achieved, they had good knowledge of at least foreign language (some of them had lived abroad for more than two decades) and a strong desire to be in touch with the mother country again. Meanwhile the flow of foreigners into Korea was inconsistent. Most of the foreigners who had arrived in Korea were religious men on their way to spread Christianity. Most missionaries would learn Korean in order to spread the sacred message in the peninsula. Although they also would become the first experts on Korea and would write the first accounts about the Hermit Kingdom, their prime purpose was to have their message delivered.

Therefore, when the world opened to Korea, two main profiles were available as possible translators from Korean into English: returnees with a high knowledge of English due to higher education in a foreign language, or Christian missionaries self-educated in Korean.

Some insecurity can be observed as a result of first translations. As is customary in Korean publications, most translations include a preface by a famous professor as well as an

introduction by the translator. Both, which are often disregarded in the American publications, give much information about the translation process, especially when two editions of the same volume can be located. Therefore, inspection of some of the volumes published in Korea gives the researcher insights on the nature of translations and translators.

The first evidence to prove the insecurities is the change of titles in second editions. Some title changes are observed. Cho Byung-hwa *Saranggi kagi jeone* was translated in 1957 as *Before Love Fades Away* (Cho 1957). It includes a preface by the translator and a short introduction by a famous professor, both explaining the characteristics of the volume. The 1973 re-edition not only forgets both preface and introduction but changes the title to *Stopping by* (Cho 1973). A change of name can also be observed in *Chunhyang jeon*, translated in 1956 by Chai Hong Sim under the title *Fragrance of Spring* but republished in 1970 as *The Story of Choonhyang. Korean Verses* (Han Young-un et al. 1961) also changed the title in its second edition to *Poems from Modern Korea* (Han Young-wun et al. 1970) after thorough revision – in spite of having been the source text for the Spanish and Bengali translations. The 1970 edition includes a note explaining the reasons for the change: “The circumstances under which it was edited and printed demanded great haste, resulting in both translational and typographical inadequacies in a considerable number of poems included” (Han Young Wun et al. 1970: Note for the Second Edition). However, the thirty new poems included in the second edition were introduced “in accordance with their poetic status as with the quality of their poems available in translation” (Han Young Wun et al. 1970: Note for the Second Edition) leading us to wonder to what extent there were further translations prepared for this second edition. Other books are enlarged first versions. Kang Young-hill presents *The Happy Grove* as the enlarged version of *The Grass Roof*: “The plot is taken from the first half of *Grass Roof*. The material has been enlarged and re-edited to [suit...] younger readers” (Kang 1933: Preface).

The second kind of evidence lies in the reflection of the translators. Olmsted criticizes the quality of the translations that his linguistic study is based on: “The recordings [of the translations] reflected no previous linguistic training and the translations were often wanting in accuracy” (Olmsted 1964: v). The 1970 edition of *Chunhyang jeon* does not include the translator’s preface, which begins, “In presenting the English version of the legendary tale of Choon Hyang, I feel rather ashamed of myself for having interpreted Korea’s most popular and romantic literature without efficient linguistic abilities” (Anonymous 1956: Preface). Edward J. Urquhart also stresses in his translation of *Chunhyangjeon* the lack of revision mentioned by the Korean Poets Association in *Poems from Korea*. The “Notes of Information” include “an apology” justifying shortcomings of the rendering:

Only those who have attempted the production of an English book in the East can appreciate the tremendous task involved in such undertaking. Where a single individual is author, editor, proofreader, scientific expert, and much besides, errors of various kinds are sure to creep in. Thus, no better excuse can be offered for the typographical and other errors to be found within this book than to say it is published in the East. (Anonymous 1929)

The lack of help indicated by Urquhart diminishes as the translation community grows. Sometimes, translations were improved through several drafts before the final presentation, and were worked on together with other translators, building a strong network of connections.

A working practice that includes relying on many observers and co-translators could also hint at certain inexperience on the part of the translators in a particular field. Grigsby expresses his indebtedness to James S. Gale as, “His literal translations have supplied a very

large part of the material of which these poems are based” (Anonymous 1970: 29). Kong Paiz acknowledges nine people as direct helpers in the translation of *sijo*, classical Korean verse (Choe, Chung et al. 1964: 8). James S. Gale and Bishop Richard Rutt, as well as various professors at Chosen Christian College (nowadays known as University of Yonsei) are often mentioned in acknowledgments and introductions.

In any case, whether they had help or not, whether they had worked as translators before or not, Korean returnees and christian missionaries were the only people to have the ability to speak both languages fluently and were often the only ones available to do the job, as their relatively comfortable position allowed them time to undertake a second job. Moreover, consequent translation jobs by the same people lead us to believe that either their work was more than acceptable or they were tightly connected.

Nevertheless, the lack of fully qualified translators seems to have been a serious difficulty. Edward W. Poitras summarizes it in *Sea of Tomorrow*:

In recent years, Korea has become impatient to place her literary works before the eyes of the world, but the dearth of translators has been and remains a limitation not easily overcome. This translation effort is the result of a growing conviction that the attempt to translate Korean poetry must be furthered, even before ideally qualified translators may appear. (Pak 1971: v)

As Poitras suggests, the translation practice must continue, and Korean translators were very aware of it. Their own struggle and political motivations may have been part of their desire to present Korea to the world. Poitras himself expresses his wish that his book “may awaken a greater interest in Korean literature and in the unfulfilled task of its translations and dissemination” (Pak 1971: v). The Korean Literary Translation Association presents their

translation thus: “we would rather call it [Korea] the Land of Poetry. Certainly it was in the past, and we hope it will be in the future.” (Han et al. 1967). Peter Hyun explains how he decided to translate Korean poetry while staying in the US “[...] where I first felt it important that someone should introduce and elucidate Korean poetry to the West” (Sung Chung et al. 1960: 15). J. L. Cranmer-Byng in his introduction to *Voices of the Dawn* “desires above all things that these books shall be the ambassadors of good-will between East and West” (Sun Chung et al. 1960: 6). James S. Gale recommends his translation to “anyone who would like to look somewhat into the inner soul of the Oriental, and see the peculiar spiritual existence among which he lives” (Im Bang 1923: vii). W. Simon in the foreword to *Folk Tales From Korea* praises the knowledge of the translator Zong In-sob OF folklore, reminding the reader that “his [Zong In-sob’S] interest in Korean folk tales goes back to his early childhood, and, inspired by the highest patriotic motives, he has kept it up all through his life” (Zong 1953: v). The translator himself expresses in the author’s foreword how the Irish Renaissance movement inspired him to realize that “the first step in revival of literary consciousness in my native land must be a revival of interest in folk tales” (Zong 1953: vii). The Introduction is a fifteen-line praise of Korean culture and traditions. Grigsby also uses the introduction for a fifteen-line summary of Korean history.

On the whole, translators seem to have been motivated by personal circumstances that led them to face the difficulties presented in translating into L2. Translators also seem to have been directly involved in the dissemination of Korean literature by acting as mediators between literature in Korean and foreign publishers without many resources invested in Korean literature. However, not all the work carried out by the Korean translators reached the American publishing market. Some was stocked in Korea. The translations published in Korea need further attention, as they may offer extremely helpful insights on the process of

translation in Korea, from the selection of volumes to the translation process itself, and to the final publication

However, since we are to focus on the literature that arrived in the United States, the question of funding needs to be raised. Were the publishers looking for new imports, or was there other external funding involved?

### *Translation funding*

The hypotheses that government, and government related organizations may have acted as promoters of translation is strongly supported by the results found.

The twelve direct translations from Korea were analysed to find out who the promoter of the translation had been. On some occasions, a publisher interested in a particular volume may order a translation. Some other times, translators may decide on a specific work and look for a publisher later. Both can be encouraged by translation grants and publishing subsidies.

Out of these twelve direct translations, three were initiated by the translator alone, who then found a way to publish it. Inez Kong Pai states in the foreword to *The Ever White Mountain*: “I yearned to share and boast of my love to all. That is when I began translating classical Korean *sijo* into English, over three hundred fifty of them, of which more than two hundred appear in this collection” (Choe Chung et al 1965: 7-8). Later, she continues to thank the publishers for “their warm reception of this work from the very beginning” (Choe Chung et al. 1965: 9). We can assume, then, that she approached the publisher Weatherhill after having begun the translation.

*The Hermitage of the Flowing Water and Nine Others* was a project of the Korean Literary Translation Association, published by Gateway Press. This press does not sponsor

the publication of the books themselves but helps the author find subsidies or funding in order to publish the volume. So the authors or translators approached the publisher.

David I. Steinberg began the translation of *In this Earth and in this Wind: this is Korea* as “a language exercise for my own amusement” (Yi 1967: ix). Then, as is explained in the translator’s preface, the articles were published in *The Korea Times* and after their success they were compiled in a book by the Korea branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, which had beginning operating in 1900 and began the publishing of Korea related books on 1960. This is the second in the series.

Without a possible market, the publishers would have not accepted the volumes. However the initiators of the translations in those cases were the translators themselves.

*The Korean Criminal Code* was part of the Comparative Criminal Law Project of the New York University School of Law. It does not mention any financial support, so we must assume it did not receive any. It is published by Fred B. Rothman & Co in the United States and by Sweet & Maxwell Limited in England. Both publishers specialize in law reference books, so the initiation of this translation may have come from either side, the publisher or the Comparative Criminal Law Project.

As *Contemporary Korean Poetry* has not been located, we do not have any information on the specific characteristics of the book. However, since it was published by the University of Iowa Press, it may be linked to the Japanese and Korean studies program there.

The other seven translations, however, have been clearly subsidized by government-related organizations.

*Dialogues for Training Intelligent Linguists* is a Korean language manual designed for “teaching members of the Department of Defense” (Defense Language Institute: 2006).

On the title page of the *Korean Folklore Reader* there is a disclaimer that warns, “this text was developed pursuant to a contract between the United States Office of Education and

the American Council of Learned Societies and is published with the permission of the United States Office of Education” (Olmsted 1963: title page). Moreover, the work was supported by grants from the Committee on Research of the Graduate School of North-Western University, the Graduate School of Yale University, and the Research Committee of the University of California at Davis.

*Songs of Flying Dragons* was mostly supported by a grant from the Bollinger Foundation, the American Council of Learned Societies and the American Philosophical Center, but it also received support from the Center for Japanese and Korean Studies of the University of California AT Berkeley and the Center for Korean Studies at the University of Hawaii. The Center for Japanese and Korean Studies of the University of California sponsored a series of books concerned with Japan and Korea that includes Richard Rutt’s *The Bamboo Grove: An Introduction to Sijo* (Yi Saek et al 1971: title page).

The Center for Korean is part of the East West Center, which was established by Congress. Participants are supported by federal scholarships. Peter H. Lee, with *Flowers of Fire: Twentieth-Century Korean Stories*, and Lee Kyung-Shik’s *The History of Korea* are recipients of such support. Moreover, *The Bamboo Grove* and *Songs of the Flying Dragons*, together with *Anthology of Korean Poetry* and *Voices of the Dawn* were sponsored by UNESCO within the Korean Series of the UNESCO collection of Representative Works, a direct subsidy program launched in 1948 in order to encourage the translation and publishing of representative works.

Some of the relay translations were also subsidized. *A Short History of Korea* was published with assistance of the UNESCO, in implementation of the Major Project of Mutual Appreciation of Eastern and Western Cultural Values. *Voices of the Dawn* is part of the UNESCO representative works.

From this data we can extract first, that governments and government-related organizations were playing an important role in the diffusion and translation of Korean works and, second, that the publishers were not taking risks in order to exploit the possible demand. The only exception to this statement would be specialized publishers that would translate Korean books related to their field of specialization. The other publishers were reediting old volumes or translating from other more common languages (see Table 3).

Table 3: Funding and initiation of translations.

Government	Unkwnon	Translator	Publisher			
10	1	5	8			
			North	Specialized	Reprint	Relay
			Korea			
			3	1	2	2

### *Non-subsidized volumes*

After stating that most of the books had received some kind of government-related funding, it is interesting to look into the volumes that seem not to have received any direct funding.

Those volumes can be divided into two groups: reception of proposals by translators, and proposals by publishers. In this latter group we find two subgroups: translation of specialized books, and relay translations.

### *Proposals by translators*

The role of translators as initiators of the translation, which was a variable that was not looked into at first, has become obvious when analysing the data.

*The Ever White Mountain, In this Earth and in this Wind: This is Korea* and *Diary of Drifting Across the Sea* were not first translated with the purpose of being published in book form. As previously explained, the first two volumes were translated for personal reasons and later found a way to be published. John K. Meskill began the translation of *Diary of Drifting Across the Sea* part of his thesis on North-East Asian Intercultural Studies. *The Hermitage of the Flowing Water* and *A History of Korea* were published in book form, but the translators were the ones who chose the works and translated them before any publisher became interested in their work. While the first was a project from the Korean Literary Translation Association, the second (Hatada 1951) came to the attention of Smith and Hazard while they were compiling the *Korean Studies Guide* (Smith & Hazard 1954). As mentioned in the Translators' Preface, "Since they had found, while compiling the *Korean Studies Guide* there was no good survey of Korea in a Western language, they decided it would be useful to translate Hatada's work" (Hatada 1969: introduction). However, more than a decade passed until a publisher was ready to accept the volume, the American Bibliographical Center. ABC-Clio Press is a publisher specialized in reference books, a fact that supports the theory that publishers were mostly interested in volumes with a secured market.

The translators of all these volumes have something in common: they were well connected both within Asia and outside Asia. Inez Kong Pai was married to the Korean Ambassador of Japan (where she published her translation) and had previously worked at UNESCO as a translator (Choe Chung et al.1965: jacket inset). Meskill had connections in Chinese, Korean and Japanese universities (Choe Pu 1965: acknowledgments). Steinberg was not only a reporter for *the Korea Times* but was also the representative of the Asian

foundation in Korea and was well connected to Harvard University and University of London (Lee 1967: jacket inset). Smith and Hazard were compiling the *Korean Studies Guide*, so they were in an excellent position to recommend translations and they must have been in contact with several publishers.

In conclusion, translators seem to have played an important role in discovering and presenting new volumes. This possibility was available to them due to their visible position either in international diplomatic or educational circles or in the Korean Studies system.

### *Proposals by publishers*

The main characteristics of the publishers' proposals are the availability of the translation and/or the secured market of the publication.

*Folk Tales of Korea* and *The Orchid Door* were successfully published in Korea and Japan and were available for re-edition due to the contact between the American publishers and the British and Japanese publishers. The Grove Press was closely related to Routledge, while Paragon Book had contacted several Japanese publishers to launch a reprint collection. They were available and their success in other countries encouraged the choice.

The success of *Das Yalu fließt* (*The Yalu Flows*) in Germany and *Negi o ueta hito* (*The Story bag*) in Japan was a back-up for ordering the translation of these two volumes. Lee Mirok, the author of *Das Yalu fließt*, fled to Germany during the Japanese occupation and wrote most of his works in German. Actually, "Mirok Lee is better known to German than to Koreans as a writer" and "excerpts from *The Yalu Flows* are included in the some high school language textbooks in Germany" (Lee 1986: jacket inset). Moreover, the translation was easily available. Following logical reasoning and as anecdotally suggested by the fact that this is the only volume that does not give information about the translator, there are more German-

English translators available than Korean-English. There may be a similar amount of Japanese-English translators, but the publisher Tuttle was very well established in Japan and had a broad network they could rely on.

The four volumes we have left to analyse may have been translated for the first time, but they could count on a fixed market in which their publishers had specialized. F. B. Rothman publishes law reference books and the translation of the Korean criminal code perfectly fitted the profile of books they published. International Publishers were specialized in Communist books, so the speeches of Kim Il Song also fitted the book profile they were interested in.

The role of third countries is important in these translations for two reasons: first, as tests for publication success; second, as a shortcut to Korea-related books.

### *On image building*

Our data has shown that there was a rise of Korean volumes published in the United States after the Korean War, but that this growth was due to translations from other languages or aimed at other markets more than to translations from Korean aimed at the US market. Korean translators highly proficient in English carried out most of the translations from Korean into English, thus working into L2. Those translators often played an important role in presenting their work to publishers. Publishers seem to have played a more passive role in the dissemination of Korean literature, relying on works that were already successful, with lower translations cost, either already-finished works or government-funded ones.

In a context with so many variables, the data cannot locate a direct influence of government interests on Korean publications, but it cannot refute the supposition either.

Table 4: Translations by genre

	Poetry compilation	Short Stories	Articles & Speeches	Novel	Reference
Number of volumes	6	6	3	4	5

More than half of the volumes are compilations either of short stories, of poetry or of articles and speeches (see Table 4). The rest are reference books or biographies (both novels are biographies). The articles refer to Korean cultures and the speeches compile Kim Jeong-il's thought. The poetry compilations relate to *sijo*, old traditional poetry. The short stories are folk tales (three volumes) or traditional stories (two volumes) except for one volume which covers twentieth century short stories.

Only this last book and some of the reference books mention the recent history of relations with Japan. The three history books mention the previous manipulation of history by Japanese historians, On two occasions as a disclaimer, as their translations from Japanese. A *Short History of Korea* includes a Note warning that "In this English version, some passages in the original which were heavily Japanese-centered have been omitted and corrections have been made, including a new chapter on the period of Japanese rule of Korea up to 1945" (Government General of Chosen 1963: Note). Takada's interpretation of recent Korean history is also justified as "[...] The *Chosen-shi* represents the author's analysis of Korean history as it appeared to him in 1951" (Takada 1969: vii). The only history book translated from Korean emphasizes this fact:

It is said that Korean histories should outgrow dynastic-centered descriptions of history, correct historical facts that were distorted by government-patronized scholars during the Japanese colonial rule, and be written from an objective point of view based on sympathy. (Han 1970: v)

*Flowers of fire* includes a long introduction explaining the influence of Japanese rule on twentieth-century Korean literature. However, none of the stories show any Japanese character or make any direct reference to the political situation, which is taken for granted.

It could thus be argued that there is an image presented of a peaceful Korea with a long tradition of poetry and fairy tales, both symbols of old culture. At the same time, threats to the new image being built for Japan in the United States (see Fowler 1992) are avoided.

However, other reasons may explain the large amount of anthologies and compilations, as well as the lack of books related to Japan or including criticism of Japan.

First, short texts look more attainable for inexperienced translators. Second, different translators can work on the short stories separately and then collect them later in a compilation. In this way, the individual translator has more time to work. Also, translators can be published individually in journals and periodicals, giving them publication experience if not monetary reward. Third, anthologies and compilations allow a culture to present different versions of itself in one volume and at the same time help aim at a wider range of readers.

As discussed by Even-Zohar anthologies are important to build a repertoire. The Irish renaissance experience proves that the practice is not exclusive to Korea. In the introduction to *International Anthologies of Literature in Translation* (Kittel 1995) the promotion of an interest in the source literature is highlighted as a cultural task performed by anthologies. Moreover, it may help to promote the emancipation of indigenous literature from less desirable cultural influences. From the point of view of the target culture, they may provide new impulses to the target literature.

Traditional literature seems to be the best choice for such anthologies, since recent political events, like the annexation of Korea by Japan and the posterior colonial exploitation and Korean War, are thus out of range.

Although all the data could lead us to believe in a possible image of development promoted by the United States government, there is little evidence of this in the small number of volumes available. If we take into account that it is all the published translations found, it is definitely significant. However, it is also significant that this is all the literature available. Therefore, it would be logical to accept a tendency to include the volumes into a designated standard without further effort to develop the image. In other words, it seems that the interest in the promotion of Korea was not important enough as to enter in conflict with other interests, like the promotion of Japan.

## Conclusion

The sudden demand for information in the United States about Korea, brought about by the Korean War and the post war, seems to have increased the number of books related to Korea but did not necessarily cause a rise in translation practice from Korean into English.

The government and government-related organizations were playing an important role in the diffusion and translation of Korean works abroad, but it would not have been enough had there not been an answer from the readers and personal initiative from the publishers. However, publishers were not taking risks in order to exploit a possible demand.

It is unclear to what extent the involvement of the government influenced the selection of genres and themes. However, most of the titles subject to this influence are literary compilations unrelated to current interests. The lack of reference to closer historical situations, like the Japanese colonization period, could lead to believe an influence not toward certain topics but away from a few problematic topics.

The role of third countries became important in these translations for two reasons: first, as tests for publication success; second, as a shortcut to Korea-related books.

The role of translators as initiators of the translation, which was a variable that was not looked into in the first place, has become obvious when analysing the data.

Korean translators working into L2 and missionaries carried the translation of the volumes directly from Korean into English in the first stage. Later, this situation gave way to scholars translating from Korean into their mother tongue, English. The role of the Korean translators is important not only as initiators of translation but also as experts on Korean literature. However, most of their work did not actually reach the United States.

We can conclude that the relationship between a rise in translations and a historical situation is difficult to trace, as there are many factors involved other than translation. However, the interest of governments in a specific literature can be found in the subsidies and facilities. That is, a government may see literature as a way to promote a culture, if not a certain image of a culture.

So there is a clear correspondence between a set of historical factors and literature imports, and due to the necessity of translating to receive the literature, translation will play an important role in it. However, the resources employed by publishers will rely more on literature published directly in the language of reception, in our case English, or already translated into languages closely connected to the reception community, so the translation process is more effective.

Therefore, historical urgency becomes an important factor, which brings about the use of normally proscribed strategies: translation into L2 and relay translation. Moreover, it provokes the inapplicability of most traditional models of translation.

In any case, the development of translation in Korean literary history is still to be discovered and there is much left to be studied. Further research would facilitate a better-structured analysis of factors and players, as well as a more precise picture of the translation practices mostly used in North-Asian countries. A country like Korea, in which somebody barely exists if not previously introduced, is likely to show a network of connections without a single thread unknotted.

Further research would like to look into the characteristics of the volumes translated and published in Korea as well as the false translations published in the US, that is, those volumes originally written in English but presented as Korean works. The profile of the actors involved in the translation process could lead to interesting results in the field of translation culture. The comparison between the contents of the false translations and the strategies at

work in the translations could throw some light on the importance of the presentation of a Korean image in the US culture.

## Bibliography

[v.a.] 1970. *The Orchid Door*. New York: Paragon Book Reprint.

Ahn, Seong-hyo. 1996. *Peonyeok teknik*. Seoul: Hyenamsa.

Amazon. *Amazon.com* [cited June 2006] available from <http://www.amazon.com>

Anonymous. 1929. *The Fragrance of Spring*. Seoul: Jidaesa.

Anonymous. 1962. *Fragrance of Spring*. Seoul: Kukjaepodo Yeonmaeng.

Anonymous. 1970. *A Classical Novel, Ch'un-hyang*. Seoul: Korean Centre, International P.E.N.

Anonymous. 1970. *Fragrance of Spring: The Story of Choon Hyang*. Seoul: Bojinjae.

Baker, Mona ed. 1998. *Routledge Encyclopaedia of Translation Studies*. London/New York: Routledge.

Benjamin, Walter. 2000. "The Task of the Translator" in Venutti, Lawrence (ed). *The Translation Studies Reader*. London & New York: Routledge.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1993. *The Field of Cultural Production: Essays on Art and Literature*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Catford, J.C. 1965. *A Linguistic Theory of Translation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Cho, Byung-hwa. 1957. *Before Love Fades Away*. Seoul: Roman

Cho, Byung-hwa. 1973. *Stopping By*. Seoul: Seongmungak.

Choe, Chung [et al]. 1965. *The Ever White Mountain : Korean Lyrics in the Classical Sijo Form*. Rutland: Tuttle.

Choe, Pu. 1965. *Diary: A Record of Drifting across the Sea*. Tucson: University of Arizona.

Chung, Henry. 2000. *Korea and the United States Through War and Peace 1943-1960*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.

CIA. *The World Factbook – Rank Order – GDP (Purchasing Party Parity)*. [cited June 2006]. Available from <http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook/rankorder/2001rank.html>

Cicero, Marcus Tullius. 2001. *On the Ideal Orator*. NY: Oxford University.

Cronin, Michael. 2003. "Translation and Minority Languages in a Global Setting" in *Translation and Globalization*. London: Routledge.

- De Swaan, Abram. 2001. *Words of the World: the Global Language System*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Defense Language Institute. 2006. Defense Language Institute- Foreign Language Center. [last visited May, 2006 available in <http://www.dliflc.edu>]
- Dollerup, Cay. 1998. "Relay and Support Translations". In *Translation in Context: Selected Contributions from the EST Congress*. Chesterman, A; Gallardo, N. & Gambier, Y.(eds), 17-26. Granada: EST.
- Ekbladh, David. 2003. "Deconstructing Reconstruction". In *Peace and Conflict Monitor*. [cited 05 of May, 2006 available in]
- Even-Zohar, Itamar. 1990. "System, Dynamics and Interference in Culture: A Synoptic View". *Poetics Today* 11 (1): 85-94.
- Fowler, Edward. 1992. "Rendering Worlds, Traversing Cultures: On The Art and Politics of Translating Modern Japanese Fiction" in *Journal of Japanese Studies* 18-1. Seattle: Society of Japanese studies.
- Government General of Chosen. 1963. *A Short History Of Korea*. Honolulu: East-West Center Press.
- Gutt, Ernst August. 1991. *Translation and Relevance: cognition and context*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Han, Woo-gun. 1971. *The History of Korea*. Honolulu: East-West Center
- Han, Yong-un, et al. 1970. *Korean Verses*. Seoul: The Korean Information Services.
- Han, Yong-Wun, et al. 1961. *Poems from Modern Korea*. Seoul: Munweonsa
- Hatada, Takashi. 1969. *A History of Korea*. Santa Barbara: ABC-Clio.
- Heilbron, Johan. 1999. "Towards a Sociology of Translation: Book Translation as a Cultural World-System". *European Journal of Social Theory* 2(4): 429-444.
- Hermans, Theo. 1985. *The Manipulation of Literature*. London & Sydney: Croom Helm.
- . 1999. *Translation in Systems: Descriptive and Systemic Approaches Explained*. Vol. 7, *Translation Theories Explained*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- House, Julianne. 1997. *A Model for Translation Quality Assessment*. Tübingen: Gunter Narr.
- Hyun, Theresa and Lambert, Jose [ed]. 1995. *Translation and Modernization*. Tokyo: University of Tokyo.
- Im, Bang; Yi, Yuk. 1923. *Korean Folk Tales; Imps, Ghosts, And Fairies*. Tokyo: C.E. Tuttle Co.

- Kim, Key-Hiuk. 1999. *Opening of Korea: A Confucian Response to the Western Impact*. Seoul: Yonsei University.
- Kim, Seong-Woo. 1995. *Yeongeo-reul urimal cheorom urimal-eul yeong-eo cheorom*. Seoul: Changmunsa.
- Kirk, Sung Hee. 2001. *Translation and Textuality: A Case Study of English-Korean translation*. Seoul: Hankook.
- Kissinger, Henry. 1996. *Diplomacia*. Barcelona: Ediciones B.
- Kittel, Harald. 1995. *International Anthologies of Literature in Translation*. Berlin: Eric Schmidt.
- Korean Culture and Arts Foundation. *Works of Korean Literature Translated into English* [cited 2nd, May, 2005. Available from <http://www.kcaf.or.kr/trnsinfo/html/index.htm>.]
- Lambert, Jose. 1998. “<Communication Societies>: comments on Even Zohar’s <Making of Culture Repertoire>”. *Target* 10:2 353-356.
- Lee, Kwang-kyu .2000. *Overseas Koreans*. Seoul: Jimoondang.
- Lee, Mirok. 1956. *The Yalu Flows*. East Lansing: Michigan State University.
- Lee, O-Nyong. 1967. *In This Earth and in this Wind: This is Korea*. San Francisco: Tri-Ocean
- Lee, Peter H.1998. *Explorations in Korean Literary History*. Seoul: Yonsei University.
- Lee, Saek. 1971. *The Bamboo Grove: Introduction to Sijo*. Los Angeles: University of California.
- Lee, Sun-keun, Hong, I-sop et Cho, Hae-jong. 1967. “A Maliciously Distorted Book” in *Korea Journal* 7-4, 9-19. Seoul: Korean National Commission for Unesco.
- Lefevere, André. 1990. “Translation: its genealogy in the West”. In *Translation, History and Culture*, edited by S. Bassnet and A. Lefevere. New York: Cassell.
- . 1992. *Translation, Rewriting & The Manipulation of Literary Fame*. Edited by S. Bassnet and A. Lefevere. 1 ed, *Translation Studies*. London & New York: Routledge.
- Linn, Stella. 2006.”Trends in the Translation of a Minority Language: the Case of Dutch” in *Sociocultural Aspects of Translating and Interpreting*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Newmark, Peter.1988. *A Textbook of Translation*. Hertfordshire: Prentice Hall.
- Nida, Eugene. 1964. *Towards a Science of Translating: With Special Reference to Principles and Procedures Involved in Bible Translating*. Leiden: E.J.Brill.

- Nixon, Will. 1989. "University Presses: Highs & Lows" in *Publishers Weekly* 236-12 (22<sup>nd</sup> September 1989) 18-24.
- Olmsted, D.L. 1963. *Korean Folk Reader*. Bloomington: Indiana University.
- Pak, Tu-jin. 1971. *Sea of Tomorrow*. Seoul: Il Cho Kak
- Perdu, Nobel. 2005. "From Arabic to Other Languages through English" in Branchadell, Albert (ed). *Less Translated Languages*, 67-74. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Pokorn, Nike K. 2005. *Challenging the Traditional Axioms*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Pym, Anthony. 1998. "Note on a Repertoire for Seeing Cultures". *Target* 10:2 357-361. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- . 1998b. *Method in Translation History*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Reiss, Katharina. 1989. *Text Types, Translation Types and Translation Assesment*. In Chesterman, Andrew (ed.). 1989. *Readings in Translation Theory*. 105-115 Helsinki: Oy Finn Lectura.
- Rafael, Vicente L. 1993. *Contracting Colonialism: Translation and Christian Conversion in Tagalog Society under Early Spanish Rule*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.
- Schleiermacher, Friedrich. 1999. *Discursos sobre Hermenéutica*. Pamplona: Universidad de Navarra.
- Schnabel, James F. 1992. *Policy and Direction: The first year*. Washington DC: Center of Military History United States Army.
- Schoneveld, W. 1983. *Intertraffic of the Mind: Studies in Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Dutch Translation*. Leiden: E. J. Brill.
- Seldman, Gayle. 1988. "University Presses: A Changing Role" in *Publishers Weekly* 234:13 (23<sup>rd</sup> September 1988) 17-22.
- Shuttlework, Mark and Cowie, Moira. 1997. *Dictionary of Translation Studies*. Manchester: St. Jerome.
- Snell-Horby, Mary. 1992. "The Professional Translation of Tomorrow: Language Specialist or All-Round Expert?" in Dollerup, C & Loddegard, A.(eds.) *Teaching Translation and Interpreting: Training, Talent and Experience*, 9-22. Amsterdam-Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Song, Yo In. 1975. *Translation: Theory and Practice*. Seoul: Dongwuuk University.
- Song, Yo In. 1984. *Topics in Translation Studies*. Seoul: Hanshin.
- Sung, Chung, et al. 1960. *Voices of the Dawn: A Selection of Korean Poetry, from the Sixth Century to the Present Day*. London: John Murray

Taize, Anthony of. 2002. *A Well-kept Secret: Korean Literature in Translation. Pictorial Korea.*

Translators for Peace and Human Rights. 2005. *Translators' manifesto for peace and human rights: Yes to translation, No to war.* 2004 [cited May 2005]. Available from <http://www.saltana.com.ar/pax/paxbabelica.htm?english.htm~mainFrame>.

Toury, Gideon. 1995. *Descriptive Translation Studies and Beyond.* Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Tymoczko, Maria. 2000. "Translation and Political Engagement: Activism, Social Change and the Role of Translation in Geopolitical Shifts" in *The Translator* 6-1, 23-47.

Tymoczko, Maria. 1990. "Translation in Oral Tradition as a Touchstone for Translation Theory and Practice" in Bassnet, Susan, and André Lefevere. 1998. *Translation, History & Culture*, 46-55. New York: Cassell

United States Census. 2000. *Migration information source – Iraqi immigrants in the United States.* [cited May 2000]. Available from [http://www.migrationinformation.org/Usfocus/display\\_cfm?ID=113#1](http://www.migrationinformation.org/Usfocus/display_cfm?ID=113#1)

Underwood, Horace H. 1931. *A Partial Bibliography of Occidental Literature on Korea (From Early Times to 1930).* Seoul: Chosen Christian College.

UNESCO. 1950-2005. *Index Translationum.* 54 vols.

UNESCO. 1976. *Recommendations On The Legal Protection Of Translators And Translations And On Means To Improve The Status Of Translations.* [http://www.unesco.org/culture/laws/translation.html\\_eng/page1.shtml](http://www.unesco.org/culture/laws/translation.html_eng/page1.shtml) DATE VISITED

Venuti, Lawrence. 1995. *The translator's invisibility (a history of translation).* London & New York: Routledge.

Yi, O-Nyong. 1967. *In This Earth And In That Wind; This Is Korea.* San Francisco: Tri-Ocean.

Zinn, Howard. 1980. *A people's History of the United States covering the period 1945-1960.* New York: Harper & Row.

Zong, In-sob. 1931. *Ondoru Yawa.* Tokyo: Odezia.

Zong, In-Sob. 1953. *Folk Tales From Korea.* NY: Groove Press.

## Appendix 1: Corpus

- [v.a.] 1970. *The Orchid Door* – John S. Grisgby – New York: Paragon Book Reprint.
- Anonymous. 1974. *Songs of the Flying Dragons: A Critical Reading* – Peter H. Lee – Cambridge: Harvard University.
- Ch'oe, Pu. 1965. *Diary: A Record Of Drifting Across The Sea* – John Meskill – Tucson: University of Arizona Press.
- Cho, Byung-Hwa. 1957. *Before Love Fades Away* - Kim, Dong Sung- Seoul: Chang Shin Munwhasa.
- Choe, Chung, et al. 1965. *The Ever White Mountain: Korean Lyrics in the Classical Sijo Form* -- Pai, Inez Kong- Tokyo: John Weatherhill
- Chu, Yo-han et al. 1969. *Contemporary Korean Poetry* – Ko Won – Iowa City: University of Iowa Press.
- Government General of Chosen. 1963. *A Short History Of Korea*. Honolulu: East-West Center Press.
- Han, Moosook et al. 1967. *The Hermitage of Flowing Water and Nine Others* – Korean Literary Translation Association – Baltimore: Gateway.
- Han, U-gun. 1971. *The History Of Korea* – Lee Kyung Shik – Honolulu: East-West Center Press.
- Hatada, Takashi: *A History Of Korea* – Warrew W. Smith jr & Benjamin H. Hazard – Sta Barbara: ABC- Clio.
- Hwi, Seon-u et al. 1974. *Flowers of Fire: Twentieth Century Korean Stories*. – Peter H. Lee – Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii.
- Im, Pang; Yi, Yuk. 1963. *Korean Folk Tales; Imps, Ghosts, And Fairies* – James S. Gale – Rutland (Vt): C.E. Tuttle Co.
- Kim, Il Song. 1971. *Revolution And Socialist Construction In Korea ; Selected Writings, 1955-1970*. NY: International Publishers.
- Kim, Il Song. 1972. *Juche ! The Speeches And Writings* – Li Yuk-Sa – NY: Grossman.
- Kim, Pyong Shik. 1970. *Modern Korea; The Socialist North, Revolutionary Perspectives On The South And Unification* – Takeshi Haga – NY: International Publishers, 1970.
- Kim, So-un. 1954. *The Story Bag: A Collection Of Korean Folk Tales* – Setsu Higashi – Rutland (VT), Tuttle.

Korea, Republic of. 1960. *Laws, Statutes, Etc. The Korean Criminal Code.* – Paul K Ryu – South Hackensack: F.B. Rothmann

Korea, Republic of. 1968. *Laws, Statutes, Etc. Laws Of The Republic Of Korea.* South Hackensack (NJ): Rothmann. 2<sup>nd</sup>ed.

Li, Mirok [YI, Mirok ]. 1956. *The Yalu Flows, A Korean Childhood* – H.A.Hammelman – East Lansing: Michigan State University.

Olmsted, D. L. 1963. *The Korean Folk Reader.* Bloomington: Indiana University.

Sung, Chung, et al. 1960. *Voices of the Dawn: A Selection of Korean Poetry, from the Sixth Century to the Present Day* - Hyun, Peter. London: John Murray

US Army language School. *Dialogues For Training Intelligence Linguists (Korean).* Presidio of Monterey, Korean language department, Army Language School, v.2. Monterey: Defense Language Institute.

Yi, O-Nyong. 1967. *In This Earth And In That Wind; This Is Korea* – David J. Streinberg – San Francisco: Tri-Ocean.

Zong, In-Sob. 1953. *Folk Tales From Korea.* NY: Groove Press.

## Appendix 2: Corpus For Future Research

English-Korean translations published in the United States from 1975 to 2003 as registered in Index Translationum.

(Chung, Chong-wha). 1985. *Love in mid-winter night, Korean sijo poetry* – Chung Chong-wha – London: KPI.

(Fulton, Bruce; Fulton, Ju-Chan). 1997. *Wayfarer : new fiction by Korean women* Seattle, WASH: Women in Translation.

(Kim, Jaihiun). 1994. *Classical Korean poetry : more than 600 verses since the 12th century* Fremont, CALIF: Asian Humanities Press.

(Kim, Unsong.). 1987. *Classical Korean poems (sijo)* – San Bruno Ca. USA: One Mind Press.

(Ko, Chng-su.). 1984. *Best loved poems of Korea : selected for foreigners* Elizabeth N.J.: Hollym International Corp.

(Lee, Peter H.). 1980. *The silence of love: twentieth-century Korean poetry.* Honolulu, HAWAII: University Press of Hawaii.

(Lee, Sung-II). 1989. *The Wind and the waves : four modern Korean poets* – Berkeley, CALIF: Asian Humanities Press.

(McCann, David Richard). 1980. *Black crane : an anthology of Korean literature (1-2).* Ithaca, N.Y.: China-Japan Program Cornell University.

(Sö, Chi-mun). 1998. *The rainy spell and other Korean stories.* Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe.

(Zöng, In-söb). 1979. *Folk tales from Korea* – In-söb Zöng – New York: Grove Press; New York: Random House.

[v.a.] 1983. *The snowy road and other stories: an anthology of Korean fiction: Balloon ; Yean-hee Chung - Purchased bridegroom ; Ick-suh Yoo - The trap ; Bum-shin Park - Echo, echo ; Jung-rae Cho - The snowy road ; Chung-joon Yee - Winter outing ; Wan-suh Park – Hyunjae Yee Sallee; Teresa Margadonna Hyun* – Fredonia, N.Y.: White Pine Press.

[v.a.]. 1983. *The Rainy spell and other Korean stories* – Suh Ji-moon – London: Onyx.

[v.a.].1997. *Songs of the Kisaeng : courtesan poetry of the last Korean dynasty* – Wolhee Choe; Constantine Contogenis – Rochester, N.Y.: BOA Editions.

[v.a.]1980. *The contemporary Korean poets: Korean poetry since 1920* – Kim Jaihiun – New York: Larchwood Publications.

An, Chŏng-hyo. 1990. *Silver Stallion : a novel of Korea (translated from the Korean by the author)* (1st American ed.) – Chŏng-hyo An – New York: Soho Press.

Ch'oe, In-hun. 1985. *The square* – Kevin O'Rourke – Barnstaple: Spindlewood.

Choi, In-Hoon. 1984. *The square* – Kevin O'Rourke – Barnstaple: Spindlewood.

Choi, In-hoon. 1985. *The daily life of Ku-poh, the novelist* – Ki-Chang Hong – New York: Fremont.

Chŏn, Sang-byŏng. 1995. *Back to heaven: selected poems of Ch'ŏn Sang Pyŏng* – Anthony Teague; Yŏng-mu Kim – Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell East Asia Program Cornell University; UNESCO Pub.

Han, Mal-suk. 1983. *Hymn of the spirit* – Suzanne Crowder – New York: Fremont Publications.

Han, Mu-Suk; Rim, Soil; Ku, In-Hwan. 1983. *The hermitage of flowing water and nine others* – Korean Literary Translation Association – Baltimore, MD: Gateway Press.

Hwang, Shin Ja Joo. 1987. *Discourse features of Korean narration (Bilingual ed.)* Dallas, TEXAS: Summer Institute of Linguistics and the University of Texas at Arlington.

Hwang, Sun-won. (Holman, J. Martin). 1990. *Shadows of a sound: stories*. San Francisco, CALIF: Mercury House.

Hwang, Sun-wŏn. 1989. *The book of masks*. London: Readers International.

Hwang, Sun-wŏn. 1997. *The descendants of Cain* – Suh Ji-moon; Julie Pickering – Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe.

Kang, Shin-jae. 1989. *The waves* – Tina L. Sallee – London: Kegan Paul International.

Kang, Sŏk-kyŏng. 1997. *The valley nearby* – Choy Kyong-do – Portsmouth NH: Heinemann.

Kang, Sŏk-kyŏng; et al. 1989. *Words of farewell ;, stories by Korean women writers (Kang Sŏk-kyŏng, Kim Chi-wŏn, and O Chŏng-hŭi). Days and dreams ; A room in the wood (Kang Sŏk-kyŏng) -- A certain beginning ; Lullaby (Kim Chi-wŏn) -- Chinatown ; Evening game ; Words of farewell (O Chŏng-hŭi).* – Bruce. Fulton; Ju-Chan. Fulton – Seattle, WASH: Seal Press.

Kim, Chi-ha. 1998. *Heart's agony : selected poems* – James Han; Wŏn-jung Kim – Fredonia, N.Y.: White Pine Press.

Kim, Chong-ch'ŏl. 1996. *The floating island : selected poems 1968 - 1997* – Lee Dong-Jin – Göttingen: Peperkorn.

Kim, Dong-ni. 1989. *The shaman sorceress* – Hyun Song Shin; Eugene Chung – London: Kegan Paul International.

Kim, Hŭng-gyu. 1997. *Understanding Korean literature* – Robert Fouser – Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe.

Kim, Song-Dong. 1990. *Mandala: a novel* – Jung-Hyo Ahn – Seoul: Dong-suh-munhak sa.

Kim, So-wŏl. 1998. *Fugitive dreams* – Ronald B Hatch; Jaihiun Kim – Vancouver: Ronsdale Press.

Kim, So-wŏl. 1998. *Fugitive dreams* – Ronald B Hatch; Jaihiun Kim – Vancouver: Ronsdale Press.

Ko, Ŭn. 1997. *Beyond self : 108 Korean Zen poems* – Young-Moo Kim; Anthony – Berkeley, CALIF: Parallax Press.

Korean Literary Translation Association. 1989. *Essays and poems from Korea*. Baltimore, MD: Gateway Press.

Ku, Sang. 2000. *Poems* – Anthony Teague – Thunum: Peperkorn.

Ku, Sang. 2002. *Wastelands of fire : selected poems* – Anthony of Taizé – Thunum–Ostfriesland: Peperkorn.

Mo, Yun-suk. 1980. *Wren's elegy* – Peter Hyun; Ko Changsoo – Larchmont, N. Y.: Larchwood Publications, 1980.

Ŏ, Suk-kwŏn. 1989. *A Korean storyteller's miscellany : the P'aegwan chapki of Ŏ Sukkwŏn* – Peter H. Lee – Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

O, Tæ-sŏk. 1999. *The metacultural theater of Oh T'ae-sŏk : five plays from the Korean avant-garde (Bicycle -- Intimacy between father and son -- Ch'un-p'ung's wife -- Lifecord -- Why did Shim Ch'ŏng plunge into the sea twice?)* – Ah-jeong Kim; R. B. Graves – Honolulu, Hawaii: University of Hawai'i Press.

Pak, Che-chŏn. 1997. *Sending the ship out to the stars: poems of Park Je-chun*. Ithaca, N.Y.: East Asia Program Cornell University.

Pak, Chong-hwa. 1980. *King Sejong* – Ahn Junghyo – New York: Larchwood Publications.

Pak, Wan-sŏ. 1995. *The naked tree* – Yu Young-nan – Ithaca, N.Y.: East Asia Program Cornell University.

Pak, Wan-sŏ. 1999. *A sketch of the fading sun* – Hyunjae Yee Sallee – Buffalo, N.Y.: White Pine Press.

Pak, Wan-sŏ; (Chun, Kyung-Ja). 1999. *My very last possession and other stories*. Armonk, N.Y.: M. E. Sharpe.

Sang, Ku. 1989. *Wastelands of fire: the poetry of Ku Sang* – Anthony Teague – London: Forest.

So, Chong-ju. 1989. *Selected poems of Sŏ Chŏngju* – David Richard McCann – New York: Columbia University Press.

Yi, Hae-in. 2000. *The sea of dandelions : selected poems* – Lee Dong-Jin – Göttingen: Peperkorn.

Yi, Ŏk-pae. 1999. *Sori's harvest moon day: a story of Korea*. Norwalk, CT: Soundprints.

Yi, Tong-jin. 1999. *Songs of my soul : poems* – Lee Dong-Jin – Göttingen: Peperkorn.

Yoon Inshil Choe. 1997. *Korean Classic of Choosing Settlement: A study and translation of Yi Chung-hwan's Taengniji*. Sydney: Wil Peony Book Publishers.

Yun, Hung-Kil; (Holman, Martin). 1989. *The house of twilight*. London: Readers International.

Yun, Sŏk-chung. 1978. *Half past four: poems for children* – Francis Taewon Yoon; David D. Lapham – Los Angeles, CALIF: F. T. Yoon Co.

Translations published in Korea from 1950 to 1980 as registered by the Korean Translation Association

[Scholars under the patronage of King Sejong]. 1975. *Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven: A Korean Epic* – Hoyt, James – Korean National Commission for UNESCO, Royal Asiatic branch.

Ahn, Soo-Gil, et al. 1961. *Collected Short Stories from Korea, Vol. 1* – Chu, Yo-Sup, et al – Seoul: Eomungag Publishing Company

Anonymous. 1962. *Fragrance of Spring* – Sim, Chai Hong – Seoul: Kukjaepodo Yeonmaeng.

Anonymous. 1970. *A Classical Novel, Ch'un-hyang* – Chin, In-sook – Seoul: Korean Centre, International P.E.N.

Anonymous. 1970. *Fragrance of Spring: The Story of Choon Hyang* – Sim, Chai Hong – Seoul: Bojinjae.

Anonymous. 1970. *Woon Young's Romance and Other Stories (Korean Folklore and Classics Vol. 2)* – Lim, Chung Sook, et al – Seoul: English Student Association, Department of English Language & Literature, Ewha Womans University

Char, Easurk Emsen. 1961. *The Golden Mountain*. Seoul: Forum Publishing company

- Cho Dong-II et al. 1974. *Folk Culture in Korea* – Chung Ok-Young et al – International Cultural Foundation
- Cho Dong-II et al. 1974. *Folk Culture in Korea* – Chung Ok-Young et al – Seoul: International Cultural Foundation
- Cho, Byung-Hwa, et al. 1975. *Asian Literature: Poetry, Short Stories and Essays* – O'Rourke, Kevin, et al – Seoul: International P.E.N., Asian Writers' Translation Bureau
- Cho, Byung-Hwa. 1970. *Stopping By*. Kim, Dong-Sung- Seoul: Seongmungak
- Cho, Byung-Hwa. 1974. *Where Clouds Pass By: Selected Poems of Cho Byung-Hwa* – O'Rourke, Kevin – Seoul: Chungang Publishing Co.
- Choe Sang-Su. 1960. *Annual Customs of Korea*. Seoul: Dong-a Publishing Company
- Elrod, J. McRee. 1965. *An Index to English Language Periodical Literature Published in Korea 1890-1940*. Seoul: Korean National Assembly Library
- Ha Tae Heung.1958. *Folk customs and Family Life*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.[1963] [1968]
- Ha Tae Heung.1958. *Folk tales of old Korea*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.
- Ha Tae Heung.1960. *Poetry and music of the classic age*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.
- Ha Tae Heung.1969. *The Korean Nights Entertainment: comic stories*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.
- Ha Tae Heung.1970. *Tales from the three Kingdoms*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.
- Hahn, Moo-Sook. 1970. *The Running Water Hermitage* – Chung, Chong-wha – Seoul: Moonwang
- Hahn, Moo-Sook.1965. *In the Depths* – Rutt, Richard – Seoul: Hwimoon Publishing Company
- Han, Yong-un, et al. 1974. *The Immortal Voice* – Kim, Jaihiun – Seoul: Inmun Publishing Co.
- Han, Yong-un, et al.1961 – *Korean Verses* – Seoul: The Korean Information Services.
- Han, Yong-Woon. 1970. *Meditations of the Lover* – Kang, Younghill & Keely, Frances – Seoul: Yonsei University Press.
- Han, Yong-Wun, et al.1961. *Poems from Modern Korea*. Seoul: Munweonsa.
- Hüi-myǒng, et al. 1970. *A Pageant of Korean Poetry* – Zǒng, In-sǒb – Seoul: Hyangninsa
- Hyôn, Zin-Gôn, et al.1958. *Modern Short Stories from Korea* – Zông, In-sôb – Seoul: Munho-sa

- In-Sob Zong . 1970. *An Introduction to Korean Literature*. Seoul: Hyangnin-sa
- Kim Man Jung et al. 1965. *Korean Literary Reader*. Seoul: Dong-a Publishing Company
- Kim, Dong-In, et al. 1975. *Korean Short Stories* – Hong, Myoung-Hee (Tennant, Agnita Myoung) – Seoul: Il Ji Sa
- Kim, Dong-ni, et al. 1974. *Postwar Korean Short Stories: An Anthology* – Kim, Chong-un – Seoul/Honolulu: Seoul National University Press & The Center for Korean Studies
- Kim, Man Jung. 1975. *A Korean Classic: The Nine Cloud Dream (Korean Folklore and Classics Vol. 5)* – Kim Yu Mi et al – Seoul: English Student Association, Department of English Language & Literature, Ewha Womans University
- Kim, Sowol. 1973. *Azaleas: Poems by Sowol Kim* – Kim, Jaihiun – Seoul: Hankuk University of Foreign Studies Press
- Kim, Sowol. 1975. *Lost Love: 99 Poems by Sowol Kim* – Kim, Jaihiun – Seoul: Pan Korea Book Corporation
- Kim, Tong-ni, et al. 1974. *Postwar Korean Short Stories: An Anthology (1974)* – Kim, Chong-un – Seoul/Honolulu: Seoul National University Press & The Center for Korean Studies
- Kim, Yangshik 1975. *Beyond Time and Space: Poems by Kim Yangshik* – Kim, Jaihiun, et al. – Modern Poetry Press
- Kim, Yu-jong, et al. 1973. *Asian Literature: Short Stories and Plays* – Kim, U-chang, et al. – Seoul : P.E.N., Asian Writers' Translation Bureau
- King Söngjong, et al. 1970. *An Anthology of Korean Sijo* – Rutt, Richard – Seoul: The Ch'ongja Sijo Society.
- Moo Young Tap et al. 1971. *Legends: From the Hills and Valleys of Korea (Korean Folklore and Classics Volume NO. 3)* – Kim Ho Sin et al – Seoul: English Student Association, Department of English Language & Literature, Ewha Womans University
- O, Yong-su, et al. 1974. *Asian and Pacific Short Stories* – Kim Dae-yun, et al [.] – Cultural and Social Centre for the Asian and Pacific
- Oh, Young-Jin. 1962. *Wedding Day: A Comedy of Old Korea in Two Acts* – Pihl, Marshall R. –
- Pak, Tu-jin. 1971. *Sea of Tomorrow* – Poitras, Edward W.—Seoul: Il Cho Kak
- Pyön, Yöng-no, et al. 1970. *Modern Korean Poetry [P. E. N.]* – Lee, Chang-bai, et al – Seoul : Korean Centre, International P.E.N.

Yu, Czi-Zin, et al. 1968. *Plays from Korea* – Zong, In-sob, et al – Seoul: The Korean Language School for Foreigners, Chung-a

### Appendix 3: False Translations

Ahn, Yong Choon. 1966. *The Seed Must Die*. Seoul: Donga Publishing

Breunig, Jerome. 1964. *Have you had your rice today?*. Miami: Loyola University Press

Canter Wagner, Ellasue. 1922. *Kumokie : a bride of old Korea : a love story of the Orient*. Nashville: Lamar & Barton.

Carpenter, Frances. 1973. *Tales of a Korean Grandmother*. Kobe/Vermont: Tuttle Publishing; Royal Asiatic Society

Crane, Lorence-Hedleston. 1969. *Flowers and Folk-lore from Far Korea*. Seoul: Sahn-bo Publishing Corporation

Crane, Paul S. 1967. *Korean Patterns*. New Jersey: Hollym

Deane, Philip. 1954. *I was a Captive in Korea*. Kobe-Vermont: Charles E. Tuttle Company

Ha Tae Heung. 1958. *Korea: Forty-three centuries*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.

Ha Tae Heung. 1960. *A Trip Through Historic Korea* Seoul: Yonsei University Press.

Ha Tae Heung. 1962. *Korea: Forty-Three centuries*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.

Ha Tae Heung. 1964 *Maxims and proverbs of old Korea*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.

Ha Tae Heung. 1967 *Maxims and proverbs of old Korea*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.

Ha Tae Heung. 1968. *Guide to Korean Culture*. Seoul: Yonsei University Press.

Kim, Chiha. 1974. *Cry of the People and Other Poems*. Tokyo: Autumn Press

Kim, Richard E. 1964. *The Martyred: a Novel*. New York: George Braziller.

Kim, Richard E. 1968. *The Innocent*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.

Kim, Richard E. 1970. *Lost Names*. Seoul: Si-Sa-Yong-o-sa

Kim Yong Ik .1964. *Love in Winter et al*. Seoul: Korea University Press

Kyung Cho Chung. 1956. *Korea Tomorrow: Land of the Morning Calm*. New York: Macmillan.

Kyung Cho Chung. 1962. *New Korea: new Land of the Morning Calm*. New York : Macmillan.

Kyung Cho Chung.1971. *Korea: the Third Republic*. New York: Macmillan.

Moen, Erna Ingeborg. 1973. *Written in the Stars: The story of Suki*. Seoul: Korean Consolidated Corporation

New, Ilhan. 1928. *When I was a boy in Korea*. Boston: Lothrop, Lee & Shepard Co.

Taiwon Koh.1959. *The bitter fruit of Kom-Pawi*. Philadelphia: John C. Winston Company.

Wales, Nym et Kim San. 1941. *Song of Ariran: a Korean Communist in the Chinese revolution*. San Francisco : Ramparts Press.

Wales, Nym et Kim San. 1972. *Song of Ariran: a Korean Communist in the Chinese revolution*. San Francisco: Ramparts Press.

## Appendix 4: Correspondence between John Meskill and Choe Pu'S descendents

### On Choe Pu Pyohaerok- Why I Chose It for My Doctoral Thesis/John Meskill

최철호/교양사회

2004-12-16 12:42:25, 조회 : 190, 추천 : 34

본 Meskill 박사(전 컬럼비아 대학 교수)의 기고문은 최부의 '표해록'을 본인의 박사학위 논문으로 선정했던 동기를 밝히고 있다.

원래 이 기고문은 '월간중앙'이 2004년 2월호 '역사탐방'의 '표해록' 코너에 게재할 목적으로 필자를 통해 Meskill 박사한테 요청한 것으로서 Meskill 박사는 2003년 12월 22일에 이 글을 팩스를 통해 보내왔다.

#### ◆메스킬 교수의 통신문

2003년 12월 22일

Dear Mr. Choi, Chul-ho,

최철호씨 귀하

It was good to hear from you. I still think of the Beijing conference  
반갑습니다. 나는 아직도 북경 학술회의에 대해 즐겁게 기억하고  
with pleasure. It is an honor to contribute a piece to the forthcoming  
있습니다. 훌륭한 선조를 추모하는 월간중앙의 특집기획물에 기고를  
special issue of the JoonAng monthly in memory of your distinguished  
하게 되어 영광으로 생각합니다.

ancestor. I have sent my piece via FAX today. It would be a pleasure to  
오늘 팩스를 통해 원고를 보냈습니다. 출간이 되면  
see a copy of the issue when it is published.

월간중앙 한 부를 받아보았으면 합니다.

I hope everything has been going well for you. Happy New Year.

만사형통하기를 바랍니다. 신년인사를 드립니다.

With best wishes, John Meskill

메스킬

'월간중앙'측은 2004년 1월부터 월간 단위로 차월피월 '표해록' 기사의 게재를 미루다가 2004년 11월호 본지에 '표해록'에 대한 기사를 게재한 바 있다. 그 기사의 내용이나, 짜임새 등은 고유 편집권이라 주장할 터이니, 여기서 언급할 바는 아닌 것 같고, 다만 Meskill 박사의 원고내용을 보고, 참 이럴 수는 없구나 하는 실망을 금할 수 없었다. 그분의 기고문을, 지면의 형편 때문에 축약했으면 그럴 수 있겠다 하겠으나, 이는 Meskill 교수의 기고문과는 전혀 다른, 필자가 참고자료로 '월간중앙' 기자에게 건네준 것으로, 1995년 6월 22일 '중국 사회과학원'에서 필자의 기획으로 열린 '최부표해록 국제학술회담회'의 Meskill 교수의 발표문을 짜깁기한 것처럼 보였다. 가뜩이나 Meskill 교수한테 다음달, 다음달 나온다고 '월간중앙' 측의 약속을 믿고 본의 아니게 거짓말을 하게 된 것은 그렇다 치더라도, 연로한 은퇴교수가 애써 작성한 기고문을 아무런 해명 없이 묵살해버렸으니 저명한 외국인 석학한테 뭐라고 설명한단 말인가? 우리 언론잡지의 신뢰성 수준이 이 정도다라고 밝혀야 하는 것인가?

어쨌든, 필자는 평소 ‘표해록’을 통해 알고 지냈던 Meskill 박사(중국어도 능통함)한테 그간의 경위를 대략  
알버무리고, 기고문을 필자가 운영하고 있는 ‘표해록 홈페이지(www.goodsociety.co.kr)’ 에 실을 수 있도록 양해를  
구하였는데, 이를 Meskill 교수는 흔쾌하게 동의 하였다.

◆메스킬 교수의 통신문

2004 년 12 월 15 일

Dear Mr. C. H. Choi,

최철호씨 귀하

Thank you for your e-mail. It is good to know that you and other  
이메일 서신 감사합니다. 후손 여러분들이 최부 기념비를 적소에 건립하셨다는  
descendants have established a monument to Choi Pu at an appropriate  
소식을 듣고 기쁘게 생각합니다.

place. I hope that the local organization will maintain it well. Thank  
현지의 관리위원회가 기념비를 잘 보존할 수 있기를 기대합니다.  
you for sending my contribution to them.

나의 헌금을 그분들에게 기탁한다하니 고맙게 생각합니다.

To publish my paper and your translation on the GoodSociety web site  
나의 기고문을 번역과 함께 교양사회 홈페이지에 게재하는 것에 대해  
would be fine with me. I have looked at the web site, which is quite  
동의 합니다. 이미 홈페이지를 방문하였습니다. 상당히 잘돼있더군요.  
handsome. I should study Han'gul.

한글을 공부해야겠습니다.

Thank you for all your kindness, and best wishes for a good New Year.

모든 세심한 배려 고맙게 생각합니다. 신년인사를 드립니다.

John Meskill

메스킬

Meskill 박사는 ‘박스 기사’의 대가로 ‘월간중앙’이 보낼 원고료 약 \$50 을 ‘표해록’ 발전기금에 사용해 달라고  
필자에게 기탁하였다. 필자는 이 성금을 2005 년 2 월 17 일로 예정된 ‘최부표해록 기념비’ 참배 여행 시, 중국 현지의  
기념비 관리위원회 측에 전달할 것이다.

필자: 교양사회/최철호

Meskill 박사의 기고문 전문

(원문과 번역문)