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PAPERS

METEMPSYCHOSIS AND CHIASMATIC ENCOUNTERS: ON MARGARET DRABBLE'S THE RED QUEEN

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In *You Always Remember the First Time*, a volume of stories edited by the avantgarde writer B. S. Johnson, story 19 begins with a nineteen-year-old English boy on his National Service, in search of a radical departure from home.¹

Returning to Catterick Camp after being sick-on-leave with tonsillitis I discovered they'd put me down for a 'Home' posting. Immediately I dashed along to the RSM's office and complained that I wanted to go overseas.

"It's a bit late. Where did you want to go?"

"To Korea," I said.

"Good God! Why?"

"To get as far away from England as possible."

The officer's response, "Good God! Why?" encapsulates a typical British attitude to Korea which reaches far beyond the confines of this narrative. As late as 1975, when this volume was published, Korea was, for most British people, the farthest point on earth; and if this was not factually correct, it was nevertheless true for the cultural consciousness of the British people.

So when the news came that Margaret Drabble was writing a novel based on a Korean classic, Lady Hyegyŏng's *Hanjung rok*, the Korean expatriate community in Britain expressed as much amazement as delight. And in the context of what has been happening with regards to Korean popular culture in the last decade, wild speculations were rife: is the famous Hallyu reaching the shores of Britain? Was Lady Hyegyŏng to be re-born as a highbrow Hallyu star to join ranks with Yon Sama and Rain? Drabble is not an author one associates with the Far East, let alone the Neo-Confucian, faction-riven court of 18th-century Chosŏn (1392–1910). Rather, her work to date has been strongly associated with the British intellectual bourgeoisie she has represented over the last four decades. Her chronicles of the social, economic and political texture of contemporary British life, more often than not portrayed from

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a woman's viewpoint, are so sociologically exact that if one wanted to discover for oneself what it is like actually to live in Britain without doing so, or if a future sociologist wanted to immerse him- or herself in British life of the latter half of the 20th century, the quickest route would be to read her 'condition of England' novels, *The Realms of Gold* (1975) or *The Ice Age* (1977). One might turn to these in the same way one might turn to Arnold Bennett for a segment of Edwardian life, or to Trollope for a slice of Victorian. Thus it was a tonic and a challenge to learn that a writer who typifies Englishness travelled two hundred years and half-way across the globe for her latest literary enterprise, her sixteenth novel, not representing England abroad, but representing Korea to England.

It was a challenge because popular representations of Korea in Britain, so far, have tended to gravitate towards fixed poles of sensationalism and utility. The sensationalist pole obliges any representation of Korea to be on the level of kimchi and dog-munching axis of evil, implicitly underlining that Korea is the back of beyond, too remote and not attention-grabbing enough to pursue on its own terms; and the pole of utility confines it to the sober pages of *The Economist* and *The Financial Times*. On the rare occasion that Korea is represented culturally, it tends to be described in terms of other more familiar places, often in quite a bewildering array of similes. For example, in 2005, in the pages of The Guardian, Seoul was dubbed the 'New Tokyo' and then, a few paragraphs down, 'Bangkok on Steroids' and then finally, an 'oriental version of Birmingham'. Two decades ago, Korea was grouped as one of the 'little tigers' or NICs; then it was one of the countries benefiting, economically or politically, from 'Asian values'. As Perry Anderson noted in 1996, Korea is left in a vague limbo of acronyms and bestiaries compared with the dominating images of China and Japan.⁴ One can reasonably infer from all this that the concept of Korea is just beyond the mental reach of the average British reader, and that Korea in the British imagination to say the least is blurry, out-of-focus, in-between.

The Red Queen (2004)⁵ is a culmination as well as a major departure from previous representations of Korea in Britain. Partly set in Chosŏn, *The Red Queen* is a variation on, and a homage to, *Hanjung rok*, the four memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng (1735–1815), wife of Crown Prince Sado, the tragic 'mad' prince who was the son of the Great King Yŏngjo and the father of the Great King Chŏngjo—the two Sage monarchs of Chosŏn.⁶ It is a major departure, not only and obviously from sketchy journalistic reports but from earlier anthropological or sociological representations of Korea, reflecting as it does the rapidity with which associated areas of concern to post-colonial literature have been brought into the centre of British literary discourse. Unlike, for example Isabella Bird Bishop's *Korea and her Neighbours* (1897),⁷ to which Drabble pays tribute in the novel, *The Red Queen* is informed by issues of power relations that are at work when ethnic or cultural differences are represented. While Bishop approached Korean culture as an object

of empirical knowledge to be understood in terms of existing European thought, Drabble problematises ethnocentricity while at the same time asserting the need to find "universal transcultural human characteristics". So Drabble pursues ideas of common universal experiences by juxtaposing the 18th-century Chosŏn court with 20th-century Western sensibilities, proposing in the process a different and more potent model of cultural exchange. What is attempted is no less than a true cross-cultural enterprise—a chiasmatic encounter: a real interchange of cultures where the gaps between the two are crossed but then crossed again in a chiasma, relating to the ancient Greek word for cross, where two things intertwine and form an intersection in the form of the letter 'x'.

Hanjung rok

The Red Queen, as Drabble states, is the "fifth" memoir to the existing four by Lady Hyegyŏng. Therefore it seems necessary to examine the original texts in order to provide some context for this additional piece. The title Hanjung rok can be interpreted as 'Records made in tranquillity' or 'Records made in distress', depending on whether one sees 'Han' as the Chinese character 閑 or 恨. As one can deduce from this, Hanjung rok was written in Korean (hangŭl), which was devised in the mid-15th century. At that time, all discourse in the public sphere was written in Chinese, but it was customary for women to write in hangul. And though men did occasionally write in hangul in private, for example, when writing letters addressed to women, most of the documents of this period, like the Sillok, are in Chinese.⁹ Hanjung rok is an exceptional text because though other records of the Crown Prince Sado exist in great numbers, this account is written in a more personal language and gives a relatively more intimate account of the series of events, and thus appears more modern to contemporary readers and is certainly far more accessible. Even the recently discovered private diaries (Imo ilgi:1762) of the court official Yi Kwanghyŏn (1732–?), which render a very anti-Lady Hyegyŏng interpretation of events, are in Chinese, and therefore lose the sense of immediacy that Lady Hyegyŏng's memoirs give. The original record has not survived, but there are fourteen handwritten manuscripts. In Korean literary history, Hanjung rok is a canonical court text along with the other celebrated piece, Naehun, penned in 1475, by a royal lady, Queen Sohye (1437–1504); and the events narrated in *Hanjung rok* have been continually re-staged in various arenas of Korean popular and high culture.

Why does Crown Prince Sado have such a hold on the Korean imagination? Costume dramas of this period have been continually reproduced since the early days of Korean national television, with various different interpretations but all creeping inevitably to the gruesome climax when the crown prince climbs into the rice-chest, accompanied shortly by the obligatory lightening effects and the collective

wailing of the courtiers. Yi In-Wha's novel *Everlasting Empire* (1993)¹⁰ explored and mythologised the court of Chŏngjo. It has since been turned into a hit film starring Korea's national treasure An Sung-ki. This tragic event, commonly referred to as the Imo incident (*Imo hwabyŏn*) of 1762, is much revisited because of its obvious dramatic potential but also because it touches upon so many crucial components of the Korean psyche. Factional identities are still with us, Confucian patrilineal hierarchy, again, is still very much in evidence, and the cautionary morality tale of what happens when one does not live up to one's social and by extension moral obligations that the Imo incident provides, supports the laws of the Confucian moral universe to which many Koreans subscribe. So *Hanjung rok* is a key text in the history not only of Korean literature, but, one could argue, of world literature too, as well as one that has much validity when it comes to interpreting the cultural codes of Korean society today.

However, even though *Hanjung rok* has had tremendous influence on the interpretations of the Imo incident of 1762, it is by no means agreed that Lady Hyegyŏng's version is an objective account. In light of some of the contentious comment *The Red Queen* has received on the grounds that it is not historically accurate, it seems worth while to look into the genesis of the original four memoirs because extra-textual pressures were decisive in shaping the remarkable narratives. Written at four different points in Lady Hyegyŏng's life, each one was prompted by specific incidents and written with definite intent, addressed to concrete narratees, to and for whom she apologises. The compilations in the 19th and early 20th century have edited and organised the volumes in a chronological order which has the effect of erasing the specific reading community to whom they were addressed.

Lady Hyegyŏng wrote the first in 1795, 33 years after the Imo incident. Her son, Chŏngjo, now king, had at the age of eleven witnessed the murder of his father. He, like his grandfather Yŏngjo, was burdened by the question of legitimacy well after his accession to the throne, and had to battle against the opposition of the Pyŏkpa, the party of Principle, led by his step-grandmother, who sought to negate his legitimacy on the grounds of his criminality (by association). He held deeply ambivalent feelings towards his mother and the Hong family and their role in the death of his father. In the first year of his reign, he charged his mother's uncle Hong Inhan with disloyalty and had him executed. The Hongs were besieged. Lady Hyegyŏng wrote the first memoir, in this climate, to her nephew, the heir of the Hong family, as a defence or a justification of the Hongs, in particular the decision to carry on living by herself and with her father after the Imo incident, when it might have seemed more honourable to die.

The second, third and fourth memoirs were written after the death of her son Chŏngjo. Her grandson Sunjo succeeded Chŏngjo but since he was ten years old, it necessitated the regency of Dowager Queen Chŏngsun, Yŏngjo's second queen, and the head of Pyŏkpa, the party of Principle, or the Dogmatist party. Queen

Chŏngsun was a major force is shaping the opposing Pyŏkpa faction against the Hong family's Realist party, Sipa, immediately after the Imo incident; and the Hong family's security was severely threatened again. In 1801, Lady Hyegyŏng's younger brother Hong Nagim was executed, charged of having converted to Catholicism. The second memoir is a posthumous vindication of her brother Hong Nagim and her uncle Hong Inhan and it is written to the child king, her grandson. The third, written in 1802, is also addressed to the boy king, and in it she narrates the dedication of King Chŏngjo, the father of the boy to whom the memoir is addressed, in restoring honour to his own father, Crown Prince Sado. The final memoir was written in 1805 after Sunjo assumed full powers and it finally narrates the Imo incident, focusing on the psychological conflict between father and son and Sado's mental illness, which according to the crown princess was of Caligula-like proportions.

Since her family were heavily involved in the succession disputes, and in the context of when and to whom the memoirs were written, there is no denying that it was in her interests to downplay any political connotations of the Imo incident and to portray it as part of a domestic tragedy. And so Lady Hyegyŏng's narrative has retrospective as well as prospective force. In addition she had to present herself according to prescribed protocols of the court and able to relate only obliquely to questions of legitimate interest. She is a most deeply unreliable narrator. The madness of Crown Prince Sado has been a point of much debate and speculation, but recent revisionist historical accounts approximate him closer to Hamlet than to Caligula. Nevertheless, Lady's Hyegyŏng's account is an undoubted masterpiece, and her control in walking the very thin tightrope of seeming to be neutral while intent on justification is absolute.

The Red Queen is Drabble's literary tribute to Hanjung rok in which she absorbs and transforms the original text. Hanjung rok is, in turn, a primarily a literary piece of work. And like the preceding memoirs, this fifth memoir also has a specific reading community in mind—the Western reading public¹¹. In a curious parallel, the author of this fifth memoir has also become engaged in presentation and preservation of her legacy to the Western reading community; in a similar way, the defensive narrator of Hanjung rok was anxious to present and preserve certain legacies.

The novel and its intentions

The starting point for Drabble's variation is a red skirt that Lady Hyegyŏng as childbride admires. The desire for the beautiful red garment is a common memory that links the author, Drabble and her fictional heroine Babs Halliwell to the crown princess and the colour red is the pigment that runs through the three narratives linking the three personas, giving rise to the title *The Red Queen*, which is a name the crown prince gives to his bride when they are playing 'factional purges' in mockimitation of the real court situation in which they found themselves.

Organised in three sections, Ancient Times, Modern Times and Postmodern Times, *The Red Queen* first re-tells the story of *Hanjung rok* in first-person narration. But Lady Hyegyŏng's narrative is not merely re-told: it is boldly told from the vantage point of the implied author, Margaret Drabble. Part two jumps to our own times when a modern, successful, independent, middle-aged and very English academic, Dr Halliwell, attends an international conference in Seoul, the journey to which gives her the opportunity to read *Hanjung rok*. If the implied author had been the ghost-narrator of the crown princess's tale in part one, the crown princess/implied author haunts Dr Halliwell in part two. Part three, Postmodern Times, provides the resolution to the preceding narratives with the appearance of the actual author Margaret Drabble herself in the story, who hears about Lady Hyegyŏng from Dr Halliwell and is compelled to re-write the story for the Western audience.

This summary might suggest a linear narrative or a historical reconstruction. But as Drabble insists, this is not an historical novel. In a kind of pre-emptive defence, she writes in the foreword:

The voice of the Crown Princess, which appears to speak in the first person in the first section of the novel, is not an attempt to reconstruct her real historical voice. It was originally inspired by her voice and her story, but her voice has mixed with mine and with that of Dr Halliwell, and, inevitably, with the voices of her various translators and commentators, all of whom will have brought their own interpretations to her and imposed their personalities upon her. I have not attempted to describe Korean culture or to reconstruct 'real life' in the Korean court of the late eighteenth century.¹²

In spite of her clearly stated intention, some readers have chosen not to take this into account in their interpretations, but to raise a number of questions about representation, appropriation and orientalism. A review in the *Washington Post* of 8 October 2004 is critical of the novel:

All the orientalist stops are pulled out here...with occasional, jarring, modern asides. I had a lot of trouble...with the modern anachronisms in the first half. I disliked the British self-love that makes England the center of the cultural universe. (Why didn't Lady Hong go off in search of immortality in Ghana or Uzbekistan?)¹³

Similarly, David Jays in *The Observer* (22 August 2004) writes:

The passing of 200 years can do odd things to a person. In the case of the Crown Princess, she goes a little north London...The author's preface claims that she's searching for 'universal transcultural human characteristics'. The trouble with this quest is that you're likely to run with your own culture, amplifying its ethnics into universality. Drabble

looks at 18th century Seoul and finds Primrose Hill...Trotting in Drabble's wake, reading from her guidebook, the lonely planet just got lonelier. 14

But the charge that the novel is Anglocentric and anachronistic is curious when Drabble has ostensibly stated from the outset that she will make no attempt at real lifelike mimesis. One could hardly accuse her of failing to reproduce a verisimilitude of the Imo incident when she boldly rejects realist narrative and instead employs a strategy of double temporality in order to pre-empt or at least circumvent the difficulties of cross-cultural interpretations and re-inventions, as picked up by the aforementioned critics. As she writes: "Drawing on a Korean narrative for *The Red Queen* was a foolhardy enterprise, and I was well aware of the dangers, dangers which were an integral part of my theme." 15

So while *The Red Queen* is in part a variation on the memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng, the canonical narrative is not repeated as much as relocated to a sphere that is inbetween, that wanders about, where everything is hyphenated. Personal identities, cultural identities, and even time are bifurcated, primarily through the method of metempsychosis, ¹⁶ and are made formal features of the novel in both theme and structure. This will be discussed in some detail but first a distinction needs to be made between being 'possessed' and being in a state of metempsychosis. Being possessed refers to a soul taking over the mind and body of another being so that there is no internal division between the self and the usurping spirit, which can be a metaphor of colonisation or appropriation. Meanwhile, metempsychosis is a state where one lives through the same experience in the presence of another consciousness which is monitoring, observing, making interpretations of, the other. Being in a state of metempsychosis, is in essence, to be in a state of division or having a hyphenated identity, which in turn could be a metaphor for having a multi-cultural or a transnational-national or a trans-temporal identity.

There are four instances of metempsychosis in the novel: first, the actual author, Margaret Drabble, confesses that she came to write this novel because she was entranced by the memoirs of Lady Hyegyŏng:

It is sheer chance that the Crown princess came my way at all, but, once I had met her, I could not get her out of my mind. She insisted on my attention. She made me follow her, from text to text, from country to country. She seemed to be making demands on me, but it has not been easy to work out what they might or could be. Several times I have tried to ignore her promptings and to abandon this project, which has been full of difficulties, but she was very persistent.¹⁷

The second metempsychosis is in part one, Ancient Times, in which Lady Hyegyŏng describes the events of the Imo incident but as how the events might appear were the narrator a product of a late 20th-century Western education. The body might be experiencing the life of a late 18th-century Korean princess, but part

of the soul of the narrator has observed and cogitated over the last two hundred years of European intellectual history, philosophy and psychology. Events narrated in *Hanjung rok* are voiced-over with new Western knowledge, and her narration is punctuated by interjections of interpretations from this Western vantage point. For example, she muses that Prince Sado's name recalls the name of the Marquis de Sade. Or again, the ghost princess says: "After much thought, I have come to the conclusion that my husband would now, in your age, be likely to be classified as a paranoid schizophrenic." Posthumously the crown princess has not only acquired the language of psychology and philosophy but she actually conducts research:

Leafing through an academic periodical the other day, in an attempt to refresh my aged and ageing memory about the composition of the eighteenth-century Chosŏn Court Orchestra, I came by chance across an article by a twentieth-century scholar on the subject of 'Korea and Evil'.¹⁹

She is so up to the mark in modern academic discourse that she can turn the word himatiophobia in her mind and can dismiss it in favour of the more sensible-sounding clothing phobia. As might be expected, she is conversant with Confucius and Mencius; but also with Sophocles, Voltaire, Freud and Jung. She makes comparative analyses of her experience with those of Napoleon, and Marie Antoinette.

But while it is quite true that Drabble recreates a Lady Hyegyŏng whose identity overtakes the original experiences narrated in *Hanjung rok*, it is equally true that it is not a straightforward imposition. The historical and social identity of Lady Hyegyŏng is conscientiously reconstructed while a psychological identity is radically transported; and the two are continuously aware of, and at times, even construct each other. Tensions between the two selves manifest themselves recurrently throughout part one. At one point the ghost protests:

I see now that I am beginning to use words that do not belong to me, words that my appointed ghost has whispered in my ear. Postmodern contextualism, enlightenment universalism, deconstruction, concepts of the self. 'Globalization' seems to be one of the words that goes through the restless dreams of my envoy. I do not even know what it means, or what she means by it. Must I try to find out?²⁰

And at times, it is not always clear who is speaking and there is a fusion of identities in which both parties mutually constitute one another.

The relationship between my ghostwriter and myself is uncanny. We are both rationalists, and we both protest that we have no belief in a supernatural life after death. Yet here we are, harnessed together in a ghostly tale of haunting and obsession. We narrate one another, my ghost and L²¹

The third instance of metempsychosis is in part two when Dr Halliwell is haunted by the amalgam of the implied author and Lady Hyegyŏng:

The princess is taking her over, bodily and mentally. Dr Babs Halliwell is no longer herself... The princess has entered her, like an alien creature in a science-fiction movie, and she is gestating and growing within her. The pages turn, rapidly, as the princess gains presence and power.²²

Dr Halliwell, now inhabited by the spirit of the crown princess/ implied author finds many parallels in Seoul. There are many parallels between the cloisters and cabals of Oxford and the Chosŏn court, Halliwell is likened to "a princess of her time". She sees the similarities between the civil and military examination in Chosŏn and modern academic conferences. More importantly she can empathise with the crown princess on a more personal domestic level about irrationality, sickness, violence and infant-deaths, as if space, time and culture posed no barrier.

But this does not give rise to anodyne notions of global cultural unity, for some of the transcultural recognitions are less than universal. The garden of Sŏnggyun'gwan University reminds her overwhelmingly of her paternal grandparents' garden in Orpington.²⁴ The granite boulders of the Palace Gardens remind her of the artificial landscapes of New York's Central Park.²⁵ Transcultural recognitions may point to universal characteristics and therefore be unifying; but this section illustrates that they can also be deeply personal, divisive and parochial, offering a sharp critique of Western projections masquerading as unity of cultures.

In the concluding part, we are presented with a natural kind of metempsychosis, through the hyphenated identity of the Chinese baby that Babs Halliwell co-adopts, and whom the spirit of Lady Hyegyŏng sees as a new envoy.

Though the ostensible focus of the novel is Lady Hyegyŏng's life, what Drabble portrays is not necessarily Lady Hyegyŏng's narrative itself but the process of an English mind encountering the other. What is illuminated by the pairing of Chosŏn and postmodern England is not so much Korea or Britain but the cautious and difficult process of a chiasmatic encounter. And more than any sustained plot development, the contrasts provide the central organising principle offering many possibilities to consider 'universality' in the reading of a canonical Korean text. Through four varying degrees of metempsychosis as its device, *The Red Queen* satirises Eurocentrism masquerading as universalism, while at the same time recognising and directly addressing the importance of not simply mimicking a 'nativist' position.

Conclusion

To sum up, *The Red Queen* is both a homage to Lady Hyegyŏng's narrative and a very realistic snapshot of Anglo-Korean relations in the early 21st century because it captures precisely the blurry, in-between, out-of-focus perception of Korea in the British imagination. In her foreword, Drabble states: "...I have asked questions about the nature of survival, and about the possibility of the existence of universal transcultural human characteristics. The Crown Princess was my starting point for this exploration, but not its end." That *The Red Queen* is the starting point for the exploration of Anglo-Korean literary exchange is confirmed by the fact that the translated version of *The Red Queen* into Korean²⁷ is into its third print, and can be read together with *Hanjung rok* in a wonderful instance of chiasmus. The criss-crossed encounter has given birth to a mutual, reciprocal rebirth of sorts; and the known reversed with the unknown has been transformed by the newly acquired knowledge, resulting in a fusion on the horizon of experience.

Acknowledgement: I would like to thank Dominic Bailey, Angela John, Judith P. Zinsser and Kang Han-rog for discussing, and commenting on, this paper at different stages.

Notes

- B. S. Johnson, with Michael Bakewell and Giles Gordon (eds), 1975. You Always Remember the First Time. London: Quartet Books:166. (Edited and published after Johnson's death in 1973.)
- 2. Hallyu is, literally translated, 'Korean Wave'. It is a term to denote the explosive reception of Korean popular culture in East Asia. Primarily through the genres of Korean pop music (K-pop), TV dramas and films, Hallyu has had a dramatic impact on the Korean economy. The popularity of Yon Sama, a character in the TV drama Winter Sonata, singularly generated an estimated 2 billion wŏns' worth of Korean exports to Japan (see 'Hallyu star power: estimating its value', report of the Korean Parliamentary Research Committee, Seoul, July 2005). Rain is a Korean pop star.
- 3. Sean Dodson, 2005. 'Whole Lotta Seoul', *The Guardian*, 20 August 2005, Travel section:8.
- Perry Anderson, 1996. 'Diary', London Review of Books, 17 October 1996. See also http:// www.changbi.com/english/related/related16.asp, accessed 18 October 2006.
- 5. Margaret Drabble, 2004. The Red Queen: A Transcultural Tragicomedy. London: Viking.
- 6. The reign of Yŏngjo, the Sage King (1725–76), and that of his grandson Chŏngjo (1776–1800) were the golden years of the latter Chosŏn dynasty. Yŏngjo was the 21st and the longest ruling monarch of Chosŏn, reigning for 51 years, 6 months and 6 days. Great judicious king that he was, Yŏngjo is also famous for his extraordinary 'rice-chest' killing of his son, which has become the stuff of legend in Korean culture.
- 7. Isabella Bird Bishop, 1897. Korea and Her Neighbours. London: John Murray.

- 8. Drabble, The Red Queen:ix.
- Sillok: an official account of each king's reign compiled by the Bureau of State records.
 The Chosŏn wangjo sillok covered the reign of 25 kings from Taejo (1392–98) to Chŏljong (1849–63) in 1,893 volumes.
- Yin In-Wha, 1993. Yöngwonhan chekuk. Seoul: Segyesa. Translated by Yu Young-Nan as Everlasting Empire. New York: Eastbridge, 2002.
- 11. See Margaret Drabble, 'Only correct', Times Literary Supplement, 29 July 2005:12–13.
- 12. Drabble, The Red Queen:ix.
- 13. Carolyn See, 'Ladies in waiting, past and present', Washington Post, 8 October 2004.
- David Jays, 'Seoul destroying', The Observer, 22 August 2004. Online version at http://books.guardian.co.uk/reviews/generalfiction/0,,1288079,00.html, accessed 18 October 2006.
- 15. Drabble, 'Only correct', Times Literary Supplement, 29 July 2005:12.
- 16. The state of metempsychosis refers to a state where a body is inhabited by another soul which has transmigrated. As a narrative strategy, metempsychosis has had a long history, the most representative and celebrated example being *Ulysses* by James Joyce, where the small-time advertiser and Dubliner, Leopold Bloom, is living the myth of Odysseus.
- 17. Drabble, The Red Queen:vii.
- 18. ibid.:82.
- 19. ibid.:83.
- 20. ibid.:158.
- 21. ibid.:155.
- 22. ibid.:184-5.
- 23. ibid.:173.
- 24. ibid.:229.
- 25. ibid.:231.
- 26. ibid.:x.
- 27. Bulgun Wangsaejabin, trans. Chun Kyung-ja, 2005. Seoul: Munhaksasangsa.