

韓風光州漫談

30年代韓國作家的華文交流經驗演講紀實

Discussing Korea

Chinese Linguistic Exchange Experiences: Korean Authors of the 1930s

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韓國全南大學人文學院李騰淵教授應中央研究院之邀來台參加「東亞使節文化書寫」國際學術研討會，發表有關朝鮮樂府的研究成果，就其短暫停留之便，於9月14日應邀來國立台灣文學館演講「30年代韓國作家的華文交流經驗」，分享其研究成果，也提供台灣對韓國文學研究的另一種眼界。

李騰淵教授於1980年代中期留學台灣，是華文、韓文流利的古典文學和現代文學活躍學者，今年度應上海師範大學邀請擔任訪問學人。台灣和韓國自二次世界大戰前後，其實都有著類似的政治、文化課題，甚至在經濟領域比賽競爭；李騰淵教授也以文學角度分析韓國的文化現象，並以80年代曾在韓國光州教學與生活的學者經驗，漫談影響韓國現代社會發展至鉅的光州事件。

李騰淵表示，韓中兩國由於地理上相鄰近，歷史上政治文化的不斷交流，從而出現不少以對方為素材的文學作品；他特別以十九世紀後半期以後出現的作家及作品為例分析此現象，其重要特徵是注重亡國過程及亡國之後因政治上的理由或為了生存和生活而選擇流亡中國或以流移民的身份離開故國的狀況。

從19世紀後半期到20世紀前半期朝鮮（韓國）作家以中國題材的創作作品，則是根據亡命及流移民等歷史現象大致可分為三個時期：

Lee Deang-yearn, a professor in the College of Humanities at Chonnam National University in Kwangju (Gwangju), South Korea, was in Taiwan recently at the invitation of Academia Sinica to attend the international seminar “Envoys of East Asian Cultural Literature”, at which he discussed his current research on the National Bureau of Music during Korea’s “Chosen” (Japanese colonial) period. During his brief stay, he accepted an invitation from NMTL to speak at the Museum on the topic “Chinese Linguistic Exchange Experiences: Korean Authors of the 1930s” and to share his thoughts on humanities research in Korea.

Professor Lee, who studied in Taiwan during the mid-1980s, is a distinguished academician active in classical and modern literature in both Chinese and his native Korean. He is this year a visiting scholar at Shanghai Normal University in China. In terms of political and cultural issues, Taiwan and Korea shared much in common during the decades prior to and just after the Second World War and, more recently, have emerged as close economic competitors. Professor Lee provided his assessment of Korean cultural trends from a literary perspective and, based on his experience teaching and living in Kwangju, a modern focal point of domestic cultural and political resistance, he discussed with his audience the 1980 Gwangju Democratization Movement (aka 518 Incident) and its defining impact on modern Korea’s development.

Professor Lee noted that geographic proximity and longstanding political and cultural ties have made China and Korea regular features in their respective national literary traditions. Turning the spotlight on Korean literature from the late 19th to mid-20th century, he noted that China was primarily depicted in the context of its contemporary status as a place of refuge for Koreans fleeing political repression and poverty in

從19世紀後半期到1919年三一獨立運動時期；從三一運動時期到1931年滿洲事變時期；從滿洲事變以後到1945年解放等，以下是李教授列舉若干鮮明的文學主題，做為文學現象分析的線索。

一、聖人之地

舊韓末面對亡國悲哀，離開故土流亡到中國的知識份子，大多未擺脫中國是具有光輝燦爛傳統文化的「大國」形象。例如，對於離開故土踏上亡命之途的金澤榮和柳麟錫（1842-1915年）等知識份子來說，中國是以堯舜與孔子代表的文化大國，是維持文明的「聖人之地」。

二、殘暴的地主

1919年三一獨立運動以後，隨著日本帝國主義政治上的加一層彈壓及經濟上的進一步掠奪，作為「逃生口」的滿洲也逐漸為更多人所知。有位韓國學者曾提及當時以流移民為題材的小說主要分為以抗日運動的意識化過程或鬥爭為主要內容的「理想型流移民小說」，以及因不能忍受貧困為了生存而離開祖國的過程或他們的受難狀況為主要內容的「圖生型流移民小說」兩種。

理想型小說中並沒有特別提及做為空間背景的中國滿洲或者他們與當地中國人的關係及衝突；與之相反，以生存為目的的流移民小說卻把這些做為創作的主要構成要素來進行刻畫。這一類型的小說裡刁難折磨流移民的各種因素中，以與地主的衝突最為尖銳及多樣。土生土長的中國地主是為了自身的經濟利益而蠻橫對待朝鮮人。為了生存流浪

their native land.

This roughly 50 years of history, during which Korea was widely referred to as “Chosen”, can be segmented into three distinct periods of time, namely the “pre-Samil Movement” period up until 1919; the period after the Samil Movement up to the 1931 Manchurian Incident, which saw Manchuria cemented within Japan’s sphere of influence; and, finally, the period that ended with Korea’s liberation from Japanese rule in 1945. The following briefly summarizes Professor Lee’s talk at NMTL on the subject of literature during Korea’s “Chosen” period.

1. A Sainted Land

Most Korean intellectuals who sought refuge in China following the collapse of the old order at the close of the 19th century continued to hold in high esteem Chinese traditions and culture. Intellectuals such as Kim T’aek-yŏng (1850-1927) and Ryu In-Seok (1842-1915) saw in China a “sainted land”, which they believed continued to uphold the sacred traditions of Yao-Shun and Confucius.

2. Brutal Landlords

Following the March 1st (aka Samil) Movement in 1919, Korea’s Japanese rulers increased martial and economic controls over the peninsula. Chinese Manchuria became an increasingly popular route of “escape”. Literature from this 12-year span of time has been classified into two genres. The first addresses emigration motivated by personal and nationalistic ideals set against the backdrop of the wider anti-Japanese movement. The second includes novels on necessity-based emigration, describing the experiences of those who left Korea out of poverty or tragedy.

While contemporary idealist literature tended not to delve into issues faced by migrants in contemporary Manchuria or with relationships / conflicts encountered there, novels relating stories of necessity-based emigration made this a central focus. The latter genre details the myriad difficulties faced by the émigré, with conflicts with local landlords typically taking center stage. In such novels, landlord treatment of poor immigrants was arbitrary, cruel and based solely on personal benefit. Poor Koreans forced to look for a better life across the border were rootless and naturally disadvantaged. With few rights, they were the butt of slander and frequently died, unjustly and unnoticed.



到中國的朝鮮人民是沒有根的弱者，在不能依靠主權來保護自己的處境下，不得不甘受許多侮辱或被殺。

這樣的現象在崔曙海和韓雪野的作品中尤其經常涉及。崔曙海的《異域冤魂》（1926）講述了在滿洲一個死去丈夫獨自生活的流移民女人因地主對其抱有淫心並在他的百般折磨下最終凌虐致死的故事。然而在與地主的暴行略微不同的方面，同時還存在一個以當地居民與移民為了生存而鬥爭為素材的作品，如韓雪野所創作的《洪水》（1928）便是這樣的內容。

然而一部份作品中出現了巴結當地居民欺負同胞的「第二中國人」或「後主人」。例如，安壽吉和姜敬愛同是以1930年代滿洲為背景而創作的代表作家，但是特別觸目的是他的大部分作品認為移民的苦痛並不是在與中國人或日本人的衝突中造成的，而是把他們同族亡國人作為造成苦痛的主犯。

三、中國是「朝鮮小姐」被凌辱的地方，還是「仁義者多之國」？

為了理想或者生存，抱著個人不同的夢想來到滿洲的移民們一直要忍受寒冷和面對無情的現實，但是1930年代後並沒有因為這些原因而使來滿洲的人減少或消失。在殖民地的悲劇急遽惡化的狀況下，於追求理想和生存的人或者無論如何要擺脫壓抑的人來說，滿洲依然是個具有魅力的「逃生口」。對滿洲抱有渺茫虛幻期待而踏上滿洲之行的無數人，更被當時的知識份子稱之為「滿洲狂」。

1930年代初期登上文壇的金朝圭的早期



李騰淵教授(左)吟誦許多舊韓亡國悲哀的文學作品，張信吉組長(右)請教台韓文學發展上所面對的歷史素材與新創文字工具課題。
After Lee Deang-yearn (left) discussed his experience with Chinese language exchange, Public Services Office Director Chang Hsin-chi queries Mr. Lee about differences between Taiwanese and Korean literature in terms of historical material and linguistic tools.

Such themes are particularly prevalent in the works of period authors Ch'oe Sŏ-hae and Han Seol-ya. Ch'oe's 1926 work "Innocents in a Foreign Land" describes the tragic tale of a poor Korean émigré widower who endures until death the relentless maltreatment of a Chinese landlord in Manchuria. Contrasted with the harshness of their conditions, however, is their determination to survive. Han Seol-ya's 1928 work, "The Flood", provides a typical example of post-Samil Movement literature.

A secondary theme in works of this period turns the spotlight on those émigrés who suborned themselves to local Chinese or took advantage of the plight of compatriots - the so-called "second class Chinese" or "lackeys". Authors Ahn Soo-kil and Kang Kyŏng-ae, in their classic works set in 1930s Manchuria, deliberately highlighted émigré depravity as the primary source of compatriot suffering, rather than conflicts with either Chinese or Japanese.

3. China – the Land that Maltreated the “Girl from Chosen” or the Land of “High Virtue”?

Whatever their motivation in leaving Korea, Chosen émigrés in Manchuria all had to bear bitter cold and pitiless

詩作主要反映喪失故鄉的悲痛或挫折，以及在鬱悶的現實中徬徨的心理及欲望。1938年以來他在「斷層」及「獺」等文學社團活動時期的作品中常常出現夜晚、女人、大海、香菸、窗戶、黃昏等字眼，可以把他們作為相同的脈絡來理解。詩人在那樣壓抑的現實空間中樹立了強硬的自我意識，並經過反覆的徬徨，最終想到了「大陸」這個「逃生口」。

聽說你每到夜晚便向著南方開門/如此烏黑的你的臉沒有憔悴了嗎/聽說大陸的夏天無比的熱/原野的氣候無比的乾燥/不知為何只看見托著腮幫靠在窗戶上的你蒼白的臉/場院裡高高的高粱葉沒把你綠色的Nostalgia(鄉愁)弄亂嗎/(聽說夏天一晚能長三寸呢…//)(以下省略)(〈寄向北方的信〉, 1937)

寫了以書信形式寫給先去大陸的朋友的這首詩，兩年之後，即1939年，他自己也去了大陸滿洲，通過教師及記者的生活接觸到了那個地方的現實。第一次離開充滿情懷卻到處充滿黑暗的故鄉的土地，在去往異地的要道圖們江上，他這樣吐露了自己的心聲：

說是小溪波浪的聲音卻太高/說是江河面積卻又太小了/啊！圖們江/只呼喊你的名字心裡便熱呼呼的/(中略)/風、雨、雷、痛哭聲/江邊連一天也沒放晴過/半島上連一枝花也沒開過/大陸永遠是嘈雜的狩獵地帶/江啊！你是淋過密林/中槍的鹿的血彙成的河流嗎？/命運的渡口/波浪翻騰的聲音/(中略)/父親的包裹裡/簡陋的小瓢在哭泣/沒奶的母親的胸前/孩子因叫號喉嚨已經哭啞/啊！就這樣哭泣

treatment. However, this did nothing to stem the steady numbers of Koreans arriving from the late 1930s onward. Increasingly harsh colonial policies at home made Manchuria, in spite of its glaring problems, an attractive escape for both those facing intellectual repression as well as those simply fighting to survive. Many contemporary intellectuals during this period lampooned as “Manchuria Crazies” those who took flight with dreams of a better future across the border.

The early poetic works of nascent author Kim Jo-gyu published at the start of the 1930s reflected the pain and regret felt by those who had lost their country as well as the anxious desires fired by unfortunate circumstances. After joining the “Fault” and “Tapir” literary circles in 1938, Kim frequently used “night”, “women”, “the sea”, “cigarettes”, “windows” and “dusk” with similar contextual intent in his poetry. Hemmed in by severe political and social restrictions, poets of the period achieved high levels of self-awareness and made their escape into China only after much self-searching.

I hear you open your door to the south every night / Is your sunburned face not yet gaunt? / I hear Chinese summers are hotter than anything / and the climate of the plains, insufferably bone dry / Why is it I see only your pale withered cheeks in the window? / Has your green nostalgia been dulled by the leaves of the towering Kaoliang? / (I hear they can grow fully 3 inches in a summer's night ...) (excerpted from “A Letter Sent Northward”, 1937)

Presented in the form of a letter written to a friend who had moved first to China, the author followed his friend two years later, to Manchuria in 1939, as a teacher and reporter. On the main road to the Tumen River on the Korea / China border, he recorded his feelings at leaving a land steeped in precious memories yet thoroughly soiled by evil:

Too loud for a stream / Too quiet for a river / Ah! The Tumen / To speak your name warms my spirit / ... / Wind, rain, lightning and the sounds of sorrow / The sky never clears above its banks / Not a bud has blossomed on that peninsula / The Mainland (China) has always been a place of raucous hunting / You, River! You have bathed deep forests / Do your currents flow with the blood of felled deer? / Fate's crossing / A cacophony of roiling waves / ... / In my father's package sent / a crude ladle weeps / Before a mother's milkless breasts / a baby has cried itself hoarse / Ah! It is so that I cry my



著過江/只要過去/為何只要過去，連一只船也沒有往返呢/年輕人懷著抱負/夜晚只身偷偷地渡過淺灘/我的很多朋友也曾渡過/卻再也沒有回來/像江邊的花瓣一樣飄散的/那眾多的名字中/你也一定是被埋葬而消失了/（中略）/圖們江，受苦受難的江岸，保重吧！/現在我亦即將踏上新的土地/說不定會有盛開的野薔薇/迎接我這誰又知道啊/啊，歸期渺茫/被出放的過客在旅途上/即使是像泡沫一樣會消失的夢/向給我說不要放棄希望的/高高的江岸上的水聲/我做了最後的告別（〈圖們江〉，1939）

處於「一枝花也不開」的半島故國與「永遠是嘈雜的狩獵地帶」的異地大陸之間的歷史現場圖們江，每天只有「風、雨、雷、痛哭聲」「一天也沒放晴過」，就如同充滿了「被槍擊中的鹿的血」一樣。拿著「簡陋的小瓢和包裹」，背著「因為餓而把喉嚨哭啞」的孩子的就像「被出放的過客」的男女老少們就成了再也不能返回的「受難的江岸了」。無論怎樣，在這塊新的土地上，連「盛開的野薔薇也會迎接我這又有誰知道啊」，在此作者指出，即使是渺茫的希望也不要放棄。然而，在大陸的刺骨寒風下，這個夢想很快就像泡沫一樣消失了。

聽到車輪嘈雜的聲音/過了圖們江大橋/大地已經結凍/北滿洲已下了大雪/現在要用單衫薄襪/來如何應對抵抗大陸的那刺骨寒風了嗎（〈北行列車〉，1941）

或許連「盛開的野薔薇」也會迎接自己的

way across this River / Only to cross / But why only north? Why has no boat made the return journey? / Youth nurture their grudges / By night, I slip furtively across the shallow bank / As so many friends have done before / not ever to return / Like so many scattered petals along these shores / Amongst these myriad names / Yours is certainly there, buried and forgotten / ... / Tumen, your banks of hardship, fare thee well! / I must now take my leave for a new land / Perhaps I shall meet with yellow rose bushes in full bloom / Who knows who may be there to greet me? / Ah ... the uncertainty of return / The traveler turned out during his journey / Like a bubble, this too is a dream that won't last / You who have enjoined me not to abandon my dreams / The loud roar of water along the shore / I must bid you a final farewell .（“Tumen River”，1939）

Standing astride the Tumen River, at the boundary between his peninsula void of flowering buds and foreign fields ranged by raucous hunters, his days are filled only with wind, rain, lightning and the sounds of sorrow. Under skies that have never cleared, it is a scene likened to the blood of a felled deer. Carrying only a cheap ladle and his packages, the child on his back, cried hoarse due to hunger, is an allegory for the turned-out travelers, the men and women, young and old, never again able to re-cross those banks of hardship. The author's confidence that in the new land ahead, yellow roses and an untold number of others shall be on hand to welcome him expresses his determination not to abandon hope, no matter how slim. However, the onset of Manchuria's bitterly cold winter burst the bubble of many such fragile dreams.

The chatter of wheels in motion / Across Tumen Bridge / the land ahead is frozen solid / Snows already weigh heavily on northern Manchuria / I have only this one shirt and thin socks / With what I fight the bitterness of these winter winds?（“Excursion North”，1941）

Perhaps the fact that yellow roses in full bloom were on hand to welcome his hopes and dreams made their ultimate and repeated trampling so much more tragic and final. Stifled by imperial Japan's cultural censorship policies, which forbade authors from expressing personal feelings directly, poets could only hint at the true state of affairs by writing such lines as those about the forlornly trodden “Girls of Chosen” who “earn their

希望使在任何地方都被蹂躪的現實面前更徹底崩潰了。在名為「檢閱」的日本帝國主義的文化鎮壓下，不能直接表述自己感情的詩人在異域上的圖們上用名為「朝鮮」的咖啡廳裡，以「賣笑和撒嬌來求生存」的、被蹂躪了的「朝鮮小姐」來暗示了當時的現實。

你用「蒙娜麗莎」那摸不透的微笑勾引著我，被火燒毀的水族館醉在毒草煙氣裡搖晃，我是一個被祖國拋棄的年輕人，為自己的人生傷感而與你在酒桌旁迎面而坐。你那過手的白色短衣與深紅色長裙與你陌生的異國名字「HANAKO」極不協調，你黑色的髮間裡你所丟失的拋棄的然而卻無法忘記的東西是不是還原封不動呢？母親的搖籃曲和你採的春菜及泥土的味道，屋簷下嘖嘖喳喳的燕子窩，田陌上的石牆，早晚水缸裡溢出的水滴及胡枝子籬笆角落裏的糞肥，簪頭的紅辣椒，白菜包飯的大醬味…。挨扁你被問一句也會變紅的臉的執達官辱罵，被拉走的豬的悲鳴，父親的長嘆聲和母親的痛哭聲…/啊啊，任他粗拙的黑手在你像鴿子一樣幼小的未成熟的無奈地喘氣的乳房亂摸，你的貞操攪幾枚銅錢便被戲弄，你卻不哭也不抗議。/酒桌對面破碎的玻璃杯及浪費精力的粗暴的辱罵，在瞬間尋找永遠快樂的一大狂亂中，連挽救你枯萎的青春想也不想，用賣笑與撒嬌來尋求生存，太悲哀了，玻璃窗是暗的，夜是深的，路上的陰雨淅淅瀝瀝地哀傷委屈地下著，看到呼喊著「想看姊姊想看姊姊」的小弟弟營養失調的眼珠在窗外閃過，你卻依然轉過身向我勸酒。啊！被拋棄的人生不是我而是你HANAKO，



李騰淵教授（前排左3）、張信吉組長（前排左4）、韓文學者等人合影於《韓風光州》文學演講後意見交流並合影。
Dr. Lee Deang-year (front, 3rd from left), Director Chang Hsin-chi (front, 4th from left), and Korean literary scholars during the Q&A session following Dr. Lee's presentation.

living selling their smiles and coquettish ways.”

I stand helpless before your wry Mona Lisa smile. The aquarium destroyed by fire; drunk and shaking in the wisps emanating from that poisonous weed. I am a youth rejected by his own country; who through life's pains meets you here in this saloon. Your short blouse with sleeves covering your hands and wine-red skirt match not that foreign name you use – Hanako. Your hair, that which you have willfully abandoned yet cannot seem to forget – is it still locked tightly away? Your mother's lullaby, the familiar smells of picked spring vegetables and upturned earth, that noisy swallows nest beneath the eaves, the stone wall in the field, the morning and evening dews that collect in the water tank, the fertilizer piled against the corner of that lespedeza-strewn fence, peppers stored beneath the eaves, the pungent taste of miso in cabbage-wrapped rice, your former shyness that would bring a blush at officious questioning, your father's sigh, and your mother's mournful sobs ... ah! Ah! You let his clumsy darkened hands fondle your youthful, helplessly heaving breasts. For a few copper coins, you were made someone's plaything – neither crying nor resisting. Broken glasses and wasted aggressive energies across from this saloon table. In this fleeting, frenzied search for eternal happiness, none attempt to save your withering youth. Selling smiles and coquettish ways for a living is a terrible shame. Windows are darkened, the night runs



「朝鮮小姐」你啊！——1940年10月，在圖們遇見小說家玄卿駿。（〈在咖啡館「朝鮮小姐」〉，1942）

在陰雨連綿的夜晚透過窗戶看見哭喊著「想看姊姊」的營養不良的弟弟，她卻裝作沒看見，依舊任客人用粗拙的黑手亂摸自己「幼小的未成熟的無奈地喘氣的乳房」，更證實了現實中「朝鮮小姐」與「為失去國家而委屈為被人生拋棄而悲哀」的我相比更稱得上是「被拋棄的人生」。其實，流落到萬里他國酒館裡的「朝鮮小姐」正是現實中的「朝鮮」自己。

先在1929年發表短篇小說〈母親與兒子〉後，1935年發表〈定州城〉詩而開始寫詩的白石，與金朝圭一樣也於1939年進入滿洲，做過測量等各種職業而維持了自己的創作。「崩潰時代裡堅決用母語描述主觀情緒和自我」（李東淳，《白石詩全集・解說》）的他，來到滿洲後寫的詩與之前的詩路沒有什麼大的區別，但是值得關注的是，白石將他移居的滿洲中國形象為「仁義者多之國」。

來到仁義者多之國/學習仁義者的行動和心靈/用嘴和前牙噙著西瓜子南瓜子/（中略）/仁義者多之國/連有扔掉五斗米回到柳樹下的人/也應在他身旁布袋裡有炒過的西瓜子南瓜子/連有飯疏食飲水曲肱而枕之的人/也應在頭旁有炒過的西瓜子南瓜子的。（〈西瓜子，南瓜子〉，1940）

既然看到和自己民族所不同的噙著西瓜子、南瓜子吃的中國人時，詩人認為中國還是「扔掉五斗米回到柳樹下」的陶淵明或「飯

deep, sullen rains continue to drip grief and grievance. A little boy, undernourished, passes outside the window, crying out, “I want to see my sister, I want to see my sister.” Yet you turn away, toward me, urging that I take another sip. Ah! The life that was lost was not mine, but yours, Hanako ... girl of Chosen ... it was yours! – October 1940. Saw novelist Hy’on Ky’ong-jun at Tumen (from “In a Café – the Girl of Chosen”, 1942).

The fact that this girl chooses to ignore the ill-fed boy in the street searching desperately for his sister in the darkness of a rainy night in order to continue permitting her customer’s rough, tanned hands to fondle her youthful breasts shows that this working “girl of Chosen” is a better candidate for living a wayward and lost life than the author, who has suffered greatly for the loss of his country and mourned his bitter and meaningless existence. In reality, the girl of Chosen in that saloon in a foreign land represents the Korean nation itself. After publishing his short story “Mother and Son” in 1929 and the poem “Chōngju” in 1935, Baek Sok launched himself into a career as a poet. Like Kim Jo-gyu, he arrived in Manchuria in 1939, working as a surveyor and in various other odd jobs while continuing to write and create. This man, who, “insisted on using the peculiar forms of his local dialect to express subjective feelings and his ‘self’ in this era of collapse” (Lee Dong-Soon in the foreword to “The Complete Poems of Baek Sok”), wrote poetry in Manchuria in a vein similar to his earlier writings. However, it is interesting to note that Baek Sok chose to describe his adopted home in China (Manchuria) as a land where the “virtuous are many”.

Arriving in the land of abundant virtue / You, motivation to virtue, virtue’s spirit / mouths and front teeth crack open watermelon and pumpkin seeds / ... / Oh, nation of virtue / You ... motivation to virtue, virtue’s spirit / Even those who’ve tossed away their five pecks of rice and returned to the shade of the willow tree / have in their pack a ration of pan-fried watermelon and pumpkin seeds / Even those who dine on coarse rice, drink not but water, and use only their elbow as a pillow / keep by their head a supply of pan-fried watermelon and pumpkin seeds. (from “Watermelon & Pumpkin Seeds”, 1940)

Even after seeing Chinese carrying on their peculiar habit of opening melon seeds between their teeth, some poets still

疏食飲水曲肱而枕之」的孔子所在的「仁義者多」的國家。嗑西瓜子、南瓜子吃的事到底和仁義之心有什麼聯繫？到底是用直述法還是反語法來描寫的？雖然有點模糊，但在詩人的意識裡，中國是一個現實與傳統的混合體。對於內心常常孤獨和憂傷的詩人來說，來到中國便會時時想起陶淵明、杜甫、李白等「心靈純潔」的詩人。

在詩人作品中出現與崔曙海或姜敬愛小說中移民悲慘的生活狀況截然不同的場景，這差別是否因為他是「煩亂的心中的悲傷、嘆息、消沈逐漸碎成了粉末」的、處於超脫境界的詩人？或許是吧。然而如此超越現實似的詩人同時還表白了這樣的心境：「**我像牛一樣不斷地反芻自己的悲傷和愚蠢／當我的心被緊緊堵住時／我的眼被熱的東西滴溜溜的積存時／當我火辣辣的臉被羞得通紅時／我被我的悲傷與愚蠢壓得甚至感覺到非死不可。**」（〈南新義州柳洞朴時逢方〉）無論是對個人還是社會的悲痛與悔恨，處於現實與理想的矛盾中，這位抒情詩人卻始終保持著「剛健純潔的鼠李樹」的精神世界，或許正因為如此才使他「背著手走過田溝，走出田地繞過田頭，走過水溝繞過小路」，以平安的心情走進了這條「滿洲之路」。

李騰淵分析，19世紀末東亞各國進行的所謂近代化過程無論是自生的還是他生的，事實上共同性與差異性的同時存在是不可避免的。在悠久的歷史中，中韓兩國在政治、文化上有過密切交流，兩國在應對日益急變的局勢時，應重新認識對方。他從比較文學形象學的角度來討論韓國作家在19世紀末到20世紀前半期所創作的作品中關於中國相互認識的過程。

saw China as the refined land of Chinese poet Tao Yuan-ming (365-427), where the enlightened forsake their “five pecks of rice” for the comforting “shade of the willow tree,” or a nation still steeped in Confucian virtues. But, what connection was actually being drawn between cracking melon seeds and living virtuously? Does the author mean to be taken literally, or is irony intended? Although such is unclear, it seems that, for these poets, China represented an amalgam of pragmatism and tradition. Frequently lonely and depressed, it was only natural that Korean émigré poets in Manchuria would reflect fondly on the “greats” of ancient Chinese poetry such as Tao Yuan-ming, Du Fu and Li Bai.

The life of the émigré described by Korean poets differed starkly from the wretched existence decried by novelists such as Ch’oe Sō-hae and Kang Kyōng-ae. Is the difference due to their already having ground to dust their sadness, despair and depression - paving their ascent to a higher, more detached plane of existence? Perhaps. But if so, these “detached” poets also wrote such incisive lines as, “*Like a cow, I ruminate continuously my sorrows and stupidities / As my heart becomes thoroughly blocked / when hot liquids drip into and fill my eyes / once my hot face has been shamed to an even shade of bright crimson / I will have become so oppressed by my sorrows and stupidities to feel that death is the only option left.*” (from “A Chance Meeting in Ryudong Park, Namsinuiju”) Whether it was personal sorrows or sadness and remorse for society that threw this poet into a conflict between reality and ideals, he was ultimately able to uphold in himself “the healthy purity of the buckthorn.” Perhaps this was what made the poet, “walk, with hands behind my back, across watered ditches, only to walk the entire field, then the country roads beyond.” He had found inner tranquility as his feet found their way onto “Manchuria Road”.

Lee Deang-yearn wrote that the process of modernization for Asian nations during the late 19th century, whether enacted from within or without, inevitably created conditions in which commonalities and differences coexisted in the same space. In light of the close political and cultural ties enjoyed by China and Korea for well over a thousand years, he expressed it only natural that the two renew their appreciation and understanding of one another in order to face the challenges of a fast changing world. Mr. Lee used imagology in comparative literature to examine the

19世紀末到20世紀初在亡國後亡命到鄰國中國並在此活動過的韓國愛國志士的詩文中一般認為中國是文化大國，大都從傳統的觀念出發賦予其理想性。之後，隨著日本帝國主義殖民政策的加速化，為了理想與生存遠離故國來到滿洲的人數也隨之增多，同時以他們的生活為素材的作品也急遽增加。此類作品中大都把以滿洲為代表的中國和中國人看成虐待貧困弱小民族的敵對倖存在，那是由他們所處的相互生存競爭的現實狀況所決定的。

演講後的交流時間，公共服務組組長張信吉提出回應及提問，他指出，從文學作品來看，許多小說家認識到的現實比較接近真實，而詩人呈現的則是比較著重在自己精神層面上的感受；在台灣文學領域中，也常有類似的對照，不少文學家選擇以紀錄呈現台灣歷史的題材創作。請教李教授，在紀錄這種族群命運的課題上，韓國在詩歌和小說方面是否有類似的作品？

李騰淵指出，詩人是不是比較著重夢幻及精神層面，而較不著重現實的描寫？這個課題值得探討，不過在1980年光州518事件發生後，當時在全斗煥高壓統治下，所有人不能提到518事件，一提到很可能被抓去坐牢，在這種情況下，也是有一群詩人組成詩社，以暗喻手法呈現518事件題材，小說家反而是在事件過後多年才提筆以此為題材創作。所以詩跟小說反映的現實不同，問題不在於文學體裁，而是文學家的世界觀，這也是研究者不斷探究的問題。

張信吉進一步提出，二次世界大戰以後，許多亞洲國家都以拼音文字來呈現該國的語言，但在台灣羅馬拼音仍是亟待努力使用的文

processes taken to better understand China, reviewing relevant works by Korean authors from the late 19th through the first half of the 20th century.

Most patriotic Korean poets who fled the death of their nation during the late 19th and early 20th centuries and continued to write in China accepted the cultural greatness of their adopted home, rooted in their perceptions of traditional Chinese cultural values. As the noose of Japanese imperialism tightened around Korea, more and more Koreans chose, both for idealistic and purely pragmatic reasons, to emigrate across the border into Chinese Manchuria. The number of works describing and amplifying their experiences naturally grew as well. The portrayal in most of these works of China (through the proxy of Manchuria) and the Chinese as tormentors of a poor and weak people was framed and shaped within the context of the general struggle for survival.

Following Mr. Lee's presentation, NMTL Public Services Office Director Chang Hsin-chi commented that, from the literary works presented, the reality perceived by novelists seemed relatively close to actual conditions, while that of poets tended to focus more on personal perceptions and feelings. This dichotomy, he noted, is also present in Taiwan literature. Many Taiwanese novelists elect to create works that "record" historical proceedings. Director Chang then asked for Lee Deang-yearn to comment on whether Korean poetry and novels presented similar examples in works addressing the human experience.

Mr. Lee replied that, in his opinion, poets naturally emphasized hopes and spirituality over mundane reality. It was an area, he said, worth exploring in greater depth. Following the Gwangju Democratization Movement (aka 518 Incident) in 1980, hard line policies of then-President Chun Doo-hwan threatened arrest and incarceration for anyone who wrote about or discussed the uprising. It was in this stifling atmosphere that a group of poets formed a literary circle, which went on to weave subtly 518 Incident-related themes into their works. In contrast, novelists began alluding to the Incident only many years after the fact. Examples such as this indicate that the realities reflected in poems and novels are truly different. At issue here is not "genre", but rather the "world view" of the literary mind. This, Professor Lee noted, is an issue regularly addressed in literary research.

Mr. Chang followed up, saying, that, in the aftermath of

字，以韓國推廣自創韓文的成功經驗，台灣是否有機會發展出自己的新創文字？

李騰淵表示，韓文是以拼音字母為基礎的語言，沒有接觸過的人花一星期就可以學會；但博大精深的中文不一樣，需要很長時間鑽研才能學習。目前韓國幾乎沒有人用漢字，而是多以韓文表達，這是不是好的現象，難以定論，但是形式決定內容，使用的文字還是會影響作品。

南韓前總統盧武炫壯烈自殺事件，引起全世界震驚，究竟是韓國人的民族性使然或是其他因素，造成如此激烈的動作？李騰淵指出，這問題必須從歷史角度來分析，1945年第二次世界大戰結束後，所謂親日的問題沒有解決，為社會對立埋下伏筆；親日份子及其後代許多擁有很高的社經地位，甚至進入到政府，而犧牲生命推動獨立運動的人，其後代卻多數得不到很好的教育，這是很糟糕的現象。盧武炫的背景很特殊，他是職業學校畢業，學歷不高，但成為成功的律師，光州人幾乎都支持他，能順利當選總統，他可說是韓國政壇上的奇蹟人物。雖然他自己不見得貪污，但是周遭的人可能有貪污，為了自己的良心，他的死亡背後代表的是進步與保守對立、良心與民主化；而且因為韓國人的民族性使然，選擇以死亡作為最終的選擇，儘管如此，他還是贏得多數韓國人民的敬仰。 ☒

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the Second World War, many Asian nations adopted official Romanization schemes for their languages. However, in Taiwan, Romanization continues to have a ways to go if it is to be popularly accepted. In light of Korea's success with its own phonetic system, what, Mr. Chang asked, did Mr. Lee think of Taiwan's potential to develop and introduce its own distinct phonetic system?

Professor Lee responded by saying that Korean is a phonetic language that complete novices can learn in one week. The venerable Chinese language, he said, was much more complex, requiring much more time to learn. Also, it remains difficult to say whether the ubiquitous use now of phonetic Hangul rather than Chinese characters is a definitively good thing. Nevertheless, form dictates content, and the written word definitely impacts literary form.

The suicide of former President Roh Moo-hyun shocked the world. Professor Lee said most outside of Korea interpreted his self-destruction to some quirk in the Korean national character or other similarly inscrutable reason. He urged, however, that Mr. Roh's suicide be examined in the proper historical context. The end of World War II bequeathed the newly independent nation of Korea an unresolved problem in the form of so-called "Nipponist" (pro-Japanese Koreans), which would cause troubles later on. Many Nipponists and their progeny continue to hold influential positions in society, business and government. By contrast, many of the children of martyrs to the cause of Korean independence did not have similar access to higher education. This was a terrible situation. President Roh's background was unique. He was a vocational school graduate who received only a basic education; yet he pursued a career as a highly successful lawyer. While the city of Gwangju gave him steadfast backing, his unlikely election to the presidency made him a true "miracle man". Although he was not necessarily a party to graft, those around him likely were. In his own mind, his suicide would have distilled perfectly the conflict between democratic progress and conservative orthodoxy, and between conscience and democratization. Due to the inherent nature of Korean culture, his choice of suicide, in spite of all else, ensured for him the respect of a majority of Koreans. ☒