

ABSTRACT

Title of Thesis: THE PROCESS OF TRANSMISSION IN *P'ANSORI*,
KOREAN VOCAL MUSIC, FOCUSING ON *HŬNGBOGA*

Min A Chun, Master of Arts, 2004

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The purpose of this study is to describe the transmission process of *p'ansori*, a form of Korean dramatic musical storytelling. Since *p'ansori* has been handed down by word of mouth, it has undergone various changes and variations. The socio-historical context surrounding *p'ansori* since its birth in the eighteenth century has had a great influence on the transformations of *p'ansori* over three hundred years. *P'ansori* performers, trained in a tradition of apprenticeship, have recreated and varied their materials, as well as continued what was transmitted to them in a particular school or master's singing style, known as *che/je*. These constant complex interactions between change, as flexible variation and individual creation, and stability, as sameness, have produced the *p'ansori* of today.

THE PROCESS OF TRANSMISSION IN *P'ANSORI*, KOREAN VOCAL MUSIC,
FOCUSSING ON *HŬNGBOGA*

By

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EXPLANATORY NOTE

Romanization and Translation

The Romanization of Korean terms in this thesis follows the McCune-Reischauer system, which attempts to depict phonetically the pronunciation of the Korean language. Even though the McCune-Reischauer system is often used in the field of Korean studies, many Korean authors have opted to romanize their names in various, inconsistent ways, rather than follow the rules of romanization set by this or any other system. When a text that I used for reference includes a name that is romanized following another system, I have followed the author's chosen method of romanization. In such cases, I have also given in parentheses the name romanized according to the McCune-Reischauer Romanization when the author's name first appears in a citation [e.g. Ch'oe Dong-hui (Ch'oe Tonghŭi)]. In cases where an author uses more than one romanization of their name in their writing, the name appears in the reference exactly the same way the author spelled it [e.g. Yi Po-hyŏng (Yi Pohyŏng) 1974, and Lee Bo-hyŏng (Yi Pohyŏng) 1973].

The order of Korean names follows the normal use in Korea: the family name appears before the given name, without a comma. When a Korean author uses his/her given name before the family name, the correct order of Korean name with the McCune-Reischauer romanization is given in parenthesis [e.g. Hae-Kyung Um (Ŏm Hyegyŏng)].

Translation of any excerpt or text is always given in parentheses. Parentheses () are used in cases where the translation given is widely used or has been referred to by other scholars, while square brackets [] are used for my own translation.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

1. Purpose and Proposal of Thesis

P'ansori is a dramatic musical storytelling form in which a single singer describes a story through alternating singing (*ch'ang*) and narrating (*aniri*) with accompaniment by a solo drummer. Since *p'ansori* condenses all components of music, theater, literature, performer, audience, social beliefs and milieu of the times, it has been studied by many scholars in various scholarly spheres.

In the plethora of works concerning *p'ansori*, the change and stability of *p'ansori* through transmission often occupy an important position. *P'ansori* has been mainly learned through master-apprentice relationships by listening to and imitating live performance. Therefore, changes are inevitably created even though there are characteristics that remain unchanged. As a form of oral traditional art, *p'ansori* has the tradition of apprenticeship, and this way of transmission has played a significant role in preserving this art up to the present day. In other words, the master-pupil relationship and private mode of the mastersinger carry significant meanings in *p'ansori*. In the process of transmission, not only does the singer imitate the master, but the singer's individual style also goes through change as a domain school or style of singing. Therefore, many scholars and students in Korea have made a conscious effort to examine the process of transmission in *p'ansori* according to a specific genealogy known as *che* in order to understand *p'ansori* in its present form.

However, most existing Korean studies about *p'ansori* transmission and change show the same direction of purpose and method in their studies. An excess number of texts written by scholars examining the transmission of *p'ansori* compare several

versions of *p'ansori* or *p'ansori* singers from different/same school or style (*che*) through musical analysis with the aim of understanding the distinct characteristics of each school or singer. The changes and stability in *p'ansori* are the result of compound phenomena such as singer's inclination, audience's taste, and social and historical circumstance, etc. Therefore, beyond the similarities versus differences approach to musical comparative studies, studies that satisfy questions of how and why *p'ansori* has changed are needed. With this reason, several scholars who have received specialized training in ethnomusicology such as Hae Kyung Um (Öm Hyegyöng) 1994, Sung-Sook Y. Chung 1998, Yeonok Jang (Chang Yönok) 2000, and Chan E. Park 2003 have tried to approach the examination of *p'ansori* transmission through various contextual angles including musical analysis between two singing traditions.

The main purpose of my research is to understand the transmission process of *p'ansori* through a lens which will utilize more ethnomusicological viewpoints. I aim to analyze the performance of *p'ansori* singing and examine its development through the changing stages of its social, historical, and musical development from its emergence to the present. While my study may be similar to previous ethnomusicological studies of *p'ansori*, in my method of approaching the musical genre through both socio-historical and musical contexts, my main purpose is not to supply a comprehensive study, including transmission, on *p'ansori* in the English language, but rather to provide a detailed analysis for understanding the transmission of *p'ansori*. Hence, my study will focus on examining the change and continuity in *p'ansori* through the background where *p'ansori* was transmitted, the concepts relating to its transmission, and the comparative analysis

covering generations of Korean history. As a result, I will try to understand the gradual development and continual modification of *p'ansori* through the process of transmission.

2. Methods and Range of Research

Bruno Nettl, a great influence in the field of ethnomusicology, emphasizes that in a musical system a certain amount of change is part of its essence, suggesting that types of change occur in all societies: substitution of one system, radical change of a system, gradual, normal change, and allowable variation (Nettl 1983: 176-8). Nettl also suggests that the ethnomusicology study of change is as follows:

The best one may expect... is a theory that would be enumerative, pointing out a group of regularities and patterns stemming from a variety of circumstances and contexts. We know there are components which change, that there are reasons for change, typical directions, internal and external factors. It would seem that one possibility is to view the process of change as depending equilibrium among various factors (1983: 185-6).

In *p'ansori*, constant gradual change and individual variation in the transmission process has occurred. These changes have occurred in relation with various internal and external factors. Therefore, my study focuses on the process of transmission and change in *p'ansori* by understanding these various factors. My research will be mainly illustrated by *Hŭngboga* (Song of Hŭngbo),¹ one of the five main *p'ansori* stories of today. Many studies by scholars such as Pak Sŭngnyul 1991, Ch'ae Sujŏng 1997, Ch'oe Nan'gyŏng 1999 and 2000, and Yu Sŏngjae 1999, etc, have already discussed the transmission of *Hŭngboga*. However, they have chiefly focused on musical context and analysis of two or three singers rather than relating the various contexts surrounding *p'ansori*. My study

¹ Although in current practice among literary experts the pronunciation "Hŭngbu" is normally used, among *p'ansori* performers and specialists the pronunciation "Hŭngbo" is quite normal. For that reason, I will use the spelling Hŭngbo throughout the thesis.

will try not only to examine the socio-historical circumstances causing the change and the ideas reflecting the transmission and change, but also analyze the transmission process through the concrete musical examples of *p'ansori* performers.

In order to attain better musical understanding of *p'ansori*, I trained in *p'ansori*, especially *Hŭngboga*, for four months from June to August of 2003, and January of 2004 under Pak Chinju, a *p'ansori* instructor in Seoul and pupil of Pak Songhŭi (朴松熙, b. 1924), who is a *poyuja hubo* (candidate) of *Hŭngboga* to become an intangible cultural asset.² The various data including *p'ansori* texts and scholarly works were mainly collected from the Seoul National University Library and the Parliament Library, and the National Library of Korea. Additional documents and recordings were also accessible from the private collection of Dr. Robert Provine. The recordings for analysis in Chapter V are the recordings which are restored from 78-rpm phonograph recordings (SYNCD-004, 1993 and SRCD-1064, 1992) and the recordings of a complete story of *p'ansori* (JCDS 0435, 1994 and SYNCD027-029, 1990).

The thesis is divided into six chapters. In Chapter II, I will briefly summarize the performance of *p'ansori* and its musical characteristics, including rhythmic pattern and melodic types, as basic knowledge for further understanding the process of examining *p'ansori*.

Chapter III will be devoted to various origins theories, as well as the evolution, and change of *p'ansori* by observing its socio-historical background from the eighteenth century to the present. First, I will discuss several scholarly views of the origin of *p'ansori* before its formation as a musical genre. Then, the socio-history of *p'ansori* in

² Pak Songhŭi is a pupil of Pak Nokchu, whose song will be examined in this thesis. Pak Songhŭi is known for her *Hŭngboga* and was designated as a *poyuja hubo* (保有者 候補, candidate for holders) who are expected to become intangible cultural assets.

four broad periods—from the eighteenth century as the period of formation up to the twenty-first century as the period of a new generation—will be examined. The nineteenth century and the twentieth century, which underwent various changes and development, will be divided into two periods according to social, economic and political changes and analyzed accordingly. Through this observation, which is illuminated by the phenomena surrounding *p'ansori*, I hope to grasp the complex and long process of *p'ansori*'s transmission to the present.

Chapter IV discusses the concept “*che*,” which reflects the transmission, diversity, and creativity of *p'ansori*. As *che* encompasses a variety of factors relating to genealogical transmission according to a particular master singer, geographical school or individual creation, it is helpful to reveal the characteristics of its transmission in *p'ansori*. This chapter will focus on the *Hŭngboga* (Song of Hŭngbo) concentrating especially on Song Man'gap's style. Song Man'gap is known for being the last generation of his branch of the Song family who initiated the so-called “Eastern” school of *p'ansori*, as well as being one of the reigning *p'ansori* singers. Therefore, *Hŭngboga* of Song Man'gap's style has been transmitted by his followers as an exemplar of *Hŭngboga* in the Eastern school and is still performed today.

In Chapter V, I will attempt to examine how the same version of *p'ansori* can undergo change over several decades. By comparing the performance of followers of *Hŭngboga* of Song Man'gap's style, as well as Song Man'gap's performance itself, I will try to understand the process of change and continuity, and the different ways through which the performers create their own individual styles of *p'ansori*. I chose Song's pupil Kim Chŏngmun, and Kim Chŏngmun's pupils Pak Nokchu, and Kang Togŭn, who are

known as the greatest followers of Song Man'gap's *Hŭngboga*. I hope to observe the pattern and range of change and stability in the process of transmission through analyzing the performances of Song Man'gap, Kim Chŏngmun, Pak Nokchu, and Kang Togŭn who had the same apprenticeship lineage and belonged to the same school "*che*." This comparative analysis will focus mainly on the aspects of text, rhythm, and melody of *Pak T'aryŏng* (Song of the gourd) from *Hŭngboga*, which all four singers left in recorded form.

In the Conclusion, all aspects discussed above will be summarized, and I aim to provide a way to understand the transmission process of *p'ansori* through comparative study and lay a foundation for further studies of *p'ansori*.

CHAPTER II: DESCRIPTION OF PERFORMANCE OF *P'ANSORI*

A great *p'ansori* singer, Mo Hŭnggap (牟興甲), performs for the governor of P'yŏngyang while standing on a square mat surrounded by the great landscape of P'yŏngyang. This tranquil scene is depicted in the ten-panel screen of P'yŏngyang (平壤圖十幅屏風, *P'yŏngyangdo sipp'ok pyŏngp'ung*)³ created in the nineteenth century. Wearing a white Korean topcoat, Mo sings with the accompaniment of a drummer while holding a fan in his right hand. The drummer sitting on the mat holds a drum stick in his right hand, his gaze fixed on Mo. The drummer responds to the performer's singing as if he is amused by the singer's lyrics. Many people surround Mo, pleased by his performance.

P'ansori is defined as dramatic vocal musical performance. The word *p'ansori*⁴ is a combination of two words “*p'an*” and “*sori*.” In Chŏng Pyŏnguk's theory, the word “*p'an*” is a combination of two meanings—“where a special event takes place with a large audience” and “a complete process.” Since “*sori*” refers to “sound” and “song,” *p'ansori* can be interpreted as “a vocal performance given to a general audience to tell a story from beginning to end (Chŏng Pyŏnguk 1981: 24-6). However, such a simple definition cannot explain what *p'ansori* really is. In this chapter, I would like to present a short synopsis on the components that define *p'ansori* and its musical characteristics.

³ This painting of unknown authorship belongs to the Seoul National University Museum.

⁴ Various terms such as *ch'angak* (唱樂, vocal music), *kŭkka* (劇歌, theatrical song), *sori* (sound or song), *ch'ang* (唱, singing), *t'aryŏng*, and *chapka* (雜歌, miscellaneous song) were used before the term *p'ansori* appeared in Chŏng Nosik's *Chosŏn ch'anggŭksa* 朝鮮唱劇史 [History of *P'ansori* in Korea] in 1940. *P'ansori* seemed to be employed broadly among singers and audiences in the mid 1900's. Ch'oe Tonghyŏn sees that the common use of “*p'ansori*” nowadays results from the fact that the term *p'ansori* describes the characteristics of *p'ansori* better than other terms (Ch'oe Tonghyŏn 1999: 15-6).

1. Components of *P'ansori* Performance: Singer, Story, Accompanist, Audience

1.1. Vocalist: *Sori*, *Aniri*, *Pallim*

As a type of vocal music, *p'ansori* features a vocalist. The vocalist is commonly known as *sorikkun*, *kwangdae*, or *ch'angja*. In *p'ansori*, a dramatic musical storytelling form, one singer describes a story through alternating singing (*ch'ang*) and narrating (*aniri*) with accompaniment by a solo drummer. The *ch'ang* is always associated with particular rhythmic patterns and melodic types. In the *aniri*, the vocalist narrates in rhythmic freedom to provide story development or to depict a conversation in between songs (Sō Hanbōm 1992: 138). *Aniri* components not only convey the change of events, passages, conversation between characters, psychological description, and monologue, but also provide some time for the solo vocalist to rest (Chōng Pyōnguk 1981: 29).

The vocalist does not just sing and narrate but accompanies his singing with appropriate gestures which are called *pallim*, or *nōrūmsae* (simple gestures). The vocalist must be able to capture the audience with convincing gestures which can express emotions ranging from sheer joy to unbearable grief. The *p'ansori* vocalist sometimes pretends to cry in a crying scene and dance in a dancing scene. He/she also always carries a collapsible fan which makes a great prop for making gestures. For example, it can be used simply as a fan itself when fully open, as a letter when half folded, as a pointer when fully folded, and so on. These gestures are an important component, when combined with singing, to effectively convey the story.

Sin Chaehyo (申在孝, 1812-1884)⁵, a *p'ansori* expert as well as supporter, trainer, and editor, listed four requirements that a *p'ansori* vocalist must have, while also

⁵ Sin Chaehyo will be further discussed in Chapter III, Section 3.2.2.

mentioning how difficult it is to become a *kwangdae* in his *Kwangdaega* (Song of *Kwangdae*), one of his *tan'ga* (short song)⁶:

The world inside an inn, our pleasure;
And the *kwangdae*'s deed, how fine!
But the *kwangdae*'s deed
Is difficult, so very difficult

First is fashioning a presence (*inmul*).
Second is fashioning the narrative (辭說, *sasŏl*);
And next is vocal attainment (得音, *tŭgŭm*)
And text is dramatic gesture (*nŏrŭmsae*) (translated in Pihl 1994: 97)

After ranking these requirements for *p'ansori* singers, Sin identifies each feature. Firstly, a vocalist must have appealing physical features that show him to be a thoughtful, virtuous person with good character. Secondly, he has to have a story which consists of “realistic and clear expression with variegated and beautiful words” (Chŏng Pyŏnguk 1981: 89). Finally, the singer is required to attain a musical level which conveys deep emotion by distinguishing tones and varying pitches. In other words, an enormous amount of practice is needed in order to produce the quality of vocal performance that *p'ansori* requires. Lastly, the whole performance needs to be accompanied by matching gestures in order to accurately convey the sense of drama and emotion.

As observed above, becoming a *p'ansori* singer is not easy. It is natural that hard training is needed to attain the musical ability that is needed to perform *p'ansori*. The *p'ansori* vocalists are known to have endured a painfully intensive training of several hours per day until they obtained a unique voice and vocal techniques that can convey various vocal colors. It is an art form that is only handed down through face-to-face training (Yi Kukcha 1989: 32). This implies that the *p'ansori* vocalist's performance

⁶ The facsimile editions of the original manuscript appear in Pak Hŏnbong 1966: 538-43, and Kang Hanyŏng 1969: 669-70. A full English translation of *Kwangdaega* appears in Song Bang-Song (Song Pangsong) 1976: 24-32.

might convey emotion more effectively as a result of training from teachers as well as rigorous self training known as *tokkong* that can make the performance more convincing. In the past, a *p'ansori* singer only became a great, renowned singer, known as *myǒngch'ang*, after many years of training, and these *myǒngch'ang* also spent long periods of time teaching *p'ansori* to their students. It would have been very difficult and also taken an enormous amount of time to learn a *p'ansori* song, which is five to eight hours long, without the help of either modern recording devices or written score notes. With the coming of a new era, it has become harder to teach and learn *p'ansori* in the old fashioned manner. *P'ansori* singers of today often use the recorder to record their singing lessons even though they still memorize melody by listening to their teacher's singing rather than by using score. This way of training for and transmitting *p'ansori* has produced a genealogy of *p'ansori* singers related to their master's singing tradition.

In *p'ansori*, the vocal quality of the vocalist is considered very important. The voice of *p'ansori* is a forced, harsh voice rather than a smooth, clear voice (Ch'oe Tonghyŏn 1999: 50). However, the voice used in *p'ansori* (聲音, *sǒngŭm*) cannot be described simply and generically as a “harsh voice.” There are various terms referring to voice color or timbre (*sǒng*),⁷ “voice (*mok*)⁸ according to the types of melodic ornaments” (Yi Bo-hyŏng [Yi Bo-hyŏng] 1974a: 298) and pitch⁹ in *p'ansori*. Yi Pohyŏng sees that these

⁷ Example voice colors are *t'ongsǒng* (voice that comes from the abdomen), *ch'ŏn'gusǒng* (gifted voice), *surisǒng* (husky voice), *pisǒng* (nasal voice), *ch'ŏlsǒng* (hard and firm voice like a hammer), etc (Pak Hŏnbong 1966: 71).

⁸ “Voice (*mok*) refers to various types of vocal inflection such as ornamental tone, vibrato, and microtone that are freely used and characteristic of *p'ansori* melodies” (Yi Po-hyŏng 1974a: 302). *Mok* can vary according to the singer, and the terms that refer to *mok* are more or less abstract. There are many kinds of *mok*: *Saengmok* (an effortless voice), *p'unŭn mok* (a loose relieved voice), *kamnŭn mok* (a voice which gradually pushes and drives), and others (Pak Hŏnbong 1966: 72-3).

⁹ There is no division of range between male singers and female singers in *p'ansori*, so the register of a

various components differ from scene to scene as required by the dramatic situation (Yi Bo-hyŏng 1974a: 298). The desirable voice for *p'ansori* performance is neither too hoarse nor too clear, so among various voice colors, *ch'ŏn'gusŏng* (lit. gifted voice) and *surisŏng* (husky voice) are especially regarded as the desirable voice colors for *p'ansori* (Ch'oe Tonghyŏn 1999: 51).

The reason why *p'ansori* requires its own vocal technique and color results from its performing environment. As the description of the painting described in the beginning of this chapter tells us, *p'ansori* singers used to perform on a stage created by using a square straw mat in a wide-open space. The event was usually performed in an outdoor setting, even though *p'ansori* performances held indoors in large or cozy theatrical halls is more common nowadays. This traditional performance in an outdoor setting seemed to create the particular *p'ansori* voice. The performer did not get any support at all from acoustic effects such as resonance. In such an open environment, low volume and ornamental sounds simply dissipate through the air and only the raw, dry voice is carried to the audience. In addition, *p'ansori* requires different vocal techniques and large register because the one vocalist must play the roles of many different people (Chŏng Pyŏnguk 1981: 70) and even make sound effects such as wind, birds, thunder and etc.

vocalist is naturally wide (Chŏng Pyŏnguk 1981: 69). *P'yŏngsŏng* (平聲, normal voice), *sangsŏng* (上聲, high voice), *chung sangsŏng* (重上聲, double high voice), *ch'oe sangsŏng* (最上聲, the highest voice), *hasŏng* (下聲, low voice), *chung hasŏng* (重下聲, double low voice) (Pak Hŏnbong 1966: 70-1).

1.2. Stories

Originally there existed twelve *p'ansori madang*¹⁰ (*p'ansori* work or story). In fact, it is probable that more than twelve *p'ansori* stories existed. However, we can only confirm twelve *p'ansori* stories from written documents. *Kwanuhŭi* (觀優戲) [Viewing a performance of actors], a poem written by Song Manjae¹¹ in 1843 that consists of an 800-character preface and a 50-quatrain verse body, is the earliest document which recounts the twelve *p'ansori* stories (Yi Hyegu 1989: 246-85), as in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1. Twelve *p'ansori madang* in *Kwanuhŭi* (Chŏng Pyŏnguk 1981: 35).

1. <i>Ch'unhyangga</i> (Song of Ch'unhyang)	2. <i>Simch'ŏngga</i> (Song of Sim Ch'ŏng)	3. <i>Hŭngboga</i> (Song of Hŭngbo)	4. <i>Sugungga</i> (Song of the Underwater Palace)
5. <i>Chŏkpyŏkka</i> (Song of the Red Cliff)	6. <i>Pyŏn'gangsoega</i> (Song of Pyŏn'gansoe)	7. <i>Paebijang t'aryŏng</i> (Song of Vice Chief Pae)	8. <i>Onggojip</i> (Song of Stubborn Ong)
9. <i>Kangnŭng Maehwajŏn</i> (Story of Maehwa of Kangnŭng)	10. <i>Changkki t'aryŏng</i> (Song of the Cock Pheasant)	11. <i>Walcha t'aryŏng</i> (Song of Walcha)	12. <i>Katcha sinsŏn t'aryŏng</i> (Song of the False Immortal)

Chŏng Nosik also listed twelve *p'ansori madang* in *Chosŏn ch'anggŭksa* (朝鮮唱劇史) [History of *P'ansori* in Korea], written in 1940, “based on oral statements of male elders and *kwangdae* from older generations” (Chŏng Nosik 1940: 29), but the *Musugi t'aryŏng* (Song of Musugi) and *Sugyŏng nangjajŏn* (Story of the Maiden Sugyŏng) were listed instead of *Walcha t'aryŏng* (Song of Walcha) and *Katcha sinsŏn t'aryŏng* (Song of the False Immortal) (numbers 11 and 12 in Figure 2.1). However, Sin Chaehyo, a *p'ansori* expert in the nineteenth century, left only six *p'ansori madang*

¹⁰ The term *Madang* has several meanings: a yard, a place and an instance. In *p'ansori*, *madang* refers to a unit name for a complete *p'ansori*. According to the singer, a *madang* can have several different texts (Cho Tongil 1978: 13).

¹¹ Song Manjae (1769-1847) was an aristocrat who was interested in *p'ansori* during the late Chosŏn (1392-1910) period.

(numbers 1 through 6 in Figure 2.1). Despite the former existence of many *p'ansori madang*, the numbers decreased to six *madang*, of which only five (numbers 1 through 5 in Figure 2.1) are actively performed repertoires today. The remaining *p'ansori madang* have either been forgotten or exist only in novel forms or merely as titles. However, several contemporary singers are making conscious efforts to revive forgotten stories. This shrinkage of the *p'ansori* repertory is considered a result of the change of people's taste according to social and historical transition.¹²

The five *p'ansori madang* that have been continuously handed down to the present each have a different story and theme. *Ch'unhyangga* (Song of Ch'unhyang), which is considered the most popular piece in Korea, is a story about a noble man who falls in love with a faithful female character, *Ch'unhyang*, who belongs to the lower class. *Sim Ch'ongga* (Song of Sim Ch'ong) tells of a filial daughter who sacrifices herself for her blind father. *Sugungga* (Song of the Underwater Palace) is a story of a loyal tortoise and a shrewd hare. *Ch'okpyokka* (Song of the Red Cliff) is a story about a battle that was held at Red Cliff, a scene taken from the Chinese novel, *Romance of The Three Kingdoms*.¹³ *Hungboga* (Song of Hungbo) which is the focus of this examination tells of the retribution of good and evil through a bad older brother, Nolbo, and his good younger brother, Hungbo. Poor Hungbo receives a gourd seed from a swallow in recompense for healing the swallow's broken leg. From the seed, a tiny bud grows into a long vine with white flowers which ripens into five large gourds. When Hungbo and his wife open the

¹² Further discussion in Chapter III.

¹³ Based on *History of The Three Kingdoms* (Sanguoji 三國志), *Romance of The Three Kingdoms* (Sanguoji yanyi 三國志演義) was written by Luo Guan in the 14th century. It is a classical Chinese historical novel about the turbulent period often referred to as the Three Kingdoms (Wei, Shu and Wu).

gourd, treasures of every kind pour out. When greedy Nolbo hears the story of his brother and the swallow, he runs home and purposely makes a swallow fall to break its leg.

Nolbo also receives a gourd seed, yet when he saws the gourd open, a swarm of devils and snakes come out. Even though the basic story of each *madang* is fixed, *p'ansori* lyrics have been added, deleted and changed according to the wishes of the singer, who performs the piece adjusted for the social conformities of the time when it is presented.

Cho Tongil, a noted scholar of Korean literature, observes two themes in these *p'ansori* texts. One is a surface theme which emphasizes social morals,¹⁴ for example, faithfulness (烈), filial duty (孝), and brotherly love (友愛). The other is a latent theme, which satirizes the inequality and discontent of the people (1978: 26-8). For example, in *Hŭngboga*, Hŭngbo, who has the qualities of honesty and dignity found in the upper class, does hard labor to earn his daily wages while Nolbo accumulates wealth and enjoys great prosperity despite his selfishness and cruelty. Through comparing the two brothers, *Hŭngboga* shows the discord between the old social system and the new social life according to the changes in social value systems and order (Pak Yŏngju 2000: 244). Hae Kyung Um (Ŏm Hyekyŏng) suggests that “the dualism in *p'ansori* themes is attributed to the fact that there were two types of audiences—the upper class and lower class— and *p'ansori* musicians had to meet the needs and tastes of both groups” (2002: 900).

P'ansori performance doesn't always need to be *wanch'ang* (完唱), which is performance of a complete *p'ansori* piece. *Wanch'ang* can take up to eight hours to perform, but to a complete *Hŭngboga*, which is the shortest piece among the five

¹⁴ These social morals relate to the five cardinal disciplines in human relations of Korean Confucian society: loyalty to the king (君臣有義), filial piety to parents (父子有親), fidelity to husband (夫婦有別), order of young and old (長幼有序), and sincerity to friends (朋友有信) (Hae Kyung Um [Ŏm Hyekyŏng] 2002: 900).

p'ansori madang performed today, would take approximately three hours. The piece can be divided into several episodes, so the *p'ansori* vocalist often performs only one episode or several excerpts. This type of performance, known as *t'omaksori*, refers to the short song that often appears in a performance combined with other folk music. *Punch'ang* (分唱, divided song) is a type of performance where two or more singers perform different roles (character) in the *p'ansori* story while *wanch'ang* and *t'omaksori* are performed by one *p'ansori* vocalist.

Before performing these *p'ansori* pieces, a vocalist customarily performs *tan'ga* (短歌, short song)¹⁵ which is a short song to warm up his/her voice or to assess his/her voice condition. As *tan'ga* usually has a lyrical narrative, moderate rhythmic pattern, *chungmori*, and the peaceful mood of *p'yŏngjo* (which will be discussed in the next section), it doesn't require the *p'ansori* singer's full energy to perform (Kang Hanyŏng 1974: 39-41).¹⁶ Unlike *p'ansori* stories, *tan'ga*'s content is mainly poetic descriptions of the natural world from famous Chinese poets and descriptions of Korean landscapes (Hae-Kyung Um [Ŏm Hyekyŏng] 1992: 45).¹⁷ However there are also some songs taken from *p'ansori* such as *Ssuktaemŏri* [Disheveled hair] from *Ch'unhyangga* (Kang Hanyŏng 1974: 42).

¹⁵ *Tan'ga* was also known as *Yŏngsan* (靈山) and *Hŏduga* (虛頭歌). Its origin is not exactly confirmed, but is often inferred through an eighteenth-century document mentioning *tan'ga* (Paek Taeung 1996: 106-7).

¹⁶ For more information on *tan'ga* musical characteristics, see Sŏ Inhwa 1986 and Paek Taeung 1996: 106-10.

¹⁷ For example, *Chukchang manghye* [竹杖芒鞋, Bamboo stick and straw sandals], *Ilchangch'unmong* [一場春夢, Empty dream], *Honamga* [湖南歌, Song of Honam region], *Yŏngnamga* [嶺南歌, Song of the southeastern region of Korea], etc. For more *tan'ga* texts, see Pak Hŏnbong 1966: 477-603.

1.3. Drummer

A lone drummer who plays the *puk* (small barrel drum) provides support for the vocalist. Commonly referred as *kosu* (鼓手), the drummer is an active performer and central character in the performance along with the vocalist. Although he does not provide any harmony, he provides the rhythm and supports the pace of the performance. The drummer mainly provides rhythmic patterns called *changdan*.¹⁸

Rhythmic pattern plays an important role in musical performance because it can provide the necessary tone, mood, dramatic feelings, etc. of a performance. It is essential for a drummer to know all sorts of rhythm patterns. In addition, he must also know which rhythm to play that matches well with the vocal performance. The ability to create variation while maintaining *changdan* is especially important because it is technically very difficult to provide an effective accompaniment and even sound effect using only a drum. It is commonly said that the drum accompaniment can render the whole performance mundane or really bring it to life. The drummer and vocalist must go through prolonged training and accumulate experience together in order to perform in synchrony to each other.

*Ch'uimsae*¹⁹ is comments or exclamations that the drummer makes from time to time to heighten the sense of excitement and drama. Expressions such as *choch'i* (nice), *ölsigu* (all right) and *küröch'i* (way to go) are used as *ch'uimsae* comments. In fact, providing *ch'uimsae* is also one of the most significant roles that the drummer plays in *p'ansori*. When I took beginner *p'ansori* lessons, my instructor, Pak Chinju, sometimes

¹⁸ Further discussion can be found in Chapter II, Section 2.1

¹⁹ Yi Pohyöng explains *ch'uimsae* as being a combination of two words “*ch'uda*” or “*ch'uöjuda*” meaning lifting up praise and compliment, and “*sae*,” the suffix that makes the word a noun. Lifting up praise to the vocalist, drummer or audience adds fun to the *p'ansori* performance (1977a: 67).

made *ch'uimsae* to my singing while playing accompaniment on the drum. Her *ch'uimsae* really encouraged me even though my *p'ansori* singing skills were rudimentary. The *ch'uimsae* the drummer gives encourages the vocalist and creates excitement in the audience. In addition, the *ch'uimsae* also has several other roles such as filling in musical gaps at appropriate moments, aiding in preserving the dynamics of the performance, and acting as the opposite character that replies to the performer's narrative (Yi Pohyŏng 1977a: 67-8).

In addition to the great *p'ansori* performers, great drummers were also found: Han Sŏngjun (韓成俊, 1873-1938), Pak P'ansŏk (朴判錫, 1857-1940), Chu Ponghyŏn (朱鳳鉉, 1884-?), Sin Ch'anmun (申贊文), Kim Myŏnghwan (金命煥, 1913-1998), and others.²⁰ These drummers had exemplary drumming techniques,²¹ but it was a skill that had started to develop some time in the later history of *p'ansori* (Yi Pohyŏng 1979: 57). Factors such as the scarce amount of early *p'ansori* writings that include the drummer, the courteous treatment given to singers and not drummers, and the popular conversion from *p'ansori* drummer to singer supports the idea that drumming was thought of as inferior to singing in the beginning of *p'ansori* history (Ch'oe Tonghyŏn 1997: 57).²² In fact, renowned *p'ansori* singers such as Chu Tŏkki (朱德基), Yi Nalch'i (李捺致), Song

²⁰ For more information on the *p'ansori* drummer, see Yi Pohyŏng 1979: 57-63.

²¹ For further information on drumming technique in *p'ansori*, see Yi Pohyŏng 1976: 1-31, 1977a: 61-74 and Kang Hanyŏng 1974: 92-112.

²² The conversion from drummer to *p'ansori* singer is also found. Renowned drummers such as Chu Ponghyŏn and Kim Tongjun (1928-1990) began as *p'ansori* performers, but were later active and popular as drummers.

Kwangnok (宋光祿, 1835-1894), Kim Chǒngmun (金正文, 1887-1935), and Chang P'an'gae (張判介, 1885-1938) were drummers in the beginning of their careers.²³

Whenever the *p'ansori* drummer is discussed, an old saying among *p'ansori* experts, “*Ilgosu imyǒngch'ang*,” which can be interpreted as “the first is the drummer, the second is the vocalist,” or “one drummer is two vocalists” is mentioned. Although it would be erroneous to claim that the drummer is far more important than the vocalist, this old saying emphasizes the importance of the drummer’s role. It can be said that the drummer is as important as the vocalist since the drummer’s technique and experience of supporting the *p'ansori* vocalist does make the vocal performance stand out. Chǒng Pyǒnguk summarizes the importance of the drummer as follows: an accompanist, a conductor, a counterpart, an effect-maker, and an audience member all at the same time (1981: 81-4).

1.4. Audience

A *p'ansori* audience participates in the performance through *ch'uimsae* similar to that of the drummer. The audience can reply to a story told by a performer as well as the vocalist’s performance itself. Performers perform the way they do because of the audience’s support and attention. Kim Kyung-hee (Kim Kyǒnghŭi) sees that the audience’s *ch'uimsae* gives the vocalist a chance to confirm whether he/she is conveying the narrative sufficiently and the audience is satisfied by his/her performance (2002: 240). In addition, *p'ansori* performers say that they feel much more energetic when the

²³ Chǒng Nosik’s *Chosǒn ch'anggŭksa* includes stories about the singers that started to perform *p'ansori* as drummers, but became singers because of the hardship and disrespectful reception given to *p'ansori* drummers (Chǒng 1940). From this phenomenon, Ch'oe Tonghyǒn sees that drumming was a useful means to learn *p'ansori* (Ch'oe Tonghyǒn 1997: 57).

audience grows excited and shouts out encouragement and makes gestures in response to the performance rather than sit quietly and do nothing.

The audience's *ch'uimsae* is similar to that of the drummer²⁴ and they express their excitement or emotional reaction to the *p'ansori* story. However, one must understand the *p'ansori* well in order to become a qualified audience. There is a term “*Kwi myǒngch'ang*” (Yi Sǒngjae 1994: 63), which can be roughly translated into “expert ear vocalist.” It is a term made to refer to the experienced audience who truly understands *p'ansori* and shows appropriate reactions accordingly. The audience and performer have mutual relations to each other in *p'ansori* because not only does *p'ansori* performance change continually via the influence given to the performer by the audience's attitude, but the audience's response also changes according to *p'ansori* performance given by the vocalist (Ch'oe Chǒngsǒn 1988: 235). *P'ansori* is only complete when the performance of the vocalist is supported by a drummer and surrounded by an audience who understands and participates in *p'ansori*.

2. Musical Characteristics: *Changdan* and *Cho*

As mentioned earlier, each song (*ch'ang*) in *p'ansori* is always related with particular rhythmic patterns, “*changdan*,” and melodic types, “*cho*.” This use of specific *cho* and *changdan* helps create a particular character, action or mood in the story (Hae Kyung Um 2002: 901).

²⁴ In fact, the audience's *ch'uimsae* is the immediate and less methodical reaction to the performance when compared with the drummer's *ch'uimsae*. *Ch'uimsae* created by the drummer is more rhythmically correct.

2.1. Rhythmic Patterns: *Changdan* (長短)

One of the components that help keep the speed of the song is *changdan*, which literally means “long and short.” Robert Provine indicates that the rhythmic patterns of Korean folk music including *p’ansori* are characterized by their length, sense of speed, typical meter, and characteristic articulations (2002: 843-4). Through these characteristics, one *changdan* is distinguished from other *changdan*. The seven *changdan*²⁵ that are mainly used in *p’ansori* are as follows:

First, *Chinyang* which is the slowest *p’ansori changdan*, consists of four six-beat bars with triple subdivision of each beat (4 x 18/8). As this slow *chinyang* is set with a specific melodic mode (which will be discussed in the next section), it creates emotion for a particular scene.²⁶ For example, the combination of *kyemyönjo* with *chinyang* is often used for scenes of sorrow and lamentation, such as the part where Hŭngbo begs for money and food from his rich, cruel brother, and the part where Hŭngbo’s wife laments the family’s poverty in *Hŭngboga*.

Second, “*Chungmori*²⁷ [moderate drive],” which has a moderate tempo, is in twelve beats (12/4). It has the characteristic of having strong accents on the ninth beat as

²⁵ For a more detailed examination of *changdan* in *p’ansori*, see Yi Pohyŏng 1976: 1-31, Ch’oe Tonghyŏn 1988: 162-203.

²⁶ For more information about the dramatic content of *p’ansori* lyrics according to the combination of rhythmic pattern and melodic mode, see Yi Pohyŏng 1978: 180-97.

²⁷ Most *changdan* terms end with the suffix “*mŏri*,” meaning the head, or *mori* which is derived from *molda* (to drive). For example, both *chungmori* and *chungmŏri* are used. Pak Hŏnbong explains the two terms differently. According to Pak, *mŏri* is an independent, basic *changdan*, while *mori* is a derivative of the basic *changdan* (Pak 1966: 60). However, Yi Pohyŏng says that *p’ansori* performers generally use “*mori*” rather than “*mŏri*.” In addition, when *changdan* is considered as a concept of speed, *mori*, which refers to “drive,” is the right suffix for rhythm (1976: 18). In other words, “*mori* (drive)” designates rhythm as driving or leading the song (Park, Chan E. 2003: 168). In this paper, I will use “*mori*” as a suffix to the name of *changdan*.

well as the first beat. *Chungmori* is a combination of “*chung*” (moderate) and “*mori*” (See Figure 2.2).

Third, “*Chungjungmori*,” which is faster than the *chungmori*, has 4 beats with triple subdivision of beats (typically 12/8) (See Figure 2.5). This rhythmic pattern usually appears in parts of the piece that have a festive tone and/or may be watched with a relaxed mood, like “*Ton t’aryŏng* (Song of Money)” in *Hŭngboga*, where Hŭngbo is pleased with the money that pours out from the gourd.

Fourth, *Chajinmori* [quick or frequent drive] consists of rather fast-paced four beats, each with triple subdivision (12/8) (Yi Bo-hyŏng [Yi Pohyŏng] 1974a: 300). Fifth, *Hwimori* [Hurried drive], the fastest of the *p’ansori changdan*, is a faster version of *chajinmori*. It is used for tense or agitated moods along with *chajinmori*. For example, the part where Hŭngbo is beside himself with joy while pouring the money and rice from the magic gourd into the two chests, and the part that describes him quickly splitting a gourd in *Hŭngboga* is associated with *hwimori*.

Sixth, *Ŏnmori* [irregular drive] consists of “two quintuple patterns (5/8+5/8), making up for unequally spaced beats (3/8 +2/8 plus 3/8+2/8)” (Provine 2002: 844) as its literal meaning indicates. *Ŏnmori* often appears in scenes describing mysterious or heroic characters, or unexplained or urgent and exciting scenes (Yi Pohyŏng 1978: 192-3). In *Hŭngboga*, the part describing the monk who appears at Hŭngbo’s home is set in *ŏnmori*.

Lastly, *Ŏtchungmori* [irregular moderate drive], which consists of a 6/4 pattern in a moderate tempo, is regarded as a half cycle of *chungmori* (Hae Kyung Um 2002: 902). This pattern is usually used in the last song of the *p’ansori* piece.

In *changdan*, the drummer plays an important role because he provides the rhythm and supports the pace of the performance by playing a barrel drum. The singer keeps the rhythmic pattern with the drummer's accompaniment. However, singers create rhythmic variations known as *puch'imsae*. *Puch'imsae*²⁸ is variation according to the textual rhythm set against the basic rhythmic patterns. An example of *puch'imsae* would be a duple rhythm in text against a triple rhythmic *changdan* and syncopation. Robert Provine observes that the rhythmic cycle is not just simple repetition but rather a rhythmic pattern that allows for considerable variation and flexibility in repetition, according to the needs of the moment (2002: 841). The basic patterns are used, but the drummer may change the way in which he plays the pattern on the drum while keeping the basic patterns, which is known as *wǒnbak*. In other words, *wǒnbak* can be further “elaborated and filled with a rhythmic ornamentation” (Hae Kyung Um 2002: 902). Therefore, there is no exact consistency between the drumming techniques of each drummer.

2.2. Melodic Mode and Type: *Chojo* (調)

In *p'ansori*, *cho* broadly encompasses various concepts, such as mode, melodic type, and singing style. Yi Pohyǒng says that numerous terms exist to differentiate between styles of singing in certain modes such as melodic types, subsidiary tones, or predominating ornamentation (Lee Bo-hyǒng [Yi Pohyǒng]1973: 223). Early writings by Sin Chaehyo²⁹ and Chǒng Hyǒnsǒk (鄭顯奭, 1817~1899), *p'ansori* patrons in the

²⁸ For detailed examination of *puch'imsae*, see Yi Pohyǒng 1977b: 85-114.

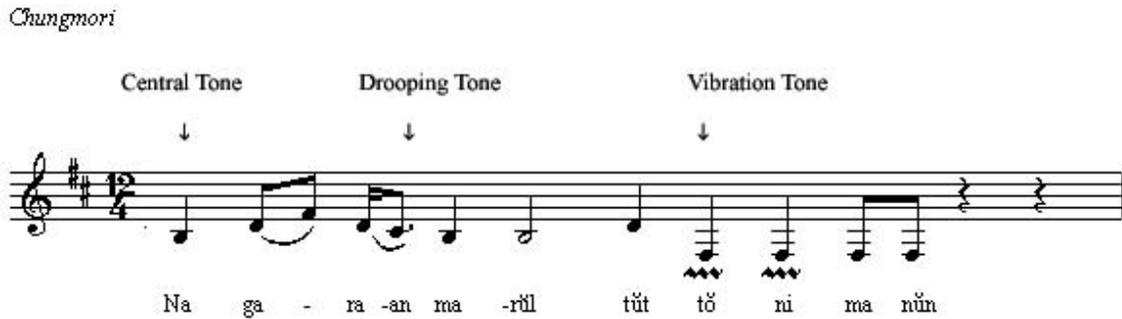
²⁹ Sin Chaehyo's *Kwangdaega* (Song of *Kwangdae*) and Chǒng Hyǒnsǒk's letter to Sin Chaehyo include descriptions of melodic features. For further information, see Chǒng Pyǒnguk 1981: 42-44, Kang Hanyǒng 1974: 68-76.

nineteenth century, include somewhat vague and metaphorical, yet descriptive passages expressing melodic type in *p'ansori*. The more modern description of melodic features didn't appear until Chŏng Nosik first classified the two basic *cho/jo* in *p'ansori-ujŏ* for peaceful sound and *kyemyŏnjo* for sorrowful sound (1940: 8). Nowadays, *p'ansori* singing is explained in several melodic types, *cho/jo-ujŏ*, *p'yŏngjo*, *kyemyŏnjo*, *menarijo*, *kyŏngdŭrŭm*, *sŏllŏngje*, *sŏkhwaje*, *sanyuhwaje* and so forth. These melodic types are often different in ornamentation, cadence tones, vibrato and so on. Among the various *cho* used in *p'ansori*, the most frequently used and commonly found are *kyemyŏnjo* and *ujŏ*. Several scholarly works—Yi Pohyŏng (1972, 1973), Han Manyŏng (1972), Paek Taeung (1999), Hae-Kyung Um (1992), Hwang Junyon (Hwang Chunyŏn) (1993)—have been written about *cho* in *p'ansori*. In this paper, I will limit my discussion to *kyemyŏnjo*, *ujŏ*, *p'yŏngjo* (which is similar to *ujŏ*), and *sŏllŏngje*, which is found in *Hŭngboga*, by referring to these scholars' works.

First, *kyemyŏnjo* is known to be the melodic mode found in folk songs and shaman songs that originate from the Southwestern area of Korea (Chŏlla province). Generally, *kyemyŏnjo* consists of three principle tones: tonic as “central tone,” a fourth below the tonic called the “vibration tone,” and a tone above the tonic known as “drooping tone”³⁰. These characteristics associated with these tones creates the effect of *kyemyŏnjo*. Figure 2.2 is an excerpt from *Hŭngboga* in *kyemyŏnjo*.

³⁰ Paek Taeung, a contributor of meticulous examinations of *cho* in *p'ansori*, explains that *kyemyŏnjo* consists of 6 tones. He divides the drooping tone into drooping lower tone, drooping higher tone, and adds a subdominant tone, which links a modulation. For more information of *kyemyŏnjo*, see Paek Taeung 1999: 38-45.

Figure 2.2. The Scene where *Hŭngbo* is expelled from *Hŭngboga*, performed by Pak Nokchu



Similar to Pak Hŏnbong’s description of *kyemyŏnjo*³¹ sound as evoking a beautiful, plaintive or sorrowful mood (美麗清高, 哀怨悽絕) (1966: 67), *kyemyŏnjo*’s mood is known for being plaintive and sad. For example, scenes where the character laments, mourns, appeals, or extremely urgent situations are observed as *kyemyŏnjo* (Yi Pohyŏng 1978: 183-97).

Second, *ujo*³² is a melodic mode which “uses the melodic shape and expression of aristocratic music like *kagok* or *sijo*” (vocal music setting poetry) (Yi Bo-hyŏng 1974a: 300). Paek Taeung explains *ujo* as follows:

Figure 2.3. *Ujo* mode as suggested by Paek Taeung (1999: 47)



³¹ *Kyemyŏnjo* is often classified into three parts according to the degree of sadness of a situation: *Chinkyemyŏnjo*, *tan kyemyŏnjo*, and *p’yŏngkyemyŏnjo*. Each *kyemyŏnjo* is different in its degree of vibrato and glissando. For more detailed information, see Paek Taeung 1999: 41-3.

³² *Ujo* is also differentiated into several styles by quality and color of voice or vocal technique (Paek Taeung 1999: 49-54)—*chinujo* (*ujo* proper) with restricted ornamentation; *kagoksŏngujo* (*ujo* in the style of *kagok*, the classical Korean long lyric song); and *p’yŏngujo* (Hae-Kyung Um 1992: 143).

Ujo is usually combined with a slow rhythmic cycle to describe majestic or serious scenes or the actions of aristocratic or heroic figures (Hae Kyung Um 2002: 903), such as the scene in *Hŭngboga* where a Buddhist priest suggests a site for building Hŭngbo’s new house.

Third, *p’yŏngjo* is usually regarded as a mode similar to *ujo*. Yi Pohyŏng indicates that *p’ansori* makes no definite distinction between *ujo* and *p’yŏngjo* (Lee Bo-hyŏng 1973: 224) and that there are many great singers who say that *p’yŏngjo* is included in *ujo*. Figure 2.4 is a possible version of *p’yŏngjo*, suggested by Paek Taeung:

Figure 2.4. *P’yŏngjo* mode suggested by Paek Taeung (1999: 55).



Hae Kyung Um describes the features of *p’yŏngjo* as a mode where “glissando and narrow vibrato are often used, and the melodic range and dynamic are restrained when compared to that of *ujo*” (2002: 903). *P’yŏngjo*, which also uses the melodic features of aristocratic music, is often used for peaceful scenes such as “the *Ki Mountain and Yŏng River*” and “*Landscape of Namwŏn*” from *Ch’unhyangga*. However, *Hŭngboga*, which is the focus of this paper, seldom includes *p’yŏngjo*.

Fourth, *sŏllŏngje*,³³ which is considered a derivative of *p’yŏngjo*,³⁴ was developed by Kwŏn Samdŭk (權三得, 1771-1841).³⁵ *Sŏllŏngje* captures the strong and energetic

³³ It is also known as *kwŏnmasŏngje*, *hogŏlche* (heroic mode), or *tŏllŏngje*.

mood of shouting through clever use of a continuous tone and a wide descending cadence on cheerful rhythmic patterns like *chungjungmori*. With these reasons, this melodic type is often used in scenes where a character swaggers while shouting or energetically marching (Yi Bo-hyŏng 1974b: 120). In *Hŭngboga*, the part where Nolbo goes to find the swallow is one of the well-known songs set in *sŏllŏngje* (Figure 2.5).

Figure 2.5. The Part where Nolbo goes to find the swallow, as performed by Pak Nokchu.

Chungjungmori



P'ansori performers were trained in using these various melodic modes or types and rhythmic patterns not by understanding them in a theoretical manner, but simply by using them in performance because of *p'ansori*'s oral tradition. Therefore, the musical characteristics in *p'ansori*, such as *changdan* and *cho*, can appear in considerably different shades in a *p'ansori* song according to the performer.

³⁴ Paek Taeung sees that *sŏllŏngje* is higher than *p'yŏngjo* in key and has a vigorous quality of voice (1999: 58). For other modes developed by individual singers, see Chapter III, Section 1.4.

³⁵ According to *Chosŏn ch'anggŭksa* [History of *P'ansori* in Korea], Kwŏn Samdŭk was a well-recognized figure from the end of King Yŏngjo (1724-1776) and the beginning of King Chŏngjo (1776-1800) (英末正初). However, Ch'oe Namsŏn verifies Kwŏn Samdŭk dates to be (1771-1841) in his sequel to *Chosŏn sangsik mundap* (朝鮮常識問答) [Questions and Answers of Common-Sense about *Chosŏn* (1392-1910)] by tracing Kwŏn's genealogy (Yi Pohyŏng 1998b: 260).

CHAPTER III: SOCIO-HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF *P'ANSORI*

As observed earlier, *p'ansori* is a form of vocal tradition in which a professional vocalist performs a narrative story alternating narration and song with the accompaniment of a drummer. *P'ansori* has been firmly rooted in popular culture and handed down to the Korean people over time while continuously shifting its form and shape according to the demands of audience in a continuously changing social and historical milieu. Therefore, examining the social and historical backdrop of *p'ansori* is essential in understanding what *p'ansori* is.

1. Discussion of the Origin of *P'ansori* Performance

It is not easy to confirm the origin of *p'ansori* or how it has undergone transformation to become the *p'ansori* that is enjoyed in present time. The emergence of *p'ansori* has been studied in various literary, musical and dramatic spheres, elements which were all essential ingredients of *p'ansori*. Thus, its origin has been examined in libretto, musical characteristics, or performance types of *p'ansori*. However, scholars are not in full agreement about the origin. There are three major views about the origin of *p'ansori* that are the most considered by scholars:

First, the shaman culture is often discussed as a matrix of *p'ansori* by many scholars—Chöng Nosik 1940, Yi Hye-gu 1955/1989, Kim Tonguk 1961, Pak Hönbong 1966, Kang Hanyöng 1974, Sö Taesök 1979, Walraven, B.C.A. 1994,³⁶ Cho Tongil 1988, Marshal Pihl 1994, Michael J.Pettid 1999, Kim Kyung-hee 2002, and others. Though

³⁶ Walraven also suggests the likelihood of influence in the reverse direction (from *p'ansori* to *muga*, shaman song) by considering the *kwangdae*'s contribution to the text of the *muga* (Walraven 1994:105-117).

their theories are not exactly the same in detail, they all conclude that *p'ansori* was derived from the type of shaman song (*muga*)³⁷ that was performed during a *kut* [shamanic ritual]. The narrative shaman song has been especially accepted as an origin of *p'ansori*: the narrative shaman song is a story about a god, a hero, or a person of divine ability, which is performed, with accompaniment, by a shaman. This narrative shaman song (*sōsa muga*) is generally presented to the audience in a highly entertaining fashion. The narrative *muga* tends to be the longest piece in *muga* and is often heavily embellished with vivid interpolated descriptions to maintain the audience's interest and to enhance their entertainment function (Pettid 1999: 35). This narrative shaman song is especially similar to *p'ansori* in its performance style. Sō Taesōk's comparative study of *p'ansori* and the narrative shaman song suggests considerable observations.

In narrative shaman song, a shaman performs while alternating speech and song with accompaniment and making dramatic gestures... In order to deliver a story effectively, the accompanist produces rhythmic patterns and exclamations to encourage a shaman... The narrative shaman song originally seemed to be a form of recitational chant addressing the spirit. However, we can also find that this recitational chant... transformed to the form of the theatrical song in the sea village of the East Sea... As the scale of *kut* [shaman ritual] and the number of attendees grew larger, a shaman tended to perform facing the audience and with her back to the spirits... For a shaman to perform whilst facing an audience is a phenomenon that emphasizes one function of an epic, which is to attract the interests of the audience³⁸ (1979: 13-5, 2002: 95).

In examining the structural characteristics and the performance style of epic music, epic folk songs (*sōsa minyo*), epic shaman songs (*sōsa muga*), and *p'ansori* from the perspective of performance style, scholar Kim Kyung-hee also finds these shared

³⁷ As with all other literature, *muga* [shamanic song] can be examined in terms of its literary qualities. Fundamentally, *muga* can be categorized as didactic, lyrical, narrative or dramatic. These literary categorizations are based on the categories outlined in Kim Ŭisuk's, "*Muga ũi segye*" (1995: 353-355) (Pettid 1999: 32).

³⁸ Translation of some terminology is adopted from Marshall R. Pihl's *The Korean Singer of Tales* (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 1994), 61-2.

characteristics in the structure of epic shaman song and *p'ansori* (2002: 215-46). As the observations of Sö Taesök and Kim Kyung-hee show, performance characteristics of *p'ansori* discussed in Chapter II, section 1—function and alternation of *aniri* and *ch'ang* (speech and song), *ch'uimsae* (calls of encouragement during the performance) by an accompanist, *pallim* (dramatic gestures) and the performer's position and attitude to audience—are also found in the narrative shaman song.

Second, the origin of *p'ansori* is also researched in oral narrative literature. This view has been supported by several scholars in Korean literature in accord with the textual studies of *p'ansori* by Kim Sambul and Kim Tonguk which were conducted in the 1960s. These studies find sources of materials in *p'ansori* text in oral literature. For example, the story of *Ch'unhyangga* (Song of Ch'unhyang) is inferred from several tales such as *Amhaengösa sörhwa* (暗行御史說話) [The Tale of The Secret Royal Inspector] and *Yöllyö sörhwa* (烈女說話) [The Tale of a Faithful Woman]. In the case of *Sim Ch'öngga* (Song of Sim Ch'öng), it finds its origins from *hyonyö sörhwa* (孝女說話) [The Tale of a Filial Daughter] and other tales (Sö Taesök 2000: 91). *Sungungga* (Song of The Underwater Palace) takes its thematic elements from the story of *The Tortoise and the Hare*, which is a folktale that appeared in the *Samguk sagi* [The History of the Three Kingdoms].³⁹ *Hüngboga* (Song of Hüngbo), which is the focus of this paper, is often considered a *p'ansori* piece which originates from folklore. A more detailed discussion of this aspect will be found in Chapter IV, section 2.1. Although four of the five *p'ansori* pieces actively performed today could well be from folk tales, *Chökp'yökka* (Song of The

³⁹ These tales, derived from short Indian fables about animals, were a tool through which the Buddhist philosophy and religion were introduced to Asian cultures. For more information of the tale related with *Sugungga*, refer to a notable work about the legend of a hare, In Kwönhwan's study, "*Tokkijön Künwön sörhwa yön'gu*" (A Study of the Prototype Story of the Legend of the Hare) (1968: 87-108).

Red Cliff) is based on the Battle of the Red Cliff in China, which was taken from a Chinese novel.⁴⁰

The third view of the origin of *p'ansori*, supported by scholars such as Yi Pohyŏng 1990, is that *p'ansori* is derived from the performance of *kwangdae*⁴¹ who were part of the professional entertainer troupe that included acrobats, tumblers, clowns, tight-rope walkers, instrumentalists, and other performers. *Kwangdae* were professional musicians during the middle period of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) whose performance eventually developed into early *p'ansori* traditions. In examining the existing *kwangdae* songs, Yi Pohyŏng observes that various *kwangdae* songs such as *kosa sori* [song of offering a sacrifice to the spirits], *chul sori* [song of walking on a tightrope], and *sŏnjungae sori*⁴² [song of a shaman in standing position], have analogues in *p'ansori* performance—dramatic gestures, mimetic skills and relationships with accompanists, form of narratives, rhythmic pattern, melodic type and so forth (1990: 83-111).

The various views about the derivation of *p'ansori* observed above may be interrelated. The close relationship with *mudang* (shaman) in the history of *kwangdae* has already been confirmed through the fact that many *kwangdae* had *mudang* background (*kwangdae* will be more examined in the next section). In fact, the views about the origin in regards to narrative shamanic song are consistent with the origin of *kwangdae*'s

⁴⁰ See Chapter II, section 1.2.

⁴¹ The first known use of the word *kwangdae* was in the Koryŏsa (History of the Koryo Dynasty), which was written in 1451. It is believed that the word *kwangdae* existed as early as the Koryŏ period, when it appears to have designated a masked performer. Later, as its meaning broadened, it came to refer to any variety entertainers, yet by the late eighteenth century, it was applied exclusively to the singers of *p'ansori* (Pihl 1994: 7). This topic will be further discussed in Chapter III, section 2.

⁴² South of Kyŏnggi region, a performer who sings, dances and makes witty marks while standing during the shamanic ritual (*kut*) is often referred to as a *sŏnjungae kkun* or *sŏn'gut kkun* [to divide with a performer in sitting position]. Thus *The Song of Sŏnjungae Kkun* is also known as *sŏnjungae sori* [song] (Yi Pohyŏng 1990: 95).

performance as stated by Yi Pohyŏng in his text (1990). In addition, *kwangdae* who had shamanic background often performed a play filled with witty remarks known as *chaedamgŭk*, and in this process they sometimes borrowed folktales for their play. This phenomenon can also be related with the theory that *p'ansori* originates from folktales. There are not only other inferences of *p'ansori* origin besides the three main theories discussed in this section, but also strong objection to these views by scholars like Paek Taeung⁴³ (1996: 100-26) and Yeonok Jang (Chang Yŏnok)⁴⁴ (2000: 56-62). Each view of *p'ansori*'s origin is not wholly satisfactory. However, when we consider *p'ansori* as a genre which has been developed and changed up to the present day, it is only natural that finding the congruity between modern *p'ansori* and its earliest form is difficult. With this reason, it is significant to understand the social and historical background of *p'ansori*. The various opinions of where *p'ansori*, a composite art, was derived only emphasize the importance of syntactic examination that collectively considers various theories from different scholarly spheres.

2. Kwangdae as P'ansori Performer

To trace the history of *p'ansori*, *kwangdae* must first be examined. There is no dispute about the fact that *p'ansori* has been developed by *kwangdae*. The word

⁴³ Paek Taeung opposed the idea of *p'ansori*'s originating from shamanic song as well as *kwangdae*'s performance by examining the time of emergence and the modal characteristics of *tan'ga* (short song), known as the introductory song, before starting *p'ansori*, and the emergence of regular rhythmic pattern (Paek 1996: 100-21).

⁴⁴ In analyzing the theories of *p'ansori*'s origin, Yeonok Jang criticized the folk tale origin theory, *p'an* play origin theory, and shaman song origin theory. Through a detailed examination of *p'ansori* shaman song origin theory, Jang opposed this theory, suggesting that *muga* and *p'ansori* are different in their sources of narrative style such as folk stories, singing styles, primary musical mode, and basic function of performance (Yeonok Jang 2000: 56-62).

kwangdae, which referred to a mask player in the Koryŏ dynasty,⁴⁵ changed during the nineteenth century to a broader term which encompassed all folk artists including mask performers, puppeteers, acrobatic performers, drum players, and *p'ansori* singers.⁴⁶ However, it subsequently referred not to folk performing entertainers, but especially to the singers of *p'ansori*, called *sori kwangdae*, who succeeded the *hwarangi* [households or husbands of female shaman who perform music and dance] group in social status until the 1930s (Son T'aedo 2000: 231).

Traditions of the *kwangdae* often are said to date back to the Silla period (traditionally B.C. 57~ A.D. 935). Among traditions of *hwarang* (花郎) [Flower of Youth Corps], a voluntary military organization in the Silla period, was the utilization of music and dance as a method to pray for the welfare of the state; this has been considered the foundation of the *kwangdae*'s performance.⁴⁷ These activities of the *hwarang* have a shamanistic aspect (Rutt 1961: 23) and *hwarang* is at least a shamanistic type of institution (Rutt 1961: 66). As the Koryŏ dynasty (918-1392) and the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) officially embraced Buddhism or Confucianism, the *hwarang* became degraded. Thus, their martial skills were lowered to tumbling, acrobatics, and rope-walking and their music became accompaniment for shaman ritual or the stuff of itinerant band performances (Pihl 1994: 18). The word “*hwarang*” or “*hwarangi*” labeled as *mubu* (巫夫, shaman's husband) is also meant for *kwangdae* who are mainly the husbands of

⁴⁵ In the 1451 *Koryŏsa* [History of Koryŏ], written during the succeeding Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), the word *kwangdae* is used to refer to *Kamyŏnwihŭija* (假面爲戲者) [mask player] (Kim Tonguk 1965: 18-19).

⁴⁶ In *Kwanuhŭi* (觀優戲) [Viewing a Performance of Actors] written by Song Manjae in 1843, *kwangdae* were classified into *p'ansori* singers, instrumental players, and tumblers (Yi Hyegu 1989: 278).

⁴⁷ The scholarly works examining the relationship between *hwarang* and *kwangdae* are Marshall Pihl 1994, Song Bang-Song 1974, Kim Tonguk 1965, Son T'aedo 2000, and Yi Tuhyŏn 1985.

hereditary female shamans and who usually served as assistants for their wives in shamanistic rituals (Song Bang-Song 1974: 13). Son T'aedo, a contributor to research on *kwangdae*, observes:

Sandaehŭi (山臺戲),⁴⁸ *naryehŭi* (儺禮戲),⁴⁹ and the event relating to civil service examination in local or central governmental offices needed the group of folk performance entertainers...in this process; *kwangdae* was formed as a low stratum in the social class structure of the Chosŏn dynasty [1392-1910]... *Hwarangi*⁵⁰, referring to the shaman's husband in a hereditary shamanism group, became the *kwangdae* group and played the role of *kwangdae*... (2000: 273-275).

These observations demonstrate the idea that *kwangdae*, which seemed to be derived from the tradition of *hwarang*, is historically related with shamanic tradition.⁵¹ After the local and central government event *Sandaehŭi* (山臺戲, mask drama) stopped taking place at the end of the eighteenth century due to financial difficulties, *kwangdae* who previously performed in the *sandaehŭi* began to search for opportunities to perform in public. In this process, various activities of *kwangdae* gave rise to the development of *p'ansori* as well as various mask plays. *Kwangdae* were instrumental in the development of traditional folk performing arts for a long time (Son T'aedo 2002: 112).

⁴⁸ *Sandaehŭi* (山臺戲) also known as *sandaenori* and *sandaegŭk* is a "masked drama" consisting of witty remarks and dance to music on a makeshift stage, performed during the Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392). The term *sandaehŭi* became more commonly used during the Chosŏn period, when court entertainments were generally known as *sandaehŭi*, which was divided into three aspects: acrobatic and spectacle shows, farces, and music (Pihl 1994: 19-22). For more information connecting *Sandaehŭi* with *kwangdae*, see Pihl 1994: 21-7 and Son T'aedo 2002: 91-130.

⁴⁹ *Naryehŭi* (儺禮戲) was an "exorcistic entertainment" performed in the court on New Year's Eve during the Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392).

⁵⁰ To make a clear distinction between the *hwarang* referring to Silla warrior youth and the shaman's husbands or households that perform in shamanic ritual, I will refer to the former as '*hwarang*' and the latter as '*hwarangi*' in this paper.

⁵¹ Examples of marital ties between *mudang* and *kwangdae* are recorded in recent reports. The male shaman (*hwarangi*) Yi Yongu was born in the last decade of the nineteenth century in the Kyŏnggi Province. His father, Yi Chongha, his grandfather and his great grandfather were all heads of an organization that supervised the activities of the *kwangdae* (Han'guk munhwa illyu hakhoe 1978: 120-3), cited in Walraven 1994: 106.

Another important point of *kwangdae* traditional history is the hereditary tradition. Examining *kwangdae*'s history, Marshall Pihl synthesizes the process from *hwarang* to *hwarangi* during the Chosŏn Dynasty as follows:

The *hwarang* were left with no such means and had no choice but to tour and perform their songs and participate in shamanistic rituals... While the women conducted rituals, the men assisted by providing a musical accompaniment. As a regular relationship developed with their believers, they managed to get along on the money and grain received for their rituals, prayers, and fortune-telling. This shaman "parish system," called the *tan'gol* system... is centered on a hereditary shaman who, carrying on priestly authority passed through the generations, is not spiritually possessed but has been ordained by human agency (Pihl 1994: 19).

Male members belonging to households of hereditary female shamans became *kwangdae*. Therefore, this hereditary tradition of shamans has also been connected to the tradition of the *kwangdae*. The performance of the *kwangdae* has passed from master *kwangdae* to the next generation of *kwangdae*. The history of the *kwangdae* tradition confirms that *p'ansori* has been handed down to the present day through the generations of the *kwangdae*.

3. Evolution of *P'ansori* from the Eighteenth Century to Present Time

The history of *p'ansori*, whose origin, as already noted, is not clear, was occasionally discussed by scholars from the late seventeenth century or the early eighteenth century, with the appearance of the first documented text on *p'ansori* in the 1700s. There is also presumed to be an undocumented period of time up until when *p'ansori* was formed in the late seventeenth century or early eighteenth century (Kim Hŭnggyu 1978, Hae-Kyung Um 1992: 69, Yi Pohyŏng 1982: 8-11). However, the observations made about this unknown period of formation seem to be associated with discussions about the origin of *p'ansori* and *kwangdae*'s history, which were already

noted in sections 1 and 2 above. In this section, I will discuss the history of *p'ansori* in four broad periods, ranging from the eighteenth century up to the twenty-first century, which may sometimes be further divided into several periods in each epoch according to social, economic and political changes.

3.1. The Eighteenth Century as the Period of Formation.

Various beginnings of *p'ansori* have been inferred, but *p'ansori* first appears in a written document known as the *Manhwachip* (晩華集) [*Manhwa* Collection] by Yu Chinhan (柳振漢, 1711-1791)⁵² in 1754. This book contains *Kasa Ch'unhyangga ibaekku* [Lyrics of “The Song of *Ch'unhyang*” in Two Hundred Stanzas] in Chinese verse. In addition to the document, the existence of several great singers in the eighteenth century is presumed. Ha Handam(河漢譚) and Ch'oe Söndal (崔先達)⁵³ were known as the predecessors of well-known singers in the beginning of the nineteenth century such as Kwön Samdük (權三得, 1771-1841)(Chöng Nosik 1940: 42). Judging from Kwön Samdük's days, one can suppose that the period of Kwön's masters was the eighteenth century.

⁵² Yu Chinhan (柳振漢, 1711-1791), who lived in Mokchön of the Ch'unchöng region, was a scion of Yu Mongin (柳夢寅, 1554-1623). Yu Mongin had a high government position during the reign of the 15th king of the Chosön dynasty, *Kwanghaegun* (1575-1641), but was punished by death after the *Injo Panjöng* [the 16th king of Chosön, King Injo's (1595-1649) Restoring Things to Righteousness] in 1623. After Yu Mongin's death, the family of Yu Chinhan settled down in Mokchön. Yu Chinhan's advance in the official world was interrupted. For this reason, Yu Chinhan traveled the Chölla region, the backdrop of the Song of *Ch'unhyang*, in 1753, and it is believed that the reason why he wrote a Chinese poem about the Song of *Ch'unhyang* in the following year was to vent his pent-up anger. (Chöng Pyöngghön 1990:143)

⁵³ According to Chön Tosöng (全道成 1864-?), Pak Mansun (朴萬順) and Yi Nalch'i (李捺致), who were great singers in the nineteenth century, both mentioned Ha Handam (河漢譚) and Ch'oe Söndal (崔先達) first when they announce hereditary singers in regular order in the time of *sori p'uri* (a method that *kwangdae* utilize in announcing the past great singers before performing his/her peculiar singing style) (Chöng Nosik 1940: 17-8).

A single political faction monopolized power during the fall of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910),⁵⁴ and had serious effects upon the social and economic position of the *yangban*⁵⁵ class (upper class) as a whole (Han Woo-keun 1970: 302-3). The dominance of the *yangban* class was a lasting feature of traditional society under the Chosŏn dynasty. The Chosŏn dynasty had a strong class system which was re-enforced by Confucian instruction. During most of the Chosŏn dynasty, there were four distinctive hierarchical classes in existence: the *yangban* (aristocracy), the *chungin* (middle class), the *sangmin* (common people), and the *ch'ŏnmin* (low-born people).⁵⁶ *Kwangdae* were classified as part of the lowest class, the *ch'ŏnmin*. “Status in all classes was hereditary” and Zhu Xi’s belief that “the Confucian social precepts reflected the nature of the universe meant only that any attempt to change one’s social status was not only a crime against society but also a sin against heaven” (Han Woo-keun 1970: 247).

There were also new intellectual developments such as western Catholicism and *Sirhak* (Practical Learning) which were influential on society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. “Acceptance of Catholicism constituted a kind of challenge to the oligarchic nature of *yangban* society and the intellectual rigidity of Neo-Confucianist orthodoxy” (Ki-baik Lee [Yi Kibaek]1984: 239) since its tenets related with egalitarian principles. In addition to Catholicism, *Sirhak*, a philosophical reform movement,

⁵⁴ The Chosŏn dynasty (1392 – 1910), which followed the Koryŏ dynasty, was founded by General Yi Sŏnggye who seized political and military power in 1392. In the Chosŏn dynasty, also known as Yi dynasty, the Confucian doctrine was regarded as the norm of Korean society in establishing political and social structures and culture.

⁵⁵ “The literati constituted the *yangban*, the members of the “two orders” of officialdom who served in the bureaucracy as civil or military officials. The term *yangban* subsequently came to be used broadly to designate the high-status group in Yi society (Chosŏn) privileged to occupy civil and military posts in the bureaucracy. And because it was this *yangban* class that directed the government, economy, and culture of the Yi dynasty society, it may fittingly be designated as a *yangban* society”(Ki-baik Lee 1984:173).

⁵⁶ The lowest class, the *ch'ŏnmin* (low-born people), was mostly made up of outcasts and slaves, but also actors, *mudang* (female shamans), *kisaeng*, and *paekchŏng* (butchers) (Han Woo-Keun 1970: 247).

criticized the Confucian doctrine that opposed practical learning. The birth of *Sirhak* brought “censure of those who held political power and intent to bring about changes in the political and social order” (Ki-baik Lee 1984:232-3). These new intellectual concerns about the problems of social status appeared in the literature of writers like Pak Chiwŏn (朴趾源)’s *Yangbanjŏn* [Tale of the *Yangban*].⁵⁷ “Jokes and satire leveled against the *yangban*” (Han Woo-keun 1970: 333) and problems concerning social order, such as illegitimate children of *yangban* lineage, were a notable feature at that time.

These historical phenomena of the eighteenth century show that discontentment toward the social structure existed. *P’ansori* mirrors the society of those days, especially what people wished for and complained about. The hopes of the oppressed lower classes to raise their status or wealth, the dissatisfaction felt among the lower classes because of the discrimination in the hereditary social standing or the accusations brought against the ruling classes at that time are echoed in the *p’ansori* piece, *Ch’unhyangga*, whose story was already explained in Chapter II. Ki-baik Lee, a notable Korean historian, considers *Ch’unhyangjŏn* (Story of *Ch’unhyang*), thought to be one of the greatest novels of this period, as follows:

Ch’unhyangjŏn takes the stance that commoners and those of mean birth are no different in their human qualities than the *yangban*. Thus the heroine of its title is led to exclaim: “How can loyalty and filiality, or womanly virtue, differ between high born and low?” (1984: 244-5).

⁵⁷ In this story, a ruined poor *yangban* sells his *yangban* status to a rich *sangmin* [commoner] in order to repay his debts from the local government. However the governor becomes aware of this fact and had both men write up contract notes referring to their *yangban* and *sangmin* status class. Because of the contract notes strict content about the behavior and etiquette of the *yangban* class, the rich *sangmin* gave up his hopes in trying to become *yangban*. Pak Chiwŏn (朴趾源, 1737-1805), a literary man as well as *Sirhak* scholar, satirizes the hypocritical behavior of the ruined *yangban* and the vain desire of the *sangmin* who tries to attain *yangban* status in *Yangbanjŏn* (兩班傳) (Tale of *Yangban*).

P'ansori, a genre that reflected society as well as entertained the people, seemed to have an audience composed of various classes in the eighteenth century. There is no question that *p'ansori* was enjoyed by the masses and was seen as a form of popular entertainment.⁵⁸ Existence of *kwangdae* who had aristocratic origins (*pigabi kwangdae* [*yangban kwangdae*])⁵⁹ such as Kwŏn Samdŭk illustrate that the upper class as well as the lower class also had interests in *p'ansori*. In addition, the *Sandaehŭi* (山臺戲), mentioned previously in section 2, were government events performed by *kwangdae* for the upper class as a form of folk entertainment. *Sandaehŭi* were given on stages erected within court precincts or on the wayside as part of royal banquets and progressions, state receptions, various periodic festivals, and other occasional official observances (Yang Chaeyŏn 1955: 191-200, as quoted in Marshall Pihl 1994: 22).

However, *p'ansori* was still not warmly received by all members of the upper classes⁶⁰ even though some of them were certainly interested in *p'ansori*. For example, according to Chŏng Nosik, the family of Kwŏn Samdŭk even tried to kill him because his efforts were directed not towards his studies but rather towards *p'ansori*, and that was a disgrace to a family who had *yangban* lineage. Even though the family did not kill him,

⁵⁸ Various facts, such as the low social standing of *kwangdae* who were *p'ansori* performers, the inferred origins of *p'ansori*, the public performance setting for a great number of people, and the documents containing *p'ansori*, support this.

⁵⁹ *Kwangdae* from out-group or outside i.e.: a *kwangdae* who is not from a group of folk entertainers and/or shamans. It is often referred to as *yangban kwangdae* (Hae-Kyung Um 1994: 339).

⁶⁰ There are several documents containing descriptions of the upper classes negative attitudes towards *p'ansori*. According to *Kajŏng kyŏnmunnok* (家庭見聞錄) [Record of Family Knowledge] written by Yu Kŭm, son of Yu Chinhan (柳振漢, 1711-1791) toured the southern region in 1753 and wrote the poem, *Song of Ch'unhyang* after returning home the following spring. However, his poem was criticized by contemporary aristocrats. In addition, *Mongminsimsŏ* (牧民心書) [Admonitions on Governing the People] written by Chŏng Yagyong (丁若鏞, 1762-1836), a *Sirhak* scholar, also contains criticism of *hwarang* (花郎), a term that refers to a shaman's husband, and of *kwangdae* and their entertaining performance, *kokhoejiyŏn* (滑談之演) (Kim Hŭnggyu 1978:75-83).

he was omitted from the official family genealogy (1940: 45). Kim Hŭnggyu considers that this negative attitude towards *p'ansori* was caused by the fact that *p'ansori* in its early development was not sufficiently refined to attract widespread upper class support (1978: 76). In addition, the social criticism involved in *p'ansori* seemed to be poorly received by the upper class that was the focus of censure in *p'ansori*.

3.2. The Nineteenth Century as the Period of Development and Change

On the whole, the eighteenth century seemed to be the period that *p'ansori* was enjoyed by the common people rather than the *yangban* class. However, *p'ansori* was further developed in the nineteenth century. The appearance of many various writings describing *p'ansori* and the great singers known as *myŏngch'ang* support this fact. I will discuss this period in two parts, the first half and the latter half of the nineteenth century.

3.2.1. The First Half of the Nineteenth Century.

The period of the 1800s underwent various changes in its social and political framework. In the beginning of the 1800s, political power was monopolized by the lineage of a single faction. As a consequence, many *yangban* were excluded from the government and they could no longer maintain their dignity and authority. Conversely, the *chungin* (middle class) were able to improve their social position and commoners were becoming rich farmers and achieving the outward trappings of *yangban* status. A social change of major dimensions had occurred, for the old status system that had strictly upheld the distinction between master and slave was now crumbling (Ki-baik Lee 1984: 250-2).

The development of philosophical or regional thoughts impacted the latter period of the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) as a conspicuous phenomenon. Major evidence of changes in the beliefs and values of the Chosŏn society is seen in the manner in which the further spread of the Catholic faith took place (Eckert et al. 1990: 183). The number of Korean Catholics⁶¹ steadily increased even though Catholicism was suppressed because of “its conflict with Confucian propriety” (Han Woo-keun 1970: 346). The *Tonghak* (Eastern Learning) formulated by Ch’oe Cheu (崔濟愚, 1824-1864)⁶² also appeared at that time as a new religion that promised to restore political and social stability. *Tonghak*, which emphasized that the will of God (*Hanŭlnim*) manifested itself through man’s will, rapidly gained a great number of believers and became an influence not only on the religious but also on the political life of the country (Ch’oe Tong-hui [Ch’oe Tonghŭi] 1965: 4-12). Ki-baik Lee cites “Ch’oe Cheu’s idea proclaiming equality for all human beings that transcends social status or class, and the tradition of incorporating aspects of shamanistic belief, such as chanting and worship of mountain deities” as the major reasons why his doctrine was welcomed by the peasantry (Ki-baik Lee 1984: 258).

In the nineteenth century, when the thoughts and scholarship for the populace and change of social classes observed above developed, *p’ansori* had its peak period in development and prosperity. The increasing number of historical documents written in this period supports this idea and also provides valuable information about *p’ansori* in

⁶¹ “It was people from the lower social classes rather than the higher, the uneducated rather than the educated, and the poor rather than the well off who were now attracted to Catholicism” (Ki-baik Lee 1984: 257) because its ethical and ritual principles were based on equity and human dignity.

⁶² Although Ch’oe Cheu was born into a good family, his family was a declining *yangban*, and the decline was almost complete when his father died when Cheu was a 16 year-old boy. In his ill-fortune, he deeply felt the coldness of the people and was awakened to the absurdities of the social reality of the time. He longed for and endeavored to realize “the new truth” by which he could overcome and remedy the social crises and all social ills (Ch’oe Dong-hui 1963: 14-5).

that period. The fact that these writings were almost invariably done by the upper classes, also inform us that the upper class interest in *p'ansori* had increased. *Kwanuhŭi* (觀優戲) [viewing a performance of actors],⁶³ a poem written by Song Manjae in 1843, is the earliest document that shows the core repertory of the twelve stories of *p'ansori* (as already observed in Chapter II, section 1.2) and *kwangdae* activities (Yi Hyegu 1989: 246-285). *Kwan'gŭk Chŏlgu Sibisu* (Twelve Quatrains on Viewing the Theatre) is a poem written by Sin Wi (1765-1845),⁶⁴ which describes a festive scene of *p'ansori* performance includes lively and detailed descriptions of the music, drummers, singers' names, vocal technique, audience, and the characters of *Ch'unhyangga*.⁶⁵ Through examination of various writings about *p'ansori* in the nineteenth century, we can make assumptions about the form and repertoire of *p'ansori* performance as well as its popularity at that time. However, as Marshal Pihl indicates, what we know is shaped by the biases and interests of the upper class members of the audience, rather than the practical experiences of the performers or the tastes of the general populace (Pihl 1994: 93), because most documents were written by members of the upper class.

The first half of the nineteenth century, which produced many documents about *p'ansori*, is also known as “The Age of Eight Great Singers,” though there is some disagreement about precisely who those eight singers were. There were many great

⁶³ Yi Hyegu annotated Song Manjae's *Kwanuhŭi* in “Song Manjae's *Kwanuhŭi*” (Yi 1989: 246-285).

⁶⁴ Sin Wi was a prolific writer who produced over 400 poems and a number of books. It is known that his interests covered not only literature and philosophy, but also theatre and music, particularly from folk genre (Yun Kwang-bong 1987: 197-9, cited in Hae-Kyung Um 1992: 78).

⁶⁵ In addition to the two documents including *p'ansori*, there is another retelling of *Song of Ch'unhyang* in Chinese poetry, *Kwanghallu Akpu* (Poetry of the *Kwanghan* Pavilion), that consists of a 108-stanza composition by Yun Talsŏn in 1852 (Pihl 1994: 96), together with government documents that include names of singers, such as the *Kapsin Wanmun Chaein Tŭngjang* (Official Documents in the Year of *Kapsin* the List of Folk Entertainers) in 1824 and *Chŏnghae P'alto Chaein Tŭngjang* (The List of Folk Entertainers from Eight Provinces in the Year of *Chŏnghae*) in 1827 (Kim Hŭnggyu 1978: 83, translated in Hae-Kyung Um 1992: 79).

singers at the time, such as Kwŏn Samdŭk (權三得, 1771-1841), Song Hŭngnok (宋興祿), Mo Hŭnggap (牟興甲), Ko Sugwan (高壽寬), Sin Manyŏp (申萬葉), Kim Chech'ŏl (金齋哲), Yŏm Kyedal (廉季達), Hwang Haech'ŏn (黃海天), Chu Tŏkki (朱德基), Pak Yujŏn (朴裕全), and Song Kwangnok (宋光祿, 1835-1894) (Yi Pohyŏng 1974b: 119-26). The existence of so many great singers reveals that *p'ansori* performance was widespread in that period. The increase in musical development was only natural in correlation to the appearance of so many remarkable singers. Yi Pohyŏng views the contributions of these singers in this way:

These eminent *p'ansori* singers created their own personal styles (*tŏnŭm*)⁶⁶ and also expanded their musical resources by adding new rhythmic cycles (*changdan*)⁶⁷ and melodic types (*cho*).⁶⁸ Through these additional variations and refinements, the formal beauty of *p'ansori* was greatly enhanced, and musical distinctions arose between three schools, each associated with a particular geographical area and lineage of famous singers (1982: 30).

In this period, the development of musical variety resulting from the development of the singers' own personal styles gave rise to a distinction of genealogy according to the master singer's way of transmission as an oral tradition. *Tongp'yŏnje* [Eastern school], *sŏp'yŏnje* [Western school] and *chunggoje* [Central school] were initiated by the great singers Song Hŭngnok (宋興祿), Pak Yujŏn (朴裕全) and Yŏm Kyedal (廉季達) in the nineteenth century (Ch'ong Nosik 1940: 10-11). Even though the term *che/je*, which refers to various things such as a school, style, composition of an individual singer, and

⁶⁶ Most information about their personal features in music including *tonŭm* as well as anecdotes of the eighty-eight singers is found in Chŏng Nosik 1940.

⁶⁷ For example, *chinyanjo*, the slowest rhythmic cycle, was developed by Song Hŭngnok (Chŏng Nosik 1940:34).

⁶⁸ There are also *sŏllŏngje* derived by Kwŏn Samdŭk, *kangsanje* by Mo Hŭnggap, and *ch'uch'onmok* by Yŏm Kyedal. Several kinds of new *cho* (melodic types) were created by adopting musical sources from outside *p'ansori*, folk songs from other regions, and vocal genres (Hae Kyung Um 1992: 77). For more detailed information, see Hae-Kyung Um's 1992: 135-56.

melodic mode, had not yet appeared at that time (*che/je* will be discussed in Chapter IV), the existence of great singers in this period reveals that the musical distinctions between singers or geographic areas began to be one of the important features of *p'ansori*.

3.2.2. The Latter Half of the Nineteenth Century

During the late 1800s, the Chosŏn dynasty experienced many political, social and economical upheavals. In fact, condensing various historical events and situations in the second half of the 1800s in a few sentences is not easy. After the accession of the young King Kojong (1864-1907) in 1864, his father Yi Haung, known as Taewŏn'gun (Prince Regent), seized power and carried out reforms (Sohn Pow-key et al 1970: 185). Although Japanese, Western and Russian forces insisted upon commercial relations or friendships with Chosŏn, the Taewŏn'gun adhered to a strong isolationist policy as a means of preventing foreign powers from overtaking Korea as well as thwarting the spread of Catholicism, but his efforts resulted in the eruption of military clashes with Western nations (Ki-baik Lee 1984: 263-4). After the Taewŏn'gun's downfall in an uprising led by Queen Min (wife of King Kojong) and his opponents in 1873, the Japanese forced the Koreans to sign a treaty of trade and friendship in 1876, and Korea began to open its doors to the West after 1882.

During the second half of the nineteenth century, the infiltration of foreign power and instability of the Chosŏn dynasty gave rise to chaos and upheaval. In 1884, a coup d'état was carried by reformists denouncing the leading politicians for their reliance on China and insisting on the abolishment of class distinction.⁶⁹ Peasants also raised revolts

⁶⁹ Reformists, firm believers in the principle of equality, improved “the political process by following the model of Japan’s Meiji Restoration, and achieved genuine national independence for Korea by ending

against the foreign economic penetration and the pressures of the corrupt government occurred with members of *Tonghak* (Eastern Learning) insisting on “the salvation of farmers from their destitute life” (Sohn Pow-key et al 1970: 209-10). However, these various uprisings at that time led to the continuous intervention of Japan and China, and finally the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895). As a consequence, the Japanese defeated China (Han Woo-keun 1970: 414), leading to the Japanese annexation in 1910. At that time, through Japanese reforms, traditional civil service examinations and the social class system were totally abrogated, so that class distinction between *yangban* and commoner was legally eliminated. “Post station attendants, actor-entertainers, the outcast butchers, and others similarly stigmatized” were freed from their traditional lowborn status (Kibaik Lee 1984: 291-2).

In the latter nineteenth century, the status of *p'ansori* singers as *ch'ŏnmin* (low-born people) improved in the fluctuating social order as observed above. In addition to the betterment of a singer's status, the treatment and consideration given to them by their audience also improved. The audience at *p'ansori* performances was made up of more members of the upper class, so that *p'ansori* singers had the advantage of performing under the generous patronage of *yangban* as well as rich *chungin* (middle class). In fact, without the support and interest of the upper classes, it would have been difficult for *p'ansori* to reach its peak during that time period. The fact that figures of the royal family, King Ch'ŏlchong (1849-1863), Taewŏn'gun (1820-1898), and King Kojong (1864-1907) enjoyed the performance of *p'ansori kwangdae* within the palace so much so that singers were given official titles confirmed the *yangban*'s fascination with *p'ansori* (Kim Hŭnggyu 1978: 76). Many singers such as Pak Mansun, Song Hŭngnok (宋興祿), Mo

China's interference in Korean affairs” (Eckert et al. 1990: 208).

Hüŋg'gap (牟興甲), Yöm Kyedal (廉季達) and Pak Yujön (朴裕全) were well-loved by the royal family.⁷⁰

According to Yi Pohyöŋ, it was during the second half of the nineteenth century, also known as “The Age of Eight Later Great Singers,” that vocal techniques underwent further development. The later eight singers were Pak Mansun (朴萬順), Song Uryong (宋雨龍), Kim Sejong (金世宗) and Chang Chabaek (張子白), who belonged to the Eastern school; Yi Nalch'i (李捺致), Chöŋg Ch'angöŋ (丁昌業), who belonged to the Western school; and Kim Chöŋgün (金正根) and Han Songhak (韓松鶴), who belonged to the Central school (Yi Pohyöŋ 1982: 31). As *p'ansori* came to have a more fixed audience and patrons from the *yangban* class, it was changed to reflect the value systems of the upper class. Music that appealed to the *yangban* level was needed, which led to the creation of more individual styles of *p'ansori* (*tönüm*). Most *tönüm* sung today were developed in the latter half of the 1800s (Ch'oe Tonghyön 1997: 32).

In addition to the refinement of and variety in music, adaptation and embellishment of text to correspond with the elaborate tastes of the upper class also appeared. Sin Chaehyo (申在孝, 1812-1884) was a contributory figure to the history of *p'ansori* who not only supported and trained singers, but also revised *p'ansori* texts. Sin Chaehyo revised poorly written scenes, used idiomatic phrases in Sino-Korean (Cho Tongil 1978:25), and emphasized Confucian virtues in the text such as filial piety and fidelity. This change of *p'ansori* was a reflection of the class power. The change in musical taste of a class society is also discussed by Charles Keil, a contemporary leading

⁷⁰ For more detailed information, see Kim Jong-cheol (Kim Chongch'öl) 1993: 92-6.

ethnomusicologist. Keil argues that “style”⁷¹ [as] a reflection of class forces” is a characteristic of the people’s music process in his sketch of the evolution in African-American blues and Polish-American polkas:

Certainly in all class or feudal societies there are at least two competing efforts to assert control over collective feelings, the well known great and little traditions, as well as certain negotiated compromises, like Chinese opera, where peasant and aristocratic style meet and mix (Keil 1994: 203).

Even though there were critical views of social reality in Sin Chaehyo’s *p’ansori* text as a *chungin*,⁷² he was an invaluable source in the process of adapting text for the upper class.

Sin Chaehyo also played an important role in switching *p’ansori* text from oral literature to written literature (Sŏ Chongmun 1990: 319). Six out of twelve existing repertoires chosen by Sin came into existence around the later nineteenth century.⁷³ Even though no one reason can account entirely for the decrease of *p’ansori* repertoire from twelve to six and then to five *madang* (Pihl 1994: 66), most scholars believe that Sin Chaehyo’s choices resulted from his consideration of the upper classes, who were influential audience members, as well as with his own tastes at that time. Sin Chaehyo’s contribution to *p’ansori* also appears in his development of *p’ansori* theories.

Kwangdaega (Song of *Kwangdae*), one of Sin Chaehyo’s *tan’ga* (short song), effectively reflects his theories, which contain the four requirements of *p’ansori* singers (which is observed in Chapter II, section 1.1) as well as his vocalism.

⁷¹ Keil uses the concept “style” to refer to something like the essential pattern within Sapir’s “genuine culture” (Sapir 1924), a deeply satisfying distillation of the way a very well integrated human group likes to do things (Keil 1994: 202).

⁷² In the latter period of Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910), the social position and economic situation of *chungin* improved. Patrons of various entertaining arts were rich people including rich *chungin* (middle class) and *sangmin* (commoners) as well as *yangban*. Sin Chaehyo, who was a wealthy *chungin* at that time, contributed to the development of *p’ansori* (Sŏ Chongmun 1990: 294-6).

⁷³ See Chapter II, Section 1.2 for more detailed examination of repertoires change.

One of the most observable features in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the appearance of female singers. One cannot find any female singers among the singers known as “Eight Great Singers” or “Later Eight Great Singers.” During the Chosŏn dynasty, *kisaeng* (female entertainers), who were professional skilled performers, were trained in music such as *sijo*, *kasa* (vocal music setting poetry of high literary quality) and *kayagŭm* (twelve-string long zither), but not in singing *p’ansori* (Chŏng Nosik 1940: 233). However, Chin Ch’aesŏn (陳彩仙, 1847-1901), who was a *kisaeng*, appeared as a remarkable *p’ansori* singer and became a favorite of the Taewŏn’gun (Prince Regent). She was highly trained in *p’ansori* under Sin Chaehyo, who was renowned for producing many singers as well as being a *p’ansori* scholar and patron. This emergence of female singers seemed to result from the upper class taking pleasure in musical variety and refinement. In addition, the number of audience members influenced by various social phenomena in the nineteenth century such as Catholicism, the changes in social class and the enlightened way of thinking that sought to improve woman’s status, gradually increased. Therefore, the audience could accept female singers in *p’ansori* which was a traditionally male genre. After that time, various noted female singers have continuously appeared. Ellen Koskoff, a contributor to theories about gender and music, identifies three forms of gendered music making in European historical and cultural contexts:

First, music making can be based on gender alone, possibly the oldest arrangement, where women and men are separated from each other while making music...

Second, gendered music making can be based on musical activity, where men and women perform together in mixed groups, but divided up the musical activities along gender lines... Third, music making can show a breakdown of gender division usually found in the late twentieth century with musical activities more or less shared by men and women (2002: 193).

Interestingly, all three of these forms of music making are found in *p'ansori*. *P'ansori*, a genre strictly for male performers, started to accept female singers at the end of nineteenth century, but there were differences in the *p'ansori* text for women and men, as Sin Chaehyo's texts for the male and female shows.⁷⁴ Gradually, gender division in *p'ansori* disappeared in the twentieth century, and today it is a musical genre for both men and women. This change informs us that gender in *p'ansori* has been validated by religious, social and political influence.

In addition to the appearance of female singers, a new derived form of *p'ansori*, *kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang* (singing with *kayagŭm* [12-string plucked long zither]), was developed. Kim Ch'angjo (金昌祖, 1865-1918),⁷⁵ known as an initiator of *kayagŭm sanjo* (a genre of instrumental solos for the *kayagŭm*), is generally regarded as the progenitor of this new form (Chŏng Pyŏnguk 1981: 33). In *kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang*, a performer sings extracts of a *p'ansori* song or *tan'ga* (a short song to warm up the performer's voice before a *p'ansori* performance) while also playing the *kayagŭm*. The vocal techniques and the character of this genre are similar to *p'ansori*, but there are *kayagŭm* solo interludes between some of the melodic and textual phrases, and the vocal techniques are less demanding. This *kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang* became more popular in the following century.

⁷⁴ Among Sin's six *p'ansori* stories, Sin Chaehyo separated *Ch'unhyangga* into three versions: *namch'ang* (singing for males), *yŏch'ang* (singing for females), and *tongch'ang* (singing for youths). The texts exist for males and youths, but not for females (Pak, Chan E .2003: 75).

⁷⁵ According to Pak Hwang, *Kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang* passed through Kim Ch'angjo's students, O Sugwan (吳壽寬, 1875-?), Yi Sohyang (李素香), O T'aesŏk (吳太石, 1895-1953) and Pak Kwihŭi (朴貴姬, b. 1921), all noted *kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang* performers in the twentieth century (Pak Hwang 1974: 104-5).

3.3. The Twentieth Century as the Period of Change and Preservation

3.3.1. The Period of Colonization and War

From the latter 1800s, Chosŏn increasingly fell under Japanese domination. The Japan-Korean Protectorate Treaty, forced on Korean by Japan in 1905 after their victory in the Russo-Japanese War, gave Japan virtual control over Korea until their annexation of the entire peninsula in 1910. Japan solidified its political, economical, cultural and military controls. The repressive rule of the Japan provoked the 1919 March First Movement, nonviolent demonstrations for independence supported by a great number of Koreans. This movement caused Japan to change their form of governance from military oppression into a so-called “cultural policy,”⁷⁶ even though this slogan was merely a tool with which the Japanese tried to cloak their continuing colonial rule (Sohn Pow-key et al 1970: 272). Japanese oppression and Korean resistance continued until Korea’s liberation in 1945, when Japan surrendered to allied countries at the end of World War II.

In his book, *The Western Impact on World Music*, Bruno Nettl, in a brief commentary introducing the stylistic elements of Western music in non-Western societies, states that:

⁷⁶ According to Ki-baik Lee, Japan proclaimed an increase of educational opportunities for Koreans. Even though the number of schools increased, this mission was undertaken more for the benefit of the Japanese colonists. From the 1930s, Japan forced Korean schools to teach the Japanese language, although the Japanese also allowed Koreans to publish Korean owned newspapers. However, Japanese censorship was strict and instances of deletion of text, confiscation, levying of fines, and suspension of publications occurred continuously (Ki-baik Lee 1984: 346-69).

Each society had its own first experience of Western music, and in each the response was conditioned by the quality of social, cultural, musical relationships... At that point, European and North American nations began the business of colonizing more extensively even than before, Western technology clearly gained the upper hand, and there developed a musical system obviously symbolic of this superiority but also adaptable to other music. At that point, the dual approach of Western music through church and army began to affect many societies (Nettl 1985: 11).

In the first half of the twentieth century, during Korea's colonial period, various industries were developed by Japan even though these were not for the benefit of Korea, but in the interests of the colonial power itself. Modern transportation and communications facilities such as railroads, electronic powers, postal services, and telegraph facilities were built and operated by Japan at that time (Ki-baik Lee 1984: 321-2). In addition, Western ideas such as Christianity,⁷⁷ funneled through Japan and China, aroused national consciousness through instilling the ideas of Western liberal thought, and there was a surge in the publication of various enlightenment scholarly works to foster awareness of independence (Ki-baik Lee 1984: 332-7).

The influx of Western culture, filtered through the Japanese, and Japanese culture coupled with industrial development also had their influence in the spheres of music, literature and drama. New cultural forms such as Japanese *sinp'a* (New school) plays, *yuhaenggayo* [popular song], and *ch'angga* [song sung with Western-style melodies] appeared and became popular. This new phase of change also influenced *p'ansori*.

Around the turn of the twentieth century, Pak Kihong (朴基洪), Kim Ch'anghwan (金昌煥, 1854-1927), Kim Ch'anöp (金贊業), Song Man'gap (宋萬甲, 1865-1939), Yu

⁷⁷ "Christianity, in particular Protestantism, which was introduced by missionaries at the end of the nineteenth century, was warmly welcomed not only as a religious creed but also for its political, social, educational, and cultural ideals and activities. Missionaries undertook medical work that contributed much to Korean society, and Protestant schools and activities emphasized Western liberal thought" (Ki-baik Lee 1984: 334-5).

Sŏnjun (劉成俊, 1874-1949), Yi Tongbaek (李東伯, 1867-1950), Kim Ch'angnyong (金昌龍, 1872-1935), Kim Ch'aeman (金采萬, 1865-1911), Chŏng Chŏngnyŏl (丁貞烈, 1876-1938) were active *p'ansori* performers. Of these singers, Kim Ch'anghwan, Song Man'gap, Yi Tongbaek, Kim Ch'angnyong, and Chŏng Chŏngnyŏl were known as the “Five Great Singers” (Yi Pohyŏng 1982: 32) during the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910-1945). In addition to these five singers, the female singers such as Yi Hwachungsŏn (李花仲仙, 1893-1943), Kim Yŏnsu (金演洙 1907-1974), Pak Nokchu (朴綠珠, 1904-1979), Kim Sohŭi (金素姬, 1917-1995), and Pak Ch'owŏl (朴初月, 1916-1983) as well as noted male singers, Chang P'an'gae (張判介, 1885-1938), Kim Chŏngmun (金正文, 1887-1935), and Im Pangul (林芳蔚, 1904-1961) also played a role in *p'ansori* as singers during the Japanese occupation.

One of the reasons why these noted singers were active during the Japanese occupation was the establishment of permanent theaters, the site of their performances. Chinese theaters⁷⁸ and Japanese theaters already existed in the late 1800s. Korean theaters seemed to be established thereafter “in response to the increased demand for entertainment in a growing and prospering capital city” (Pihl 1994: 46). In the early twentieth century, the phase of *p'ansori*'s change is intensely related with the foundation of theatres, *Hyŏmnyulsa* and *Wŏn'gaksa*.⁷⁹ According to the early modern historian,

⁷⁸ In the Chinese theater *Ch'anghŭigwan* (唱戲館), which was located in Ch'ŏnggyech'ŏn in Seoul, Chinese opera was performed, though it is unclear exactly when it was established (Pak Hwang 1987: 137-8). Isabella Bird Bishop, who visited Korea between 1894 and 1897, reports seeing Japanese theaters and no Korean theaters in Seoul in 1894 in her book, *Korea and Her Neighbors* (Bird 1898: 43). For more information, see Marshall Pihl 1994: 45.

⁷⁹ According to Ch'oe Wŏnsik, eight Korean theatres existed from 1899 to 1908 in places around the merchants' residences in Seoul. Of these theaters, *p'ansori* performance was performed in two theatres, *Kwangmudae Hyŏmnyulsa* and *Wŏn'gaksa* (Ch'oe Wŏnsik 1978: 309-11).

writer and scholar Ch'oe Namsön (崔南善, 1890-1957), *Hyömyulsa*, built in 1902 produced performances of *kisaeng* (female entertainer), singers, and actors⁸⁰ (1947: 344-6, cited in Paek Hyönmí 1995:259). *Hyömyulsa*, an organization for systematizing performance as well as the commercial theater, held *p'ansori* performances such as *Ch'unhyangga* and *Song of Hwayongdo* [another name for Song of Red Cliff]⁸¹ (Kim Jong-cheol [Kim Chongch'öl] 1993: 73) until it was closed in 1906. From 1908 the *Hyömyulsa* theater was managed under the name of *Wön'gaksa*, and the company consisted of twenty-four *kisaeng* (female entertainer) and forty singers produced *ch'anggük* [theatrical form of singing drama], which was also known as *Sin yön'gük* [New drama], as well as existing *p'ansori* songs. The first *ch'anggük* performance, *Ŭsegye* (Silver World)⁸² created by Yi Inchik⁸³ was held at the *Wön'gaksa*. Andrew Killick, a contributor to the study of *ch'anggük*, says, “With the growth of mercantile activity, permanent public theaters began to be economically viable, and their advent spawned the development of dramatic art forms suited to this novel performance space” (2002: 944). Development of theaters brought the outgrowth of *p'ansori*.

⁸⁰ *Hwangšöng sinmun* (Capital Gazette), the newspaper at the forefront of the resistance to Japanese aggression since 1898, also includes a lot of information about *Hyömyulsa*. For example, on Nov 30th, 1902, the paper contains a report to collect singers attached to *Hyömyulsa* as “*ch'angbugach'ae* (倡夫歌債).”

⁸¹ A account in *Taehan maeil sinbo* (Korea Daily News), which was founded in 1905, on March 8, 1906 tells of the performance of the *Song of Ch'unhyang* (春香歌) and *the Song of Hwayongdo* (華容道打令) in *Hyömyulsa* (cited in Kim Jong-cheol 1993: 70).

⁸² *Ŭsegye* is a political drama exposing the need for the reform of Korea's corrupt social order under Japanese tutelage (Killick 2002: 945).

⁸³ “New novel” written in *han'gŭl* [pure Korean] was not only a literary innovation but a means of enlightenment and progress. Its stories are confined to the real world, and it is also written in a realistic style. Yi Injik (李人植 1862-1916), the pioneer of the new novel, left numerous new novels such as *Tears of Blood* and *Silver World* (Han Woo-keun 1970: 460).

Ch'anggŭk evolved from *punch'ang*⁸⁴ of *p'ansori* where several singers perform each character in the story, without any special costume, in front of a plain white curtain. Various components of drama such as costume and stage setting were progressively added to this genre (Hae Kyung Um 2002: 899). The two genres, *ch'anggŭk* and *p'ansori*, have coexisted since then as symbols of Korean aesthetics. In fact, the emergence of *ch'anggŭk* may be understood as an end result of colonialism. Culture, when affected by colonialism, is bound to undergo many changes. Andrew Killick sees *ch'anggŭk* in this way:

Ch'anggŭk has continually expanded from the minimalistic resources of *p'ansori* to absorb the theatrical conventions and technology of Japan and the West as well as the full range of musical style and instruments included in the quite heterogeneous category of *kugak* (National Music). The sponge-like eclecticism of *ch'anggŭk* has made the genre seem impure or disunified, especially to *p'ansori* purists who revere the parent art form and looked down on *ch'anggŭk* as a wayward and illegitimate offspring (Killick 2001: 180)

When cultural elements are brought from dominant areas, elements of the colonizer and the colonized often appear in a mingled form. As Bhabha says, “Culture, as a colonial space of intervention as the trace of the displacement of symbol to sign, can be transformed by the unpredictable and partial desire of hybridity” (Bhabha 1996: 3).

However, eminent singers such as Kim Ch'anghwan, Song Man'gap, and Yi Tongbaek dispersed to the countryside while touring to perform *ch'anggŭk*, after the *Wŏngaksa* was closed around 1910 (Chŏng Nosik 1940: 163) due to the popularity of the Japanese *sinp'agŭk* [New school play] modeled on Western melodrama and film. In the 1920s, the intellectual community realized the decline of Korean musical culture since its annexation by Japan and tried to protect and support the traditional musical activities. Facilitated by these movements, *p'ansori* singers were able to expand their efforts to

⁸⁴ See Chapter II, section 1.

recover *p'ansori* that had been forgotten due to the appearance of other new theatrical arts (Ki-Ryun Sung [Söng Kiryön] 2001: 195-7), and senior singers such as Kim Ch'angnyong, Song Man'gap, Yi Tongbaek, and Chöng Chöngnyöl founded the *Chosön söngak yön'guhoe* (Korean Vocal Music Association) in Seoul in 1933 for performing *p'ansori* and training future generations. This organization had a great impact on the revival of *ch'anggük*⁸⁵ and the next generation of *p'ansori* singers.

P'ansori singers were also active in making recordings. The *p'ansori* recordings emerged with the development of the recording industry by Japan. After the gramophone and record were introduced to Korea in the late nineteenth century via Western culture, the first Korean record was produced by the American company Columbia in 1907. Several records which included several songs performed by noted singers were produced by the Japanese Branch of the American record company Victor at that time (No Chaemyöng 1997: 7-8). Since Japan officially annexed Korea in 1910, Japanese record companies had control over most record markets. Beginning in 1911, the Japanese Phonograph Company called *Ilch'uk*⁸⁶ released various *p'ansori* records, and other record companies such as *Itong*, Okeh, the Japanese branch of western companies Victor and Polydor, also produced many Korean music records. *P'ansori* records are comprised of either a collection of excerpts of a *p'ansori* piece or the complete performance by

⁸⁵ Korean Vocal Music Association helped *ch'anggük* reach its peak, and most existing *ch'anggük* were established at that time. The term *ch'anggük* was generalized with activities of the Korean Vocal Music Association (Paek Hyönmi 2002: 239). Their efforts culminated in the continuation of *ch'anggük* style performance. They performed *ch'anggük* adapted to traditional stories such as *Ch'unhyangjön*, *Simch'öngjön*, *Hüngbojön*, *Pyölchubujön*, *Paebijangjön* at Seoul's *Tongyang Theater*, giving singers a chance to improve their acting skills and modern theater techniques such as background scenery, costumes, and make-up (Ki-Ryun Sung [Söng Kiryön] 2001: 198).

⁸⁶ Since *Ilch'uk* (The Japanese Phonograph Company) started to produce *p'ansori* records under the name Royal Record *NIPPONOPHONE* in 1913, its label changed several times to names such as *Ilch'uk Chosön soripan Wasipyo* in 1925, Columbia after collaborating with American company Columbia in 1928, and Regal in 1934 (No Chaemyöng 1997: 9).

several singers who performed each character in the story. The latter type of production attracted the audience as they could listen to performances of more than one singer for the price of one record (Hae-Kyung Um 1992: 87). Song Man'gap, who will be further analyzed in Chapter IV, also put some excerpts of each of the five actively performed *p'ansori* pieces on recordings of NIPPONOPHONE, Columbia, Victor, and Star from 1913 (Pae Yŏnhyŏng 1992: 7-9).⁸⁷ These records are invaluable sources to examine the ongoing changes of *p'ansori* style.

In addition to the development of recordings, songs of eminent singers in the first half of the twentieth century were also able to spread widely with the advance of modern communications facilities. The *Kyŏngsŏng* broadcasting station, established in 1926, broadcast Korean traditional music, including *p'ansori*. Not only were excerpts from the five *p'ansori* pieces and *kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang* (singing with *kayagŭm*) broadcast, but also renowned singers such as Song Man'gap, Pak Kihong, Chŏng Chŏngnyŏl also appeared on the radio (Song Pangsong 2000b: 162-75).

During the Japanese occupation (1910-1945), the governmental authority restricted traditional performances indirectly, for example by levying taxes on theaters where traditional performances were held and putting strict regulations on the performer's activities (*Taehan maeil sinbo*, July 13, 1909, cited in Ki-Ryun Sung 2001: 194). In fact, the *Wŏn'gaksa*, where the management's main members were pro-Japanese groups, was not only used for entertainment and banquets for pro-Japanese high ranking officials (Paek Hyŏnmi 1995: 169, 284). Japan also imposed censorship on the text of *p'ansori* and *ch'anggŭk*, citing reasons such as the decay of public morals or the implementation

⁸⁷ His existing recording of *Hŭngboga*, which is the focus of this paper, are *Pak taryŏng* (Song of the gourd) produced by *Ilch'uk* in 1913, and *Pak T'aryŏng* (Song of the gourd) by Columbia in 1932 (Yi Chunghun 1994: 278-9).

of ideas arousing anti-Japanese feeling. The situation caused changes in the text of some *p'ansori* or even the prohibition of certain songs⁸⁸ at that time.

With the Japanese surrender in 1945 came the division of the Korean peninsula into two parts: the southern half of the peninsula by the United States and the northern half by the Soviet Union. The Korean War (1950-1953) left the painful reality of national division⁸⁹ as well as social, economic, and political unrest until the mid-1960s. After the liberation of Korea, *ch'anggŭk* actively maintained its existence, as the increasing number of groups for *ch'anggŭk* performance demonstrates. *Kukkŭksa*, an affiliated organization for *ch'anggŭk* of the *Kungnip kugagwŏn* (National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts),⁹⁰ *Chosŏn ch'anggŭktan* (The Korean *ch'anggŭk* group), Kim Yŏnsu *ch'anggŭktan* (The *ch'anggŭk* group of Kim Yŏnsu), and others were found until the Korean War in 1950 (Song Pangsong 1984: 587-8). The name of the *ch'anggŭk* groups indicates that the term *kukkŭk* (國劇, national drama) was used instead of the term *ch'anggŭk* (唱劇, singing drama) in the 1940s and 1950s. Andrew Killick sees this terminological change as follows:

⁸⁸ Some songs emphasizing Korean nationality or arousing patriotism were banned. For example, there was a dispute over Yi Tongbaek's "*Chin'guk myŏngsan*" (鎮國名山) [Main mountain in Seoul], a *t'an'ga* (short song) performed in 1942. "*Chin'guk myŏngsan*," whose story praises the features of the mountains in Seoul and prays for the king's longevity and peace of the country, includes the words "*Chosŏn ūi chusang chŏnha* [His Royal Highness the King of Chosŏn]." Japan regarded this text as provoking anti-Japanese sentiments (Pak Hwang 1987: 231-3).

⁸⁹ Korea has existed as a divided country since the Korean War in 1953. For this reason there is relatively little material concerning *p'ansori* in North Korea. In addition, North Korea has not considered *p'ansori* valuable and has not allowed it. There is also little or nothing of *p'ansori* materials there. Therefore, the rest of my discussion will only be relevant to the Republic of Korea (South Korea).

⁹⁰ The English name of the *Kungnip kugagwŏn*, the National Classical Music institute is now renamed the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts[0]

A change in nomenclature is evident in new organizations, whose names all begin with the morpheme *kuk* meaning “country” or “nation.”⁹¹ Now that Korea was emerging for the first time as a nation-state in the modern sense, it needed recognizably indigenous cultural forms to symbolize its new nationhood, among them music and drama (1998: 206)

Another notable feature in the post-colonial period was the appearance of female *ch’anggŭk* groups. After the birth of *Yŏsŏng kugak tonghohoe* (Women’s National Music Society) in 1948, activities of many *yŏsŏng kugŭk* (women’s national drama) groups flourished in the 1950s.⁹² The repertoires of most of these groups were newly composed historical dramas, especially stories about love during the War (Paek Hyŏnmi 2000: 166-9). Noted female singers, such as Pak Nokchu, Kim Sohŭi, Pak Kwihŭi (朴貴姬, b.1921-1993), and others were active in the female *ch’anggŭk* group. This activity of female singers seems to be explained in the continuum of the national liberation since Japanese occupation. Elaine H. Kim and Chungmu Choi [Chungmu Ch’oe] observe women’s activity during the first half of the twentieth century in their discussion of gender and Koran Nationalism as the following:

During the Japanese occupation (1910-1945), Korean feminism was entwined with the cause of national liberation... Enlightened male intellectuals in Korea...preached about the importance of women’s liberation and education to strengthening the nation... The socialist women’s movement, especially the women’s labor movement, reached its peak in the late 1920s into the 1930s and continued even during the Korean War (1950-53) (Kim, Elaine H. and Choi, Chugmoo 1997: 2-3).

⁹¹ Their repertoires also became nationalistic. “With *ch’anggŭk* pieces from *p’ansori* stories, new stories centered on historical dramas such as “*Arange aesa*” (The Sad Story of *Arang*), “*Koguryŏ ūi hon*” (The spirit of Koguryŏ) , etc., apparently began after the liberation” (Killick 1998: 209-10).

⁹² The *ch’anggŭk* group consisting of only females emerged from the *Kisaeng* (female entertainers) performance tradition in the early twentieth century and Japanese all-female *Takarazuk Revue*. For more information, see Paek Hyŏnmi 2000: 153-82.

Even though the content of the *yŏsŏng kugŭk* did not contain the implication of women's liberation, the roles of men performed by female singers in the drama was enough to be "a rebellion against the patriarchal society" and expression of liberation at that time.

3.3.2. Period Following the Japanese Occupation and the Korean War.

Student protests in 1960 against the corrupt government practices, led to another military revolution and the revolutionary government led by Major General Park Chunghee (Pak Chŏnghŭi) in 1961 (Sohn Pow-key et al. 1970: 333). In 1963, the new government was officially established, and even though its rule was oppressive, the economics and political situation of Korea began to improve and move toward its goal of being a modern industrialized nation. From the mid-1960s, after the end of World War II and the Korean War, nationalism spread at a fast pace in Korea as she was established as an independent nation. Ernest Gellner, one of most influential theorists on nationalism, discusses a structural connection between nationalism and the needs of modern society in his book *Nation and Nationalism*:

Nationalism is about entry to, participation in, identification with, a literate high culture which is co-extensive with an entire political unit and its total populations, and which must be of this kind if it is to be compatible with the kind of division of labor, the type or mode of production, on which this society is based." (Gellner 1983: 95).

Gellner argues that nationalism produces the common culture and social homogeneity needed for economic changes to industrial revolution in modern society.

Nationalism in the later twentieth century rekindled the desire for the recovery and development of *p'ansori*. In fact, after the Korean War (1950-3), *p'ansori*, *ch'anggŭk*, and eventually *yŏsŏng kugŭk* went into decline with the emergence of "a domestic film

industry” (Killick 2002: 945) and the tendency to embrace western culture as a part of modernization, while considering indigenous culture as old-fashioned. There was increased contact with the Western world in all economic, social, political, and cultural spheres, partly because of the Korean War. However, intellectuals, who were “suspicious of the government’s ideological stance and worried that Korea's national identity would be threatened by foreign cultural influences, began a movement to revive traditional culture in their search for national identity” (Kim Kwang-ok 1994: 200). Consequently, efforts to revive traditional culture started. In 1962, the government-subsidized the *Kungnip Kukkūktan* (The National Korean Theatre Group), later renamed *Kungnip Ch’anggūktan* (the National *Ch’anggūk* Troupe), was founded and included many renowned singers in its membership.⁹³ It has played a significant role in maintaining *ch’anggūk* and *p’ansori* as it has produced various performances including *ch’anggūk* performance and special presentations of *p’ansori* up to present time.

In addition to the foundation of the National *Ch’anggūk* troupe, the government’s policy of the intangible cultural assets⁹⁴ from 1964 has served as a springboard for development and preservation of Korean traditional arts, including *p’ansori*, by supporting the arts and training future generations of musicians (Song Pangsong 1984: 590). Pak Nokchu (1906-1979) and Pak Pongsul (朴奉述1922-1989), whose *Hūngboga*

⁹³ The troupe consisted of Kim Yōnsu, the first leader, Kim Sohūi, vice-leader, Pak Kwihūi, manager, and other members such as Pak Ch’owōl, Kang Changwōn, Kim Chunsōp, Im Yuaeng, Kim Kyōngae, Pak Ch’osōn, Kim Kyōnghūi, Kim Tūksu, Chang Yōngch’an, Chōng Kwōnjīn, Kim Chōnghūi, Han Sūngho, etc. (Sōng Kyōngnīn 1980: 344 cited in Song Pangsong 1984: 589).

⁹⁴ The idea of intangible cultural properties launched by the Ministry of Culture and Information later renamed the Ministry of Culture and Tourism has several nominations: *poyuja* (holder) known as *in’gan munhwajae* (human asset), *poyuja hubo* (candidate for holders) who are expected to become holders, *chōnsu changhangaeng* (scholarship students), *isuja* (the trainee who completes his/her studies with a human asset) and *chōnsu kyoyuk pojoja* (the assistant for transmission and education) who are selected among *isuja*.

will be analyzed in Chapter V, were also designated as human assets for *p'ansori*⁹⁵ in 1964. Bruno Nettl singles out the human asset system while discussing the phenomena of a sudden surge of western culture in non-western countries:

Musical organizations are created and tour the nation in order to exhibit its own musical past. In some countries, such as Korea, distinguished older musicians are formally given special status as “national treasure.” The desire is to preserve this order music without change, to give it a kind of stability which it in fact probably did not experience in the past, and to do this at the expense of permitting it to function as the major musical outlet for the population (Nettl 1978: 131-2).

As part of this trend to promote and preserve Korean culture, *p'ansori* contests and creation of new *p'ansori* stories started to emerge. Since the start of the *Namwŏn chŏn'guk myŏngch'ang taehoe* [National great singer competition in Namwŏn] in 1974 and *Chŏnju taesasŭp nori*⁹⁶ [Music festival and competition in Chŏnju], various *p'ansori* competitions for students as well as professional singers have appeared, with the sponsorship and support of various kinds of organizations including cities, wards, scholarly academies, and mass media.⁹⁷ Renowned singers such as O Chŏngsuk, Cho Sanghyŏn, Sŏng Uhyang, Sŏng Ch'angsun, and An Suksŏn were prize winners in the *p'ansori* competitions (Kim, Jin Young [Kim Chinyŏng] and Kim, Dong Kun [Kim Tonggŭn] 2002: 89-125).

⁹⁵ Other *p'ansori* singers designated as intangible cultural assets were Kim Sohŭi (1917-1994), Kim Yŏran (1907-1983), Pak Ch'owŏl (1916-1983), Chŏng Kwangsu (b. 1909), Chŏng Kwŏnjin (1927-1985), Pak Tongjin (1916-2003), Han Sŭnggho (b. 1924), Pak Ch'osŏn (b. 1929), Cho Sanghyŏn (b. 1939), Han Nongsŏn (b. 1934), Sŏng Ch'angsun (b. 1934), O Chŏngsuk (b. 1935), Sŏng Uhyang (b. 1935). There were also the intangible cultural assets of *p'ansori* drummers such as Kim Sŏnggŏn (b. 1929) and Chŏng Ch'ŏrho (b. 1923) (Munhwajae Yŏn'guhoe 1999: 164).

⁹⁶ *Chŏnju taesasŭp nori*, which is a revival of the *Chŏnju t'onginch'ŏng taesasŭp* (1864-1905), also includes other genres such as *nongak* (farmers's music), *minyŏ* (folksong), *sijo* (vocal music setting Korean poetry, *sijo*), *muyong* (dance), *kungdo* (archery) and *kayagŭm pyŏnch'ang* (singing while playing a twelve-stringed zither).

⁹⁷ For a complete list of competitions, see Kim, Jin Young and Kim, Dong Kun 2002: 89-125.

In addition, a newly created *p'ansori* pieces known as *ch'angjak p'ansori* or *sinjak p'ansori*, which often emphasize nationalism, appeared around the liberation of Korea such as *Yölsaga* (Patriotic Song).⁹⁸ Pak Tongjin (1916-2003), one of the notable singers in the twentieth century, produced new pieces, *Yesujön* (Story of Jesus), with the text based on the book of Matthew from the Bible, in 1969, and *Ch'ungmugong Yi Sunsinjön* (Story of Admiral Yi Sunsin) in 1973. In addition, Pak Tongjin also reconstructed obsolete *p'ansori* repertoire such as *Song of Official Pae*, *Song of the Stubborn Man*, and others.⁹⁹ In these newly composed or reconstructed *p'ansori* works, “Pak remained a traditional *p'ansori* singer, never departing from the vocal styles, melodic structures, and rhythmic cycles of the old genre” (Howard 2002: 969).

Another important characteristic in the history of *p'ansori* in the 1970s is the appearance of transcription in the Western notation system. It takes great effort to maintain the scores of the existing five *p'ansori* pieces. The main *P'ansori* stories were produced as a part of *Han'guk ũmak* (Anthology of Korean Music) by the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts at the time. Publication of these scores is for further research and preservation of traditional Korean music rather than for performance purposes. As discussed in Chapter II, section 1, through the transmission method of *p'ansori*, traditional singers do not depend on the score, but on memorization

⁹⁸ *Yölsaga* (Patriotic Song), which consists of several short songs by artists Yi Chun, An Chunggün, Yun Ponggil, and Yu Kwansun, is about patriots protesting the intolerable cruelty of the Japanese occupation. These pieces were not composed at once, but were created at different times after the Liberation. Even though the composer of *Yölsaga* is unknown, the noted singer Pak Tongsil played an important role in creating and spreading the piece (Kim Kihyöng 1994: 103-5)

⁹⁹ Pak reconstructed *Pyön'gangsoe t'aryöng* (Song of Official Pae) based on Sin Chaehyo's surviving *p'ansori* text; *Onggojip t'aryöng* (Song of the Stubborn Man), *Changkki t'aryöng* (Song of the Cock Pheasant), *Sugyöng Nangjajön* (Story of Maiden Sugyöng) based on the texts from *p'ansori kye sosöl* [novels derived from *p'ansori*]; *Musugi t'aryöng* (The song of *Musugi*) and *Kangnŕng Maehwajöng* (Story of *Maehwa* in Kangnŕng) which appear only as titles in the *p'ansori* lists of Song Manjae and Chöng Nosik (Kim Kihyöng 1998: 13).

via practicing and copying his/her master's singing with written libretto. In addition, conventional Western notation is inadequate for expressing the original sound oral tradition of *p'ansori*, because *p'ansori* has microtones, rhythm, speed, and accents that may not be conveyed in Western notation.

The third president of the Republic of Korea was assassinated in 1979 amidst the increased discontent of the repressive government, and General Chŏn Tuhwan seized power in 1980. However, his martial law resulted in unrest; for example, the uprising in *Kwangju* in 1980 which resulted in the 'Kwangju Massacre'. Throughout the 1980s, "anti-government demonstrations were organized almost every day throughout the nation" (Kim Kwang-ok 1994: 203) even though the economy in Korea continued to grow. This circumstance also influenced the newly composed *p'ansori* stories, which increased in publication since the 1970s. Im Chint'aek, *p'ansori* singer as well as director, also contributed to the production of the new stories *Ttong pada* (Sea of Shit), *Sori naeryŏk* (Story of a Sound), and *Ojŏk* (Five Bandits), which are based on poems composed by the dissident writer Kim Chiha in the mid 1980s, and *Owŏl kwangju* (May in Kwangju) also written by Chiha in 1990. These new *p'ansori* pieces focus on satirizing contemporary political problems of the time through the medium of *p'ansori*.

With the fast approach of the twenty-first century, the phenomenon of both the adoption of Western culture and preservation or restoration of old native traditions have appeared together. Renowned singers' presentation of *p'ansori* narrative in its full form (*wanch'ang*), held by the National Center as well as the National *Ch'anggŭk*, increased (Kim, Jin Young and Kim, Dong Kun 2002: 110-14). *P'ansori wanch'ang*, which can take up to eight hours to perform, shows the superior talent of *p'ansori* singers as well as

the transmission of complete *p'ansori* according to their genealogy, if they follow a specific genealogy. On the other hand, concerts and albums which attempt to combine *p'ansori* music with Western musical genre, especially jazz, began to be produced. An Suksön (b. 1949), a human asset of *p'ansori pyŏngch'ang*, was at the forefront of performing *p'ansori* combined with musical instruments such as the bass, the saxophone and others.¹⁰⁰

This coexistence of old and new musical flavors can be partly explained by globalization, which is central to the social theory of the 1990s. Since the new government in the mid 1990s declared “internationalization” and “globalization” as the overall policy goals, especially economic policy such as deregulation of markets, or removing barriers to international competition in trade, investment, and so on, “globalization,” known as *segvehwa*, which became a popular term in the 1990s, has been present in the cultural sphere. Its policy shows the response to the global flow in various dimensions such as ethnoscaples, technoscaples, financescaples, mediascaples, and ideoscaples, concepts explained by Arjun Appardurai (1990: 1-24). The combination of traditional and western music, or local and global (*p'ansori* combined with western instruments), which can be attractive and familiar to a general audience, has been attempted in order for Korean music to establish a prominent niche in the world musical arena. However, in this globalization process, resistance to the global stream also appears. Sara Cohen, a contemporary ethnomusicologist, says, “the globalization of cultural forms has been accompanied by a localization of cultural identity and claims to authenticity, resulting in a tension or dialectic between the two trends,” in her study of Liverpool

¹⁰⁰ For example, *Shinmyŏng* (A deity) (SRCD-1088,1993), Eurasian Echoes (SCP-003 PSS,1993), and West End (SCO-105CSS,1996).

music (1997: 133). The pursuit of cultural identity by emphasizing the authentic form (Korean *wanch'ang*) to resist globalization appears with the change of music through the process of globalization.

3.4. The Twenty-First Century as the Period of a New Generation.

P'ansori continues its development on through the advent of the new century. Efforts to preserve as well as reconstruct *p'ansori* for the future have continued in both performance and scholarly arenas. Kim Taehaeng sees that the future direction of Korean traditional music depends on the fragile balance of preservation and development (2001: 237). In fact, it seems that the transmission of *p'ansori* is more difficult today. Since the generation which had passed down the singing tradition of the “Great Singers” directly, such as Kim Yönsu (1907-1974), Chöng Kwönjin (鄭權鎮 1927-1985), Pak Pongsul (1922-1989), Pak Nokchu (1904-1979), Kim Sohüi (1917-1994), and Pak Tongjin (1916-2002), passed away in the latter twentieth century, their outstanding students—Cho Sanghyön (趙相賢 b. 1939), Han Nongsön (韓弄仙 b. 1934), Söng Ch'angsun (成昌順 b. 1934), Söng Uhyang (成又香 b. 1935), and (Um Hae-kyung 2002: 900)—have succeeded in keeping the *p'ansori* traditions of the past great singers alive today.

Who will be the next human asset? The distinctions between schools and genealogy of great singers (*che/je*) have already blurred causing changes to occur in the performing circumstances of *p'ansori* singers. In addition, even though many contemporary singers are being trained, it is difficult to find new *tönüm* (excerpts created by an individual singer) which are significant enough to be transmitted to the next generation (Kim, Jin Young and Kim, Dong Kun 2002: 121-2). In Yeonok Jang's research about contemporary

p'ansori performance, she points out that the decline of the hard work and singing ability of singers, and the changing methods of learning *p'ansori* (discussed in Chapter II, section 1 above) have caused “diminishment of the quality of *p'ansori* singing” (2000: 212-5). In view of the problems concerning the preservation and transmission in *p'ansori* as an oral tradition, one realizes that the production of future generations, which will transmit these traditions to the next generation, remains a predicament waiting to be solved. These reasons only emphasize the need to study the genealogical characteristics of *p'ansori*.

CHAPTER IV: GENEALOGY AND CREATIVITY *CHE/JE*

1. Discussion of *Che/je*: Various meanings of *che/je* in different contexts

Che/je—defined in language dictionaries as a suffix referring to system, construction, way and form—is one of the most frequently used terms or suffixes in *p’ansori*. In *p’ansori*, *che/je* broadly encompasses various things, such as a school, style, composition of an individual singer, melodic mode, etc. Because *p’ansori* has been transmitted through many generations as an oral tradition, there are different versions of pieces, according to genealogy or singer’s preference. These various versions of *p’ansori* pieces are often distinguished and evaluated according to *che/je*, and some discussion about *che/je* has appeared in writings by Korean scholars. However, they have some differing opinions about the use of *che/je*, and the various uses of the term *che/je* have yet to be clearly distinguished. Scholars often consider the concept of *che/je* in forming basic school divisions, each with its own distinct characteristics, which developed from a period in the first half of the nineteenth century known as the age of “Eight Great Singers,” when *p’ansori* started to flourish, leading master singers to develop distinctive personal styles. However, extensive documents left by Sin Chaehyo (1812-1884)¹⁰¹ and Chŏng Hyŏnsŏk (1817-1899),¹⁰² *p’ansori* experts in the later nineteenth century, do not include the term *che/je* (Ch’oe Tonghyŏn 1998: 62). The first known use of the term

¹⁰¹ For further information on Sin Chaehyo, see Chapter II, Section 1 and Chapter III, Section 3.3.2.

¹⁰² Chŏng Hyŏnsŏk (鄭顯奭, 1817-1899), founder of the modern private school in Korea known as Wŏnsan Academy in 1883. He was the magistrate of Tŏgwŏn County (in which Wŏnsan is located) and a man of progressive views. In response to the request of the Wŏnsan Traders Association and other local residents (Lee Kibek 1984: 331-2) Chŏng set up a facility in his yamen for teaching music, dance, voice, and other performing arts to government *kisaeng* [female entertainer] and also composed a textbook for them, called *Kyobang Chebo* [Scores of the Music Office; 1872] (Kang Hanyŏng 1978: 58 cited in Pihl 1994: 100).

che/je in a written document is in the *Chosŏn ch'anggŭksa* [History of *P'ansori*¹⁰³ in Korea] written by Chŏng Nosik in 1940.

The main tradition of *p'ansori* consists of *tongp'yŏnje* (the Eastern school), *sŏp'yŏnje* (the Western school), *chunggoje* [the Central school], and *hogŏlche*. However, it is usually divided into Eastern and Western schools, and the last two schools, *chunggoje* and *hogŏlche*, are referred to rarely... The East refers to Unbong, Kurye, Sunch'ang, Hŭngdŏk, etc. by following the singing style of Song Hŭngnok. The West refers to Kwangju, Naju, Posŏng, and similar places by holding up the singing style of Pak Yujŏn... *chunggo* and *hogŏlche* are popular in the Kyŏnggi and Ch'ungch' ŏng region (Chŏng Nosik 1940:10-1).

One may gather that the term “*che/je*” has been used from the onset of the twentieth century, especially during the mid 1900s. Therefore, inference of the formation of *che/je* in the nineteenth century by many scholars is a conjecture drawn from the appearance of the great singers and their musical development at that time.

Since the appearance of Chŏng Nosik's classification, many notable scholars—Pak Hŏnbong 1966, Yu Kiryŏng 1972, Kang Hanyŏng 1974, Chŏng Pyŏnguk 1981, Yi Pohyŏng 1982, Ch'oe Tonghyŏn 1989, Hae-Kyung Um (Ŏm Hyekyŏng) 1992—have put forth various works about *che/je*. Most of them classify *p'ansori* as containing several types of *che/je*, and these categories often overlap each other.

I find Yi Pohyŏng's article, “The Study of *P'ansori che/je*” (1998a), offers a good categorization which integrates other opinions comparatively. Based on Yi Pohyŏng's study, *p'ansori che/je* can be classified into four categories—*tŏnŭm* [excerpt composed by an individual singer], *padi* [the body of a piece of *p'ansori*], *cho* [melodic type] and *yup'a* [a school which focuses on the stylistic features of a specific school]. The scholars Ch'oe Tonghyŏn and Hae-Kyung Um also hold views similar to Yi Pohyŏng; these

¹⁰³ In this case, the term, *ch'anggŭk*, as used in *Chosŏn ch'anggŭksa*, means simply *p'ansori* while nowadays *ch'anggŭk* refers to a theatrical form of singing drama.

studies are different only in the order of their explanations (i.e. their categories of *che/je* are almost the same). Discussion of *che/je* helps one understand not only the characteristics of *p'ansori*, but also how *p'ansori* has been transmitted to the present day. In the paragraphs below, I will further examine *che/je* as discussed and analyzed by these three scholars.

1.1. *Che* as *Yup'a* (流派), *p'a* (派) [a school]¹⁰⁴

The “school” meaning of *che/je* may be the most widely known to the general Korean public among broad categories of *che/je*. It includes *tongp'yŏnje* (the Eastern school), *sŏp'yŏnje* (the Western school) and *chunggoje* (the Central school). *Chunggoje* has almost entirely disappeared through the process of transmission. *Hogŏlche* and *kangsanje* are sometimes considered schools in works by several scholars such as Chŏng Nosik 1940 and Yu Kiryŏng 1972, but they are better categorized as singing style or compositions of individual singers rather than as a school because of their ambiguous characteristics and because both are rapidly vanishing from performance (Ch'oe Tonghyŏn 1989: 179).

In terms of a “school,” we can easily recognize that *p'ansori* is categorized according to the geographical regions. In accordance with geographical boundaries, each school has musical characteristics and genealogy. Places where great singers lived were the strongholds of transmission. It is natural that because a singer's intensive long study while living in one location was a traditional method of transmitting music to the next generation, a region came to have a consistent local style of singing. However, by the

¹⁰⁴ The translation of the terms was adopted from Um Hae-Kyung's “Making *P'ansori*: Korean Musical Drama” (Ph.D. diss, Queen's University of Belfast, 1992).

present time, this categorization has become blurred. For example, it doesn't mean that only the area east of the Sŏmjin River, which demarcates the East and the West, has the singing style of the Eastern school. At the time when the term *che/je* was first used, in Chŏng Nosik's *Chosŏn ch'anggŭksa* [History of *P'ansori* in Korea], Chŏng had already seen that Eastern and Western schools should denote singing style rather than geographical distinction (1940: 10-1).

Based on earlier documents, Chŏng Pyŏnguk concludes that geographical concepts in *p'ansori* became unclear, and thus that only the Eastern school and the Western school remain to designate the name of a school's singing style (1981: 52). Yi Kukcha also sees that even though the geographical divisions were formerly associated with a singer's origin and hometown, nowadays the birthplace or singers residence is not enough to explain a school (1989: 41). A singer following a school remains associated with that school in spite of place of origin or area of residence. Ch'oe Tonghyŏn observes that the medium of transmission is a human being; thus as frequent intercourse through development of traffic occurred, it becomes difficult to determine a particular singing style according to geographical boundary alone (1998: 64).

1.2. *Che* as *padi* (마디) [a style or sub-school]

In the Korean language, the term *che/je* is often integrated with the definition of *padi*. In *p'ansori*, *padi* refers to the whole framework of a *p'ansori* piece (*Han'guk ūmak sajŏn* [The Dictionary of Korean Music] 1985: 128). The etymological origin of *padi*,¹⁰⁵

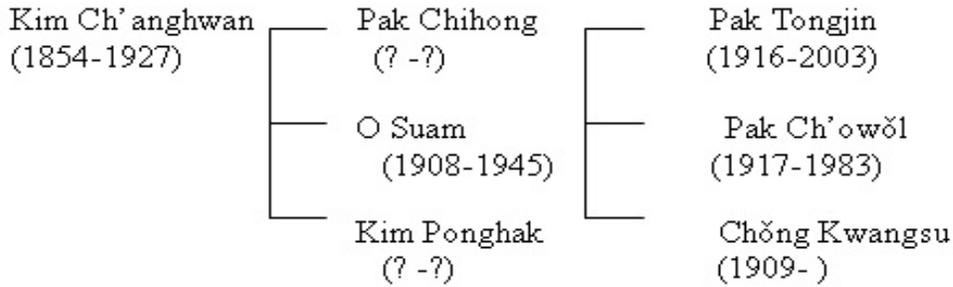
¹⁰⁵ We might have come to the origin of *padi* by inference of the word "*patta*," a verb meaning 'to take, to receive.' Because a piece of *p'ansori* is handed down from master to pupil, many scholars infer the origin of *padi* as "receiving piece, songs." Yi Pohyŏng also sees that *padi* is taken from "the name of a part of a loom, a reed, suggesting that it is an organization of text set in a particular way like a piece of fabric" (Yi

however, is not still speculative. Yu Yŏngdae regards *padi* as a concept indicating a whole piece which a singer organizes and sings in *p'ansori* (2000: 120). When schools consist of several *padi*, *che/je* as *padi* can be used to indicate sub-school. For example, the Song Man'gap *che* and Kim Sejong *che* are found in *Ch'unhyangga* (Song of *Ch'unhyang*) of the Eastern school. In this case, sub-schools represent a 'style' which characterizes a whole piece.

In *Hŭngboga* (Song of *Hŭngbo*), the Song Man'gap *che Hŭngboga* [*Hŭngboga* in Song Man'gap's style] in the Eastern school and Kim Ch'anghwan *che Hŭngboga* [*Hŭngboga* in Kim Ch'anghwan's style] in the Western school have been transmitted to the present (Yi Pohyŏng 1998a: 15). Because the *che/je* in this case means "*padi*," it can also be referred to as Song Man'gap *padi Hŭngboga* and Kim Ch'anghwan *padi Hŭngboga*. Here *Hŭngboga* refers not to a few episodes or a single song from a given story, but to an entire piece. Not every *p'ansori* singer is able to create his/her own *padi*. Only with the audience's appreciation and consensus towards the worth of a singer's piece can a singer's *padi* be handed down to the next generation. In other words, in order to be established as a *padi*, a singer's performance should have a widely accepted great artistic value. Figure 4.1 shows how the Kim Ch'anghwan *che Hŭngboga* has been continued by his students. (Song Man'gap *padi Hŭngboga*, which will be my area of concentration in this paper, will be discussed further in detail in the next section).

1998a: 15 cited in Hae-Kyung Um 1992: 183).

Figure 4.1 Kim Ch’anghwan *che Hŭngboga* [*Hŭngboga* in Kim Ch’anghwan’s style] in the Western school (Ch’oe 2000: 15)



The Western style of *Hŭngboga* is associated with Kim Ch’anghwan’s style of *Hŭngboga*. Although earlier genealogy of Kim Ch’anghwan such as Chŏng Ch’angŏp and Pak Yujŏn existed, only Kim Ch’anghwan’s style of *Hŭngboga* has been preserved, albeit incompletely, and is often sung nowadays (Ch’oe Tonghyŏn 2000: 17). What we should be careful to consider when examining this genealogy is extent to which the present singers’ *Hŭngboga* has remained faithful to its origin.

1.3. *Che* as *Tŏnŭm* (더늠) [individual innovation]

Che/je also can mean *tŏnŭm*.¹⁰⁶ In *p’ansori*, *tŏnŭm* refers to the specific style of a particular singer’s virtuoso excerpt. In the process of transmission, a singer may supplement and alter a song learnt from his/her teacher. This individual performer’s variation or composition, known as *tŏnŭm*, has been passed down to following generations. When a singer performs another singer’s *tŏnŭm*, he/she usually announces where the *tŏnŭm* he/she will sing originated.¹⁰⁷ Chŏng Nosik mentioned four *tŏnŭm*

¹⁰⁶ Etymologically, *tŏnŭm* is thought to be derived from the verb *tŏhada* 더하다 (to add) or the word *tŏnŏtt’a* 더 넣다 (to put more).

¹⁰⁷ For example, “The song I am going to sing used to be the specialty of my honorable teacher, Chŏng Ũngmin. How could I dare to sing as well as he did? Nevertheless I shall try my best.” (from Sŏng Uhyang’s performance of *Ch’unhyangga* in the style of Kim Sejong from the Eastern school, 1974) (Hae-Kyung Um 1992:33).

found in *Hŭngboga*, such as Kwŏn Samdŭk *che* “*Chebiga*” [Kwŏn Samdŭk’s “*Song of The Swallow*”],¹⁰⁸ among fifty-three different *tŏnŭm* which he regarded as *tŏnŭm* in *p’ansori* (1940: 45, 78, 127, 163, 229). Besides four *tŏnŭm* mentioned by Chŏng Nosik , Kim Ch’anghwan *che* “*Chebi nojŏng’gi*” [Kim Ch’anghwan’s “*Journey of The Swallow*”] and Chang P’an’gae *che* “*Chebi nojŏnggi*” [Chang P’an’gae’s “*Journey of The Swallow*”] are also known as *tŏnŭm* of *Hŭngboga*. *Che/je* is used to indicate a specialty which is created by a particular singer.

1.4. *Che* as *cho* (調) [melodic mode]

Che/je can also indicate a *cho* [melodic mode]. However, when *che/je* is used to mean a *cho* [melodic mode], it is hard to find any consistency among scholars. Yi Pohyŏng suggested various *che/je* as *cho* such as *sŏrŭmje*, *horyŏngje*, *sŏllŏngje*, *sŏkhwaje*, *sanyuhwaje*, *kangsanje* (Yi Pohyŏng 1998a: 16-21). However, as studies of Ch’oe Tonghyŏn show, only *sŏrŭmje* and *horyŏngje* are proper when signifying *cho* (Ch’oe 1989: 179-184, Hae-Kyung Um 1992: 183-4) even though they are not often used. *Sŏrŭmje* [sad/sorrowful mode] refers to the *kyemyŏnjo* mode, while *horyŏngje* [commending mode] is applicable to the *ujo* mode, among basic modes of *p’ansori* such as *ujo*, *kyemyŏnjo* and *p’yŏngjo*. These names result from feelings or moods which appear in the music. According to Ch’oe Tonghyŏn, as *sŏllŏngje* was developed by Kwŏn Samdŭk, *sŏkhwaje* by Kim Chaechŏl, *sanyuhwaje* by Song Hŭngnok, etc. *sŏllŏngje*,

¹⁰⁸ *Tŏnŭm* listed by Chŏng Nosik are: 1) Kwŏn Samdŭk *che* “*Chebiga*” [Kwŏn Samdŭk’s “*Song of The Swallow*”], Mun Sŏkchun’s *che* “*Hŭngbo ch’ŏ pak tanŭn taemok*” [Mun Sŏkchun’s part where *Hŭngbo*’s wife halves a gourd], Ch’oe Sansun *che* “*Nolbo pohak*” [Ch’oe Sansun’s part where *Hŭngbo* is whipped by his brother] Kim Pongmun *che* “*Pangmulga*” [Kim Pongmun’s part where many treasures come out of a gourd] (Ch’oe Tonghyŏn 2000: 12).

sŏkhwaje, *sanyuhwaje*, and *kangsanje* seem to be more associated with an individual singer's creativity (*tŏnŭm*) rather than melodic mode (1987: 179-184).

As discussed above, the term *che/je* has a complexity of meaning which depends on its context. Various concepts of *che/je* (school, style, individual innovation, and melodic mode) show that a *p'ansori* singer has handed down and developed a piece with a particular singing style through genealogy based on a school. As division into schools (*yupa*) occurred, the style of a piece (*padi*) and individual innovations (*tŏnŭm*) associated with a lineage of singers and schools developed. In this sense, *che/je* seems to be a foothold for musical growth in *p'ansori* to flourish. In Chan E. Park's book *Voices from the Straw Mat*, she proposes a developmental scenario of *p'ansori*: "Individual innovations (*tŏnŭm*) were transmitted, concentrating in distinct schools of singing (*che*), with the most universalized of these innovations becoming recognized as "mode" (*cho*) beyond denomination or school" (2003: 178).

However, this *che/je* concept is not accepted by all scholars. Yi Kiu sees the concept of *che/je* as an obstruction to the development of *p'ansori*. Yi insists that:

Che/je as *yup'a* [school] was simply made in order to sum up varied *p'ansori*... This concept does not contain any change of culture at all and is not applicable to the current state of *p'ansori*. The aspect of succession is only considered while creative variation is ignored... activity as human being and social and cultural context are overlooked... (1990: 237-8)

However his view seems to be limited in that he only focuses on one aspect of *che/je*. As discussed above, it is true that *che/je* is often used to refer to *yupa* [school], but the concepts of *che/je* have developed to refer to *p'ansori* in various contexts including individual creativity. The concepts of *che/je* emphasize the characteristics of *p'ansori* as oral tradition rather than as an obstruction in the development of *p'ansori*. Therefore,

understanding of *che/je* is necessary to study the process of transmission. Coming down to the present time, *che/je* in *p'ansori* tends to be more schematized according to genealogy, because the way of studying *p'ansori* as an oral tradition transmitted from the past is limited. What is important is that as concepts of *che/je* as individual innovation and style show, *p'ansori* includes individual variations or innovation. For this reason, consideration of variation based on schematized genealogy is necessary.

2. Genealogy of *Hŭngboga*

2.1. Formation and Transmission of *Hŭngboga*

First, where and when *Hŭngboga* itself originated and how it has been transmitted will be examined before examining a particular singer's genealogy of *Hŭngboga* according to a particular *che/je* as school and style. *Hŭngboga*, also known as *Pak T'aryŏng* (Song of the gourd),¹⁰⁹ is one of five actively existing pieces in *p'ansori*. The text of *Hŭngboga* was made into a novel titled *Hŭngbujŏn* [The story of *Hŭngbo*],¹¹⁰ which is one of the more well-known *p'ansori kye* 齊(係) *sosŏl* [novel derived from *p'ansori*]. The mystery behind *Hŭngboga*'s origin has led many scholars in Korean literature to contribute studies of its origin and transmission, and most studies of *p'ansori* text have been written from a literary point of view. The song of *Hŭngbo* is a story emphasizing the importance of virtue and criticizing vice through two main characters, the bad older brother *Nolbo*, and his good younger brother *Hŭngbo*. As already described in greater detail in Chapter II, even though *Hŭngbo* suffers many hardships, he becomes

¹⁰⁹ *Pak T'aryŏng* (Song of the gourd) often refers to *Hŭngboga*. However, one should be careful to note that *Pak T'aryŏng* (Song of the gourd) also refers to the scene in *Hŭngboga* where *Hŭngbo* splits the gourd, which will be analyzed in Chapter V.

¹¹⁰ See footnote 1.

rich because of a gourd containing treasure—a swallow’s reward to *Hŭngbo* after he mends the bird’s broken leg. *Hŭngbo*’s actions are different from those of greedy *Nolbo*, who breaks a swallow’s leg intentionally to get sudden wealth like *Hŭngbo*, but he is punished instead and reformed.

The origin of this story is often inferred from analogous tales or folktales by several scholars (In Kwŏnhwan 1975, Cho Tongil 1969, Pak Yŏngju 2000, Chŏng Ch’unggwŏn 2003, etc.), and there have been no objections to this view. In Kwŏnhwan suggests that *Hŭngboga* originated from stories combined from three types of tales—*Sŏnak hyŏngjedam* (善惡兄弟譚) [the tale of two brothers having opposite personalities/virtues], *Tongmul poŭndam* (動物報恩譚) [the tale of an animal’s repayment to a human who had previously done a favor for the animal], and *Muhan chaebodam* (無限財寶譚) [the tale of marvelous object which produces treasure]—and he gives eight examples of such tales (In 1975: 11-39). Chŏng Ch’unggwŏn, who gives careful consideration to existing discussions about the origin of *Hŭngboga*, considers three tales: *Pangi sŏrhwa* (旁以說話) [the tale of *Pangi*],¹¹¹ *Pak t’anŭn ch’ŏnyŏ sŏrhwa* (박타는 處女說話) [the tale of the girl sawing the gourd],¹¹² *P’agak toin sŏrhwa* (跛脚道人說話) [the story of the limping Buddhist priest]¹¹³ as reasonable sources of *Hŭngboga* (2003: 23). Various

¹¹¹ It is known as a tale of Silla (traditionally B.C. 57- A.D.935). A poor older brother, *Pangi*, obtains a silkworm egg and a grain from his bad younger brother in order to farm. With the help of the silkworm and a bird, *Pangi* becomes rich.

¹¹² A Mongolian folktale of the girl with a saw who becomes rich through the reward she receives from a swallow whom she cured.

¹¹³ The story in the Buddhist scriptures about a person who becomes rich because a table produces treasures after the departure of an injured Buddhist priest who he had taken care of (In Kwŏnhwan 1975: 43).

scholars agree that *Hŭngboga* originated not as an original tale, but rather as combination of various tales.

Hŭngboga as *p'ansori* is regarded to be the middle step in the process from oral literature as tale to written literature as novel. Since singers organize songs based on tales, these pieces have been *p'ansori*. However no one knows the exact date of the change from tale to *p'ansori* text. The earliest known document including *Hŭngboga* is *Kwanuhŭi* (觀優戲) [viewing a performance of actors]¹¹⁴ written by Song Manjae in 1843 (Ch'oe Tonghyŏn 2000: 11), which was previously observed in Chapter II, section 1.2. The eleventh quatrain verse, *Yŏnja hamp'o powŏnŭn* (燕子啣匏報怨恩), *Punmyŏnghyŏnkyehŭngubi* (分明賢季興愚毘), *Yangjungsaeksaekhyŏnghyŏngkwŏe* (瓢中色色形形怪), *Kŏilbŏnsiyoilbŏn* (鉅一番時鬧一番) in *Kwanuhŭi*, is the same as the story of *Hŭngboga*. According to a translation by Yi Hyegu, a swallow repays a debt to the virtuous younger brother and punishes the greedy older brother. When the younger brother halves a gourd, a great variety of things appear from inside which elicits a startled celebration (Yi Hyegu 1989: 261). Chŏng Nosik also mentions that the specialty of Kwŏn Samdŭk (權三得) in the eighteenth century was *Hŭngboga* [Song of *Hŭngbo*] and “*Chebiga*” (the song of the swallow) was his *tŏnŭm* [excerpt innovated by an individual singer] (Chŏng Nosik 1940: 18-20). These documents make it possible to infer that *Hŭngboga* might have been more or less a framework of written literature by the eighteenth century. The origin of *p'ansori* is not entirely known, but the end of the 17th or

¹¹⁴ It is a poem written by Song Manjae. *Kwanuhŭi* [Viewing a performance of actors], consisting of an 800 character preface and a 50-quatrain verse body, is the earliest document which shows the foundation of the twelve songs of *p'ansori* and *kwangdae*'s activities (Yi 1989: 246-85).

18th century is usually regarded as the time when *p'ansori* began to develop as a genre. From early documents, we can infer that *Hŭngboga* was already widely performed in the early stages of *p'ansori*. However, these observations are inferences rather than truths in every respect. Therefore, it is difficult to understand the formation and transmission of *Hŭngboga* without first examining the singers and documents of *Hŭngboga*.

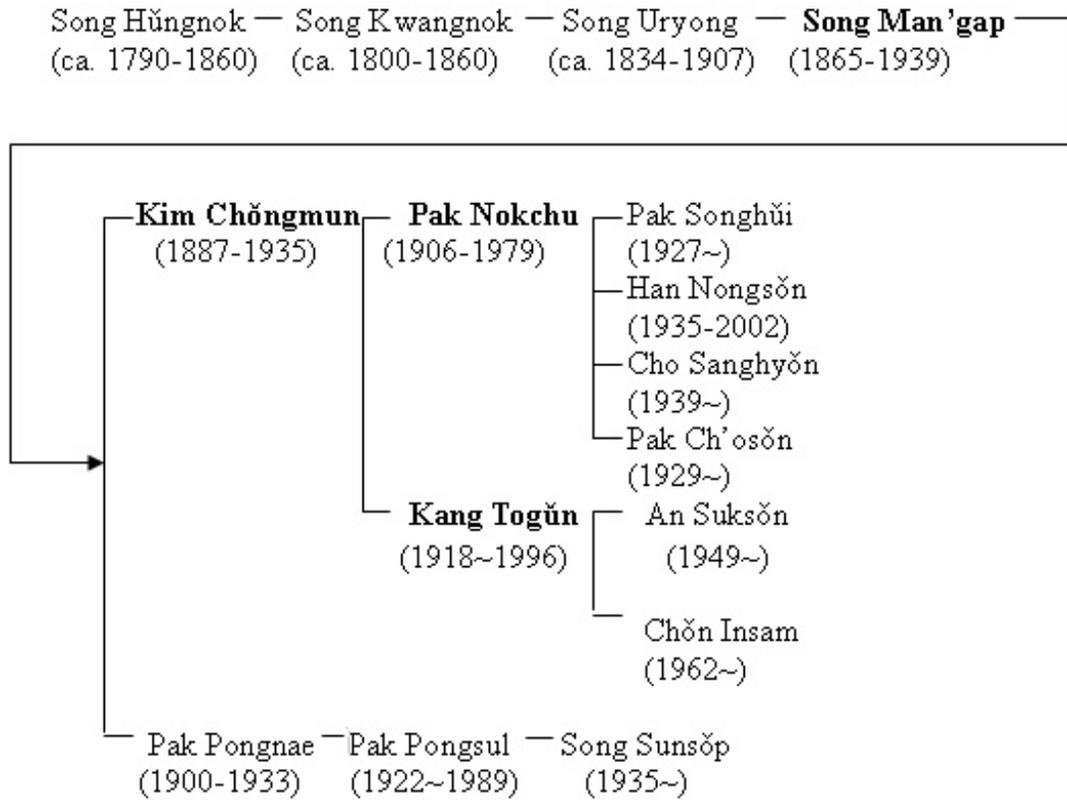
2.2 Song Man'gap's Style (*che*) Genealogy and his *Hŭngboga*

Yi Pohyŏng observes that the first *p'ansori* singer in *p'ansori* history to become well recognized is Kwŏn Samdŭk (1998b: 260). As mentioned above, Kwŏn Samdŭk was known as a famous singer of *Hŭngboga*. In the history of *p'ansori*, Kwŏn Samdŭk seems to have laid the foundation of *Hŭngboga* in the late 18th century, and singers in following generations have further developed this story. Besides Kwŏn Samdŭk, there were several singers who were noted for *Hŭngboga*. Singers from the 19th century include Yŏm Kyedal, Mun Sŏkchun, Han Songhak, Chŏng Ch'angŏp, Chŏng Hŭngsun, and Ch'oe Sangjun, while singers from the turn of the century include Kim Ch'anghwan, Song Man'gap, and others (Yi Pohyŏng 1982: 37, Ch'oe Tonghyŏn 2000: 165-6, Chŏng Pyŏnguk 1981: 225). Even though there were several singers known for *Hŭngboga*, only a few of their *padi* remain to the present day. *Hŭngboga* existed in the singing tradition of three schools; the Eastern school, the Western school and the Central school. However, only the Eastern school and the Western school are still preserved. In case of the Western school, only the Kim Ch'anghwan *che (padi) Hŭngboga* [*Hŭngboga* in Kim Ch'anghwan's style] has been transmitted, and even that is incomplete (Figure 4.1).

In the Eastern school, the Song Man'gap *che (padi) Hŭngboga* [*Hŭngboga* of Song Man'gap's style] was handed down while the traditions of other *padi* became obsolete. The beginning of Song Man'gap *che (padi) Hŭngboga* is said to have come from his early nineteenth-century ancestor, Song Hŭngnok, who is said to have found the Eastern school. With this reason, *Hŭngboga* in the Eastern school is also known as Song Hŭngnok *che (padi) Hŭngboga*. In almost all texts about the genealogy of the Eastern school, the schematization of Song Hŭngnok → Song Kwangnok → Song Uryong → Song Man'gap is included. The present *Hŭngboga* was transmitted by Song Man'gap, who maintained his family's *p'ansori* genealogy (Song Hŭngnok, Song Kwangnok, Song Uryong). However, Yi Kiu doubts how well Song Man'gap actually followed the singing style of Song Uryong, inferring from an anecdote that Song Man'gap didn't succeed in transmitting the genealogy of the Song family accurately enough¹¹⁵. Therefore, Yi Kiu sees that considering Song Man'gap as the beginning of the genealogy in the Eastern school is not completely incorrect (1990: 235-6). Even though Yi Kiu's interference is considerable, we cannot have a verifiable answer to the genealogy question, because of the non-existence of Song Man'gap's recordings from earlier generations. Most scholars usually credit the schematization of *Hŭngboga* in the Eastern school from Song Hŭngnok who was a founder of the Eastern school. Figure 4.2 shows the genealogy of *Hŭngboga* in the Eastern school, which is known as Song Man'gap *che (padi) Hŭngboga* [*Hŭngboga* in Song Man'gap's style].

¹¹⁵ According to *Chosŏn ch'anggŭksa* [History of *P'ansori* in Korea], Song Man'gap was already a well-known singer at the age of thirteen. However, his singing style and creation didn't follow the traditional singing style of Song's family very well, because his style of *p'ansori* tended to change in order to adjust to the trends of the time period. With this reason, his father, Song Uryong regarded his son as a disagreeable descendent and even tried to poison Song Man'gap. (1940: 194)

Figure 4.2 Genealogy of *Hŭngboga* in the Eastern school (Ch’oe Namgyŏng 1999: 28)¹¹⁶



The *Hŭngboga* of Song Man'gap, who received the singing style of the Song family, was transmitted to his pupils, Kim Chŏngmun and Pak Pongnae. Nowadays, the so called Pak Nokchu *padi* and Kang Togŭn *padi* transmitted from Kim Chŏngmun, and Pak Pongsul *padi* from Pak Pongnae *padi*, all which will be analyzed in the next chapter, are performed. Ch'oe Tonghyŏn and Yi Tonggŭn put Pak Ch'owŏl's *Hŭngboga* into this genealogy of the Eastern school (Ch'oe Tonghyŏn 2000 and Yi Tonggŭn 1983). However, as evidence from other singer's and Pak Ch'owŏl's musical characteristic's in *Hŭngboga*

¹¹⁶ Several writings- Ch'oe Tonghyŏn 2000, Yi Pohyŏng 1982, Chang Yŏngha 1991, Ch'oe Nangyŏng 1999.etc.-suggest the genealogy of *Hŭngboga* in the Eastern school. However, I found that Ch'oe Nangyŏng's schematization is a good example that comparatively integrates other observations.

show,¹¹⁷ Pak Ch'owöl's *Hŭngboga* seems to be well categorized into *Hŭngboga* of the Western school (Ch'oe Nangyŏng 1999: 28-9).

In fact, it is not easy to examine a lineage of singers, not only because of the lack of documents, but also because the relationship between master and pupil is not simple. Even though a singer can accept a piece from his/her teacher that has not been altered in any way, all singers do not have the same singing style as their teachers. As the learning process of most *p'ansori* singers reveal, a singer can be influenced from several teachers who might be different in schools and singing styles, as well as learn each *p'ansori* piece from different teachers. What one should be aware of, however, is that the schematization of genealogy in *p'ansori* may not show its complete transmission.

Prominent followers of Song Man'gap *che Hŭngboga* from the 20th century—Pak Nokchu, Kang Togŭn and Pak Pongsul—cultivated singers of a new generation such as Pak Songhŭi, An Suksŏn, and Cho Sanghyŏn. In fact, although this schematization has stopped, it is still continuously developing because the last generation, shown in Figure 4.2, in turn have their pupils. In the next chapter, I will provide a detailed analysis and examination of how Song Man'gap's *Hŭngboga* was transmitted to his successors.

¹¹⁷ Chŏng Kwangsu (b.1909) who was a follower of the Western school said, “Pak Ch'owöl learned from me when she was around the age of 25.” Pak Songhŭi, who learned from both Pak Ch'owöl and Pak Nokchu also mentioned, “My teacher, Pak Ch'owöl, liked the style of the *sŏp'yŏnje* (the Western school), so she studied *p'ansori* while searching for good teachers. In addition, I heard that she had the experience of learning *Hŭngboga* from O Suam who was a singer of the Western school.” (Ch'oe Nan'gyŏng 1999: 28-9)

CHAPTER V: ANALYSIS OF COMPARISON BETWEEN SINGERS

P'ansori has been transmitted through life-long apprenticeship. This type of transmission is also found in other music cultures such as the Indian traditional musical apprenticeship, the *gurukala* system. Bruno Nettl characterizes musical change and transmission in his brief introduction to studying music of the world's cultures as follows:

In most societies, music lives in oral tradition; that is, it is passed on by word of mouth and learned by hearing live performance. It is often assumed that such a form of transmission inevitably causes songs to change, as each person who learns one develops his or her own variant, lacking the control of notation. Societies differ, however, in their attitude toward musical stability; to some it is important that a song remain stable and unchanged, while others individual singers are encouraged to have their personal versions (2001: 10).

P'ansori truly becomes a way of life, and the apprentice is devoted to both the music and the teacher. The aspiring performer learns by watching and listening, often over a period of many years. *P'ansori* repertory is transmitted chiefly by example and imitation rather than notation.

As examined in Chapter IV, section 2, the traditional *Hŭngboga* is best embodied in the performance style of Song Man-Gap, from the Eastern school. Song Man'gap *che (padi) Hŭngboga* [*Hŭngboga* in Song Man'gap's style] in the Eastern school, which has gone through various musical changes according to the musical tastes of the period, has been handed down to the present through his pupils and their followers. The following figure is a simplified version of the genealogy of Song's *Hŭngboga* (Figure 4.2 in Chapter IV), which shows the singers who will be examined in this chapter.

Figure 5.1 Genealogy of Song's *Hŭngboga* in the Eastern school

19C-20C	Early 20C	20C
Song Man'gap 1865-1939	Kim Chŏngmun (1887-1935)	Pak Nokchu (1906-1979) Kang Togŭn (1918-1996)

Song Man'gap's *Hŭngboga* was transmitted to pupils Pak Nokchu and Kang Togŭn through Kim Chŏngmun, and to pupil Pak Pongsul through Pak Pongnae. However, in this paper, only the lineage of Song Man'gap → Kim Chŏngmun → Pak Nokchu and Kang Togŭn will be examined. Kim Chŏngmun, started to learn *p'ansori* as Song Man'gap's pupil and accompanied him as a drummer for a long time thereafter. Pak Nokchu, who studied under Pak Kihong, Kim Ch'anghwan, and Song Man'gap, learned *Hŭngboga* from Kim Chŏngmun in 1929. *Pak T'aryŏng* (Song of the gourd) and *Pidan Naonŭnde* [the part where silk comes out of the gourd] became Pak's party piece (No Chaemyŏng (1994: 14). Kang Togŭn learned how to complete *Hŭngboga* from Chŏngmun while helping with the household chores at the tender age of seventeen (Ch'oe Tonghyŏn 1990: 3). He also learned from Song Man'gap after Kim Chŏngmun's death.

The schematization of Figure 5.1 is limited in that it fails to show all the relationships between teacher and pupil and also describes a genealogy only for *Hŭngboga*. Therefore, Figure 5.1 cannot explain the complete apprenticeship lineage of each singer, as mentioned in the previous chapter. A singer usually learns *p'ansori* under several teachers who might have distinct singing styles rather than following a master singer. For example, Kim Chŏngmun studied under Song Man'gap for many years, but he was also captivated by the singing style of Kim Ch'anghwan and Kim Ch'aeman from

the Western school (Chǒng Pǒmt'ae 2002: 100). Thus he also learned *p'ansori* from Kim Ch'aeman for one year, even though studying the style of the Western school normally doesn't have a great impact on the traditions of the Eastern school. Pak Nokchu learned from the original heirs to *Hǔngboga*, Song Man'gap and Kim Chǒngmun. She also studied with Kim Ch'aeman, who followed the style of the Western school. The reason why Kang Togŭn is often regarded as an incomparable heir of *Hǔngboga* in the Eastern school is that he only studied under renowned master singers from the singing style of the Eastern school.

How can one observe the transmission process shown in Figure 5.1? An important method of observing what happened to the *Hǔngboga* of Song Man'gap over a fairly long period of time is extant recording of singers from the past, which is a primary source. Paek Taeung, who emphasizes the value of recordings in the study of *p'ansori*, says, “phonograph recordings are not only an alternative proposal to overcome the limit in the study of *p'ansori*, which doesn't have a score, but also a means of listening to voices of great singers from the past” (Paek Taeung 1996: 83). However, examining *p'ansori* according to a past genealogy is difficult because there are only a limited number of recordings of great *p'ansori* singers from the first half of the twentieth century. In addition, even though Song Man'gap also left some excerpts of *Hǔngboga*,¹¹⁸ only *Pak T'aryǒng* (Song of the gourd), produced by Columbia in 1932, has been restored¹¹⁹ and is commercially obtainable today. Kim Chǒngmun also did not leave many recordings of

¹¹⁸ It is confirmed that he recorded nine excerpts of *Song of Hǔngbo*. However, not only have all the recordings not yet been found, but more recordings unknown to scholars may exist (Pak Sŭngnyul 1991: 9). For a list of Song Man'gap's extant recordings, see Pae Yǒnhyǒng 1995: 361-40 and Yi Chunghun 1994: 263-81.

¹¹⁹ For example, *Great Voices of The P'ansori* (I) (SYNCD-004, 1993), *The Five Great Singers of P'ansori* (LGM-AK014, 1996), *Kukch'ang Song Man'gap* [Great Singer of the Nation, Song Man'gap] (SRCD-1351, 1996).

Hŭngboga. Only *Pak T'aryŏng* and *Ton T'aryŏng* (Song of money), recorded by Columbia in 1928, are found today. However, Pak Nokchu and Kang Togŭn, who were active singers as well as intangible cultural assets in the latter twentieth century, left a complete *Hŭngboga*. For this reason, scholars have often compared performances of the singers who left recordings of a complete *Hŭngboga* in Song Man'gap style in order to examine the musical differences between singers of the same genealogy. In comparing several performers who had the same apprenticeship lineage and belong to the same school, “*che*” allows one to understand the different ways through which the performers create their own unique style of *p'ansori*. However, it is also important to examine the performance of Song Man'gap itself as well as his followers to understand the process in the transmission of Song Man'gap's *Hŭngboga* through several decades.

In this study, I chose to examine *Pak T'aryŏng* to understand the various changes and stability of Song Man'gap *che Hŭngboga*, because it is the only piece that exists in all the recordings of Song Man'gap and the performers who followed him. I will provide a detailed analysis and examination of the *Pak T'aryŏng* of Song Man'gap, Kim Chŏngmun, and that of the next generation, Pak Nokchu and Kang Togŭn. A complete transcription of *Pak T'aryŏng* as sung by the four singers is given in the Appendix. The examination will be presented in three broad aspects: text, rhythm, and melody. My examination does not include voice quality and tonal colors, as the timbre element of singers is related more to their personal vocal apparatus than to the components of transmission.

1. Texts

Hŭngboga is a piece about two brothers, one good and one bad.¹²⁰ Hŭngbo sings *Pak T'aryŏng* lamenting his poor circumstances while splitting the gourd that has grown from the seed that the swallow brought. Even though the story of *Hŭngboga* is fixed, *p'ansori* lyrics have been added, deleted and changed according to the wishes of the singer who performs the piece or the social conformities of the time when it is presented. Hae Kyung Um explains that *p'ansori* is “a flexible structure, which allows for the independent development of details in particular versions. The flexible association of episodes creates a narrative technique for the performers to exploit so that the textual material can be tailored to entertain their audience to the fullest possible extent” (2002: 900).

When all recordings of Pak Nokchu's and Kang Togŭn's *Hŭngboga* are compared, it can be seen that the overall structure of the *Hŭngboga* text is different between the two singers. Pak Nokchu's *Hŭngboga* consists of forty-five scenes, while Kang Togŭn's consists of thirty-eight scenes. Although both singers learned *Hŭngboga* from Kim Chŏngmun, Pak Nokchu's version has parts that Kang Togŭn's version doesn't include, and vice versa. In addition to the differences in the *Hŭngboga* text as a whole, differences in the text of the song *Pak T'aryŏng* exist amongst the singers who perform it. The following chart shows the lyrics that the four performers use according to the rhythmic cycle (*changdan*). One measure refers to the six-beat bar with triple subdivision of each beat (18/8).

¹²⁰ For the story of *Hŭngboga*, see Chapter II, section 1.2.

Figure 5.2 Comparisons of *Pak T'aryöng* Texts of Four Singers¹²¹

M	Song Man'gap	Kim Chöngmun	Pak Nokchu	Kang Togün
1	Sirüröng, Sirüröng [Sirüröng]	Sirüröng, Sirüröng	Sirürüröng, silgön	Sirürürüng, Sirürürüng
2	T'opchiriya [Saw the gourd]	T'opchiriya [Saw the gourd]	Tanggöjuso. [Pull the gourd]	T'opchiroguna. [Saw the gourd]
3	Eyöru [Eyöru]	Kananiya [Poverty!]	Eyöru	Eyöru
4	Tanggüyöra [Pull the gourd]	kananiya. [Poverty!]	Tanggöjuso.	T'opchiroguna. Sirürürüng
5	Kananiya, kananiya. [Poverty!]	Wönsunyön üi kananiya [Poverty is my grudge]	I pagül t'agödüllangün [When I split the gourd],	Silgön, silgön üi T'opchiriya.
6	Wönsunyön üi kananiya. [Poverty is my grudge]	Chalsalgo, mot salginün, [Does living in affluence and poverty]	Amu kötto naojirül malgo [nothing comes out]	I pagül t'agödümyönün [When I split the gourd],
7	Pogira hönnün kösün [O Fortune!]	Myo ssügiü maeönnün'göna [depend on where the ancestral tomb is located?]	Pap han t'ongman naonöra [please bring a bowl of rice]	Amu kötto naojirül malgosö [nothing comes out]
8	Ötchi hamyönün chalt'anün'ga [What is this thing called fortune and how can I receive it?]	Samsin chewangnimi [When the three gods that govern childbirth]	P'yöngsaeng üi p'ohan iroguna [Is this the grudge that I must bear in this life]	Pap han t'ongman naonöra [please bring a bowl of rice].
9	Chalsalgo [Does living a life of affluence and]	Chipcharie ttöröjil chögü [fall to the straw matting]	Eyöru	P'yöngsaeng ü pabi p'ohan iroguna [Is this the grudge that I must bear in this life].
10	mot salginün, myo ssügie maeyönnünya [Living in poverty depend on where the ancestral tomb is located?]	Myönggwa subok chömji höna [they bless them with longevity and happiness]	Tanggöjura, t'opchiriya. [Pull and saw the gourd]	Eyöru
11	Eyöru	Eyöru	Yöboge manura! [Dear wife]	Tanggüyöra. Sirürürüng
12	Tanggüyöra, Sirürürüng [Pull the gourd]	Tanggüyöra, sirüröng	T'opsorirül ösö masso [Do your part quickly]	Silgön, silgön üi, T'opchiriya.
13	Silgün silgün, t'opchiriya. [Saw the gourd]	Sirüröng, Sirüröng	T'opsorirül naega matchago höndül [Even though I want to sing the response]	Yöboge isaramdül! [All of you]
14	Yöboso, manura. [Dear wife]	Tanggüyöra [Pull the gourd]	Paega kop'a mot matkösso [I am too hungry to do it]	Inaemarül türöboso. [Listen to me]
15	Ösö ösö t'opsori	Yöboge, manura.	Paega chöng	Kanando sajujege

¹²¹ The Korean version of *Pak T'aryöng* text is located in Appendix 1.

	masso. [Do your part quickly, sing the response]	[Dear wife] Ye! [Yes!]	kop'ügödüllangün [If you are so hungry],	Innün kõna. [Is poverty foretold by the stars?]
16	I pagül ösö t'asö [After sawing this gourd]	T'opsorirül ösö masso. [Do your part quickly]	Hörittirül chollarül maeso [Tighten your belt]	Sansuga küllösö, kanan hön'gan? [Am I poor because my fortune is unfavorable]
17	Paksogün kküryö mökko, [let's boil and eat the core of the gourd]	T'opsorirül matcha hōndül, [Even though I want to sing the response]	Eyöru	Sansuga küllösö, kanan hōmyön,
18	Pagajinün p'arödagasö, [sell the rind of the gourd, so]	Paega kop'a mot matkōnne [I am too hungry to do it]	Tangōjuso [Pull the gourd]	Hyōngnim manimün chalsasigo, [is it fortune that allows the wife of my older brother to be well off]
19	Moksum pomyōng sarōnase. [we can maintain our existence]	Paega chōng kop'ügödüllang [If you are so hungry],	Chagün chasigün, chōri kago [My youngest child, go over there]	Uri manim mot sanün sansu. [while my wife lives in poverty]
20	Tangüyōra, t'opchiriroguna. [Pull and saw the gourd]	Ch'omae kkünül cholla maeso [Tighten your belt]	K'ün chasigün naehant'ūro onōra [My oldest child, come here]	Sesang ch'ōnji ödīsö poasso? [Is there any such fortune like that?]
21	Eyöru	Sirürōng, Sirürōng	Uriga ipagül t'asö [After we split the gourd],	Eyöru
22	Tangüyōra, Sirürürung [Pull the gourd]	Silgün, Sirürōng	Paksogillang kküryömökko, [let's boil and eat the core of the gourd]	Tangüyōra, t'opchiriya. Sirürōng [Pull and saw the gourd]
23	Kumdön irül saengakhōgo, [I thought that I was hungry]	Sirürōng, Sirürōng, Silgün	Pagajilangün puja chipega p'arödaga, [sell the rind to the rich family, so]	Chagün chasigün, chōri kago [My youngest child, go there]
24	Möktön irül saengak ül hōni, [and I thought that I wanted to eat]	T'opchiriya, tanggüyōra, [Saw and pull the gourd]	Moksum kumyōng sarōnase. Tanggōjuso [let's maintain our existence, so pull the gourd].	K'ün chasigün naehant'ūro onōra [My oldest child, come here].
25	Ijedo kulmö chugükka [Will I now die of hunger?]	I pagül ta'gödüllang [When I split the gourd],	Kangsan üi ttōnan paega [Even though the ship on the river]	Uriga i pagül t'agödūmyönün [After we split the gourd],
26	I pagül t'agödūmyön. [If I split the gourd]	Amu kötto naojirül malgösö [nothing comes out]	such'ōnsögül chiga silk'o kandül [holds a thousand bags of rice]	Paksogillang kküryö mökko, [let's boil and eat the core of the gourd]
27	Chasiktūldo manhi mökko, [children eat until you are satisfied]	Pap han t'ongman naonōra [please bring a bowl of rice]	Chōhūiman choatchi, [it would be good to have it for your own]	Pagach'inün puja chibeda p'arödaga, [sell the rind to the rich family, so]
28	Uriga sarōnase. [Let's survive]	P'yōngsaeng üi p'ohan iroguna [Is this the	Nae pak hant'ongül tanghal suga innūnya	Moksum pomyōngül [life]

		grudge that I must bear in this life]	[but how can it compare to my one precious gourd?]	
29	Eyöru	Eyöru	Sirüröng, Silgön	höyörül poja, Sirürüüng [can be sustained]
30	Tanggüyöra, sirürüüng	Tanggöjuso.	Sirüröng. Siriröng	Silgön, silgön, T’opchiriya.
31	Chasiktüra, iri onöra [Children, Come here] .	Sirürürü...., Sirürürü....	Siriröng, Silgön	Yöboge manura [Dear wife] Ye! [Yes!]
32	Nöhüi k’ünaböji kach’i [Like your eldest uncle]	T’opchiriya, Tanggiyöra. [Saw and pull the gourd]	Tanggüyöra , T’opchiriya [Pull and saw the gourd]	T’opsorirül chanega masso [Do your part]
33	Tokhago mojin yangbani [is there a person as malicious and wicked]			T’opsori naega matcha höndül [Even though I want to sing the response],
34	Kogüm ch’ önji tto innünya. [as him in the history of mankind?]			Paega kop’asö mot matkösso [I am too hungry to do it].
35	Eyö-			Paega chöng kop’ügödümyöm [I am too hungry to do it]
36	-ru. Tanggüyöra.[Pull the gourd]			Ch’omae kkünül cholla maego [Tighten your belt]
37				Sirüröng, Sirüröng
38				Siriröng, Siriröng
39				Siriröng, Silgön,
40				Tanggüyöra T’opchiriya, Sirüröng

As this figure indicates, the number of measures in each performer’s version of *Pak T’aryöng* varies—Song’s¹²² version consists of thirty-six measures, Kim’s version consists of thirty-two measures, Pak’s version consists of thirty-two measures and Kang’s version, the longest amongst the four performances, consists of forty measures. Song’s text was shortened by his student Kim. However, Kim’s student Kang extended the texts.

¹²² For simplification purposes, I will refer to the singers by their family names—Song, Kim, Pak, and Kang—in this discussion.

However, one should be careful of the conditions surrounding the recording when observing the length of a song. Recordings completed by Song Man'gap and Kim Chŏngmun consist of several party songs including *Pak T'aryŏng* derived from restored LP recordings of different *p'ansori* stories. The pieces may have time restraints not only because of the limited recording time allotted on one side of an SP recording, but also because they had to be recorded with songs from other *p'ansori* stories. Unlike Song Man'gap and Kim Chŏngmun, both Pak Nokchu and Kang Togŭn transmitted recordings of the complete story of *Hungboga*, which includes *Pak T'aryŏng*. Therefore, it is likely that *Pak T'aryŏng* of Song Man'gap and Kim Chŏngmun wasn't recorded as the fullest version of *Pak T'aryŏng*. However, Pak Nokchu's version of *Pak T'aryŏng*, which is a part of the fullest version of *Hungboga*, is shorter than Song Man'gap's version and the same as that of her teacher, Kim Chŏngmun. When this fact is considered, one can also conjecture that *Pak T'aryŏng* of Song and Kim is not that much different from their full version of *Hungboga*.

The four versions basically follow the same storyline, but there are differences in the phrases, phrase order, and patterns of repetition amongst the four performers. Yu Sŏngjae examines the text in three divisions—same text, similar text, and independent text—in his comparative study of *Hungboga* (1999: 16-100). However, in my point of view, the differences in text can be observed in detail as four types: repetition, omission, addition, and creation.

1.1. Repetition

Pak T'aryöng has repetitive phrases similar to a refrain. These phrases are different in shape and number of repetitions. The bold words in figure 5.2 show a “repeating part.” In Song’s performance, he often repeats the phrase “Eyöru,¹²³ Tanggüyöra (Sirürürüng)¹²⁴” 에여루, 당그여라 (시르르릉) [Eyöru, pull the gourd, (Sirürürüng)] in mm. 3 & 4, 11 & 12, 21 & 22, 29 & 30, and 35 & 36. However, other performers sing those phrases less frequently than Song. Kim repeats the phrase two times in mm. 11 & 12, and 29 & 30. Pak differs from the other three performers in that while she repeats the phrase three times in mm. 3 & 4, 9 & 10, and 17 & 18, she omits the word “Sirürürüng” in the three repetitive phrases, and sings “Eyöru Tanggöjuso (Tanggöjura).” Kang also repeats the phrase two times in mm. 10 & 11, and 21 & 22. On the whole, the phrase “Eyöru, Tanggüyöra [pull the gourd] (Sirürürüng)” is repeated the most in Song’s performance and appears comparatively regularly when compared to the texts performed by his successors, Kim, Pak, and Kang.

On the other hand, while Song makes infrequent use of the expressive phrases for sawing the gourd, such as “Sirüröng, Sirüröng” 시르렁 시르렁 in m. 1 and “Silgün, Silgün, t’opchiriya” 실근 실근 톱질이야 [Silgün, silgün, saw the gourd] in m. 13, the other singers repeat the phrase several times. For example, Kim continuously repeated “Sirüröng, Sirüröng (Silgün)” three times from mm. 21 to 23. This repetition reappears in the performance of Kim’s followers, Pak and Kang. Kim, Pak, and Kang seem to try and emphasize the action of sawing the gourd through repetition of these expressive phrases.

¹²³ Eyöru, which is a verbal filler, seems to be used to express the action of pulling the gourd.

¹²⁴ Sirürürüng, also seen spelled Sirürüng, Sirüröng, and Siriröng, is the onomatopoeic word expressing the sound of splitting the gourd. “Silgün” is also used for this sound in the performance.

These repetitive phrases sometimes appear in slightly different forms. For example, Song performs “Sirüröng, Sirüröng” in m. 1 and “T’opchiriya” [saw the gourd] in m. 2, however his follower Pak sings “Sirürürüng, Silgün” in m. 1 and “Tanggöjuso” [Pull the gourd] instead of “T’opchiriya” [Saw the gourd] in m. 2. As this example shows, the grammatical ending style of the word such as –juso and –iya is not always the same between singers. The slight differences in ending style and word choice are found throughout the *Pak T’aryöng* text. In addition to *Pak T’aryöng*, minor differences such as different postposition, verb conjugation, and word choice often appear in all *p’ansori* pieces. The characteristics of language used in *p’ansori* seem to attribute to this phenomenon. “Language derived from the Chölla dialect from the Southwestern Province of Korea” (Hae-Kyung Um 1992: 110) rather than the standard Korean language is used for *p’ansori* lyrics. Therefore, the use of dialect helps to produce the slight difference of lyrical form even though it does not influence the content of the phrase.

1.2. Omission.

Not all phrases of Song’s texts are always found in Kim’s texts and those of his followers, Pak and Kang. Song’s Measures 32 to 34 (“Is there any such malicious and wicked person like your elder uncle in this world?”), in which Hüngbo criticizes his elder brother Nolbo, don’t appear in the performance of the following generation. “Kananiya, Kananiya, Wönsunyön ũi kananiya” 가난이야, 가난이야, 원수 년의 가난이야 [Poverty, poverty! Poverty is my grudge] from Song’s mm. 5 and 6 may have been transmitted only to his follower Kim. This phrase disappeared from the *Pak T’aryöng* texts of Pak and Kang. “Chalsalgo mot salginün myo ssügie maeyönnünya” 잘살고

못살기는 묘 쓰기에 매었느냐 [Does living a life of affluence and living in poverty depend on where the ancestral tomb is located?] taken from mm. 9 and 10 of Song's version is another phrase that Pak and Kang do not include in their versions. It seems that both Pak and Kang do not emphasize "poverty" as much, because they omitted these phrases expressing poverty from their versions of the *Pak T'aryŏng*.

In addition to the phrases that seem to be omitted by the following generation, omission according to personal preference can also be found. For example, "After sawing this gourd, let's boil and eat the core of the gourd, and sell the rind, so that we can maintain our existence" in mm. 16 to 19 of Song's performance is a phrase that is found in the performances of all singers except for Kim. Even though Kim's performance doesn't include this phrase, his teacher Song and his students, Pak and Kang sing it in their versions. This fact suggests that Kim intentionally left it out of his recorded performance even though he transmitted it to his students.

1.3. Addition

The singer often adds some words or phrases to his/her performance. Mm. 14 and 15 from Song's performance, "Yŏboso, manura! Ŏsŏ ōsŏ t'opsori masso" 여보소, 마누라! 어서어서 톱 소리 맞소 [Dear wife! Do your part quickly, sing the response] appears as extended phrases from Kim's performance. Kim added the response of Hungbo's wife "Ye!" [Yes!] and also added "T'opsorirŭl matcha hŏndŭl, Paega kop'a mot matkŏnne" 톱 소리를 맞자 현들 배가 고파 못 맞것네 [Even though I want to sing the response, I am too hungry to do it], "Paega chŏng kop' ŭgŏdŭllang, Ch'omaekkŭnŭl cholla maeso" 배가 정 고프거들랑, 초매 끈을 즐라매소 [If you are so hungry,

Tighten your belt] in mm. 15 to 20 as a form of response. The part of the piece calling the children was also added by the following generation. Song sings “Chasikdūra, iri onöra!” 자식들아, 이리 오너라 [Children, Come here] in m. 32. However, Pak and Kang expressed this phrase slightly differently, “Chagŭn chasigŭn, chŏri kago Kŭn chasigŭn naehant’ŭro onöra!” 작은 자식은 저리 가고, 큰 자식은 내한트로 오너라 [My youngest child, go there, my oldest child, come here].

1.4. Creation

The new phrases formed by a singer are sometimes transmitted to the next generation such as Kim’s addition mentioned in 1.3. However, in addition to new changes made to existing phrases, each singer often creates his/her own new phrase(s). In Figure 5.2, the shadowed part illustrates the phrases that each singer created. These phrases, which convey Hŭngbo’s discontent about the destiny of poverty on the whole, differ greatly between the four singers.

As examined above, the text does not remain the same but rather undergoes much change. Expressive phrases that describe the sound of sawing the gourd (Sirŭrŏng/Sirŭrŭrŭng, Silgŭn) and phrases that describe the process of sawing the gourd (“Tanggŭyŏra” [pull the gourd], “T’opchiriya” [saw the gourd], “Yŏboso, manura! Ősŏ ŏsŏ t’opsori masso” [Dear wife! Do your part quickly, sing the response]) have been transmitted without change to Pak and Kang through Kim. Song’s other phrases, which express Hungbo’s complaint about the sorrows of poverty, are described differently in other singers’ texts through repetition, omission, addition, and creation.

2. Rhythm

P'ansori uses different tonal structures and rhythmic cycles (*changdan*) according to the content of the lyrics. The *Pak T'aryŏng* of all four singers uses *chinyangjo*, the slowest rhythmic cycle, which usually appears in parts of the piece that evoke a sad mood with *kyemyŏnjo* (see Chapter II, section 2.1). Even though the singers follow *chinyangjo*, which usually consists of four six-beat bars with triple subdivision of each beat (i.e., 4 x 18/8), the speeds of the performances vary. In Song's performance, the duration of one measure is approximately 5 seconds and the speed of each measure in Kim's performance is approximately 4.5 seconds. The durations of Pak's and Kang's beats are approximately 7 seconds and 6.5 seconds, respectively. Therefore it can be seen that while Kim sings faster than his teacher Song, his students, Pak and Kang, sing slower than him. This difference of tempo shows that even though singers keep the same rhythmic cycle, their tempo is different in keeping with personal preference. The singer keeps the rhythmic cycle with the drummer's accompaniment.

As discussed in Chapter II, Section 2.1, singers produce rhythmic variation according to the textual rhythm set against basic rhythmic patterns. Song, Kim, Pak and Kang keep a 6-beat rhythm with triple subdivision, but it is difficult to find exact consistency between the rhythmic patterns of each singer. From the transcription, one can see that the eighteen beats within the four performers' versions of *Pak T'aryŏng* have various rhythmic forms. I will further examine the rhythmic pattern by dividing it into two concepts—rhythmic similarity and independent rhythm.

2.1 Rhythmic Similarity

Although several singers may perform the same piece, the rhythmic pattern of the lyrics as performed by each individual is never the same. The rhythmic patterns show at least a slight difference. In that case, there is rhythmic consistency rather than rhythmic sameness. Figure 5.3 shows the rhythmic pattern of the phrases which are present in the singers' performances.

Figure 5.3. The Four Singers Versions of “Eyöru, Pull the gourd” 에여루, 당그여라 in Pak T'aryöng

The figure displays four musical staves, each representing a different singer's performance of the same piece. The lyrics are written below the notes, with some words underlined or marked with rhythmic symbols like wavy lines and dots. The lyrics are: "E - yö - - - ru- tang gü yö ra. Sirü-----rüng" (Song), "Ei ö - yö - - - ru-- tang gü - yö ra. Sirü rüng -" (Kim), "E - yö - - - ru - tang gö--- ju- so." (Pak), and "E - i yö - - - - ru--- Tang gü----- yö ra. Sirü----rüng" (Kang).

Figure 5.3 shows that Kim, Pak and Kang do not vastly deviate from the original structure of Song's rhythm. Kim doesn't have a rest in his version of "Eyö-" and uses a singing tone of voice in his delivery of "Sirürüng(Sirüröng)" instead of his speaking voice. Unlike Kim, her teacher Pak is the only one who continues to use the dotted quarter notes in the "-yö" and doesn't sing "Sirürüng (Sirüröng)." Kang also doesn't use the exact same rhythm as his teacher, Kim. However, this change does not seem to make a big difference amongst the singers' rhythmic patterns. When the rhythm of each performance is compared, this slight rhythmic difference among the four singers is found in every phrase although it comes from the same lyrics.

Figure 5.4 is another example that shows a similar rhythmic pattern between two singers. Figure 5.4 informs us that Kim follows his teacher, Song, in his use of rhythm in performance. When comparing phrases that are performed by both singers, one can see that the singers almost have similar rhythmic patterns.

Figure 5.4 Phrase “Does living a life of affluence and living in poverty depend on where the ancestral tomb is located?” 잘살고 못살기는 묘 쓰기에(으) 매였(었)느냐 in *Pak T’aryŏng* of Song and Kim

Song
Mim 9&10
Chalsal go mot sal gi nŭ - - ūn myo ssŭ gi e- mae yŏn nŭ nya.

Kim
Mim 6&7
Chalsal go mot sal gi nŭn - ūn - myossŭ gi ũ mae ōn nŭngŏna - .

Although there are many differences in the rhythm of Kim’s version (↓), the listener does not get the impression that there is a great difference between the two phrases. In fact, it is difficult to see that these minor changes are the new creation of the singer. These changes originate from the characteristics of *p’ansori*’s oral tradition, where the singer doesn’t follow any score but depends on song memorized by listening to his/her teacher’s singing. With this reason, rhythmic variation always exists within the basic rhythmic pattern (*changdan*) in *p’ansori*.

The rhythmic difference of the same phrase among singers also appears within the performance of each singer. One can see that Song shows a minor change of rhythm and melody in the same phrase in his *Pak T’aryŏng* (see Figure 5.5). Each singer tries to express variety rather than exact rhythm and melody when performing the repeated phrases in his/her performance. However, when compared with the phrases of other

singers, there is a more rhythmic and melodic consistency in the repeated phrases of each singer.

Figure 5.5 Comparison of “Eyöru, Pull the gourd” 에여루, 당그여라 in Song’s performance

The figure displays five staves of musical notation for the song "Eyöru, Pull the gourd". Each staff is labeled with measure numbers and includes lyrics and rhythmic markings (wavy lines under notes).

- Mm 3&4:** E yö - - - ru- tang gü yö ra.
- Mm. 11&12:** E - yö - - - - ru- tang gü yö ra. Sirü-----rüng
- Mm. 21&22:** E yö - - - ru- tang gü yö ra. Sirü-----rüng
- Mm. 29&30:** E yö - - - - ru- tang gü yö ra. Sirü-----rüng.
- Mm. 35&36:** E yö - - - - yö ru tang - gü yö ra.

2.2. Independent Rhythm

There are also phrases where the similarity of rhythm doesn't exist between singers. Figure 5.6 illustrates a part that all four singers perform in *Pak T'aryöng* with dissimilar rhythmic progresses. Song often uses the form of three eighth notes, while Kim often applies duplets, and Pak and Kang mainly use the mixed form of eighth note and quarter note. Song's rhythm is not maintained in all the performances of Kim, Pak and Kang. From Figure 5.6, one can see that this phrase is also independent in melodic progress with the rhythm.

Figure 5.6 Phrase of “Dear wife! Do your part quickly, sing the response” 여보게
 마누라! 어서 어서 톱 소리 맞소 in the four singers performances.

Song
Mm.14&15
Yöboso - ma-nu ra-- Ösö ö - sö t'opsori masso -

Kim
Mm.15&16
Yö bo ge ma nu ra! Ye! T'opso ri rül ö sö masso

Pak
Mm.11&12
Yöbo ge manu- ra - - T'op so ri rül ö sö ma sso

Kang
Mm.31&32
Yö bo ge ma nu ra! Ye! T'opso ri rül chanega ma sso

The following Figure 5.7 is another example of independent rhythm. All singers except Kim perform this part, which was already examined as a concept of “omission” in the previous section 1.

Figure 5.7 Phrase of “After sawing the gourd, let’s boil and eat the core of the
 gourd” 이 박을 어서 타서 박속은 끓여먹고 in the performance of
 Song, Pak, Kang

Song
Mm.16&17
iba: gü üll ö sö t'a sö pak so güñ kküryö mökko- - ,

Pak
Mm.21&22
Un ga - ipa - güll t'a sö - pak so gil- lang kküryö - - mök ko,

Kang
Mm.25&26
U ri ga ipa üll t'agö - - - dümyönün paksogil lang kküryö - - mökko

As Figure 5.7 shows, each singer performs totally dissimilar rhythmic passages as if the phrases were all different from each other. The independency of rhythm in Figure 5.7 is caused by the transformation of the text style. Song’s performance doesn’t include

“uriga,” which is included in the performances of Pak and Kang. As mentioned in the previous section 1, singers also have minor differences in postposition and verb conjugation of the text. For example, while Song uses the word “t’asö” 타서, meaning “after pulling [the gourd],” Kang uses “t’agödŭmyön” 타거드면, which has essentially the same meaning, in his performance. The disparity between the number of syllables in each word promotes this rhythmic difference.

Both rhythm and melody are independent among the new parts created by the singers, which is discussed under “creation” in section 1. These new texts allow for the variation in rhythm as well as melody. These concepts will be examined in the next section.

3. Melody

3.1. Structure of Tone

The rhythmic cycle is combined with modal and melodic features, which are known collectively as “cho.” *Pak T’aryöng*, which is my area of focus, uses *kyemyönjo*.¹²⁵ *Kyemyönjo* is often used for scenes where the character laments, mourns, appeals, or is faced with an urgent situation. Therefore, *kyemyönjo* is proper to *Pak T’aryöng*, specifically the part where Hŭngbo saws the gourd while lamenting about poverty and the sorrows that accompany it. Figure 5.8 shows the notes used in each singer’s *Pak T’aryöng*. The main notes that are used in the performance of Song, Kim, Pak, and Kang compose *kyemyönjo* consisting of six tones even though the keys used in each individual performance are different, and the same notes aren’t always used for identical lyrics.

¹²⁵ For more information, see Chapter II, section 2.2.

Every singer’s performance consists of the same tonal structure on the whole. However, unlike other singers, Kang doesn’t use the subdominant tone (G) known as *ötch’öng* in his performance of the song. Considering that Kim’s other student Pak uses subdominant tone in her *Pak T’aryong*, Kang seems to use this tone according to his preference. The frequency of tones of this scale is different between singers.

Figure 5.8 *Kyemyöngo* of *Pak T’aryöng*¹²⁶

The figure displays five staves of musical notation for the *Kyemyöngo* of *Pak T'aryöng*. Each staff is labeled on the left: Kyemyöngo, Song, Kim, Pak, and Kang. The notes are placed on a five-line staff with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (F#). The notes are: C4 (quarter), D4 (quarter), E4 (quarter), F#4 (quarter), G4 (quarter), A4 (quarter), B4 (quarter), and C5 (quarter). The E4 note is highlighted with a box. Below the notes are labels in Korean and English: Tönnüch'öng [Vibrating Tone], Töümch'öng [Adding Tone], Ponch'öng [Central Tone], Kkóngün Araech'öng [Drooping Lower Tone], Kkóngün Wüch'öng [Drooping Higher Tone], and Ötch'öng [Irregular Tone].

“Vibrating tone” and “central tone” is mainly used in the performance of the four singers on the whole. “Drooping higher tone” and “drooping lower tone” also appear often. Song also uses “added tone” more often in mm.13, 29, 33 and “irregular tone” in mm. 7, 26, 27, and 28 while his followers, Kim, Pak, and Kang show a comparatively lower frequency of use. This tonal structure plays a role in creating the melody of *Pak T’aryöng*.

In the case of melodic pattern, there is no exact agreement. Within the same rhythmic pattern, *chinyangjo*, the four performers often show different as well as related

¹²⁶ The names of the tones used in this section are as suggested by Paek Taeung. For more information, see Paek Taeung 1999: 38-45.

melodic paths. When each measure that contains the same lyrics in four performances is compared, the melody can be discussed in same, similar, or independent melodic patterns.

3.2. Same melodic pattern

The “same melodic pattern” refers to a melody that has several short, different, ornamental tones which neither influence, nor aid in the progression of a different melody or a same melody. These identical melodic patterns are rarely found in *Pak T'aryŏng* of the four singers.

The part of “Eyŏru, Pull the gourd” in *Pak T'aryŏng* of the four singers, which was already shown in Figure 5.3 under the concept of “rhythmic similarity,” is an example of having the same melodic pattern (See page 95). Even though the melody amongst the four singers in Figure 5.3 is not exactly the same, they show the same melodic progress. “Eyŏru” starts with a central tone, goes up to a drooping higher tone and lasts for two or three beats, and then proceeds to go down to the central tone again as short sixteenth notes. The part of “Tanggŭyŏra” also starts with the central tone. After the appearance of the drooping higher and lower tones at the second beat, the central tone is repeated in the third and fourth beats in the second measure of each performance.

Figure 5.9 also shows that Kim, Pak, and Kang have the same melodic pattern. This phrase only exists in the versions performed by Kim, Pak and Kang. In each performance, the phrase consists of consistent “vibrating tones” and descending paths (↘) from the vibrating tones. Although Kim shows slightly different melodic patterns as he starts with a short central tone (C) and drags down the last note (B) instead of using notes of lower tones, Kim’s melodic path can still be considered similar when compared to the melodic

patterns of other singers. Pak and Kang show exactly the same melody in this phrase as compared to Kim.

Figure 5.9 Phrase of “Please bring a bowl of rice” 밥 한 통만 나오너라 in the performance of Kim, Pak and Kang

Figure 5.9 also informs us that the phrase which has the same melodic pattern may not be long. In other words, the phrases that come before and after the phrase illustrated in figure 5.9 do not have melodic sameness. Pak and Kang choose to briefly follow the melody of their teacher Kim rather than continuously imitate the same melody.

3.3. Similar melodic pattern

Unlike the same melodic pattern discussed in 3.2., “similar melodic pattern” includes melodies where several different notes are used within the analogous shape of the melodic progress.

In Figure 5.10, Kim follows his teacher’s melodic path. Song and Kim sing “Sirüröng, sirüröng” in descending progress and repeat “chiriya” on the same note three times after suddenly descending from “t’op.” However, the notes used in the performance

of Song and Kim are not similar. Song's m.2 consists of a drooping higher tone and central tones while Kim uses a central tone and vibrating tones in m.2. Pak and Kang show dissimilar melodic pattern when compared to the melody of Song and Kim as they use speech tone rather than singing tone in m.1 and tones that progress in a different direction in m.2. However, like Song and Kim, Pak and Kang also try to use a descending order in their execution of "Sirüröng." Pak and Kang also attempt to develop an independent melodic path in m. 2 of their performance that is not found in the performance of Song and Kim.

Figure 5.10 The Four Singers Versions of "Sirüröng, sirüröng, Saw (Pull) the gourd"
 시르렁, 시르렁, 툇질이야 (or 당겨주소) in *Pak T'aryöng*

Figure 5.11 is another example of similar melodic pattern. In the first measure of each performance, the drooping higher tone (□) is mainly used and it progresses to the central tone (○), which is a third lower than the drooping higher tone. In the second measure of each version, the central tone goes up on the second beat and the melody descends to the

last beat. Pak and Kim ornament the tones, which their teacher used, on the third, fourth, and fifth beat.

Figure 5.11 Phrase “Even though I want to sing the response, I am too hungry to do it” 톱소리 맞자 헌들 배가 고파서 못 맞것네 in performance of Kim, Pak and Kang

Kim
Mfm. 17-18
t'op sori rül matcha hön - düll pae ga kop'a- mot mat kōme -.

Pak
Mfm. 13-14
T'op sorirül- nae ga- matcha-go hōndül- paega kop'a- - - mot- mat kō'sso.

Kang
Mfm. 33-34
T'opsoni rül nae ga- - - - matcha--- hōn düll paega kop'asō mot mat kō'sso.

Phrases that have the same lyrics often show “similar melodic pattern” rather than “same melodic pattern” among the performances of the four singers. This similar melodic pattern may be observed in two ways. Firstly, singers often have a similar pattern of melodic progress such as descending or ascending paths even though the tones they use may vary. Secondly, the singers keep the main tones, which make the flow of melody even, though they may add short tones as ornamentation or extend the length of the vibration. In the performance of Kim’s students Pak and Kang, melodic paths which are changed from the melody of Song and Kim but still similar are often found.

3.4. Independent melodic patterns.

Like independent rhythmic patterns, there is also melody which doesn’t have any similarity among the performances of the four singers. Figure 5.6 and Figure 5.7 in section 2.1 discussed under the topic of “Independent Rhythm” can also be seen as

independent melodic pattern (See Figures 5.6 and 5.7). In other words, melodic similarity is hardly found in phrases where rhythmic similarity doesn't exist between singers. As mentioned in section 2.1., the most newly created parts, which are observed under "Creation" in section 1, are independent in both rhythm and melody among the singers. Through created text fixed with its own melodic and rhythmic patterns, singers try to have individuality in *p'ansori*, where the singing tradition is transmitted according to genealogy. However, it is true that there are exceptions as figure 5.12 shows:

Figure 5.12 Comparison of individual creation part between Song and Pak

Even though Song and Pak have their own created text, there are rhythmic and melodic similarities between the two performances. Rhythmic similarity is found in each of the first measures, and the second measure of the two singers is similar in melodic pattern as both consist of constant *ŏch'ōng* (irregular tone).

In fact, same, similar, or independent rhythm and melody appear in diverse ways (See Figure 5.13). Kim's m.23 and Kang's m.37 have the same melody in that the melodic path goes from vibration tone to central tone, even though Kang has a short deviated note, A, in the third beat. The melodic and rhythmic similarity is found in the last three measures of Pak's and Kang's performance (Pak's mm. 30-32 and Kang's mm.

38-40). However, when Pak and Kang are compared with Kim, Pak and Kang show independent rhythm and melody in their performance.

Figure 5.13 Phrase “Sirüröng, Sirüröng, Silgün, Saw and pull the gourd”

Kim
Mm. 21-24
Si rü rong - si rü rö - -ng ,sil güñ - - - - - si rü röng
si rü röng - si rü röng - ,sil gü -ün- t'opchi ri ya tang gü yö ra.

Pak
Mm. 29-32
Sirü- - - - röng sil - gön - - si - - ö - ö - - - röng si rü röng.
Si - ri röng silgö - ön - - - - tang gü yö- ra t'opchi ri ya.

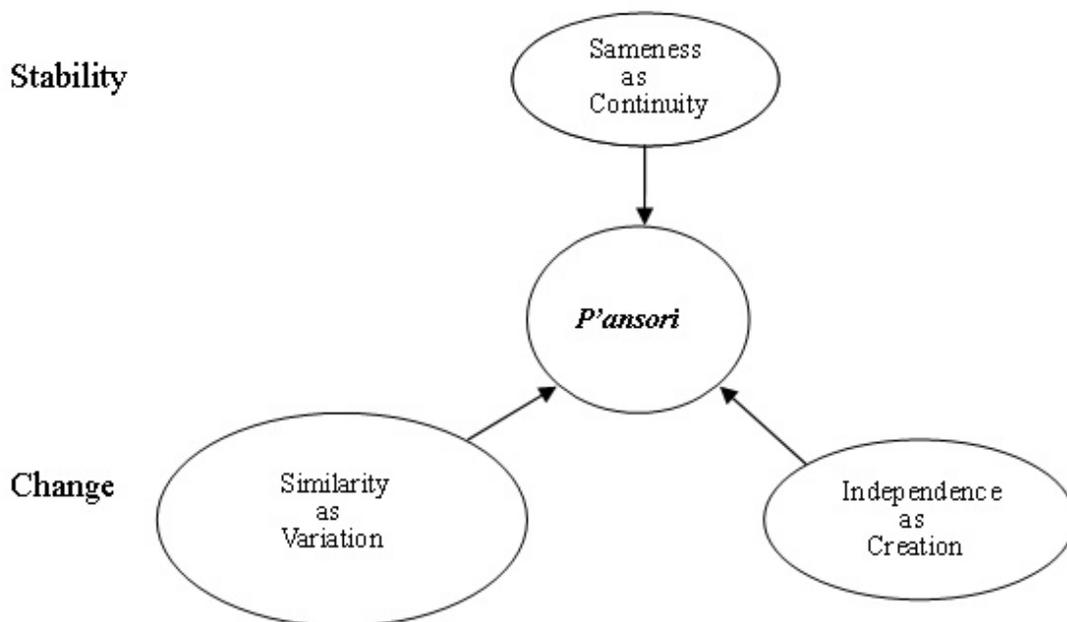
Kang
Mm. 37-40
Si rü rö -ng sirü rö - - -ng si - ri - röng - - - si ri röng
Si - ri röng sil gön - ü ü - - - ,tang gü yö ra, t'opchi ri ya sirü- - - - röng.

Singers don't necessarily continue the same, similar, or independent rhythm and melody, even when they keep the same story line, melodic pattern (*kyemyönjo*), and rhythmic structure (*chinyangjo*) in *Pak T'aryöng*. They change the text, rhythm and melody, which they learned from their master singer, according to their personal preferences. Kim, Pak, and Kang showed variation and change from what Song performed. As all three performers had similar, same, and independent patterns, it cannot be said which performer (among Kim, Pak, and Kang) most closely followed Song's *Hüngboga*. In other words, amongst the four singers, unchanged phrases, which can be

found in the performances of all four singers, do not make up a substantial portion of *Pak T'aryŏng*. For example, Song's pupil Kim sometimes omitted Song's part while Kim's pupil Pak and Kang included it, or Kim, Pak, and Kang had a certain part that was not included in Song's version. Comparatively, Pak and Kang had a lot of similarity in the components of text, rhythm, and melody. However, *Pak T'aryŏng* of Pak and Kang was not the same as *Pak T'aryŏng* of their teacher, Kim, as well as that of his instructor Song. These observations showed that it is hard to observe set rules in the continuity and change in the transmission of *Pak T'aryŏng* from Song Man'gap to the generation of Pak and Kang.

There are several phenomena observed as patterns of change. First, repeated texts among the singers usually have similar melodic and rhythmic patterns. However, the similarity of texts through changes of addition and omission is not necessarily reflected by a consistency of melody and rhythm, even though they sometimes have some similar rhythm and melody. Second, variations expressed through textual, rhythmic, and melodic similarity are not so big that they may break the whole structure of *Pak T'aryŏng*. Third, each singer's fully independent parts, which don't have anything in common with parts of other singers, are individual in all aspects of text, rhythm, and melody. Based on this comparative analysis of *Pak T'aryŏng*, the following diagram summarizes the continuity and change of *p'ansori* in the process of its transmission.

Figure 5.14 Components observed in the transmission of *Pak T'aryŏng*



Through the process of “changes” as variation and creation and “stability” as sameness, Song’s *Pak T'aryŏng* is transmitted to the present day. As the size of circles above suggest, similarity rather than independence and sameness is found in the process of transmission. Variations produced through similar patterns are allowable and distinguished from the independent patterns. This change in variation plays a role in allowing consistency in the transmission of *p'ansori* as it occupies the high position. This observation reveals that *p'ansori* is transmitted to the present day while encompassing flexibility and individuality in its overall structure.

CHAPTER VI: CONCLUSIONS

P'ansori vocalists learn their art from master singers, and they convey what they have learned to the next generation of *p'ansori* performers. This ongoing process of transmission is accomplished not by using a written score, but by oral training in *p'ansori* through a thorough process of listening, imitating and memorizing. In the transmission stage of this oral tradition, transformation is an unavoidable natural effect. Therefore, *p'ansori* of today is not the same as *p'ansori* from previous generations, not to mention its birth era. In trying to understand *p'ansori* in its present form and its relationship with past *p'ansori* forms, many scholars have studied *p'ansori* via transmission according to a specific genealogy relating to either geography or a particular singer. However, many existing works, most of which are written by Korean scholars, are unsatisfactory not only in producing answers to questions of how *p'ansori* can be changed over the generations, but also in understanding the circumstances affecting its transformation.

Much of the current thesis, which is based on the traditional concepts of *p'ansori*, has concentrated on the musical comparison between *p'ansori* singers from different genealogies. These studies have helped us understand the musical or textual differences and similarities between musical genealogies, and the features within each genealogy. My study aims to view the transmission process and change in *p'ansori* in an attempt to overcome the constraints limiting the existing scholarship. With this purpose, I tried to understand the transformation of *p'ansori* via the socio-historical setting of *p'ansori* as well as the comparative musical analysis in this thesis.

In *p'ansori* performance, the vocalist conveys a story to the audience with the drummer's support. The vocalist completes a story based on musical characteristics such as rhythmic pattern and melodic type that help create the particular scene, character, and mood of the story, and if he or she is particularly skillful with vocal techniques, the audience is impressed with an unforgettable experience. The audience responds to *p'ansori* performance by making comments of exclamation and cheering, adding much to the life of the performance. The relationship between performer and audience is one of mutual support, in that the audience gives encouragement to the performer, who constantly modifies his/her *p'ansori* according to the audience's tastes.

This *p'ansori* performance is influenced by the social milieu to which *p'ansori* performers belong. Various factors of change in *p'ansori* have existed in the social and historical circumstances surrounding the development of *p'ansori* from its birth to the present day. In the eighteenth century, *p'ansori* started to create for itself a permanent place in history, as it played a role in mirroring the society of those days and cultivating itself as an art form that was enjoyed by many people. *P'ansori* reached its zenith in the nineteenth century as it adjusted to social and political changes in such things as belief systems, social classes, etc. The range and musical tastes of the audience also changed in correlation with these various changes. Consequently, the *p'ansori* performer constantly transformed him/herself according to the shifting preferences of the audience. During this period, many great singers began to appear, and the development of their musical styles brought distinction to the genealogy of their master singer. This genealogical transmission became a significant way to preserve and develop *p'ansori* down the present day. In the twentieth century, the influx of Western culture as well as the period of

Japanese colonization and industrial development had a great influence on the components and contexts of *p'ansori*. The spread of nationalism in Korea after the end of World War II and the Korean War aided in *p'ansori*'s recovery and development as devotion to preserving the nation's culture increased. In the new century, not only is the influx of various cultures increasing constantly, but *p'ansori* is also becoming known to the western world. Today, *p'ansori* continues its development while accepting both old and new musical flavors in a globalized world setting.

P'ansori, which has been validated by these societal circumstances, has transformed rather than remain in its original form. The concept of “*che/je*” helps one understand this process of *p'ansori*'s transmission as an oral tradition. *Che* is a modern concept that reflects the characteristics found in the transmission process of *p'ansori*. *Che* has also been extended to encompass a range of meanings such as school, style, composition of an individual singer, and melodic mode as a result of increasing additions to this process. Therefore, it may be no exaggeration to say that the present-day concept of *che* inclusively reflects the process of transmission in *p'ansori*. “*Che/je*” denotes a *p'ansori* singer's practice of transmission in developing a piece with a particular singing style while supplementing it with individual innovation through genealogy based on a school. With this reason, the examination of singers and their music according to genealogy is inevitable for the comprehension of genealogical transmission in *p'ansori*.

In Chapter V, a detailed analysis of *Pak T'aryŏng* (Song of the gourd), from *Hŭngboga* of Song Man'gap's style, scrutinizes aspects of change and stability. The three components of text, rhythm, and melody are examined in the versions of *Pak T'aryŏng* performed by four singers, including Song Man'gap. In the transmission from Song

Man'gap to Kim Chŏngmun to Pak Nokchu and Kang Togŭn, there is no exact rule or consistency of change and stability. Each performer developed the song with his/her own way of variation, adding new elements while maintaining the master's singing style. An analogous shape resulting from slight differences such as ornamentation, vibration, or word-ending style, is found more often than identical patterns and independent creative parts. The four performers often made slight variations to a fixed basic text, rhythmic pattern, or melodic mode by modifying according to their wishes, rather than performing a piece in perfect imitation of their master. In other words, in the process of transmission in *p'ansori*, consistency is found rather than exact sameness, as performers try to tailor within the overall structure.

As a living performing art, *p'ansori* has undergone change in its transmission to the present day, a process that will continue in the future. The transformation of *p'ansori* observed over time is one of "gradual change" and "allowable variation" (Nettl 1983: 176-8). The process of transmission that conveys this change is not a simple procedure, but rather a complex body, which is validated within the various contexts of society. Under these contexts, *p'ansori* seeks the harmony of tradition, the creation of individuality, and the allowance of flexibility. In other words, the performer has the responsibility of continuously recreating and reinterpreting *p'ansori* that has been handed down from the previous generation, and this constant process is the foundation that has allowed *p'ansori* to evolve to the form of today's *p'ansori*. *P'ansori* is a Korean traditional art associated with the ongoing interpretation of the transmission process in a cultural context. The successful execution of *p'ansori* is dependent upon the cohesion of

the performer's activity in correlation with all other components of this unique phenomenon.

Through the past one hundred years, Korea has experienced an unprecedented journey as she has struggled and persevered through Japanese colonization and post-war devastation, and political upheaval. As with any colonized country, Korea's modernization, westernization, globalization, etc., also bring with it the loss and/or hybridity of many traditional, cultural practices. This fact only stresses the importance of *p'ansori*, not only as an artistic form but also as a reflection of Korea's long and vast cultural history. *P'ansori* has continued to exist as a performing art through much of the modern history of Korea, which makes its transmission process all the more important. My study is a detailed analysis provided to aid in better understanding this singular method of transmission and to proffer a new lens through which *p'ansori* can be researched and understood. I hope that future studies centered on *p'ansori*'s transmission via multifaceted methods of interpretation will reveal more hidden sides of *p'ansori* and open up more grounds for further discussion and examination. *P'ansori* continues to be an art that is performed today and is held in high regard by those who value its true worth as a national treasure. *P'ansori* reveals the essential character of Korean music as a pure and deeply emotional experience that is felt by both the performer and the audience.

APPENDIX 1: THE KOREAN VERSION OF PAK T'ARYŎNG TEXT

M	Song Man'gap	Kim Chǒngmun	Pak Nokchu	Kang Togŭn
1	시르렁 시르렁	시르렁 시르렁	시르르렁 실건	시르르렁 시르르렁
2	툽질이야	툽질이야	당겨주소	툽질이로구나.
3	에여루	가난이야	에여루	에여루
4	당그여라	가난이야	당겨주소	툽질이로구나. 시르르렁
5	가난이야, 가난이야.	원수 년의 가난이야	이박을 타거들랑은	실건 실건의 툽질이야.
6	원수 년의 가난이야	잘살고 못살기는	아무것도 나오지를 말고	이 박을 타거드면은
7	복이라 허는 것은	묘 쓰기으 매었는거나	밥 한 통만 나오너라	아무것도 나오지를 말고서
8	어찌 하면은 잘타는가	삼신제왕님이	평생의 포한이로구나	밥 한 통만 나오너라.
9	잘살고	짚자리에 떨어질 적으	에여루	평생으 밥이 포한이로구나.
10	못살기는, 묘 쓰기에 매었느냐	명과 수복 점지 허나.	당겨주라, 툽질이야.	에여루
11	에여루	에여루	여보게, 마누라.	당그여라. 시르르렁.
12	당그여라.시르르렁	당그여라 시르렁	툽 소리를 어서 맞소	실건 실건의 툽질이야.
13	실근 실근 툽질이야	시르렁 시르렁	툽 소리를 내가 맞자고 험들	여보게 이 사람들!
14	여보소, 마누라	당그여라	배가 고파 못 맞것소	이 내 말을 들어 보소.
15	어서어서 툽 소리 맞소	여보게 마누라! 예!	배가 정 고프거들랑은	가난도 사주에게 있는 거나.
16	이 박을 어서 타서	툽소리를 어서 맞소	허리띠를 졸라를 매소.	산수가 글러서 가난헌간?
17	박속은 끓여먹고	툽소리를 맞자 험들	에여루	산수가 글러서 가난 허면
18	바가지는 팔어 다가서	배가 고파 못 맞것네.	당겨주소.	형님 마님은 잘사시고,
19	목숨 보명 살어 나세	배가 정 고프거들랑	작은 자식은 저리 가고	우리 마님 못사는 산수
20	당그여라 툽질이로구나.	초매 끈을 졸라매소	큰 자식은 내한트로 오너라.	세상 천지 어디서 보았소.
21	에여루	시르렁 시르렁	우리가 이 박을 타서	에여루
22	당그여라. 시르르렁	실근, 시르렁	박속일랑 끓여먹고	당그여라, 툽질이야. 시르르렁.
23	끓던 일을 생각 허고	시르렁, 실근	바가지랑은 부자집에가	작은 자식은 저리

			팔어다가	가고,
24	먹던 일을 생각을 허니	툽질이야, 당그여라	목숨 구명 살어나세. 당거주소.	큰 자식은 내한트로 오너라.
25	이제도 굶어 죽으까	이 박을 타거들랑	강산의 떠난 배기	우리가 이박을 타거드면은
26	이 박을 타거드면	아무것도 나오지를 말고서	수천 석을 지가 신고 간들	박속일랑 꿍여먹고,
27	자식들도 많이 먹고	밥 한 통만 나오너라	저희만 좋았지	바가치는 부자집에다 팔어다가
28	우리가 살어 나세	평생의 포한이로구나.	내 박 한 통 당할 수가 있느냐	목숨 보명을
29	에여루	에여루	시르르렁.실건.	허여를 보세, 시르르렁.
30	당그여라. 시르르렁	당거주소	시르렁,시리렁	실건 실건 툽질이야.
31	자식들아, 이리 오너라	시르르르르, 시르르르르	시리렁, 실건	여보게, 마누라. 예.
32	너희 큰아버지 같이	툽질이야. 당기여라	당그여라, 툽질이야.	툽 소리를 자네가 맞소
33	독하고 모진양반이			툽 소리 내가 맞자 헌들
34	고금 천지 또 있느냐?			배가 고파서 못 맞것소
35	에여-			배가 정 고프거드면,
36	-루. 당그여라			초매끈을 줄라매고,
37				시르렁 시르렁
38				시리렁 시리렁
39				시리렁 실건
40				당 툽질이야. 시르르렁.

APPENDIX 2: TRANSCRIPTIONS OF *PAK T'ARYŎNG*

Additional symbols used in the transcriptions

	Wide Vibrato
	Narrow Vibrato
	Vocal Accent
	Ascending Portamento
	Descending Portamento
	Rising Tone
	Falling Tone
	Indefinite Pitch (close to spoken text)

1

 Sirüröng - si rü röng t'op chi ri ya

3

 E yö - - - ru- tang gü yö ra.

5

 Kanan i ya ka nan i ya. Wön su nyön-üi ka nan i ya.

7

 Pogira - hönün gösün - ö tchi hamyönüncalt'a nün ga

9

 Chalsal go mot sal gi nü - - ün myo ssü gi e- mae yön nü nya.

11

 E - yö - - - ru- tang gü yö ra. Sirü- - - - - rüng

13

 Sil- gүн sil gүн t'opchi ri ya Yöboso - ma- nu ra - -

15

 Ösö ö - sö t'opsoni masso - iba gü- ül ö. sö t'a sö

17

 pak so gүн kküryö mökko- - , pagaji nün p'arö - ö- - - daga sö

19 mok sun pomyŏng sarŏ na se - . Tanggŭyŏ ra t'op chi ri ro - gu na.

21 E yŏ - - - ru - tang gŭ yŏ ra. Sirŭ-----rŭng

23 Kum- dŏn i rŭl - saenggak hŏ go , mŏktŏn i rŭl saeng ga gŭ- ūl hŏ - ni

25 I je do Kulmŏ chukŭ kka - . I pa gŭl t'a gŏ dŭ myŏn

27 Chasikdŭl do man - hi mŏkko - , u ri ga - sarŏ - - ŏ na se - .

29 E yŏ - - - - ru - tang gŭ yŏ ra. Sirŭ-----rŭng

31 Chasik tŭ ra i - ri o nŏ ra. No - hŭi k'una- - bŏ ji ga ch'i,

33 tok ha go mo- jin - yangban i ko gŭmchŏnji ttoin nŭ nya- .

35 E yŏ - - - - yŏ ru tang - gŭ yŏ ra .

1

Si rü röng si rü röng t'op chi ri ya.

3

Kanan - - - i ya- ka nan i ya.

5

Wönsu nyönü ka nan i ya. Chalsal go mot sal ginün - ün -

7

myössü gü mae ön nüngöna - . Sam sin che wang nim i

9

Chip jari e ttö rö - jil chö gü , myönggwa subok chöm ji hö na.

11

Ei ö - yö - - - ru- - tang gü - yö ra. Sirü röng -

13

Si rü rong - si ru röng - - tang gü - yö ra.

15

Yö bo ge ma nu ra! Ye! T'opso ni rül ö sö masso

17

t'op sori rül matcha hön - düll pae ga kop'a - mot mat körne - .

19

1
Sirü--- röng Sil gön tang gö ju so.

3
E - i yö - - ru- tang gö--ö - ju so.

5
I pa güll t'agödül langün a - mu köt to na o ji rül mal go,

7
paphant'ong man naonöra- - - Pyöngsaeng üi p'o han--- iro gu na.

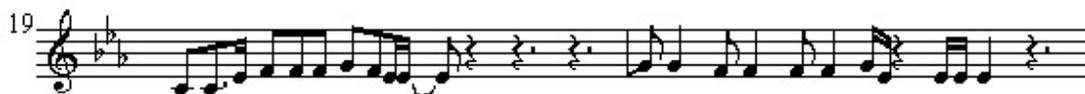
9
E - i yö - - - ru tang gö ju ra t'opchi ri ya.

11
Yöbo ge manu- - ra - - T'op so ri rül ö sö ma sso

13
T'op sorirül- nae ga- matcha-go höndül- paega kop'a--- mot-mat kö'sso.

15
Pae ga chöng ko p'ü- - gö düll lang ün hō ni tti rül chol-la- rül-- mae so.

17
E - yö - - ru- - tang gö--- ju- so.



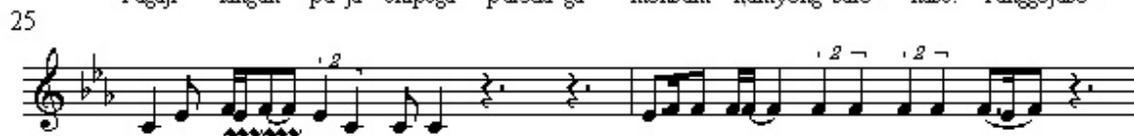
Chagün - chasi gün chörikago- , kün cha si gün nae han türo o nõ ra .



Uri ga - i pa - gül t'a sö - pak so gil- lang kküryö -- nõ kko,



Pagaji- langün pu ja chi pe ga- p'aröda ga moksum- kumyöng saiö nase. Tanggöjuso-



Kang- san- üi ttö nan pae ga su-ch'ön sögül chi ga sil k'o kan-dül



Chöhhüma - - an - cho at chi, naepak - hant'ongül tanghal suga innü nya.



Sirü - - - - röng sil - gön - - - - si - - - - ö - ö - - - - röng si ri röng.



Si - ri röng sil gö - ön- - - - tang gü yö- ra t'opchi ri ya.

1

 Sirŭ-----rŭng sirŭ-----rŭng. T'opchiri ro - gu na - - - -

3

 E - i - yŏ - - - - ru--- T'opchi ri ro gu na. Sirŭ-----rŭng

5

 sil gŏn silgŏnŭi t'opchi ri ya. I pa gŭl t'a gŏ dŭmyŏnŭn

7

 A mu kŏt to na o ji rŭ---l malgo sŏ, paphant'ong man naonŏra - - - -

9

 P'yŏngsaengŭ pabi p'ohan i ro--- gu na. E - i yŏ - - - - ru---

11

 Tang gŭ-----yŏ ra. Sirŭ-----rŭng sil gŏn silgŏnŭi'ochi ri ya.

13

 Yŏbo ge i sa ram dŭl inaema rŭl tŭrŏ bo so .

15

 Ka nan do sa - ju e ge in nŭn kŏ na. Sansuga kŭllŏsŏ kanan hŏn'gan?

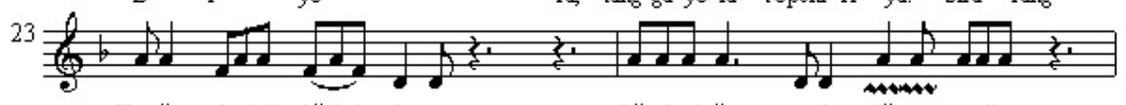
17

 Sansuga kŭl lŏsŏ kananhŏ - - - ŏ myŏn, hyŏngnim manimŭn chal sa-- si-go,

19

 uri ma nim motsanŭn sansu - - - - - se sang - ch'ŏn - ji ŏdisŏ poasso

21  E i yō - - ru, tang gū yō ra t'opchi ri ya. Sirū----rŭng

23  Chagūn chasigūn chō ō ri ka go, kūnchasi gūn naehan t'ū ro o nō ra.

25  U ri ga i pagūl t'agō- - - - dūmyōntūn paksogil lang kkūryō - - mōkko

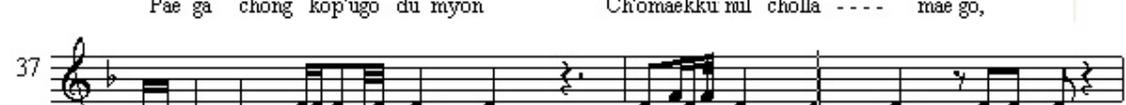
27  Pagach'i nūn pu ja chi'be da p'arōda ga mok sum - - pō myōngūl

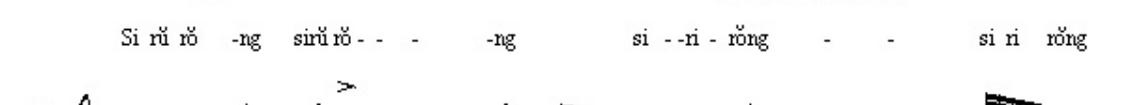
29  hō yō rūl po ja Sirū----rŭng sil gōn sil gōn t'opchi ri ya.

31  Yō bo ge ma nu ra! Ye! T'opso ri rūl chanega ma sso

33  T'opsoni rūl nae ga - - - - - matcha--- hōn dūl paega kop'asō mot mat gō sso.

35  Pae ga chōng kop'ūgō du myōn Ch'omaekū rūl cholla - - - - - nae go,

37  Si rū rō -ng sirū rō - - - - -ng si - -ri - rōng - - - si ri rōng

39  Si - ri rōng sil gōn - . ū ū - - -, tang gū yō ra, t'opchi ri ya sirū----rōng.

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