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Los Angeles

**Transmission and Performance:
Memory, Heritage, and Authenticity in Korean Mask Dance Dramas**

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in Culture and Performance

by

CedarBough Tam Saeji

2012

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2012

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Transmission and Performance: Memory, Heritage, and Authenticity in Korean Mask Dance Dramas

by
CedarBough Tam Saeji
Doctor of Philosophy in Culture and Performance
University of California, Los Angeles, 2012
Professor Christopher A. Waterman, Chair

In this dissertation I explore the effects of the Republic of Korea's Cultural Property Protection Law (1962). Faced with decreased interest in traditional arts, many governments have instituted well-intentioned but unavoidably bureaucratic protection efforts; these policies can potentially turn once-vibrant and ever-evolving art forms into stale, taxidermized re-enactments. Although the Cultural Property Protection Law has been widely praised and even imitated, ethnographic research into arts transmission reveals complications. I conducted the research that informs this eleven-chapter dissertation between 2004 and 2011 including over three years of intense participant-observation. Methods include learning and performing half a dozen Korean arts, structured and open interviews and an examination of relevant documents. The dissertation utilizes the lenses of heritage, authenticity and memory to examine transmission of the Korean performing arts. In the dissertation I develop an understanding of transmission in the pedagogical and performance context for three Korean mask dance dramas: Songpa Sandae Noli, Bongsan Talchum and Goseong Ogwangdae. This understanding builds a comprehensive portrait of how heritage legislation impacts the transmission of performing arts knowledge. Through this dissertation I contribute to discussions of intangible heritage on three fronts: first, the impact of

global and transnational cultural flows in Korea and on traditional culture; second, the ossification of traditional arts after preservation programs are established; and third, the way memory, heritage and authenticity are constructed, maintained and negotiated through the arts.

The dissertation of CedarBough Tam Saeji is approved.

Timothy Tangherlini

Helen Rees

Namhee Lee

Mary Nooter Roberts

David Gere

Christopher A. Waterman, Committee Chair

University of California, Los Angeles
2012

This dissertation is dedicated to my husband
Saeji Karsangjamtso.

Karjam, your love sustains me.
Thank you for putting up with my academic preoccupation.

Table of Contents

Front Matter:

Table of Contents	v
List of Images and Tables	xi
List of Acronyms	xiv
The Challenges of Romanization and Korean	xv
Introductory Information	xvi
<i>Figure 0.1: Yeonhi (Traditional Theatre) including Mask Dance Drama</i>	<i>xvi</i>
<i>Image 0.2: Locations of Korean Mask Dance Dramas</i>	<i>xviii</i>
<i>Image 0.3: Locations from the Dissertation</i>	<i>xviii</i>
Acknowledgements	xix
VITA	xxv

Part One: Setting the Stage

Chapter One Backstage Preparations

1. Sweaty Sangmo Practice	2
2. Introduction: The Impact of Cultural Policy on Transmission and Taxidermization	4
Four Korean Performing Arts	6
3. An American in Korea	10
4. Reflexively Positioning Myself in the Research	14
Status	16
Activism and Fieldwork	17
5. Research Methodology	21
<i>a. Participant Observation</i>	21
Bongsan Talchum	21
Songpa Sandae Noli.....	22
Goseong Ogwangdae	23
Imshil Pilbong Nongak.....	23
<i>a. Interviews</i>	25
<i>b. Audience Surveys</i>	26
<i>c. Examination of the Documentary Record</i>	26
6. Semantic Wrestling	26
<i>a. Research Approach</i>	28
<i>b. Sketching the Scenes</i>	31

Chapter Two

Memory Keepers and the Challenges of Change

1. The Preservation of Traditional Performing Arts as a Response to Globalization	36
<i>a. Transnational Cultural Flows in Korean History</i>	38
The Korean Struggle with Nationalism and Creating National Identity	40
Changing Tastes	47
<i>b. Modern Soundscapes, Modern Korea</i>	49
Globalization vs. Folk Performing Arts	50

2. Transmission	55
<i>a. Memory in the Context of Transmission</i>	<i>57</i>
Transmission, Embodiment and Memory	60
Protecting Culture, Protecting the Nation, Inventing Tradition?	61
<i>b. Heritage in the Context of Transmission</i>	<i>64</i>
The Consensual Heritage Discourse	67
<i>c. Authenticity in the Context of Transmission</i>	<i>68</i>
Types of Authenticity	70
Shaping Authenticity	73
Appendix.....	75
<i>Appendix 2.1: Cultural Policies of Korean Leaders</i>	<i>75</i>

Chapter Three
The Double-Edged Sword:
How Protection Systems Promote Taxidermization

1. Intangible Cultural Heritage	77
<i>a. Protecting Culture by Making Lists</i>	<i>83</i>
Appropriation of Culture	85
<i>b. Protecting Intangible Culture</i>	<i>88</i>
<i>c. The Japanese Law (1950)</i>	<i>90</i>
<i>d. The Korean Law (1962)</i>	<i>92</i>
The Korean Government as Culture Broker	93
<i>e. How the Cultural Property Protection Law (CPPL) Works</i>	<i>97</i>
The Cultural Properties Committee or Munhwajae Wiwonhoi	104
Archives and Taxidermization	109
2. Changes to Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Post-CPPL Environment.....	111
<i>a. Changes Due to the Changed Performance Environment</i>	<i>116</i>
<i>b. Changes Due to the CPPL</i>	<i>117</i>
Connection between the Art and the Audience	120
Location of Performance	122
Performance Meaning	126
Change and the Wonhyeong	133
3. Changing Performance, Changing Performers	139
<i>a. The Second Generation</i>	<i>141</i>
<i>b. Performer Background</i>	<i>147</i>
<i>c. Performer Activities</i>	<i>150</i>
4. Conclusion	153
Appendix.....	160
<i>Appendix 3.1: A Brief Outline of Intangible Cultural Heritage Related Legal Efforts</i>	<i>160</i>

Part Two: Behind the Mask

1. Introduction.....	162
2. Modes of Transmission.....	162
<i>a. The Teaching Philosophy Gujeon Shimsu</i>	<i>163</i>
<i>b. Transmission through Teaching</i>	<i>167</i>
Classroom learning	169
Training with the Professional Performers	170

Intensive Programs	170
School or University Study	171
Spiritual Calling	172
Events that Encourage Participation	173
Apprenticeship	174
One-on-One	175
Casual Learning	176
Self-Taught	176
3. Factors that Influence the Modes of Transmission	177
<i>a. Memorization Methods</i>	<i>181</i>
Memorization of Sets of Motions	181
Memorization Using Oral Notation	181
<i>b. Methods of Teaching</i>	<i>182</i>
<i>c. Individuals and Transmission</i>	<i>184</i>
4. Moving Forward	184

Chapter Four No Longer "Just" for Fun:

Professionalization and the Traditional Arts

1. Bongsan Talchum Full-Length Performance 2006.....	186
2. Korean Mask Dance Dramas.....	187
3. Bongsan Talchum as the Representative Mask Dance Drama of Korea.....	189
<i>a. Character of the Dances.....</i>	<i>191</i>
4. Professionalization of Bongsan Talchum.....	203
<i>a. History of Professionalization</i>	<i>203</i>
<i>b. Professionalization: Teaching and Training</i>	<i>207</i>
Activities of the Performers	207
Performer Identity	211
Teaching Community Members	217
<i>c. Professionalization of Performance</i>	<i>218</i>
<i>d. Continual Efforts for Professionalization</i>	<i>220</i>
5. Final Words on Professionalization	221
6. Connection to the Cultural Property Protection Law.....	224

Chapter Five

The Development of Multi-Faceted Performing Artists:

Professional Training in *Yeonhi* at the Korean National University of the Arts

1. Meeting Yun Wonjung.....	231
2. Korean Arts Education	233
3. Korean National University of the Arts (K-Arts).....	235
<i>a. Making the Cosmopolitan from the Local.....</i>	<i>237</i>
Entering the <i>Yeonhi</i> Program at K-Arts	243
The <i>Yeonhi</i> Learning Experience	246
Mask Dance Drama Education at K-Arts	251
<i>b. K-Arts Students Learn the Entire Goseong Ogwangdae Mask Dance Drama</i>	<i>256</i>
Intermission: Yi Haemi	260
Training Process	265

Getting to Know Each Other	271
Training after Returning to Seoul	273
Performance.....	276
c. <i>The Significance of K-Arts</i>	281
4. Conclusion	283
Appendices.....	286
Appendix 5.1: <i>Seoul National University Gugak Department's Kim Yuna's</i>	286
Appendix 5.2: <i>K-Arts Graduates Success, as of 4/10/2012</i>	286

Chapter Six
Learning Is Never Done:
Age and Performance in the Korean Context

1. Introduction.....	291
Intermission: Interview with Kim Eunju	292
2. Learning Is Never Done	294
3. Staging the Elderly	298
The Staging of Chum	302
Embodying Culture.....	312
The Perspective of the Younger Performers	319
4. "Learning Is Never Done" and Elderly Performers: Transmission Goes On	321
Songpa Sandae Noli.....	321
a. <i>Transmission Environment</i>	323
b. <i>Contested Meanings</i>	330
Intermission: Interview with Hahm Wanshik	339
c. <i>Practicing Songpa Sandae Noli</i>	341
5. Age and Embodying the Gravitas of the "National Human Treasure"	344
6. Conclusion	347

Chapter Seven
A Case Study of Mask Dance Drama Students:
Capitalizing on Korean Heritage?

1. Kim Yongcheol and <i>Baramiya</i>	350
2. Learning Bongsan Talchum.....	352
a. <i>How the Class is Taught</i>	355
b. <i>How Bongsan Talchum Is Taught Differently Due to the CPPL</i>	362
3. <i>Madanggeuk</i>.....	362
4. Students in the Class.....	366
5. Learning Bongsan Talchum for Self-Development	369
a. <i>Cultural Capital</i>	369
b. <i>Entrepreneurship of the Self</i>	374
Preparing to Enter University—"Yeonghee"	375
Traditional Arts Teacher—Bak Yeonshik	377
Performer with a Company—Yi Byeong'u.....	379
Independent Performer—Bak Jeonghyeon	380
c. <i>Cosmopolitan Strivings</i>	383
Koreanness in the World.....	384
6. Summary	386

Appendix.....	388
<i>Appendix 7.1: Attendance</i>	<i>388</i>

Chapter Eight

Drumming, Dancing and Drinking Makgeolli: Liminal Time Travel Through Intensive Camps Teaching Traditional Performing Arts

1. Introduction.....	391
2. Background	392
3. Training for Goseong Ogwangdae and Imshil Pilbong Nongak	393
<i>a. Goseong Ogwangdae.....</i>	<i>393</i>
<i>b. Imshil Pilbong Nongak</i>	<i>404</i>
4. Motivation	410
<i>a. Benefit to the Preservation Association: Audience and Advocates.....</i>	<i>410</i>
Heritage Tourism.....	416
<i>b. Building Communitas and Experiencing Liminality.....</i>	<i>417</i>
Duipuli	423
"Way-of-Being in the Madang"	424
5. Conclusion	425

Part Three: In Front of the Mask

Chapter Nine

The Audience for Traditional Korean Performing Arts

I. Introduction.....	432
2. Understanding and the Traditional Arts.....	434
<i>a. Why educating an audience is important</i>	<i>434</i>
<i>b. "Good" Audiences, Korean Style</i>	<i>436</i>
Audience Response	436
The Blurred Line between Performer and Audience Member.....	439
<i>c. Towards a Typology of Audience Members Watching Korean Performing Arts</i>	<i>442</i>
Individual Audience Members	454
<i>d. Know Your Audience</i>	<i>455</i>
3. Getting the Audience to the Venue.....	458
<i>a. Attracting an Audience</i>	<i>459</i>
Circulating Systems of Exchange.....	459
Groups and Performers.....	460
<i>b. Funding and Staging the Arts.....</i>	<i>462</i>
Subscription or Patron Programs	463
Access to Performances	465
4. Conclusion	466

Chapter Ten

Educating the Audience: Program Notes and Emcee Quotes

1. Introduction.....	469
Intermission: Interview with Jin Okseop	470

2. Contextualizing the Performance: Communicating with the Audience	471
Barriers to Audience Comprehension	471
<i>a. Framing the Performance through Promotional Materials and Programs</i>	475
<i>b. Educating the Audience through Text</i>	477
Word and Language Choice in Promotional Materials	480
Intermission: Interview with Jin Okseop	484
<i>c. Messages in the Framing of Performance</i>	498
Auto-Exoticization to Attract an Audience.....	499
Use of Professional, High Quality, Expensive Advertising Materials.....	501
Appealing Across Audience Boundaries.....	503
Intermission: Interview with Hwang Jong'uk	506
3. Educating the Audience: The Role of the Emcee	508
Information the Audience Needs.....	514
4. New Ways to Reach New Audiences	516
<i>a. Presenting the Arts in New Ways</i>	517
Cultural Education Programs	518
Cheonha Jeil Tal's Chushyeoyo	520
<i>b. Visual Presentation and Korean Tradition</i>	526
<i>c. How to market to this audience</i>	533
5. Conclusion	539
Appendices	541
<i>Appendix 10.1: All Performances at the National Gugak Center in 2010</i>	541
<i>Appendix 10.2: Survey Conducted at Songpa Sandae Noli's 2011 Full-length Show</i>	542

Part Four: Packing Up and Going Home

Chapter Eleven Summary and Conclusions

1. A Global Culture of Self-Promotion	546
2. Recommendations	548
3. Applying Lessons from Korea to Intangible Cultural Heritage Protection Worldwide	553
4. Future Research	558

Back Matter

Appendices	561
<i>Appendix 1: International United Nations Protection Regimes</i>	561
<i>Appendix 2: Organization of the Cultural Heritage Administration</i>	562
<i>Appendix 3: Calendar of Events in the Korean Year</i>	563
Glossary of Terms	564
Interview List	568
Bibliography	574

List of Images and Tables

Chapter One

Image 1.1: Sangmo...	3
Image 1.2: The Author as Subject...	12
Image 1.3: Media Uses...	19-20
Image 1.4: At the Imshil Pilbong Nongak Transmission Center...	24
Image 1.5: At an Event at Gyeongbok Palace...	25
Image 1.6: <i>Japsaek</i> Performers ...	28
Image 1.7: Transmission of another Kind ...	34

Chapter Three

Table 3.1: Types of Arts Certified within the CPPL...	98
Table 3.2: Artists and Artisans within the CPPL System ...	100
Image 3.3: Ranks for Artists in Korea...	102
Image 3.4: Technology ...	116
Image 3.5: Mask-Making at Bongsan Talchum ...	119-120
Image 3.6: Daeboreum in Rural Areas ...	129
Image 3.7: The Disconnect Between Society and the Arts...	136
Image 3.8: Status and Arts Involvement in Pre-Modern Korea ...	140
Table 3.9 (a): Generational Differences and Transmission ...	142
Table 3.9 (b): Performer Background...	148
Table 3.9 (c): Activities ...	150

Introduction to Part Two

Image Part 2.1: Notation ...	166
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Chapter Four

Image 4.1: Bongsan Talchum Annual Full-Length Performance in 2006 ...	187
Table 4.2: Name Every Mask Dance Drama You Know ...	190
Table 4.3: Mask Dance Drama Information on the Internet ...	191
Image 4.4: Bongsan Talchum...	195-202
Table 4.5: Bongsan Talchum Performers' Occupation ...	209-210
Table 4.6: Goseong Ogwangdae	212
Table 4.7: Songpa Sandae Noli ...	213
Table 4.8: Yangju Byeolsandae	214
Table 4.9: Professionalization in Four Mask Dance Dramas...	215
Table 4.10: Arts Professionals by Rank ...	216
Table 4.11: Rate of Professionalization for Dancers Compared with Musicians...	217
Image 4.12: Songpa Sandae Noli Performing in Seoul Noli Madang...	219
Image 4.13: Professional Treadmill...	226
Image 4.14: Bongsan Talchum's Shaman...	229

Chapter Five

Table 5.1: Folk Performing Arts from the Traditional Model to Cosmopolitan Modernity ...	242
Image 5.2: Yun Wonjung ...	245
Image 5.3: Kim Giyeong ...	247
Table 5.4: Second Year, First Semester, <i>Yeonhi</i> Student Schedule ...	249
Image 5.5: Choi Changju and Kim Mi-ae at K-Arts...	247
Image 5.6: Instructors and K-Arts Students in Goseong...	258
Image 5.7: Students Practicing...	259
Image 5.8: Yi Haemi...	263
Image 5.9: Instruction...	267-268
Image 5.10: Learning the Part of Malddugi ...	270-271
Image 5.11: Life at the Transmission Center...	273
Image 5.12: Rehearsal at K-Arts...	275
Image 5.13: Goseong Ogwangdae Team in Performance...	277-279

Chapter Six

Image 6.1: Kim Eunju...	292-293
Image 6.2: Poster for <i>Chum</i> ...	300-301
Image 6.3: Elderly Performers ...	305-308
Image 6.4: Front cover of the Yi Maebang "Final Performance" Program...	311
Image 6.5: Songpa Sandae Noli in Performance ...	326-330
Image 6.6: Songpa Sandae Noli <i>Jeonsu Gyoyuk Jogyo</i> ...	332
Image 6.7: Nojang Playing Cards...	334
Image 6.8: Songpa Sandae Noli Performers...	336-338
Image 6.9: Hahm Wanshik...	340-341
Table 6.10: Training New Members at Songpa Sandae Noli and Bongsan Talchum...	343
Image 6.11: In the Songpa Sandae Noli Practice Room...	344
Image 6.12: Kim Hakseok—National Human Treasure for Songpa Sandae Noli...	346

Chapter Seven

Image 7.1: Kim Yongcheol's "Baramiya"...	351
Image 7.2: A Bongsan Talchum Program with Class Advertisement...	353
Image 7.3: Scenes from Bongsan Talchum Class...	356-357
Image 7.4: Bongsan Talchum in Performance...	360
Image 7.5: A <i>Madanggeuk</i> at the 2010 Andong International Mask Dance Festival...	366
Table 7.6: Long Term Students of Bongsan Talchum during Field Research...	368
Image 7.7: Bongsan Talchum Class...	374
Image 7.8: Bak Yeonshik...	379
Table 7.9: Changing Meaning of Mask Dance Drama Participation...	386

Chapter Eight

Image 8.1: At the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center...	397-400
Image 8.2: Act 5, <i>Jemilju Gwajang</i> ...	403
Image 8.3 At the Imshil Pilbong Nongak Transmission Center...	408-410

Chapter Nine

Table 9.1: Five Years of the Annual Number of Domestic Performances by Type...	433
Table 9.2: Frequency of Free Performances in 2004...	434
Image 9.3: <i>Gosa</i> ...	440
Image 9.4: <i>Eoggaechum</i> (Shoulder Dance) ...	441
Image 9.5: Participant Audience...	444
Image 9.6: The Audience Melds with the Performers ...	446-447
Image 9.7: <i>Ddara Baeugi</i> ...	450-451
Image 9.8: Audiences...	452-454
Image 9.9: Andreasen's Performing Arts Adoption Process...	456
Image 9.10: Sejong Center for the Performing Arts "Myeongpum Gugak Shirijeu" Flier...	465

Chapter Ten

Table 10.1: Instruments Used in <i>Pungmul</i> ...	475
Image 10.2: KOUS <i>Palil</i> 八佾 Series Flier...	481-482
Table 10.3: Attendance for <i>Palil</i> 2011...	483
Image 10.4: Oh Jeonghae's <i>Sarangbang Pungryu</i> at Pungryu Theatre...	48-487
Table 10.5: Attendance at Oh Jeonghae's <i>Sarangbang Pungryu</i> at Pungryu Theatre...	489
Image 10.6: <i>Yeonhi Nanjangteuda</i> at the National Gugak Center...	491-492
Image 10.7: Bongsan Talchum 2011 Annual Full-length Performance Program...	494
Image 10.8: Informational Flier for Gangneung Danoje's Gwanno Gamyeon'guk...	500
Image 10.9: Postcard for the Series <i>Chumchuneun Baramggot, Sangsoi</i> ...	502
Image 10.10: Flier for a performance called <i>Minyo, Sae Oseul Ipda</i> ...	505
Image 10.11: Hwang Jong'uk ...	506
Image 10.12: Advertising <i>Dapsa</i> Trips...	520
Image 10.13: <i>Chushyeoyo</i> ...	524
Image 10.14: The Gwangdae and Pantaseutik...	530-532
Image 10.15 Pungryu Theatre on Facebook...	534
Table 10.16: Attendance at KOUS and Pungryu Theatre...	537

List of Acronyms

CHA	Cultural Heritage Administration
CPPL	Cultural Property Protection Law
DPRK	Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea)
ICH	Intangible Cultural Heritage
IPR	Intellectual Property Rights
K-Arts	Korea National University of the Arts
KOUS	This actually isn't an acronym, it's the name of a theatre
ROK	Republic of Korea (South Korea)

The Challenges of Romanization and Korean

Romanization Systems

There are two major systems for Romanization of Korean currently in use. One, McCune-Reischauer, has a longer history and is dominant in Western academia. M-R, as it is known, uses accent and diacritic marks. The Korean government adopted a new system without any special punctuation, New Government Romanization (often referred to as NGR) in 2000. I support the right of the Korean government to determine how Korean is going to be Romanized and I follow NGR throughout this dissertation with the exception of names that are well known with alternative spellings (such as Rhee Syngman which would be spelled Yi Seungman in NGR or Yi Sŭngman in M-R) or authors who have already published in English (such as Jeon Kyungwook which would be spelled Jeon Gyeong-uk in NGR or Chŏn Kyŏng-uk in M-R). When an author has been published in English with multiple Romanized spellings I have used NGR (e.g., Yi Duhyeon, who appears in five different spellings in articles and books on my shelves). Unconventionally I prefer to use ' instead of – to separate syllables in names when there might be confusion. Hence I write Byeolshin'gut to clarify that there is no /ing/ sound in the word.

Korean Names

Following Korean convention all Korean names are written family name (Kim, Yi, etc.) first with the (generally two syllable) given name following except for scholars who are based outside Korea and who are best known in academia with their name written in Western order (e.g., Hyung Il Pai and Chan E. Park). Also following Korean convention when I discuss interviews, conversations and observations I refer to people (after the first mention in a section) by their family name if they are older and by their given name if they are younger than I am. Hence Yi Haemi, in her 20s, is referred to as Haemi and Hahm Wanshik, in his 60s, is referred to as Hahm.

Introductory Information

Figure 0.1: *Yeonhi* (Traditional Theatre) including Mask Dance Drama

Cultural Property Number	Name	Year	Region	Other
2	Yangju Byeolsandae (양주별산대)	1964	Central Korea (Yangju in Gyeonggi Province)	Mask dance drama
3	Deotbuigi (덧뛰기) of Namsadang (남사당)	1964		One of the acts in this variety show is a masked dance drama
6	Tongyeong Ogwangdae (통영오광대)	1964	The south coast (Tongyeong in Gyeongnam Province)	Mask dance drama
7	Goseong Ogwangdae (고성오광대)	1964	The south coast (Goseong in Gyeongnam Province)	Mask dance drama
13	Gangneung Gwanjo Gamyeon'geuk (강릉 관노 가면극) of Gangneung Danoje (강릉단오제)	1967	The central east coast (Gangneung in Gangwon Province)	The mask dance drama is one part of this regional festival
15	Bukcheong Saja Noleum (북청사자놀음)	1967	The north east coast (in Hamgyeong Province, DPRK)	Mask dance drama
17	Bongsan Talchum (봉산탈춤)	1967	The central northwest (in Hwanghae Province, DPRK)	Mask dance drama
18	Dongnae Yayu (동래야류)	1967	The south coast (within Busan)	Mask dance drama
34	Gangnyeong Talchum (강령탈춤)	1970	The central northwest (in Hwanghae Province, DPRK)	Mask dance drama
43	Suyeong Yayu (수영야류)	1971	The south coast (within Busan)	Mask dance drama
49	Songpa Sandae Noli (송파산대놀이)	1973	Central Korea (within Seoul)	Mask dance drama
58	Jultagi (줄타기)	1976		Tightrope in Korea includes a lively comedy routine
61	Eunyu Talchum (은율탈춤)	1978	The central northwest (Eunyu in Hwanghae Province, DPRK)	Mask dance drama
69	Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli (하회별신굿 탈놀이)	1980	The central south (near Andong in North Gyeongsang Province)	Mask dance drama
73	Gasan Ogwangdae (가산오광대)	1980	The south coast (Gasan in Gyeongnam Province)	Mask dance drama
79	Baltal (발탈)	1983		Foot puppets and comedy by unmasked performers (often interacting with the foot puppets)
81	Jindo Dashiraegi (진도다시래기)	1985	The southwest coast (Jindo Island in Jeonnam Province)	A play that was part of a traditional wake – this does not include masks.

Image 0.2: Locations of Korean Mask Dance Dramas

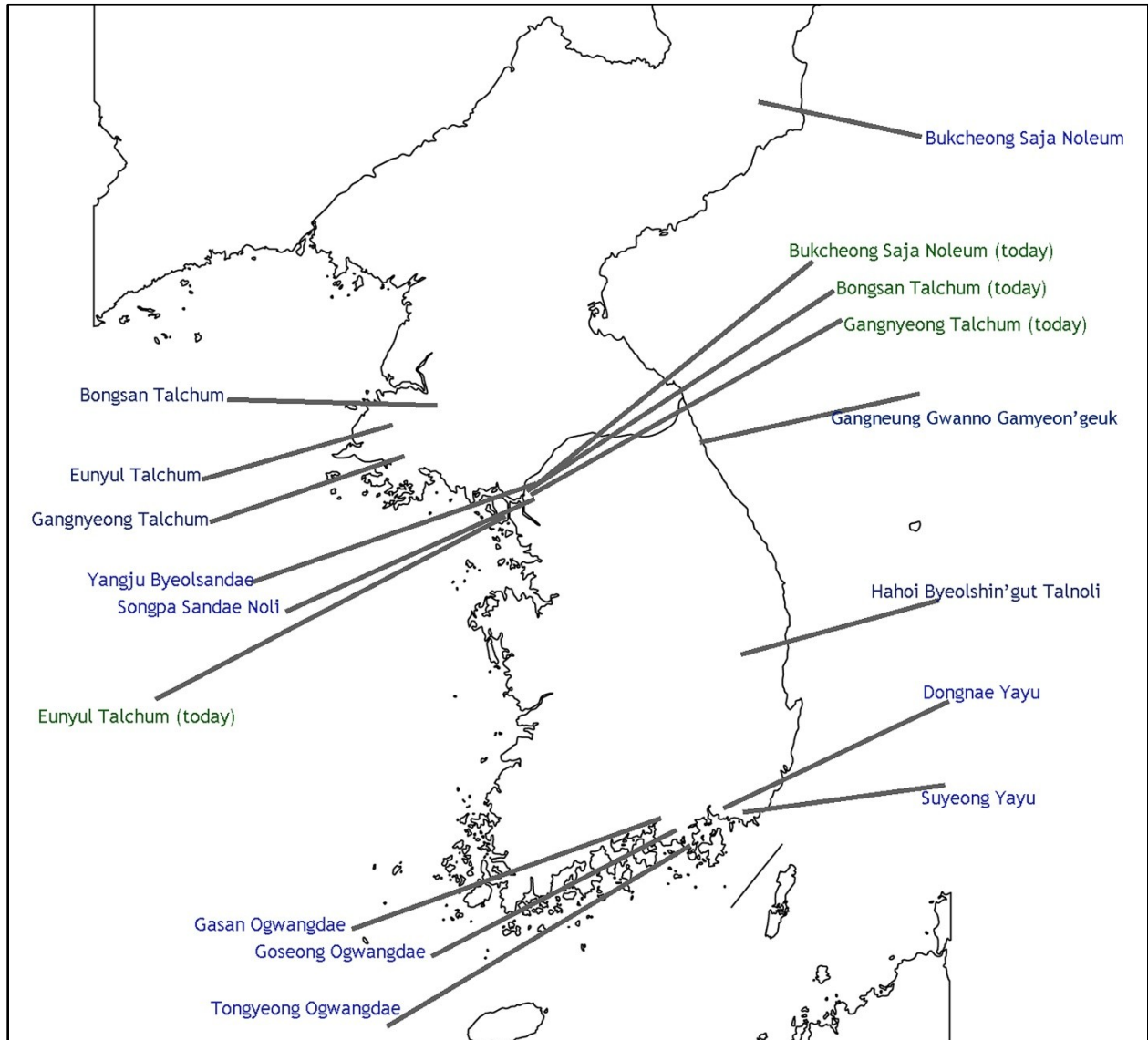
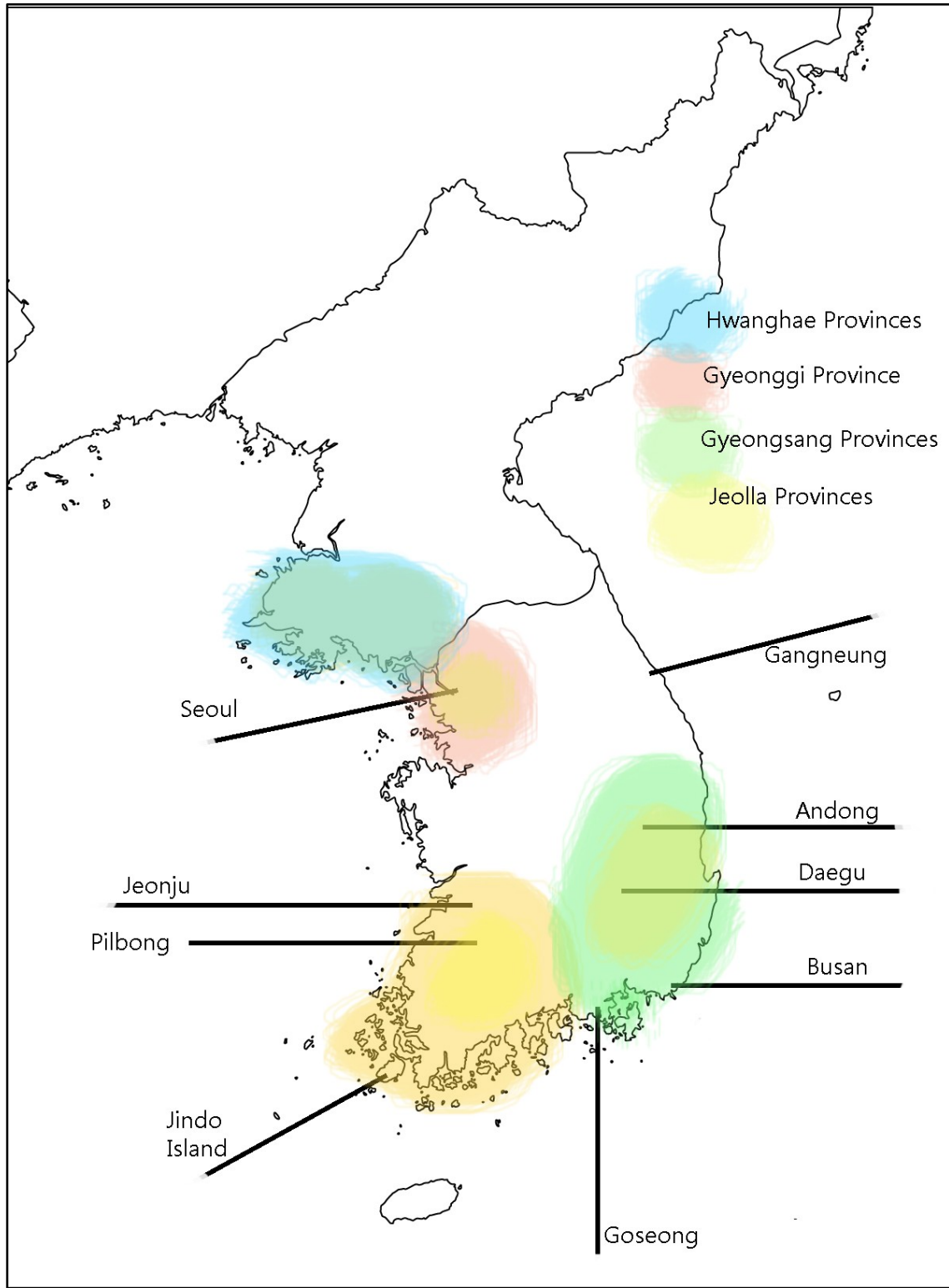


Image 0.3: Locations from the Dissertation



Acknowledgements

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Korea

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Los Angeles

At UCLA it is impossible for me to remember everyone who deserves thanks. I am incredibly grateful for the support I received from my dissertation committee. My chair, Professor **Christopher Waterman** was always convinced I would do well on every project I undertook, and his unwavering support gave me courage. He was excellent at helping me to identify the interesting nuggets in the flood of (descriptive) words that seemed to pour out of me as though I were hemorrhaging. Professor **Timothy Tangherlini** was always able to give me the Koreanist perspective and guided my course choices and preparation for the dissertation. Tim is no-nonsense; he tried to train me to just cut to the point. Professor **Polly Roberts** (Mary Nooter Roberts) was of tremendous help in directing me towards appropriate theoretical frameworks and helped me as I wrestled with issues of heritage, authenticity and particularly, memory. Her class *Curating Cultures* influenced the way I saw every display, large or small, from then onwards. Professor **Helen Rees** and her dry admonitions to consult Strunk and White (I probably didn't do that enough) initially scared me, yet Helen's devotion to scholarship and selfless promotion of her research contacts in China is absolutely inspiring and is a portrait of compassionate responsibility in fieldwork—and her detailed feedback was amazing. Professor **Namhee Lee** always felt more like an older sister than a professor, conversations with her are animated and exciting—Namhee pushed me to think through my research and draw connections answering a set of questions I had not anticipated. I got to know Professor **David Gere** as a teaching associate for his class *Introduction to World Arts and Cultures*. It was a wonderful experience to assist him as he approached preparing the students for the major with care, sensitivity and long-range vision—I hope one day to be the type of inspiring educator he is and I am thankful to still have him with me as I finish this doctorate.

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My sanity throughout my doctorate was preserved through exercise. A large part of that was Taiji under the amazing tutelage of **Jason Tsou**, a true master of the art. In addition I was an increasingly active member of the UCLA Cycling team, riding regularly with the fabulous over-

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Around the World

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VITA

ACADEMIC AWARDS

- 2011-12 UCLA Dissertation Year Fellowship
2010-11 Fulbright-Hays Fieldwork Fellowship for 12 months dissertation research in Korea
2010-11 UCLA International Institute Fieldwork Fellowship for 12 months dissertation research in Korea
2010-11 Asian Cultural Council Grant for 12 months dissertation research in Korea
2009 Tuition and Stipend to attend the Kyujanggak Korean Studies Summer School, Seoul National University
2009 UCLA Chancellor's Summer Research Mentorship
2008 Northeast Asia Council of the Association for Asian Studies, Travel Grant
2008 UCLA Chancellor's Summer Research Mentorship
2007-12 Eugene V. Cota-Robles Fellowship, tuition/fees and stipend for four years of residency at UCLA
2007-08 UCLA Alumni Foundation Fellowship
2007-09 UCLA International Institute Global Scholar
2006 Yonsei University Korean Studies Department Graduation Award for Academic Excellence
2006 Yonsei University Korean Studies Department Graduation Award for Best Master's Thesis
2004-06 Korea Foundation Fellow
2005-06 Recipient of the Yonsei Academic Excellence Scholarship

PUBLICATIONS

- 2011 "Review: Consuming Korean Tradition in Early and Late Modernity: Commodification, Tourism and Performance" by Laurel Kendall, Editor." *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* 13, no. 2 (2011): 93-96.
2011 Translation: Yi, Hunsang. "Reflections on the Intangible Cultural Heritage Policy and Folk Culture Politics in the Postmodern Era: An Autoethnographic Account of the Reconstruction of Kasan Ogwangdae." *Korean Social Sciences Review* 1, no. 1 (2012): 1-35.
2012 "Review: Cheonha Je'il Talgongjakso's "Chushyeoyo" and Ta'ak Project's "Good Pan"." *Asian Theatre Journal* 29, no. 1 (Spring 2012): 291-301.
2013 *Forthcoming, Spring 2013*: "Drumming, Dancing and Drinking Makgeolli: Liminal Time-Travel through Intensive Camps Teaching Traditional Performing Arts." *Journal of Korean Studies*.

RELEVANT PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

Teaching

- 2011, Dankook University, Jukjeon, Korea
- Korean Performance, a class for the international summer school program
- 2008-2009, University of California, Los Angeles
- Introduction to World Arts and Cultures, Freshman Core Course, Teaching Associate under Professor David Gere
 - Art as Moral Action, Teaching Associate under Professor Peter Sellars
 - Dance in Southeast Asia: Indonesia, Teaching Associate under Professor Judy Mitoma
- 2004, Catholic University of Korea, Bucheon, Korea
- Intermediate English Composition
- 2003-2004, Lanzhou University, Lanzhou, China
- Graduate Seminar in American History and Culture
 - Technical Writing for Publication in the Sciences (graduate level course)
- 1999-2003, Daegu Technical College, Daegu, Korea
- English Conversation I
 - English Conversation II

Other

- 2011, University of California, Los Angeles, reader for Professor Lisa Kim Davis
- Read and graded tests and assignments for "Geography 158: The Korean Urban Experience"

2008, *University of California, Los Angeles*, research assistant to Professor Robert Buswell

- Wrote entries for the "Encyclopedia of Buddhism" project

2007, *Editorial Assistant to Professor Emeritus Young Ick Lew, Yonsei University*

- Assisted with *Early Korean Encounters with the United States and Japan: Six Essays on Late Nineteenth-Century Korea* published by the Royal Asiatic Society in January, 2008

Summer 2007, 2008 and 2009, *Assistant for the Korean Studies Program for American Educators, Seoul, Korea*

- Presented lectures to American middle and high school teachers
- Planned and coordinated daily educational experiences

SELECTED PRESENTATIONS

- 2012 "Capitalizing on Korean Heritage?" Association for Asian Studies, Toronto (panel organizer and presenter)
- 2011 "Preservation and Transformation: A New Generation of Mask Dance Drama Performers in Korea," Society for Ethnomusicology, Philadelphia
- 2011 "In Front of the Mask: An Analysis of how Korean Traditional Performances are Presented to the Public," International Society of Korea Scholars, Vancouver, Canada
- 2011 "Drumming, Dancing and Makgeolli: Liminal Time-Travel through Participation in Performing Arts," Academic Conference in conjunction with *Bupyeong Pungmul Festival* (presentation in Korean), Bupyeong, Korea
- 2010 "Discourses of Place in Tibetan Song: Comparison and Contrast of Recordings Produced in and out of China," *China Undisciplined*, Los Angeles, CA
- 2009 "The Cultural Property Protection Law: Tensions and Dissonance Revealed by Examining the Differences between First and Second Generation Performance Professionals," *Kyujanggak International Korean Studies Symposium*, Seoul
- 2009 "Korean Pop Culture: The Border Crossing Heroines of Hallyu," *International Association for the Study of Popular Music*, San Diego, CA
- 2009 "The Cultural Property Protection Law and the Second Generation of Korean Traditional Performance Professionals," *Colorado University East Asia Graduate Student Conference*, Boulder, CO
- 2009 "Analysis of a Korean Drama: The Grandmother Scene in Hwanghae and Gyeonggi Mask Dance Dramas," *Society of Ethnomusicology Southern California and Hawai'i Chapter*, Los Angeles, CA
- 2008 "The Journey Makes the Meaning: An Ethnographic Account of Pilgrims Prostrating to Lhasa," *China Undisciplined*, Los Angeles, CA
- 2008 "Legitimization and Utilization of Bongsan Talchum in Korean Society," *Society of Ethnomusicology, Southern California Chapter*, Santa Barbara, CA
- 2008 "A Strategic Choice: Taekwondo as a Rallying Point for Korean Nationalism," *Columbia University East Asia Graduate Student Conference*, New York, NY

INVITED TALKS

- 2010, 11 "The Mask Dance Traditions of Korea," Seoul National University course taught by Professor Hilary Finchum-Sung
- 2010 "Professionalization amongst Performers of Mask Dance Dramas," *9th Annual Korean Music Symposium*, UCLA
- 2009 "The Fieldwork Experience," OTIS College of Arts and Design course by Professor Tiff Graham, Los Angeles, CA
- 2009 "Modern Korean Religiosity," Yonsei International Summer School course by Professor Kim Hyuk-rae
- 2009 "Protection Systems for Korean Traditional Culture," Yonsei International Summer School course by Professor Kim Hyuk-rae
- 2009 "The Environment in Tibetan Areas of China," UCLA course by Instructor Tom Narins, Los Angeles, CA

Chapter One

Backstage Preparations

1. Sweaty Sangmo Practice

It was midday. I was intensely hot and sweaty, but so was everyone else. The *sangmo* dancers (see Image 1.1, below), needing more space to maneuver the long ribbons attached to our hats, had been exiled from various indoor locations to the wide flat roof of the museum and seminar building. With the sun directly above us, all we had was a small patch of shade barely large enough to shield five or six people in the class of fourteen, if they spun their ribbons while stationary. Most students were no longer stationary. Beginners pumped their knees while the more advanced students hopped, stepped, and leaped, arms swinging with hand drum and drum stick in spite of the 90 degree temperatures and intense humidity. Our ribbons whirred as they cut the sultry air, relentlessly ringing the air in circles, sketching butterflies and slicing figure-eights. Nightly we hand-washed our perspiration-soaked clothes, but the humidity prevented them from drying thoroughly. By the fourth day we were so ripe even the mosquitoes seemed to avoid us.

Dancing with a *sangmo* is just one part of the exciting *pungmul* drumming genre. Performers often quip that over 90% of *sangmo* students give up before they master even the basics of the dance. The famously frustrating process of learning the art may prompt the determined student to enroll in an intensive week-long class like ours, hoping to get past the quitting point before the end of the week. Our first class began at 7:00 a.m., and we continued to practice until past 10:00 p.m. with breaks only for cafeteria meals. This intensive method of transmission required dedication, overt enthusiasm, and respect for traditional performance. Yet a week was only a heartbeat in the lifetime of a traditional artist, and without traditional artists the intricate skills required to dance with the *sangmo* will be consigned to the past. To me, then,

the sweat soaking the students represented the future of Korean traditional performing arts.

Image 1.1: Sangmo



(Left and below) Sangmo in performance.

(Right) Students with instructor Gu Cheolhoi, August 2010.



2. Introduction: The Impact of Cultural Policy on Transmission and Taxidermization

The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) passed The Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (the Convention) in 2003.

UNESCO defines intangible cultural heritage in counterpoint to tangible cultural heritage as:

oral traditions, performing arts, social practices, rituals, festive events, knowledge and practices concerning nature and the universe or the knowledge and skills to produce traditional crafts. [It is] traditional, contemporary and living at the same time, inclusive, representative and community based.¹

The Convention declared that all signatory member states shall take measures to protect intangible cultural heritage within their national borders.² 142 nations have signed onto the Convention; few have already enacted laws to protect intangible cultural heritage, although many are currently drafting such policies. Many countries turn to Korea as they consider how to best protect their heritage because 2012 marks the 50th anniversary of the passage of a Korean law for protecting intangible cultural heritage: The Cultural Property Protection Law (hereafter CPPL). Korean diplomats at the United Nations have promoted the Korean model and trumpeted their success. But success, like *authenticity*, *heritage*, and *tradition*, can be interpreted differently by different parties, and if the citizens of the world collectively intend to protect our heritages, we must strive for the best method possible. My dissertation offers a more complex illustration of the impact of this law on intangible cultural heritage in Korea: my goal is to clearly portray the

¹ The UNESCO definition can be found at <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00002>. Accessed on 4/16/12.

² The text of the Convention reads:

III. SAFEGUARDING OF THE INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE AT THE NATIONAL LEVEL

Article 11: Role of States Parties. Each State Party shall:

- (a) take the necessary measures to ensure the safeguarding of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory;
- (b) among the safeguarding measures referred to in Article 2, paragraph 3, identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant nongovernmental organizations.

complexity of protecting intangible cultural heritage.

In this dissertation I examine the following question: *how do Korean traditional performance groups transmit artistic skills in the context of intangible heritage law?* As humans we have all been surrounded by transmission our entire lives because it is central to any concern about culture—without transmission collective memory would have no purpose and humanity would be continually starting afresh. Transmission, a concept I will elaborate upon throughout the dissertation, is central because it places the notion of tradition and inevitable change into context with broader concerns about memory, heritage, and authenticity. How are memory, heritage and authenticity maintained and negotiated in the Korean context? Moreover, can living performance traditions be protected without their development coming to a halt? I must set the stage for contextualizing efforts to preserve Korean tradition as part of a world-wide conversation.

Korea's exemplary program for the protection of traditional performing arts, the *Cultural Property Protection Law* (CPPL), has done much to preserve specific items of intangible cultural heritage, but these protection programs only protect specific arts and do not protect the environment that enabled the birth and development of the same arts it protects today.

"Preserving select intangible performances without the maintenance of the culture as a whole from which they stem could freeze them into static renditions, jeopardizing diversity and change," explains heritage scholar Sheenagh Pietroburno (2009: 244). The Korean traditional arts, each protected in accordance with an archetypal form determined at the time of designation, have become static and unchanging. The lyrics to the songs are the same, the drama never has a surprise ending, and the dancers do not suddenly appear in never-before-seen costumes. The

changes that have occurred in the years since each item of heritage was designated for protection are subtle and gradual, generally only noticeable with the passage of many years, a sharp memory, and an insider's awareness of how it was once done.

Richard Kurin, the Under Secretary for History, Art, and Culture at the Smithsonian has asserted that around the world there is "a real lack of study and assessment of best practices" for preservation of intangible cultural heritage (2004: 73). It is out of a desire to understand how performing arts are really affected by laws that aim at preserving intangible heritage that I study and assess the intangible cultural heritage policies of the Republic of Korea. This dissertation addresses theoretically and substantiates empirically the essential role of the individual and the importance of community in the protection of intangible cultural heritage through an examination of the transmission practices of performing arts knowledge in Korea. In the dissertation I situate transmission as an activity for cultural protection in a modern globalized world and address the profound underlying concepts involved: heritage, authenticity and memory. I explore the Korean Cultural Property Protection Law (CPPL) and expose ways in which the law subverts its stated goals. I also demonstrate how transmission has changed in the modern era through five detailed examinations of different transmission environments. Finally, I argue for performance as transmission and examine how audiences are educated. This four-pronged approach clearly exposes the complexity of transmission in the twenty-first century.

Four Korean Performing Arts

Before proceeding farther I will briefly introduce the four arts through which I examined these issues. The three secular mask dance dramas I concentrate on (Goseong Ogwangdae, Bongsan

Talchum, and Songpa Sandae Noli) were performed seasonally at festivals during the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) and in the 19th century in marketplaces as well (Yi BU 2006, Jeon 2004, Seo 1988, Yi DH 1981). They incorporate music, dance and drama addressing Joseon Dynasty society. Although they constitute three varieties of the same genre, preliminary research exposed dramatically different transmission methodologies and approaches to the directives of the CPPL-administering Cultural Heritage Administration, making the dramas a rich source for comparison and complexity. Concerned that my observations were only applicable to mask dance dramas, I expanded my observations by including the drumming and dancing group Imshil Pilbong Nongak.

Goseong Ogwangdae was certified as the 7th Intangible Cultural Property of Korea in 1964.³ This mask dance drama has five acts and is characterized by an emphasis on dance and non-verbal drama. The first act is the entirely non-verbal *Mundung Bukchum*, featuring the dance of a leper who triumphs over his physical limitations. The second act, *Ogwangdae Noli*, pokes fun at the upper-class literati gentlemen or *yangban*. The third act, *Bibi Gwajang*, continues in this vein—but now a mythical creature, Bibi, is bedeviling a *yangban* who loses all his dignity trying to convince Bibi not eat him. The fourth act, *Seungmu Gwajang*, is also non-verbal. It features an old monk who woos two young women. In the final act, *Jemilju Gwajang*, an old couple is reunited. Unfortunately the old man has a young pregnant concubine. A tussle over the newborn results in the baby's death. After the vengeful concubine kills the old woman a funeral ceremony is held.

³ There are many Korean language texts which lay out the history of the mask dance drama, for example that by Shim Sanggyo (2000) and a chapter by Yi Duhyeon (1981). However in English Goseong Ogwangdae has been mostly ignored, with more scholarly attention to neighboring Tongyeong Ogwangdae.

Bongsan Talchum was certified as the 17th Intangible Cultural Property in 1967.⁴ The mask dance drama has seven acts. The first act, *Sasangjwa Chum*, is the non-verbal dance of four novice monks who ritually prepare the space for the performance. The second act, *Palmokjung Chum*, is the dance of the eight dark-faced monks.⁵ They are distracted from Buddhist study by desire for alcohol and the joy of dance. The third act, *Sadang Chum*, features the songs of the Korean west coast. The fourth act, *Nojang Chum*, begins with the dark-faced monks leaving the old monk, Nojang, on the stage with a young female shaman, Somu. Nojang woos Somu and bargains for shoes with the shoe peddler Shinjangsu, before the drunken playboy Chuibali appears on stage, drives off Nojang and has a baby with Somu. The fifth act, *Saja Chum*, sees a lion enter the stage to extend the Buddha's forgiveness to Nojang for straying from his vows. The sixth act, *Yangban Malddugi Chum*, is the story of three *yangban* and their clever servant, Malddugi. The seventh act, *Miyal Halmi Yeonggam Chum*, begins with the happy reunion of an old couple, but unfortunately the old man has a concubine and when the two women fight the old man curses the old woman who falls down dead. The act ends with a shamanic funeral ceremony.

Songpa Sandae Noli was certified at the 49th Intangible Cultural Property in 1973.⁶ This twelve-act mask dance drama begins with *Sangjwa Chum Noli*, where two novice monks ritually

⁴ Yi Duhyeon is the best known scholar of Bongsan Talchum from the early years of certification—a certification drive which he spearheaded. I am partial to the modern scholarship of Choi Changju because he is also a skilled practitioner (e.g. Choi CJ 2006, 2000). To learn more about Bongsan Talchum's music see Kim Hoseok (2006). There are also fairly recent books on Bongsan Talchum by Jeon Kyungwook (2004) and Bak Jeongyeol (2001) and a solid book on the mask dance dramas of Hwanghae Province that includes Bongsan Talchum by Seo Yeonho (1988). In English the best sources of information are Cho Oh-Kon (1988) and Jeon Kyungwook (2005), both cover many or even all the mask dance dramas and have little specific information on Bongsan Talchum.

⁵ The masks are dark (usually dark red) to indicate that the characters are drunken.

⁶ For more information about Songpa Sandae Noli you must read Yi Byeong-ok—he has two books on Songpa Sandae Noli (1985 and 2006) with similar information. Seo Yeonho also has a book (1987) on the Sandae Noli type of mask dance drama.

open the performance space. Act two, *Omjung Meokjung Noli*, features one young and one old monk insulting each other's appearance. Act three, *Yeonnip / Nunggeumjaegi Noli*, features two *yangban* who are teased by several dark-faced monks. Act four, *Buk Noli*, revolves around a pun—do the two dark-faced monks want to see the young woman take off her clothes, or drum on the drum? Act five, *Gonjang Noli*, features a *gonjang* (disciplinary paddle) and uneducated dark-faced monks who are on the receiving end of a drubbing. Act six, *Chim Noli*, sees an acupuncturist called to revive one of the dark-faced monks. Act seven, *Nojang Noli*, is about an old monk (Nojang) who is tempted to play with two shamans. In Act eight, *Shinjangsu Noli*, a shoe peddler and monkey arrive and Nojang bargains for shoes for his ladies. In Act nine, *Chuibali Noli*, the prodigal arrives and steals one of the Somu from Nojang (who exits the stage with the other Somu). Act ten, *Malddugi Noli*, is about a clever servant and his *yangban* masters. Act eleven, *Saennim Miyal Podo Bujang Noli*, is the story of an old man with a young concubine who drives off his old wife, after which he loses his concubine to a handsome young police inspector. Act twelve, *Shinhalaebi Shinhalmi Noli*, is the sad story of an old couple who are reunited. However, following mistreatment by her husband the old woman dies, their children arrive, and a shamanic funeral ceremony is held.

Imshil Pilbong Nongak was certified as Intangible Cultural Property 11-ma in 1988.⁷ The drumming and dancing art was part of life in a rural farming community. The drumming was utilized in group work efforts, and is still part of large celebrations coinciding with major holidays on the agricultural calendar included an extended version of the art incorporating

⁷ The number 11 is reserved for types of *pungmul* (*nongak* is another name for *pungmul*), there are now six types. "Ma" is fifth in the alphabet in Korea, and Imshil Pilbong Nongak was the fifth certified. To learn more about Imshil Pilbong Nongak see the dissertation of Donna Kwon (2005), Nathan Hesselink (2006), and the dissertation of Yang Jinseong (2008).

shamanic ritual for blessing the community and the farming activities of community members. In addition to two gongs and two drums, all played while dancing, the art includes the *taebyeongso*, a shawm, and dancers with a small hand drum. The most eye-catching of the dancers wear the *sangmo* ribbon-hat as they wield the hand drum. Finally, there are character-dancers (including a hunter, a monk and an old grandmother), called *japsaek*, who perform with the dancers.

In this dissertation I am concerned both with the individual (for example the *sangmo* dancer) and the community (here the drummers surrounding the dancer as well as the audience at the performance). I highlight the individual by tapping into my eight years of ethnographic fieldwork: participant observation alongside performers and interviews form the background of my research. The voices and viewpoints of individual performers are called upon to explain and illustrate the transmission environment. Giving a voice to the artists most intimate with how transmission is impacted by Korean cultural policy is necessary for understanding, but these voices have too often been silent. In order to highlight the transmission work of individuals, I include extensive interview quotations even between my chapters. The community is also important, whether defined as those who perform a given art, as the community of all traditional artists, or including the non-performing audience. No matter the cultural policy, without community concern and co-operation the traditional arts in Korea will fade away, even die. As is reflected in several chapters, the construction of communities that learn and perform together, as well as a Korean public that cares for the future of the arts, is essential to the continuity of these performances.

3. An American in Korea

When fieldwork first became an aspect of research in humanistic studies it usually entailed long

journeys, some sort of temporary deprivation and isolation from the researcher's daily habits, and at times, even danger—all for the important academic search for understanding the exotic other (e.g. Bronislaw Malinowski, Margaret Mead or Claude Lévi-Strauss). The purpose of fieldwork has since gained a different meaning. Today fieldwork can mean, as it did for me, a flight to a location so aggressively modern and hyper-connected that American life seemed more of a backwater than living in Seoul ever could. Lightning-fast internet was installed in my apartment the same day I called the company to establish my account, and modern shopping centers offered every item needed to make a home habitable, if at inflated prices compared to the traditional market where items are sold in teetering stacks in a warren of small, independent shops. In Korea, I could transfer from bus to subway to bus again, traveling across the city with barely an interruption. High speed rail and express buses linked me with every corner of the country. My life in Korea was convenient and comfortable because of both the superb infrastructure and the welcoming local population. Before I began my Ph.D. in 2007 I had spent most of my adult life in Korea. It is the home of my heart.

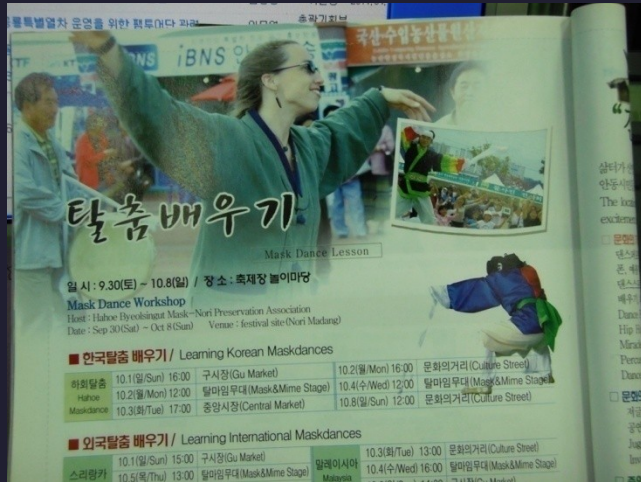
Images 1.2: The Author as Subject



1. 성공적인 축제를 위한 재정운영

우리 나라에서 개최되고 있는 대부분의 지역축제는 지방자치단체의 예산으로 운영되고 있는 것이 현실이다. 안동국제탈춤페스티벌은

This photo was used in both long and short form programs of the Andong International Mask Dance Festival. It was taken in approximately 2000.



This photo was used in programs for five years, it was taken in 1998. This copy was emailed to me by a friend.

In Korea I had taught English and martial arts.⁸ In addition, I edited, translated and

⁸ I moved to Korea in 1996 and taught English for a year in a *hagwon* (a type of cram school), followed by two years teaching in a public girls' middle school and four years teaching first and second year English in a junior college. I

worked as a freelance photographer. It was photography that led me to the traditional performing arts. As I became serious about photography I progressed from taking photos of cultural events for pleasure and recreation to searching for performances and festivals in order to make Korean arts a major strength of my photographic catalog. My favorite annual festival was the Andong International Mask Dance Festival. It was at this festival, watching show after show, that I first became aware of the unique particularity of each different Korean mask dance drama. My fascination with the genre led me to apply for a M.A. in Korean Studies at Yonsei University in Seoul, with the stated goal of further examining the meaning behind the mask dance dramas (I attended from 2004 to 2006). Although the mask dance drama classrooms, offices and training centers were the key sites of my ethnographic encounters, my primary focus soon became cultural policy. Upon reading Dr. Yang Jongsung's 2003 book *Cultural Protection Policy in Korea*, based on his 1994 Ph.D. dissertation, which examined the Cultural Property Protection Law, I realized that the artistic expressions I was photographing and writing about were a part of a larger cultural policy effort bound up in a complex system that impacted every aspect of performance. When I enrolled in Professor Hahm Chaihark's seminar in modern Korean law, I found an intellectual space in which I could develop the questions I had after reading Dr. Yang's book.

My M.A. thesis research focused on two mask dance drama groups, Bongsan Talchum and Songpa Sandae Noli (Saeji 2006). As I conducted pilot studies for my Ph.D. dissertation I added another mask dance group, Goseong Ogwangdae, and a drumming and dancing group,

taught Hapkido and Taekkyon. The latter has a longer history and is unique to Korea (and is certified as an intangible cultural property of Korea) while the former is a Koreanized version of Japanese arts encountered during the colonial era (and is quite similar to Taekwondo). Other than one year in China and Tibet I was in Korea for ten years by the time I finished my M.A.

Imshil Pilbong Nongak—the drumming and dancing form that includes *sangmo*—to provide another perspective on transmission within large groups. At all times my chief concern is the future of the arts: how is *sangmo* learned, by whom, and where? After those *sangmo* dancers are recruited and trained, what sort of performance environment will they participate in in the future?

4. Reflexively Positioning Myself in the Research

Some members of mask dance drama groups remember my eager attendance (and my giant camera lenses) in the late 1990s. Since starting my research in 2004 I have grown to know members of all the groups, although of course my closest relationships are with the members of the three mask dance drama groups I focus on. In July of 2011 I was invited to a meeting of the office managers from all the mask dance drama preservation associations.⁹ This meeting was significant to me because although I was escorted to the meeting by Songpa Sandae Noli's office manager, I was worried that I would be removed from the room before sensitive discussion. Instead I was honored with the trust of the group. When we arrived (somewhat late), it was to a flurry of jokes about whether I was the Songpa Sandae Noli "American-branch representative" or if I represented the interests of all Korean mask dance dramas in America. I stayed for the entire five-hour meeting, I was allowed to record everything, contribute my views, check facts and leave with financial documents pertaining to all the groups.

Ethnographic researchers often discuss the issue of insider/outsider status. I have never been comfortable with this dichotomy. Although it is clear that I am an outsider in Korean society, ethnomusicologist Timothy Rice has argued that one can be simultaneously an outsider

⁹ This meeting did not include Gangnyeong Talchum, as they ceased participating in the group in 2010.

in society and an insider in an experience (1994: 72). After over a decade in Korea and my intensive study of traditional performing arts, I could claim to be an insider within the experience of performance. Yet, although performers, scholars and other acquaintances repeatedly introduced or described me as "knowing more about Korean traditions than Koreans" or as "caring more about our culture than we do," even these statements highlight the fact that I am not Korean. At all times with my light hair and hazel eyes I am clearly physically different from those around me, and a thick current of ethnocentricity still runs under the surface in Korean society.

In addition, although I am a confident speaker of Korean with strong listening skills, my Korean sounds odd, especially when people first meet me—I speak colloquially rather than academically, as I taught myself with help from friends. I unconsciously employ Gyeongsang region dialectical intonation, and like most second language speakers I can make quite humorous mistakes. Nor have I been socialized as a Korean, leading me to behave differently from those around me. The people I became closest to, I believe, were people who were able to identify me primarily as someone who shared their interests and found everything else of less importance.

I went through all the motions of participation in the same way people surrounding me did, but despite my passion for Korean folk performing arts, I lack the same connection to those arts that Koreans have. Another major reason for my different positionality comes not from my status as a foreigner, but from my goal: while I sought to participate and understand in order to raise understanding of how cultural heritage preservation efforts "play out on the ground," the people around me were motivated very differently. Stated baldly, they wanted or needed to become excellent performers, whereas I am not planning a performance career.

Status

Korea is a highly stratified society, not so much in economic terms,¹⁰ as in terms that are so closely linked with cultural norms that they are reflected in the way that the language is spoken. Whenever two individuals meet they must calculate their relative status in order to determine how to speak to each other. The most important factor is age, but educational attainment (and from what university) and type of employment/position within a company are also key. Marital status, home address and gender are also part of the complex and subconscious calculation. It can be hard for Koreans to place a foreigner within this rubric. While in the field different individuals clearly had different conclusions about whether to treat me as a student or as a researcher: I did not behave the way the artists were accustomed to seeing Korean researchers behave, as they rarely employ participant-observation.

In the case of Songpa Sandae Noli, a mask dance drama from the Songpa region of present-day Seoul, I had been participating since 2005 and was a registered student or *jeonsuja* for the group. Showing up for such an extended time period had gained me traction with the group. I have known everyone since 2005 or 2006. However, I was almost the lowest ranked in the group; I was one of the newest *jeonsuja* or trainees. Almost all members of Songpa Sandae Noli were older than me, with the exception of one *isuja* (the rank of most performers, directly above *jeonsuja*) and four *jeonsuja*, one of whom was the son of National Human Treasure Hahm Wanshik—he had been part of the group since birth but with his slow rank progression there was no hint of nepotism. Two of the other *jeonsuja* were musicians constantly needed to accompany

¹⁰ Although economic success has a place in determining the relative importance and status of various parties in certain situations, it was rarely an issue in the circles within which I carried out my research.

each show (whereas a dance *jeonsuja* like me was much less essential). Therefore in terms of age and rank in the group I was of lower status than the other members. I had to be very careful to observe proper etiquette at all times, and tread lightly around some brusque members.¹¹ Yet some members, perhaps more cognizant of me as a researcher as well as a learner, treated me with care and explained things carefully.

With the other arts I was not a member, so I had less interaction with the group as a whole and more interaction with the key teachers and leaders of these groups as well as other students. Older than most other class members and almost always older than junior instructors, my status at Imshil Pilbong Nongak and Goseong Ogwangdae was clearly that of a researcher. I more openly interviewed people and took notes, sitting out some activities and reaching for my camera or video camera more frequently. My status at Bongsan Talchum was mixed; my instructor had taught me since 2005 and we were very comfortable together. I was the longest-attending student, and other students were almost always younger than I was. Several older and assertively cosmopolitan members of the preservation association liked to tease me, and they would keep me abreast of events, yet the group was very large and some members recognized me on sight but knew next to nothing about my project.

Activism and Fieldwork

Kay Kaufman Shelemay reminds those of us who conduct ethnographic research on performance that we also play a role in the transmission of tradition (1996). Shelemay describes her research

¹¹ I was, on occasion, the recipient of such admonitions as "시이달 앉아!" or "시이달 입 닫어!" (relatively impolite Korean commands telling me to "sit down!" or "shut up!").

with the Syrian Jewish community in New York City and explains that "the closer we became, the more I was called upon to play a role in perpetuating the tradition" (1996: 45). She identifies three manners in which the ethnographers, intentionally or unwittingly, become part of the tradition they study: preservation, memorialization, and mediation (1996: 46). After much consideration Shelemay has come to the conclusion that "preservation is not just an outgrowth of older scholarly paradigms, but both an acknowledgement of the realities of musical change as well as part of an implicit contract between the ethnomusicologist and the tradition's native carriers" (1996: 47). Ethnographers also create memorials for the individuals and the arts they become involved with, and mediate between the performance art and the wider world that could become interested in the art if someone were to introduce them to it.

I am part of the effort to preserve Korean arts. Not just as I conduct dissertation research, but through all the past mediation between traditional arts and Korean people—the TV appearances, magazine interviews and my former newspaper column. Throughout my fieldwork I struggled with my own desire to express my opinions, sure that I would gain more by watching what was going on around me and asking everyone else how they felt about it. There are some scholars who choose a more activist role, but I do not feel that this would have been helpful either to the groups, in the long run, or to my research. My compromise with my own inner activist was to explain my viewpoints to younger or even the youngest members of groups. Over the course of time they will gain an increasing voice in their groups and may remember something illuminating from my conversation with them. However, in Korean culture the youngest and least experienced members of groups (including me) are not expected to be opinionated or vocal about their opinions. I was expected to be vocal in one circumstance: when

drawing attention to the groups through the TV and print media opportunities I have because I am a Korean-speaking foreigner involved in Korean culture. I am always uncomfortable being on such shows, but I have been roped into doing dozens in the hope that they might inspire someone to learn a traditional art.

Image 1.3: Media Uses

This photo, for example, is from a photo shoot at Bongsan Talchum—the group asked me to give an interview so that their art would be featured in a monthly magazine article talking about one aspect of Korean culture (traditional or not) through the eyes of a foreigner who was learning it. Kim Eunju is in the background.



기사작성: 2010-09-27 AM 15:09:01

축제11번 찾은 축제 주인공 미국인 시이달

올해 13회째 맞는 안동국제탈춤페스티벌2010에 지난 97년부터 올해까지 11번째 안동국제탈춤축제를 방문한 미국인 시이달(여, 38세) 그녀는 탈춤공원 축제장에서 관광객들이 지켜보는 가운데 탈을 쓰고 축제에서 배운 탈랄라 먼스를 선보였다.



매년 축제가 끝날때까지 안동에 머물면서 축제의 변화와 발전된 모습을 기록하는 등 축제에 참여하며 안동을 세계에 알리고 있다.

A clipping from a news article about the Andong International Mask Dance Festival.

I also began to upload videos of performances to YouTube with longer and more thorough English language descriptions than one can normally find attached to Korean traditional arts. The very first video was a response to a search term on my blog—someone wanted to find out how to put on a *sangmo*, so I had my husband film me explaining and demonstrating the process. I wanted to show something of the arts to my family and combat the mass of low quality uploads with something better, so I began to upload highlights of various mask dance dramas. As time went on fellow students and preservation association members would ask if I could make certain videos available online. For example, a new student at Bongsan Talchum asked the instructor if there was an online practice copy of our basic motions, so I made a video and uploaded that. All such videos were made with the permission of the preservation associations and students who appear in the videos; asking decision-makers to check videos before they became publicly available allowed me to discuss the performance once more.

5. Research Methodology

Chan E. Park, a performer of *pansori* (epic narrative songs) and an ethnomusicologist, has challenged academia, accusing most ethnographic works of being ensnared by description but missing the "knowledge of the interior—acquired only through somatic encounter with the art" (2003: 13). I was inspired and challenged by Park; my research methodology began with the somatic or embodied encounter and proceeded through sweat and aching muscles. Therefore I carried out my research using primarily two approaches: participant observation and interviews. In addition I conducted several surveys and examined the documentary record.

a. Participant Observation

Firsthand participant-observation documented through detailed field notes, professional photography and video provides the foundation for my research. As I continued to learn and perform all four arts, I listened to and engaged in conversations related to transmission and performance; observed how the groups represent their art forms in the public arena; noted recruitment efforts; and focused my attention on how both general and specific skills are transmitted to junior members.

Bongsan Talchum

I began participant-observation with Bongsan Talchum with a 2004 class at the National Gugak Center.¹² In early 2005 I transitioned to an evening class for community members operated by

¹² The National Gugak Center (formerly the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts) conducts

the Bongsan Talchum preservation association in the same building as their office. In 2005 and until June of 2006 I attended this course two times per week for two hours per class. Through participation I was able to observe the class and become acquainted with the senior members of the group, who would often be in the office. I participated in this class once per week for nearly two months in summer 2007 and summer 2008 and visited several times in summer 2009. During my 2010-2011 fieldwork I attended twice per week for the first five months in Korea; after this point I reduced my attendance to once per week. I would estimate that I spent 140 hours in class during the fieldwork year. This, however, does not include arriving early, volunteering for performances, going out together after practice, or time spent in the office.

Songpa Sandae Noli

I began practicing with Songpa Sandae Noli in mid-2005. I practiced on the weekend for two hours per week starting in 2005, continuing for one year until June 2006. I visited classes as often as possible in summer 2007, 2008, and 2009. As a member of the group I am responsible to show up for all performances and do everything possible to help, including undertaking minor performance roles. I attended over 20 performances per year in 2005-6 and 2010-11. During my fieldwork year for a period of time I was able to attend two rehearsals per week, but we also took a winter vacation in January and summer vacation in July. I estimate that during my fieldwork year I spent 100 hours in rehearsal and an additional 40 hours related to performances (and group travel to/from performances). As in Bongsan Talchum there were also group meals and events, and I frequently met with certain members of the group.

research on traditional performance, presents concerts and performances, holds classes, hosts the national traditional music radio station and much more. It is funded by the Korean government.

Goseong Ogwangdae

I had a favorable meeting with Goseong Ogwangdae players in 2008, and in 2009 I came to Korea and spent a week in an intensive class in the art. Living at their training center, I was occupied with learning the art, cooking and eating, from waking until rolling up in my blankets at night. In 2010 I visited the center, and then in January and July of 2011 I spent nearly three weeks in intensive courses (July was not a full week). I also learned the motions of Goseong Ogwangdae in a class in Seoul for two months, two hours a week. The class was held at Bongcheon Noli Madang, a practice space with classes in traditional arts maintained by the club of the same name. Becoming good friends with Goseong Ogwangdae members, I also frequently met with them in Seoul and followed their other performance activities closely. During the fieldwork period I spent approximately 3 weeks in participant observation of Goseong Ogwangdae.

Imshil Pilbong Nongak

I met the members of this group and enjoyed their music for years, first participating in an intensive live-in class in summer 2009 for one week of *janggu* (hourglass drum) lessons. During my fieldwork year I spent four weeks in classes in Pilbong (one class in *janggu* and three classes in *sangmo* ribbon hat) and attended the Seoul Imshil Pilbong Nongak training center once per week for two hours per class until the spring of 2011, when our class moved to Sogang University (where it was also two hours per week). In 2010-11 I spent four weeks in Pilbong and approximately 80 hours in classes in the art.

Image 1.4: At the Imshil Pilbong Nongak Transmission Center



a. Interviews

I conducted group and individual interviews with preservation association members of all four groups and with students of the arts. In addition I interviewed performers of other arts, scholars and bureaucrats. Interviews conducted with key contacts, undertaken several times throughout the year and comprising both focused questions related to group-specific developments and more open-ended discussions, form the backbone of my interview data. A complete list of my 140 formal interviewees appears at the start of the bibliography; dates and locations of interviews are included in footnotes. I recorded all my formal interviews. The interviews were based on questions I prepared in advance—groups of questions on a common theme—with two to four themes addressed in most interviews. I was prepared to approach the same issue from different angles, but I also asked follow-up questions based on interviewee answers to draw out additional information. I made every attempt to conduct these interviews in private, but this was not always possible.

Image 1.5: At an event at Gyeongbok Palace



July 2011, Photo by Yu Hwangyeon.

b. Audience Surveys

During the course of my fieldwork year I attended concerts, performances and festivals every week (except during the coldest months of January and February, when performances even at indoor heated halls are few in number). Some weeks I attended as many as five separate events, writing detailed field notes of my observations from each show. I conducted three surveys of audience members during my year of dissertation research, surveying 159 individuals, I had previously conducted two audience surveys in 2005, reaching an additional 77 individuals. All of these surveys were conducted at mask dance drama performances. Furthermore, I made head counts at performances and informally interviewed audience members. In 2005 I also administered a survey on the street to people in their twenties, with 287 respondents. In addition I have utilized the surveys and data collected by three major theatres: the National Gugak Center, Pungryu Theatre, and KOUS.

c. Examination of the Documentary Record

I have examined key documents, including original certification documents, the latest Cultural Heritage Administration paperwork, confidential evaluation documents from the Cultural Properties Committee, and most of the documents from the four preservation associations related to performances, recruitment activities, and in three cases, finances. Many of these documents are confidential, but they have informed my understanding.

6. Semantic Wrestling

Throughout the dissertation I am inescapably forced to use problematic terms. These terms may be minefields for scholars who deconstruct their meanings, yet they genuinely represent

something important to each individual who employs them in discussion of the arts they love. The most challenging of those terms are authenticity, heritage and tradition.

Anthropologist Ahmed Skounti has written of how systems to protect traditional culture create an illusion of authenticity: the feeling of "taking possession of and prolonging the work of [one's] ancestors" is a strong motivating factor for those involved in preservation of tradition (2009: 90). Archaeologist Hyung Il Pai asserts that authenticity is "manufactured and displayed for public consumption" (2001: 77). Scholars agree that determining authenticity is difficult or impossible, yet declaration of an art (or object)'s authenticity remains one of the most important elements for inclusion in preservation programs. The *sangmo* dancers believe in the authenticity of *sangmo* performance tied to *pungmul* drumming, as the authenticity of *sangmo* is important to their decision to engage in learning the movement.

Heritage, like authenticity, is what we decide it is. Heritage scholar Laurajane Smith explains that without cultural processes and activities designating it as heritage, Stonehenge is just a bunch of rocks in a field (2006: 3). In Korea the government established legislation to manage heritage, side-stepping a society-wide consensual heritage discourse (ibid.: 4) and proceeding directly to a state-defined pronouncement of what is (and is not) heritage. The performing arts that I concern myself with in this dissertation are all designated items of heritage on the national level. Because heritage is the birthright of the population in the region, heritage can become a sensitive and highly contested subject.

Tradition has been defined as "temporal continuity, rooted in the past but persisting into the present in the manner of a natural object" (Bauman 1992). It is dynamic and evolving, and is the aggregate of endless transformation. Tradition, in Korean *jeontong*, is a problematic term, but

it is also a term with which everyone is familiar. People tend to assume that our those around us share our understanding of the meaning of tradition, even if we cannot put our finger on a perfect definition when pressed. The impreciseness of the word leaves me wishing that I could use an alternative, but aside from long descriptive phrases, there is nothing adequate. Hence throughout the dissertation you will see me employ the word "tradition" particularly in phrases such as "traditional culture" and "traditional performing arts." In all cases I am discussing what is *perceived* to be traditional; although I address the invention of tradition (Hobsbawm 1983), I follow Michael Herzfeld (1991) in understanding that all culture is constructed, and therefore I am not primarily concerned with the degree to which a current manifestation of tradition cleaves to our scholarly understanding of the same item or event one hundred or more years in the past.

Image 1.6: *Japsaek* Performers



Japsaek for a *pungmul* performance with three other members of the amateur group Gaejeonyeon. We are Hwadong (flower boy), Halmi (grandmother), Gakshi (bride) and Daeposu (hunter—also the director of dance patterns).

a. Research Approach

Throughout my research and in writing this dissertation I have sought at all times to look at specific examples of transmission in Korea without losing sight of the modern Korean culture

with which it is intertwined. Many important scholars have preceded me in examining Korean performing arts, yet particularly in the early years of certification efforts the tendency has been that they choose the juicy or "interesting" aspects of the arts, ignoring the complexities that can be exposed by holistic examination. There are many reasons for this: the length constraints of the standard journal article, the long-time predominance of scholars of Korean literature (who do not use ethnographic methods), and the publication opportunities for descriptive texts. The literature on Korean mask dance dramas is almost entirely of two general types: relatively apolitical statements of every available fact (e.g. the reports of each art that led to the arts being certified within the CPPL as Important Intangible Cultural Properties of the Republic of Korea, and texts in government-sponsored series) and politicized texts that read as nationalistic, democratic, socially aware messages to counter Japanese narratives of Korean culture. The former were often written by scholars of Korean literature and folklorists, while the latter were written by political scientists and sociologists. My scholarship is the first account of transmission in mask dance dramas, and the second full-length work to approach the impact of cultural policy on transmission in the Korean arts since Yang Jongsung's 1994 dissertation, published as a book in 2003 and Keith Howard's *Perspectives on Korean Music* (2006).

A holistic examination of Korean arts reveals many aspects of the arts that have been under-studied or unstudied. As far back as 1989, scholar of Japanese folklore Ch'oe Kil-sŏng critiqued scholarship concerning Korean shamanism, explaining that as the ceremony became wild and intense, some scholars would ignore the meaning of this climatic noise: "scholars sometimes take an interest only in the artistic song and dance, but these methods will not lead to an understanding of the essence of the *gut*.[...] The two stages have to be understood

synthetically as parts of a common whole" (1989: 225). Similarly in mask dance drama research years of scholarship focused on analyzing the dialogue; this scholarship, through focusing on the dialogues and songs, discounts the significance of non-speaking characters, the dance motions, the music and the pantomimed actions. I asked Jin Okseop, an artistic director, dance critic, independent scholar and author of ethnographic-research-based books on Korean performance his perspective on the practices of senior scholars. Jin's answer confirms my own impression and also introduces the troubling historical relationship between the scholar of the performing arts and the Korean artist.

Jin:¹³ Scholars who study Korean folklore used to choose a person who should be designated a National Human Treasure [the highest ranked performer in a nationally protected art], but those scholars did not really care about the very person whom they designated as a National Human Treasure. They were interested in that person's teacher. Scholars did not study the *living* National Human Treasures; they tried to use those artists as a conduit to study his or her teachers. Then, even those [first] National Human Treasures passed away. I think those scholars were arrogant because they had the power to designate National Human Treasures. Most folklorists were those who majored in Korean language and literature. They did not know about music and dance. They only knew language and transcripts. But if you look at Nojang [the old monk] in Bongsan Talchum, there are only a few lines of dialogue [none of which are by Nojang, who never speaks], but that dance lasts for over 30 minutes. Those scholars did not appreciate the importance of dance, because they did not pay much attention to performance.¹⁴ They would be happier reading the script of Bongsan Talchum than watching people performing Bongsan Talchum. Those scholars did not really appreciate the real nature of such traditional performance and often misunderstood them. So some incorrect knowledge was published and passed onto the next generation.

Due to these circumstances performers were not able to hear from their teachers about the performance [the performers were silenced by authoritative texts]. They only learned some lines and dance technique from their teachers. [Those scholars also ignored the] people living around the National Human

¹³ Interview with Jin Okseop conducted at KOUS (theatre), 5/18/2011.

¹⁴ I recently found a book chapter focused entirely on the dance performed by the character of Nojang in Bongsan Talchum (Yi YJ 2009). The book I found the chapter in has compiled notable (previously unpublished) studies; this chapter is from a 1981 master's thesis.

Treasures, who are also very important. For example, the elderly mother [of the early National Human Treasures] probably knew a lot about tradition and performance. That is why interviews are important. Ethnography is really important. The actual spot where performance is taking place and all the real people there are full of more valuable information than written documents. Studying about such performances in university can make people idealistic and unrealistic. I started graduate school in folklore [Jin later quit], and my teachers were learning from me and wrote down what I was saying, because I know about the actual field.

Jin Okseop is well aware of the tense history in the performing arts between folklorists involved in the certifications of arts for inclusion in the CPPL and their elderly informants. He points to the substantial short-sightedness of scholars who did not employ ethnographic methods and their many missed opportunities for deeper understanding. Other scholars of Korea have made similar claims:

The folklorist considers the shaman, preferably an older shaman, a living repository of indigenous religion and literature. It is through such informants that old customs are salvaged, sometimes from memory. One finds in the records of the folklorist detailed and precise descriptions of the mechanics of ritual but little about the women who perform them today and less about their reasons (Kendall 1985: 36).

As a practitioner of the arts I address here, I have made every attempt to achieve a holistic understanding of the arts through participating. More than that, I want to portray a holistic picture of the individuals who preserve these arts. Other scholars before me have carried out detailed research on the history and mechanics of these arts; my work seeks to re-insert the power of individual performers into the narratives of protection of Korean culture.

b. Sketching the Scenes

Part One of my dissertation, "Setting the Stage," sets up the main ideas of the dissertation. As you have read, the first chapter is devoted to a self-introduction, an explanation of methodology

and a short introduction to the major goals of the dissertation. In Chapter Two, "Memory Keepers and the Challenges of Change," I create the theoretical over-arching framework for the dissertation, explaining the impact of globalization and how I see memory, heritage, and authenticity in the context of transmission. Chapter Three, "The Double-Edged Sword: How Protection Systems Promote Taxidermization," examines in detail the Korean Cultural Property Protection Law. In this chapter I explain how the law has worked against its stated goals and argue that the impact of the law is a taxidermization of culture. Major arguments for how the law has changed the way the arts are performed, who they are performed for, and, most of all, who is doing the performing, are advanced.

Part Two of my dissertation, "Behind the Mask," includes five chapters, all of which theorize a particular transmission environment and explain how the transmission environment has changed in the modern era and as a result of the Cultural Property Protection Law. In Chapter Four I examine professionalization of traditional performers and arts. Chapter Five addresses a new transmission environment: the modern conservatory for traditional arts transmission, particularly the Korean National University of the Arts, where traditional folk theatre, or *yeonhi*, is a self-contained school with four majors including mask dance drama and *pungmul* drumming. Chapter Six shifts to focus on the philosophy of traditional arts transmission that "learning is never done" and addresses the way that the elderly are staged in Korean performance. Chapter Seven approaches the motivations of students becoming involved in learning traditional arts, asserting that they plan to capitalize on Korean heritage. Chapter Eight examines a different type of student, those who are becoming closer to their traditional heritage but are not concerned with careers in the arts.

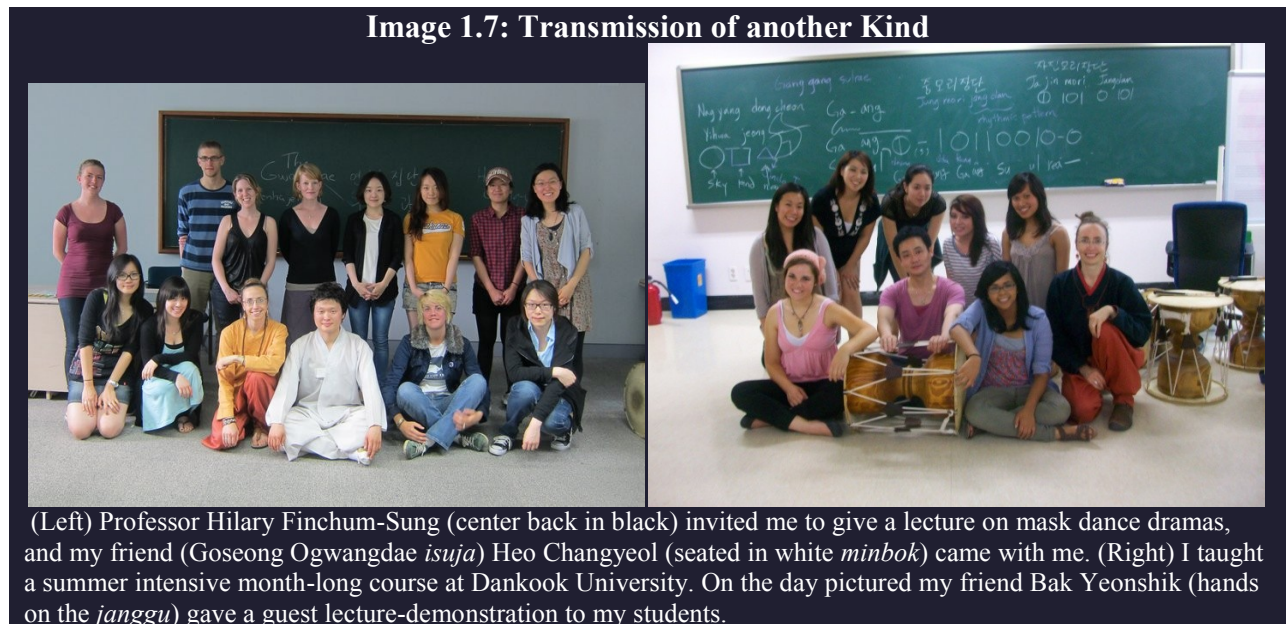
Part Three of my dissertation, "In Front of the Mask," considers the audiences who watch these performances. In Chapter Nine I examine the audience with an audience typology and discuss how viewing practices for Korean performances has changed. In Chapter Ten I critique the ways in which the performance is presented to the audience, addressing advertisements, program information, and the narratives of emcees.

Finally I conclude with Part Four of my dissertation, "Packing up and Going Home." Before I continue farther I would like to clarify that although this dissertation engages gloomy topics such as cultural loss, appropriation, and taxidermization of culture, I remain an optimist. We cannot collectively ignore the exciting cultural work going on around us just because "it is easier to register the loss of traditional orders of difference than to perceive the emergence of new ones" (Clifford 1988: 15). While I spend the next several hundred pages pointing out how things have changed and how the transmission environment has been impacted by Korean cultural policy, I do this to hopefully prove that even as our relation to traditional culture shifts, people are finding ways to transmit valuable performance knowledge to the next generation. Memory, and preserving tradition in memory, is important; but memory's twin is forgetting, and the two are perpetually inter-dependent processes.

Sangmo spinning is deceptive—if it did not appear as natural as breathing it would not work in the performance context. Even after one learns the basics and is able to spin the ribbon, beat the rhythm on the *sogo* hand drum, and step with the music it will take great dedication to polish one's skills enough to perform a solo. Yet each time I enrolled in a *sangmo* intensive there were others who also struggled to attain these skills and fellow students from the previous season trying to learn something new. Time remains to protect and transmit the arts because

transmission is a slow process, and reception has already begun for many learners. Even while we look around Seoul in the 2000s and struggle to pierce the modernity to detect tradition, tradition continues. It persists in formal activities like *sangmo* classes and bleeds out into surrounding society—if you look closely you may notice the woman seated across from you on the gleaming subway car lightly tapping her thighs with her hands as she practices a traditional drumming sequence for the *janggu*.

Image 1.7: Transmission of another Kind



(Left) Professor Hilary Finchum-Sung (center back in black) invited me to give a lecture on mask dance dramas, and my friend (Goseong Ogwangdae *isuja*) Heo Changyeol (seated in white *minbok*) came with me. (Right) I taught a summer intensive month-long course at Dankook University. On the day pictured my friend Bak Yeonshik (hands on the *janggu*) gave a guest lecture-demonstration to my students.

Chapter Two

Memory Keepers and the Challenges of Change

In this chapter I address how memory, heritage and authenticity are interwoven in the context of a conscious transmission effort that arose as a response to globalization and cultural change.

When I first became concerned with sustainability of the traditional arts, I began an extensive examination of how cultural policy impacts the arts in Korea. Cultural policy creates an archive for arts that had been little-archived in the pre-modern era. However, each performance, each embodiment of the arts is by definition an ongoing discourse because "materials from the archive shape embodied practice in innumerable ways, yet never totally dictate embodiment" (Taylor 2003:21). The artists continue these discourses most actively as they try to pass on the practices, creating/becoming new performers engaging with the tradition. Therefore an exploration of transmission will expose the core of the traditional performing arts in Korea today.

1. The Preservation of Traditional Performing Arts as a Response to Globalization

Globalization is an alluring concept; it "draws our enthusiasm because it helps us imagine interconnection, travel and sudden transformation" (Tsing 2008: 69). As a term loaded with meanings and assumptions, globalization has been ambiguously defined as a global process, a socio-economic condition and a conceptual approach. For Koichi Iwabuchi (2002), globalization can be understood as transnational flows of culture. Following Iwabuchi, I understand culture to flow across nations in uneven patterns and directions. In some cases the flows may even be unidirectional. Flows may be predominant in one area yet almost invisible in another, or strong from Korea to Thailand but hardly flowing from Korea to Pakistan or from Thailand back to Korea. While globalization is a process that inevitably affects many parts of the world, it does not affect everywhere in the same way, and it is not synonymous with Americanization or Westernization. Anthony Giddens (1991) has suggested that globalization is an outcome of

modernity and a cyclical process that is not unique to the present moment. Globalization represents one of the most significant conceptual frameworks from which to approach cultural transmission in a rapidly modernizing world. Specific to my study is how Korean traditions today manifest themselves in this globalized world. Flows of culture move both in and out of Korea creating new hybrid forms and developing in ways that could not have been predicted two decades ago.

Individuals cannot withstand transnational flows of culture and, while many enjoy benefits brought on by globalization, others respond with alarm at the idea that without appropriate policies their local and national traditions might be washed off the map. As a result, cultural policies have often been driven by protectionist and nationalistic clamoring from politicians, and a growing grass roots awareness that communities must defend their traditions by protecting the modes of expression that are regarded as their cultural patrimony.

Ethnomusicologist Krister Malm (2001) argues that protecting the cultural life of a community is as important as protecting the rights of an individual to be part of that group. In the same vein, Andrew Weintraub believes that "if what identifies and distinguishes such a community through its cultural practices is drastically altered by forces beyond the control of its membership, then it becomes meaningless to protect an individual's right to be part of that community" (2009: 3).

Because the majority of the individuals who engage in a traditional performing art inherently identify with that genre either culturally, linguistically or emotionally, such arts have served as a vital way to transmit ideas and knowledge through time (from generation to generation) and through space (geographically). When individuals are alienated from their cultural identification, due to loss of generational knowledge or geographical displacement, they experience a loss of

identity. Such alienation could also be attributed to how (or whether) they have access to their knowledge of tradition, for "the loss of access to music can mean the loss of a group's sense of shared identity" (Weintraub 2009: 8). Although it might be going too far to imagine that without the performing arts the people of Korea would lose their collective identity as Koreans, it is undeniable that in areas where different ethnic and cultural groups come into constant contact with each other, particular performance genres are inevitably used as identity markers.

Ethnomusicologist Helen Rees, carrying out research in a multi-ethnic region of southwest China, found that music can be "an active factor in the construction of identities and relationships" and is able to "dynamically affect the extra-musical environment" (2000: 8). In Korea, although the traditional performing arts have historically been marginalized, they are powerful symbols of national identity, trotted out twice yearly for television specials around the holidays of Chuseok (harvest) and Seollal (new year) and prominently featured in Korean tourism advertisements. They are recognizably Korean and even though ordinary Koreans have a distant relationship with the arts, national support for preserving tradition is high.

a. Transnational Cultural Flows in Korean History

While the West and Japan today exert the strongest influences on Korea, the flows of culture into this nation were historically strongest from China. Although some cultural preservationists are hesitant to assign any positive value to globalization, the cross-pollination of cultures has historically led to the production of new creative works. Sumptuous Buddhist gifts during proselytizing efforts in Korea (at their heyday between 200 and 500 CE) stimulated the material arts in Korea, influenced aesthetic sensibilities and gave rise to hundreds of thousands of new art

works. In this historical case people are unlikely to use the term derivative, yet in those early of years copying foreign artworks, could it be said to be anything else? Performing arts, too, are said to have been supplemented by Buddhist rituals and culture that traveled the Silk Road (Yi DH 1981: 8-9), and scholars in Korea have found connections between Korean arts and those of Mongolia, China and Tibet (cf. Jeon KW 2008, 2005). Little remains of what may have entered Korea at this time, although certainly the connection can still be perceived within Buddhist ritual.

Accounts of both cultural protectionism and openness to foreign cultures can be found in Korean history. In 1114 and 1116 Emperor Huizong of Song China sent to Korea instruments, music and performance instructions. "The second gift, in 1116, was more desired by the Koreans: it was *dasheng yayue*, music for rituals. It comprised a massive 428 instruments together with costumes and ritual dance objects" (Howard 1995: 13). The music played on these instruments with the instructions sent from China evolved into *a-ak*, Confucian ritual music still played today. In fact, modern Chinese musicologists have turned to Korea to try to reconstruct how ritual music sounded in Song and Tang China. Although the music has inevitably changed in Korea, the peninsula enjoyed relatively stable politics and benefited musically from mensural notation, the precursor to modern musical notation. During this time in musical history, in order to document on paper music that could only be performed on an instrument, and that was only transmitted through musical memory, the need to develop methods of musical documentation as a way to preserve artistic creations was strongly felt. Mensural notation was established under King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) and revised under King Sejo (r. 1455-1468).¹⁵ However while some

¹⁵ For more on mensural notation in Korea see Lee Hye-gu (1981).

musical techniques were documented in the early Joseon Dynasty, another form of musical knowledge is captured in legends. Legend has it that the beloved Korean *gayageum* 12-string zither was invented under the direction of a king who wanted to hear a zither made to suit Korean music (Choi H 2007).

These outside influences meant that the "art music" of the Korean past was heavily influenced by Chinese music, unlike folk music, which evolved with less connection to Chinese court fashions. The upper classes continued to accept foreign music in the early modern era. As musicologist Song Bang-song explains, the "characteristic of the Japanese colonial period was the uncritical acceptance of Western music by Korean musicians who were taught by Western missionaries or who had studied in Japan" (2000: 31). Although Japanese popular musics of the colonial period and recording projects from that era also had an impact on Korean performance, it is Western music that has become more established in Korea.¹⁶

The project of preservation of heritage, particularly intangible cultural heritage is complex. This leads us to question what has been preserved, why, how, and by whom.

The Korean Struggle with Nationalism and Creating National Identity

In the late Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) discourses about the nation-state and campaigns to bind Koreans together emerged rapidly. Unfortunately this new consciousness did not prevent Korea from being colonized, manipulated and split without the consent of the populace.¹⁷ As discussed

¹⁶ To learn more about Korean music during the colonial era see Part One (3-124) of Song BS (2000), for the colonial era see Maliangkay (2007), Finchum-Sung (2006) and Son MJ (2006) and for some details about the early influx of Western music after the end of the colonial era, Maliangkay (2006).

¹⁷ Note that some scholars would assert that a nation-state developed in Korea far earlier. Hyung Il Pai (2000) devotes many pages to outlining their claims (and using the tools they have employed, such as the archaeological

extensively by historian Andre Schmid (2002) Korean nationalism was in large part a political and cultural response to Japanese colonization as the rest of the world ignored Korea's plight. Korea quickly adopted the signs and symbols of (Western) statehood to unify the populace and assert nationhood. Feeling the looming forces of China, Japan, Russia, America and the European powers, in the early twentieth century Korean reformers struggled to establish a clear and definitive Korean nation that would exist solidly and inarguably in the mind of the world. The often Western-educated reformers pushed their agenda "by focusing on national history, heroes, Korean language, Korean script (*han'geul*), the emperor as an integrating symbol of the nation and patriotic songs" (Yi YM 2000: 74). Among symbolic overtures established at this time was the national anthem of Korea, first adopted by the Independence Club according to Shin Yong-ha (2000: 125). That anthem, *Aegukga*, was sung to the tune of *Auld Lang Syne* for several years until original music was created by a Korean composer, but even then the music was in a Western motif and intended for Western instruments. Koreans similarly designated a national flag¹⁸ and flower.¹⁹

The Korean national anthem, flag and flower began to see use in the late 1800s. Even in the present era they are conspicuously present in government campaigns, advertising ventures and at large events such as culture festivals and sports games. Through adopting these Western trappings of the modern nation, the Korean nationalist reformers attempted to engage in a global discourse about the nation-state (Schmid 2002). In order to cement national identity in the face of

record to point out the many weak points in their arguments).

¹⁸ The flag is called *taegeukgi*, with a red and blue yin-yang (*eumyang*) symbol surrounded by trigrams from the *I Ching* (The Confucian classic *Book of Changes*).

¹⁹ The national flower is the *mugunghwa* or the Rose of Sharon.

multiple external territorial threats and build nationalism Koreans had to connect the Western conception of the nation with a clear telling of Korean history, the primary goal of which was to differentiate Korea from Japan and China.

The emphasis on education and promotion of the Korean script dovetailed well with the larger goals of the nationalists.²⁰ Benedict Anderson (1983) argues that nationalism and national consciousness are rooted in the development of print culture. The use of a common language, particularly a common written language, is often used in arguments of independence.²¹ According to Anderson's argument, people could only be collectively aware of their membership in local groups (family, village) and not aware of themselves as citizens of a nation before the newly emerging newspapers and other manifestations of print culture connected them to the nation and other unseen citizens of the nation. Unfortunately these late 1800s and early 1900s efforts were not enough to resist the Japanese, and Korea became a protectorate in 1905 and a colony in 1910.

During the colonial period (1910-1945) the Japanese policies in Korea did not remain constant; instead they responded to the political situation in Japan and events on the Korean peninsula. It was during this era that various people and groups resisted the Japanese occupation in large and small ways, including the failed March 1st uprising. Koreans abroad, such as Rhee Syngman (Syngman Rhee), led independence groups and unsuccessfully lobbied world leaders trying to convince them to oppose Japan's occupation due to Korea's thousands of years of

²⁰ Although Korean script was developed in 1443 and promulgated in 1446, the upper class clung to the use of Chinese characters as a mark of education, so the *han'geul* script was not widely used until nationalistic efforts at the turn of the century as Japan poised to take control of the country.

²¹ For example, the Tibetans often point to their written and spoken language, completely unlike Chinese in grammar, lettering and origin, as proof that they are a culturally distinct entity.

independence.²² Japan had justified colonizing Korea partially based on arguments that they were in fact one people. This meant that differences between Korea and Japan became an important area of intellectual examination. The early Korean folklorists contributed to the discussions by exposing how dissimilar the folk traditions in the two countries were. Despite the heavy influence from the Japanese scholarship they became exposed to in their studies, they were still "directed toward combating the interpretation of Korean history and customs advanced by government-sponsored Japanese researchers" (Janelli 1986: 29). These folklorists, part of the "Cultural Nationalist Movement," were led by Choe Namseon, Yi Neunghwa, Son Jintae and Song Seokha (ibid: 31). All four carried out folklore studies "based on the nationalism of the primary researchers" (Yang JS 2003: 16). Choe and Yi's work brought out the idea of the centrality of shamanism to all Korean culture, and provided "symbols for Korean identity and national pride" (Janelli 1986: 34). Son and Song also carried out research that helped reaffirm Korean distinctiveness—most interesting is Song's organization of the Korean Folklore Society, establishment of a folklore museum and his early work with mask dance dramas (ibid.: 40). The research of all four folklorists provided much of the basis for popular nationalism and nationalistic scholarship after liberation.

In 1945 at the end of World War II, Japan surrendered and its former colonies, including Korea, were freed. A previous appeal for Russian help in East Asia, lack of nearby American

²² If you are interested in learning more about the history of the Korean independence movement and the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910-1945) there is a wealth of information available in English and even more in Korean. Some basic sources include *Korea Old and New: A History* (Eckert, Lee, Lew, et al 2002), see particularly chapters 14-18), *Korea: The Politics of the Vortex* (Henderson 1968), the previously cited Schmid (2002), and Bruce Cumming's *Korea's Place in the Sun: A Modern History* (1997). F.A. McKenzie's Chapter Four, "The Independence Club" is a clear overview (1920: 60-78). To learn more about specifically first president Rhee, see *Syngman Rhee: The Prison Years of a Young Radical* (Lee 2001). I would cite Korean sources, but if you're reading my dissertation English is probably easier for you.

forces and early Cold War posturing collectively caused the peninsular kingdom formerly known as Joseon, after the dynasty that ruled from 1392 to 1910, to be artificially divided. Two drastically different systems of government arose on both sides of the border, a strip of undeveloped land known as the Demilitarized Zone. The Republic of Korea, as well as the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (the DPRK, the north), faced the difficult task of branding themselves as independent nations in the eyes of the world, and the even more difficult task of convincing the people who had ended up on their side of the border that they were in fact different and better than their neighbors, uncles and sisters on the other side.²³

Long before liberation in 1945, many Koreans had come to believe that the Japanese Occupation was due to a failure to modernize quickly.²⁴ After liberation the Republic of Korea began an aggressive period of modernization strongly based on the Western model, unsurprising considering the many American advisers and heavy influence of the West in the country at that time. Korean traditional culture was devalued due to the belief that if Korean culture had not been able to withstand a Westernized Japan then Korea must Westernize or remain weak and at risk. The rapid modernization and uncritical Westernization was so inclusive that Koreans explored everything Western, from the superficial to the philosophical—leading many to abandon the folk performance practices that *had* weathered the colonial era. Although some arts died out during the colonial period due to periodic repression of performing arts, many, particularly instrumental music and dance were able to survive the period comparatively easily. Other genres, like the mask dance dramas, drumming and dancing music and *minyo* folk songs,

²³ See Cumings (1989), particularly Part II, pages 135-166, for more details about what happened directly after the war.

²⁴ Every Korean history textbook will mention this if it covers the time period at all. The most widely regarded history books remain the previously cited Eckert et al. (2002) and Cumings (1997).

suffered more under Colonial policies. Mask dance dramas had had a leveling effect during the Joseon Dynasty and were used as an outlet for resentment towards the upper class;²⁵ Japanese colonial forces worried that the mask dance dramas could be reworked to target the Japanese instead of the *yangban*. *Pungmul* drumming and dancing music had been used for organizing groups, particularly of commoners, and hence it also was regarded as a potential tool of insurrection. Finally, vocal music was suspect as songs could spread political sentiments. However, nationalistic accounts of all Korean culture being forbidden or prohibited overstate the situation.²⁶ Although the Japanese did in some cases directly repress Korean expression, a larger barrier to transmission was that within a changed society the customary space in which tradition existed was changed or eliminated.²⁷ This process continued after the colonial era ended.²⁸

After it became clear that the scheduled reunification of Korea was not going to happen, an election was held in 1948, three years after liberation, and Western-educated independence fighter Rhee Syngman (Syngman Rhee) was chosen to lead the south. Before Rhee resigned from the presidency in 1960 he had already begun to reach out to traditional culture and

²⁵ One of the most prolific mask dance drama scholars of all time, Yi Duhyeon, provides a coherent overview of the mask dance dramas: "Satirizing an apostate monk given to lust, ridiculing the shortcomings of the upper class (*yangban*) society and pointing fun at the domestic tribulations of the husband-wife-concubine relationship are some of the common themes that pervade the mask drama repertoire. Thus, the village festival, primarily sacred in intent, served as a vent for the grievances of the common people against the prevailing social taboos of the time. Debauchery, eroticism, merry making, and the liberation from social class restraint formed an integral part of the village festival" (1975: 36).

²⁶ For example: "Mask dance companies enjoyed the greatest popularity during the latter half of the 19th century. They began to shrink amidst social changes brought about by foreign interventions and then suffered a critical blow during the colonial period. The Japanese colonial government, which adopted an oppressive policy against Korean culture and popular arts, issued a decree in 1911 that those who sang and danced at night without permission would be punished by summary court. Mask dance could not be performed under such circumstances" (Cho DI 2005: 55).

²⁷ To learn more see Jeong Sujin (2008: 86-118) for information on Japanese treatment of performative culture during the occupation.

²⁸ Keith Howard (2006), Jeong Sujin (2008) and Lee Hunsang (2010) touch on this topic.

instituted the first policies to preserve knowledge of Korean performing arts. In 1951 Rhee founded the National Gugak Center and in 1958 he instituted the first national folk culture contests.²⁹ As time went on the government realized that in order to promote official nationalism and thus national identity, an appeal to common cultural roots could be highly effective.³⁰ General Park Chung Hee continued promoting nationalism through the arts after his 1961 coup d'état, particularly because supporting traditional culture and painting himself as a true Korean could help to legitimize his government. Park and later presidents appealed to cultural nationalism not just vis-à-vis the past, but in the present and the future as a way to maintain distinctiveness in an increasingly globalized world (Han KK 2003: 6).³¹

Anthropologist Kurt Tauchmann writes that "culture as a system of shared knowledge is exchanged on an individual level by socialization and is transformed through structure changes initiated by political leaders" (2004: 90). Korea's political leaders have certainly structured changes, thus transforming Korean culture in their bid to use elements of traditional culture to promote official nationalism. For more details please see the table on changing cultural policy at the end of this chapter (appendix 2.1). President Park Chung Hee used nationalism in pursuit of rapid economic development, while instituting oppressive policies in pursuit of rapid economic development, a morally flawed but strategically successful manipulation of the populace. The

²⁹ The National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts was founded and temporarily housed in Busan in 1951 (during the Korean War), and the Transmission Center for Gugak Musicians (in Seoul) was opened in 1955, both under President Rhee. This center recently changed its name to the National Gugak Center. *Gugak* means national music (or traditional music/ Korean music). The folk arts contests began in 1958 as part of a celebration of the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Republic of Korea. See Jeong Sujin (2008: 185) for more on founding the folk arts contests and the institution of the National Gugak Center (159-160).

³⁰ This is covered extensively in Yim Haksoon (2004) and Yang Jongsung (2003).

³¹ President Chun Duhwan used traditional culture; in publicity, including in his inauguration parade, the festival *gukpung '81* and for the Olympic Games (Yang JS 2003: 89-90, Dilling 2001).

power of the nation relies on the allegiance of the citizens to the nation-state. Nations create "various kinds of international spectacle to domesticate difference" (Appadurai 1996: 39). This is done to forge solidarity and to attack the potential for splits within the nation. All nations engage in these activities, and in Korea the arts were pressed into service.

Changing Tastes

Can artistic performances or culture be preserved? Musicologist Philip Yampolsky (2001) suggests that those concerned with this question should investigate the reasons why people do or do not want to preserve culture, and whether those reasons can be addressed. Active participation is most enthusiastic when culture conforms to tastes; for example the Argentine dance genre tango has not died out because people are still enthralled by practicing it. The people who have the power to sustain a type of performance are those who will learn, perform and watch it (Yampolsky 2001: 177). Yet tastes change and although this can be influenced by globalization and modernization, tastes were always changing. That said, the development of a Korean national identity implicated the acceptance of a specific set of cultural preferences that included performing arts genres, trends and even repertoires from abroad. Today tastes tend to change primarily because of trends in cultural consumption, such that "most Koreans now living have had their musical taste formed initially by exposure to Western-style or Western-influenced music, both classical and popular" (Killick 2002: 804). The desire to protect traditional culture emerged during an era of extreme nationalism and as a reactive attempt to make a case for Korean "uniqueness" in the wake of the Japanese Occupation and the division of the nation (Van Zile 2001: 59). Transnational flows of Western "art music" into East Asia have had a profound

impact on cultural consumption, particularly among the trend-setting elite. In the late 1980s ethnomusicologist Helen Rees found that most people in China thought of Chinese folk music as "aesthetically inferior to Western art music or Westernized modern Chinese genres" (2009: 47). In a similar way it has grown difficult to find people in Korea who understand, appreciate and even prefer Korean traditional music.

As Korea has modernized and globalized, different interest groups have advocated for preservation of traditional Korean heritage. For example:

Though scholars contributed to the documentation and preservation of traditional culture and made people realize the importance of their own folk traditions in the context of national identity, they hampered, perhaps unintentionally and unconsciously, the development of scientific studies of national culture. Because they were mainly concerned with typologies of "indigenous" or "authentic" Korean culture, they did not pay much attention to the political, economic, and social contexts in which folk customs were produced or reproduced, nor were they interested in theory and methodology (Kim KO 2004: 256-57).

Koreans were once so religiously pluralistic that they turned to a shaman for healing, prayed at a Buddhist temple, attended village rites and organized Confucian ancestral ceremonies. Yet now some are so closed to other religions that they may take their Christian proselytizing to Afghanistan.³² Such a major change has also occurred in music and performance. Musicologist Timothy Taylor (1996) found that Western audiences turn to world music for something new and different, and many Koreans have similarly been attracted to exciting new performance forms from the West. Appadurai claims that "deterritorialization is one of the central forces in the modern world," and efforts to preserve traditional performance knowledge and skills do not co-exist easily with deterritorialization (1996: 37). How exactly does the transnational flow of

³² This is a reference to twenty-three Korean Christians from the Sammul Presbyterian Church who in July 2007 were so eager to proselytize that they went to the (at that time) area of greatest unrest in Afghanistan and were promptly captured and ransomed, but not before two members were killed.

culture impact the performing arts?

b. Modern Soundscapes, Modern Korea

Scholars have wrestled with the relationship between the performing arts and society.

Anthropologist Christopher Waterman has examined the "relationship of music to worldview values and social organization" suggesting that music and other performing arts play an important role "in the maintenance of tradition under conditions of social and economic change" (1990: 221). For ethnomusicologist Kay Kaufman Shelemay soundscapes are flexible musical domains that capture the "multidimensional, dynamic nature of music as it moves across time and space," which are capable of accommodating sweeping global trends and particular local expressions (Shelemay 2001: xiii).³³ However, in the modern Korean soundscape Korean traditional music is rare. Today the Korean soundscape is dominated by Korean popular music; as a pedestrian walks down the street K-pop booms out from speakers on storefronts. Foreign, mainly American music is also part of the mix. The musical sounds that fill the air are many: across the street on the third floor a child is diligently struggling to play Beethoven on a slightly out-of-tune piano; an elderly woman selling fruit out of boxes on the sidewalk is listening to Trot, the popular music of her younger years that counts polka as one of its ancestors; and on a nearby college campus a few students engage in a *samulnori* practice. This last example, an updated form of Korean traditional drumming, is one of the only signs of the traditional in the city soundscape. Lamentably, traditional music is almost missing from the soundscape of the Korean

³³ Soundscape as a term for the aural landscape was perhaps first used by Murray Schafer in 1977. R. Anderson Sutton uses the term in his 1996 article in *Ethnomusicology*, "Interpreting Electronic Sound Technology in the Contemporary Javanese Soundscape." It is now widely employed.

nation, and the pentatonic mode has been expunged in favor of Western classical scales with the European tuning system. In modern Korea the rasp of the *haegeum* fiddle is as unexpected as seeing a woman dressed in a voluminous traditional *hanbok* gown anywhere other than outside a wedding hall.³⁴ Ironically Korea has internalized the West so successfully that Koreans now see their own traditions as exotic. The exotic in Korea truly is the *haegeum* and the *hanbok*, not Britney Spears and blue jeans.

Globalization vs. Folk Performing Arts

There is no reason to pit traditional performance against popular performance because tradition and modernity are not mutually exclusive social conditions. It is impossible to avoid a juxtaposition of cultural elements that seem to belong to the "traditional" and the "popular": a student may spend numerous hours of the day memorizing a Korean mask dance drama, then cook, clean, and take a shower while singing the latest K-pop hit.

The difference between these two sides of the spectrum is that the method of creation and transmission for popular music is in complete opposition to methods used with traditional musics. Popular music is entirely dependent on globalization and the way in which culture has been transmitted through technology, whereas traditional performing arts are rooted in a past that certain cultural groups remember and preserve in response to globalization. Globalization has brought renewal and new styles and new ways for performers to earn a living from their art. Ethnomusicologist Andrew Weintraub's evaluation of globalization is that "the globalization of music has resulted in the redefinition of aesthetic criteria, the potential loss of traditional

³⁴ Moon Okpyo explains that "costumes originated [sic] from the West have replaced the traditional ones pushing the latter into a status of ritual wear worn in specific occasions only" (1999: 10).

knowledge, and the commoditization of music at a greater scale than ever before" (2009: 4). Arjun Appadurai, too, agrees that there are negative effects of globalization, suggesting that as "groups are no longer tightly territorialized, spatially bounded, historically unselfconscious, or culturally homogenous" governments have become increasingly concerned that in the rush to develop, something is being lost (1996: 48). However, there is no such thing as a pure traditional culture free from foreign elements. In fact "traditional" culture cannot even be said to exist without an "other" with which to compare it (Kim WY 1990: 5). Is this just grasping at tradition because the speed of modernity is distressing?

Culture continually regenerates itself in small, cumulatively significant ways. As time progresses and each element changes again, the process can evolve into an almost completely new culture without any disruption or feeling of cultural loss. The people who can in the present keep cultural change smooth and representative of a wide slice of the population are the young performers who study under master percussionist Kim Duksoo but have Big Bang and 10cm on their mp3 players.³⁵

The idea that globalization is anathemic to folk performing arts (if not to more modern cultural expression) persists in the scholarly literature. For example, writing about polyphonic folk music from the former Soviet Republic of Georgia, ethnomusicologist Nino Tsitsishvili states, "popular music's perceived effects of de-territorialization and universalization of music styles have pitted Georgian popular music against the continuity and rootedness of folk polyphony" (2009: 12). I would temper Tsitsishvili's statement by suggesting that, while there may be oppositional impulses between globalization and traditional performing arts, performers

³⁵ Big Bang and 10cm are respectively a major pop group and a fairly successful indie group.

may overemphasize the differences between themselves and others in trying to attract an audience. The idea that globalization and modern popular styles are connected in opposition to traditional/folk performing arts is overly simplistic. Anthropologist Christopher Waterman found that in development of Nigerian jùjú music,

Modernity and tradition may be mutually dependent rather than opposed process; Western technology can catalyze the expressions of indigenous values; and that images of deep cultural identity may be articulated and negotiated through cosmopolitan syncretic forms (1990: 146).

Traditional arts are the popular arts of the past, for if these arts had never been loved there would be nothing left to remember.

The traditional arts that have survived massive world-wide changes are the popular arts of the past. In a presentation on the folk song genre *Seonsori Santaryeong* (another of Korea's intangible cultural properties) Professor Seo emphasized that *Seonsori Santaryeong* is a form of popular music.³⁶ Although I translated this as "was at one time popular music," Professor Seo was using the traditional division of Korean singing forms into "local" songs such as the regional agricultural songs *Namdo Deulnorae* and "popular" songs as in songs known all across the peninsula.³⁷ If the traditional performances had not lost the audience they once had, they would continue to be enjoyed by a large number of people. As time passes certain artistic expressions do not retain the attraction they once had for a variety of reasons.

Ethnomusicologist Krister Malm writes about the promise of renewal, that "all over the

³⁶ This presentation, on January 27th, 2010, was part of the 9th Annual Korean Music Symposium at UCLA. Professor Jeon Kyungwook repeatedly made this same point during an interview conducted on May 31st, 2011 in his office at Korea University. Professor Choi Changju also uses this argument when discussing *Bongsan Talchum* (both in interview at his office at Korean National University of the Arts on April 11th, 2011 and in conversation over lunch near the *Bongsan Talchum* office on May 28th, 2011).

³⁷ Keith Howard explains the popular and local folksong division (2006: 81-98).

world young musicians searching for their roots dig up old recordings and try to revive kinds of music" (1993: 349). I hope that Malm is right and at some point Korean tradition will be the source of inspiration for pop artists to a greater degree than *samgo bukchum* (the dance featuring a drummer with drums at chest height on three sides was already used by Shakira) in 2NE1's video for "I am the Best" and the presence of two dancing Bukcheong Saja Noleum (mask dance drama) lions in Big Bang's 2012 hit "Fantastic Baby."³⁸ Such a change would have a meaningful impact on the preservation of Korean traditions and could do more good than the legislation of cultural policies. Malm's examples include Swedish musicians preserving music from Russia, the United States and Martinique. I applaud those efforts but wonder if the culture is being preserved along with the artistic skills. My concern remains that the outer appearance is being preserved without concern for the richness and complexity of performance firmly rooted in culture. Some of the situations in which the traditional work was carried out by Korean performing arts no longer exist due to changes in social contexts. For example, mask dance dramas are no longer a way to temporarily turn the fixed class system on its head; itinerant variety show *Namsadang* teams no longer roam the countryside; and *pansori* epic singers cannot be found in a market or drinking house busking for a living. There is no court to commission performances of court dances, and visiting envoys to Korea will be just as pleased to see the beautiful touristic *buchaechum* (fan dance), the Seoul Symphony Orchestra, or court music and dance performance. The world has changed, and the Korean performers have in most ways adapted to the world

³⁸ *Samgo bukchum* is a dance performed by dancers surrounded by drums hung in frames at chest height on three sides. The dancers performing *samgo bukchum* in "I am the Best" were a dramatic visual but added little to the sound in 2NE1's 2011 hit. Likewise the addition of two lions in the style of mask and color and construction of lion's body used by Bukcheong Saja Noleum were just another interesting visual element in the visually captivating video "Fantastic Baby" by Big Bang. In neither case were the traditional elements integrated into the video beyond their visual addition, which was not explained in media surrounding the releases.

instead of trying to force the world to stop spinning. Although Korean performers have sometimes resisted changed performance environments, it is more realistic to suggest that performances have in fact changed to accommodate the stage, the lack of interaction with the audience and changed audience expectations. These important changes in arts performance are examined in greater detail in the next chapter.

Although at one time it was popular to evince "nostalgia for traditional, rural life and folk culture with its community orientation and egalitarian spirit" (Yea 1999: 224), most Koreans are more attached to their citizenship in a society of early-adapters where 3D televisions, smart phones and the best camera equipment are considered necessities, not luxuries. Yet there is an awareness of the loss of connection to tradition and to heritage. Hyung-yu Park's research into the individual interpretation of heritage revealed "deep concern over the socio-cultural transformations inherent in the structural fabric of Korean society" (2009: 171). Finding that engagement with heritage allowed Koreans to conceptualize national belonging (ibid.: 174), Park concluded that "sustaining the nation's cultural associations is at the core of maintaining a sense of Koreanness, particularly at a time of rapid socio-cultural change and increasing influx of globalized culture" (2009: 175). The strengthening and preserving of such cultural associations is at the center of the government's efforts to preserve culture, including turning much of Korean tradition into an exhibition of itself (such as at Changdeok Palace). However, without individual participation and the desire to learn, the traditional can be overlooked in this age of information overload. The search for Koreanness drives the early exploration of Korean traditional culture, often beginning with watching a performance and only later (perhaps) evolving into learning.

Therefore, although globalization can give rise to exciting transcultural forms of

performance, it has changed not only the environment in which traditional arts are transmitted but also the cultural ideologies associated with them. The impact of globalization has modified so much about Korean life that it is impossible to sustain the traditional performing arts in the form they held in pre-modern Korea. The act of preserving tradition today sheds new light on how authenticity is maintained in this changing transmission environment because it does not deny that changes have and will continue to occur. The preservation of tradition as culture is without doubt politically entwined with the idea of "Koreanness," and an examination of transmission will reveal these important ideological connections.

2. Transmission

It is within this changed and globalized world that the transmission of tradition becomes a larger concern than ever before. Transmission is the communication of knowledge and information from one person or group to another person or group, as well as the process of reception and interpretation through which the student learns to embody a particular performance genre. It is also a communicative process by which knowledge is "conveyed through a performative aesthetic or through extended processes such as apprenticeship" (Roberts 1993: 62). In the context of traditional performing arts that are protected through legal systems, transmission is critical to success: the "system relies on transmission" (Howard 2006: 9). This is one reason why individual teachers are so important. The charismatic teacher can inspire the students to learn, to receive transmission. In the past, culture was transmitted "from one generation to the next within the community setting and outside of formal instruction and commercialization" (Pietrobruno 2009: 234), in a way that "mirrors genetic transmission" (Skounti 2009: 77). Today, without

extra encouragement, without building a renewed sense of community around transmission of an art form, the potential learner may not continue for long enough. This is why I saw, again and again, communities being created around learning. Students feel they are receiving not just knowledge but also the attendant atmosphere of communal enjoyment. Transmission teaches a cultural sensibility (Hahn 2007: 50), ensures the continued existence of a style, and passes on skills. Examining the process of transmission "reveals the deep connections that exist between a genre's practice, aesthetic priorities, and cultural values" (Hahn 2007: 50). However, the introduction of a legal system has a significant impact, an impact that, despite good intentions, can actually serve to distance arts from the cultures in which they are rooted.

As the foremost issue in the preservation of traditional performing arts worldwide, transmission matters because it is the artists who, through practice and teaching, are key in ultimately maintaining these traditions. Although previous scholarship has uncovered the history of Korean arts and explored both meaning and technique, there is more to learn from studying performance than just the particulars of that performance. Dance studies scholar Tomie Hahn explains, an "observation of how dance is taught reveals a great deal about that culture as well as the individual dancers practicing the tradition" (2007: 1). Observing the performance alone prioritizes the product while sublimating or ignoring the process that leads to that product. This process of preparing for performance, of learning how to perform, is the underwater bulk of the iceberg. Hahn believes that the transmission of culture shapes the experiential orientation of the individual learners (2007: 5). By studying transmission in Korea—the who, how, and why of learning traditional performing arts—my starting point is the individual. An individual performs and transmits his or her knowledge, even in a group art. Yet without another individual to receive

and interpret that knowledge the transmission process in the performing arts will not be complete.

The impact of specific people on Korean traditional performing arts has been tremendous. For example, Yi Byeong-ok, a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*,³⁹ began learning the mask dance drama *Songpa Sandae Noli* casually as a young college student. By the time he wrote his M.A. thesis it was rooted in creating an accurate (to the memories of the oldest performers) version of the script. He has written multiple books about *Songpa Sandae Noli*, continues to be an important performer and in the next decade may very well become a National Human Treasure as well. As both a scholar and a performer his mark on the art has been hugely influential; it literally would not look the same without his advocacy for corrections to the originally certified script. Furthermore, as a university professor and senior member of the group he has taught students both a deep anthropologically-interpreted understanding of the performing art and the movements and dialogue delivery. Although Yi has had an unusually large impact—in each case transmission includes a learner and a teacher—each learner has the option to become the next Yi Byeong-ok, or to quit practicing next week. Teachers cannot control the outcome of their teaching.

a. Memory in the Context of Transmission

Transmission of arts knowledge has been intimately linked to the process of shaping collective memory. Although this memory has been appropriated for diverse historical and political objectives, designated protectors of Korean culture see their role as memory keepers. They keep

³⁹ Korean arts are protected through certifying responsible parties: these parties are the top-ranked National Human Treasures, second-ranked *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*, third-ranked *isuja*, fourth-ranked *jeonsuja*. This is explained in more detail in the next chapter.

the memories of the ancestors and transmit them to the next generation. However in the Cultural Property Protection Law (CPPL) system the next generation is not their own kin, but rather younger individuals who are willing to learn the arts and assume the memory keeper mantle. Thus, the aim of the CPPL was to create "shared sites of collective memory" (Howard 2006: 7). Although I will examine the CPPL in great detail in Chapter Three, it is important to mention here that the guiding principle of the law, as described by Yang Jongsung, is that "it is more important to hand down intangible heritage to future generations than to record it. Nevertheless, an accurate record must precede an accurate transmission" (2004: 182). Records are fixed, but may contradict each other. Memory, on the other hand, is flexible and can accommodate multiple iterations without necessarily implying contradiction. Access to records can be relatively straightforward, but sometimes memory keepers do not want to submit to the memory recorded therein, holding to what they remember instead. This is why what is transmitted, how it is transmitted, and who is involved can lead us to new understandings of memory.

For example, in the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) many Korean arts performances were so closely associated with being low class that post-liberation performers were embarrassed to admit to their knowledge. Due to the efforts of the Park Chung Hee administration (1961-1979), the performing arts were recast as nationalistic symbols of Korean tradition. Then, ironically, during the pro-democracy movement during the 1970s and 80s the arts were colorfully appropriated to protest the government (Lee NH 2007: 187-212). Certain memories are privileged while others are repressed by heritage politics (Rowlands and de Jong 2007: 16). Selective use of memory is smart politics.

Conversely, politics has become enmeshed in memory. The historian Takashi Fujitani

explains this through theorizing the existence of mnemonic sites,

[Mnemonic sites are] material vehicles of meaning that either helped construct a memory of an emperor-centered national past that, ironically, had never been known or served as symbolic markers for commemorations of present national accomplishments and the possibilities of the future (1998: 11).

Fujitani's assertion is that through ritual, national holidays, and state ceremonies—each serving as a mnemonic site—Japaneseness (and love of the Emperor) was developed and embodied.

Fujitani found memory in these sites, but Mary Nooter Roberts and Allen Roberts have located memory "on the borderline of the body, at the threshold of self and other(s)" due to the impossibility of memory remaining static (1996: 86). Fujitani's mnemonic sites intertwined the self and others in a common understanding, "imperial pageants" taught citizens a sense of themselves as a part of the Japanese nation (Fujitani 1998: 15-16). This conceptualization of memory makes clear how local and personal social memory exist in a tense relationship with "globalizing and/or state-building acts of memorialism" such as intangible cultural heritage policies in Korea and other regions (Rowlands and de Jong 2007: 14). Memory and heritage are not the same:

Both concern the reproduction of social life by means of creating affective and cognitive landmarks that provide shared references to historical change and continuity. ... If social memory mainly concerns social agencies and actors belonging to localized and often small scale social environments, cultural heritage ... results from the ... complex and often tense negotiations involving cultural mediators who belong to different cultural and social milieus (Arantes 2009: 62).

Therefore, the memory of an elderly dancer in Korea and the preserved dance certified as heritage will only be the same at the time of certification. Afterwards the goals of the government and the additional life experience of the dancer may slowly diverge. To the dancer this is an embodied practice; he may feel enjoyment and pride in his skill. He probably considers

the dance art; but, to the certifying agency, before being considered art the dance is considered heritage. For the dancer the dance is a memory that is "active, always in the present; it is a construction, transaction, and negotiation, as opposed to a reproduction" (Roberts 1996: 27). Although memory and transmission are closely connected, archives and memory naturally diverge; over time this creates a challenge both for heritage-protecting agencies and heritage-performing artists.

Transmission, Embodiment and Memory

Memory is often transmitted through embodiment. Tomie Hahn explains that in the process of learning *nihon buyo* Japanese dancers' bodies are trained to conform to certain patterns that occur repeatedly (2007: 43). These patterns are distinctive to the dance and bear the essential imprint of their pedagogical genealogy (Hahn learned in the style of one specific school and teacher). In this way embodying the transmitted dance is simultaneously a process of transmitting memory specific to the dance forms' movements and the teachers' embodiment of the movements—the form and the teacher cannot be separated. Performance is a system for "learning, storing and transmitting knowledge" (Taylor 2007: 16) that has been undervalued in the modern world as writing was given legitimacy over other mnemonic systems (ibid.: 18). In the worldwide rapid transition from orality (written culture initially being confined by socioeconomic class, gender and ethnicity) to a reliance on records including audio and video recordings as well as texts, we have lost an awareness that some knowledge "is meant to be delivered and lost, except in memory, rather than remain as a document" (CE Park 2000: 276), and also lost the understanding that "memory is constituted by a politics of remembering and forgetting that stresses repetition

and continuity" (Rowlands and de Jong 2007:19).

Diana Taylor asserts that memory and modes of remembering are not an issue of the written versus the spoken, but "between the *archive* of supposedly enduring materials and the so-called ephemeral *repertoire* of embodied practice/knowledge" (2007: 19). Korean cultural policy understanding the importance of the repertoire to performance, protects culture through the individuals who embody Korean tradition (although conventional photographic, print, and video archives are also kept). The goal is to allow the archive and the repertoire to continually interact with each other, but there is an impulse to banish the repertoire to the past (ibid.: 21) through privileging re-enactment of the version of the performance recorded in the archive.

Protecting Culture, Protecting the Nation, Inventing Tradition?

The idea of cultural property, and wanting to protect one's own "unique" culture, emerged simultaneously with the modern nation state. The nation is itself a social construct, made with heavy state engineering. As such, cultures are not only fluid over time, they are fluid over space, too. Whatever is seen as "Korean" now contains numerous elements borrowed from other cultures. Fixed territories, as we see in Korea, do not necessarily translate into bounded cultural units. Heritage is a representation created through both remembering and forgetting (Anico and Peralta 2009: 6). In this sense, memory can be effectively manipulated, and popular perceptions of tradition can be constructed. The Republic of Korea seeks to revitalize, promote and protect heritage through ideologically constructed appeals to nationalism and the fifty-year-old CPPL law established to protect cultural heritage. This law, though it has indeed saved many performing arts from sure extinction, needs to be re-examined.

In the influential collection of essays, *The Invention of Tradition*, Eric Hobsbawm

identified three overlapping types of invented traditions:

a) Those establishing or symbolizing social cohesion, or the membership of groups, real or artificial communities, b) those establishing or legitimizing institutions, status or relations of authority, and c) those whose main purpose was socialization, the inculcation of beliefs, value systems and conventions of behavior (1983: 9)

Of these Hobsbawm felt that the most important and prevalent type was the first. Traditions are often part of a project of establishing or reinforcing a feeling of national identity. If a performance genre is designated as a form of *national* cultural heritage, non-nationals are by definition excluded from the potential group of authentic performers.⁴⁰

A stronger version of Hobsbawm's argument is espoused by anthropologist Michael Herzfeld, who argues that no kind of tradition is inherently more invented than any other. Rather, inventors of tradition, due to their political power, are able to enforce their view of history on a given society (1991:12). This notion of invention has huge implications for scholars of performance. While traditions were in the past perceived as fixed or static expressions, as Hobsbawm and Herzfeld illuminate, this is not the case at all. Traditions do not need to have a long historical trajectory, and often the most interesting thing about them is who promoted them and why. In the twenty-first century "individuals and groups improvise local performances from (re)collected pasts, drawing on foreign media, symbols and languages" (Clifford 2002: 14). Historian Hyung Il Pai (2000), in her book exposing myths in Korean narratives of the past, evokes Hobsbawm (1983) to explain the nationalist drive to establish a narrative of Korean historical continuity. Pai explains,

⁴⁰ Curiously the group of authentic performers can be even further curtailed through a desire to maintain an authentic "look" in the bodies of the performers. Jane Desmond (1999) researched the way that not just human (hula girls) but also animal bodies are chosen for display to conform to the prospective viewer's preconceived concepts of what is good or authentic.

Current Korean history books assert that during this ancient period, a Korean national consciousness, or the indomitable "Korean spirit of independence" (*Joseonjeongsin/ju'ui*) evolved and subsequently repelled a series of "foreign" invasions in a continuous national historical struggle to preserve Korean identity (2000: 2).

This effort to delineate an extended historical connection between the Koreans of the past and the Koreans in the present moment is based on flimsy evidence. Nationalist Korean historians have attempted to draw our contemporary understanding of what it means to be Korean, or be citizens in Korea, and extend this into the past for as many thousands of years as possible (Pai HI 2000). They are not alone in this impulse, for "the temptation to read contemporary categories into the past is strong" (Waterman 1990: 368). Similarly, many of the Korean scholars of mask dance drama who emerged in the 1970s and 1980s read strong political messages into performances during the Joseon Dynasty, not just those dramas reworked to political purposes during the Korean pro-democracy struggle. The agreement about what a particular tradition is within a particular community, in Benedict Anderson's sense, deals with the common ideologies within a group of people who may never have met each other, yet are part of a shared, bounded "imagined community" (1983).

An imagined community can be created through an understanding based in print culture (as Anderson argues) or it can be accomplished through performance and creating mnemonic sites (as Fujitani argues). Policies in Korea supported education, but lacking a predominantly literate citizenry Korean performance was also employed. Performance has been effective in other regions; according to Waterman, the Yoruba utilized neo-traditional music "in enacting and disseminating a hegemonic Yoruba identity" (1990: 372). Waterman explains that a unified Yoruba tradition (or even unified people called Yoruba) was a modern development: a newly

formed imagined community. "Hegemonic values enacted and reproduced in musical performance portray the Yoruba as a community, a deep comradeship founded in shared language, political interests, ethos, and blood" (1990: 376). Yet no laws or cultural policies had steered performance culture in Nigeria. The "shared sonorous experiences" (Bigenho 2002: 9) in Nigeria had produced the same effect as shared texts. Can one disentangle performance from national identity, whether to promote an image of the nation as in Indian *Bharata Natyam* classical dance (O'Shea 2007) or to create a community as in Yoruba music practices? After all, frequently what foreigners know of a nation is associated with the compelling performances of the nation. Performance is and has been intimately linked to politics because of "the process of its production, its communicative function, the message it communicates, its reflexivity, its capacity for an enhancement of experience or a transformation of being and/or consciousness, and the capacity for active power negotiation and contestation" (Askew 2002: 23). Observing such a close connection to politics, surely Askew does not believe that performance can be disentangled from national identity.

b. Heritage in the Context of Transmission

Heritage does not exist *a priori*; particular forms of cultural expression become heritage because they have been "subjected to the management and preservation/conservation process" (Smith 2006:3). Heritage is not naturally occurring; it is a creation, a selective spoonful drawn from the soup of history and culture. Heritage protection systems, like the Korean CPPL, are exclusionary and arbitrary by nature, since they designate only some traditions as worthy of preservation.

Anthropologist Llorenç Prats theorized that items of cultural heritage need two important

elements to be worthy of preservation: genius and art (2009: 77). He explains that cultural heritage is activated through the actions of museums, governments, conservation areas and so on (ibid.: 79-80); once activated it becomes the property of the population whose heritage it has officially become through the activation process.

Heritage is then presented as part of a "shared public narrative," but the question remains: who is aware of the narrative (MacDonald 2009: 93)? Korean performers demonstrate deep pride in their role as preservers of Korean heritage, but who else cares about these arts and holds to the memory of them as heritage of the nation? To remain relevant to society, Korean tradition must be continually reaffirmed through an ongoing "consensual heritage discourse" (Smith 2006), which ultimately establishes a connection between the artists, the art forms and the greater population. Without an experience of heritage, the public cannot know heritage or understand the intent behind its maintenance. Governments (such as that in the Republic of Korea) have become heavily involved in the preservation of heritage and complicate the protection process through their difficulties telling the difference between the representation of heritage and the actual feeling of authenticity perceived by the performers (Bigenho 2002: 2).

Disconnection from heritage is not only a problem in the performing arts. Under President Park Chung Hee's government people were expected to rationalize their lifestyles, (Moon OP 1999: 11), and Park's government even went so far as to prohibit certain types of ancestral rites on the grounds that they were wasteful. Private family ceremonies such as ancestral rites, unlike community rituals, have never been protected, and even though policies like Park's were reversed, in many households tradition was broken. In the present day, Koreans are so removed from an understanding of ancestral rites once performed by every family that

they seek to recapture the experience of ancestral rites by participating in re-enactments of rites in cultural experience activities at old lineage houses (Moon OP 2011). Anthropologist Moon Okpyo notes that ironically "if they fully understood the meaning of what they were doing, they would know that participating in other people's ancestral ceremonies itself is a most inappropriate thing to do, let alone bowing to a stranger's ancestor" (2011: 101). In other words, Park Chung Hee, the same leader who pushed for the institution of the CPPL, was simultaneously robbing Koreans of other aspects of their traditional culture that they now awkwardly attempt to experience, even if in a manner that is "inappropriate." Their attempts show a desire to connect with their traditional heritage, to have heritage transmitted to them.

Tourism specialist Hyung-yu Park explains that heritage has a socio-psychological importance in a given culture, detailing how people turn to heritage when worries about the pace of change in society arise (2009: 164). She feels that heritage tourism has a role to play in the reconstruction and re-conceptualization of ethnic and national identity. Folklorist Timothy Tangherlini applies Mark Sandberg's notion of spectatorship to explain how Korean visitors to heritage sites negotiate their own position vis-a-vis tradition (2008: 73). Tangherlini asserts that in Korea the "control and manipulation" of heritage is a "battleground between rival institutions, between generations, between classes, between genders, between individuals and even between countries" (2008: 81). Certainly contestation between different parties has been a continual part of the Korean politics of heritage, yet it is a specialized contest and in most cases the number of contestants is anemic: simply put, the majority does not care.

The Consensual Heritage Discourse

The "consensual heritage discourse," as discussed by archaeologist Laurajane Smith (2006), is a conversation to determine what items or arts constitute heritage and what heritage means for the inheritors. This discourse was active in Korea from the late 1960s through the 1970s as items of Korean heritage were certified Important Intangible Cultural Properties, *jungyo muhyeong munhwajae*, and included in the CPPL. Today this discourse has grown quiet, and the assumptions about "innate and immutable" definitions of "monumentality and aesthetics" that were used to certify the arts are unquestioned (2006: 4). Although Smith saw heritage as "not only a social and cultural resource or process, but also a political one through which a range of struggles are negotiated" (2006: 7), the greater public accepts the arts—as certified by experts and administrators—as Important Intangible Cultural Properties; and yet they also simultaneously consider un-certified arts such as *taekwondo*, *buchaechum* (fan dance) and *samulnori* traditional, unaware or uncaring that these arts are not Cultural Properties.

Heritage has become someone else's business, a previous generation's problem. Korean heritage is simultaneously ubiquitous and invisible in the Korean landscape. As an example, National (tangible) Treasure #1 (on the list of national treasures) is Namdaemun Gate. For decades stranded in a roundabout at a major intersection Koreans looked at it only from afar. After Namdaemun was connected to a small park and easily accessible, countless Seoulites passed by it on a daily basis without wondering if it was vulnerable. Yet when an angry arsonist torched the historic monument the citizenry was incensed that a better protection plan had not been in place.⁴¹ However, there are scores of intangible cultural properties that are in danger

⁴¹ I recently learned of an interesting response: volunteer protectors. A volunteer heritage protection corps increased

right now due to a lack of interest and neglect, as few Koreans show the interest needed to receive transmission of Korean heritage. While ethnomusicologist Keila Diehl witnessed Tibetan exile children feeling a "self-conscious honor/burden of being the bearers of their heritage," the very protection of Korean heritage by the government has allowed Koreans to not worry, not assume a burden, not connect with their heritage (2002: 18). If heritage should "express the value of society" and speak through that value (rather than the value assigned by the government), what happens when ordinary Koreans no longer seem to value their cultural heritage?(Munjeri 2004: 13). The lack of personal connection to heritage, in part caused by a widespread belief that the government is taking care of everything, has had a clear impact on present-day transmission of Korean art forms.

c. Authenticity in the Context of Transmission

The items chosen for inclusion in the CPPL were judged as important "authentic" representations of Korean heritage. Yet there are two problems with this approach. First, what criteria are utilized to determine the version designated as the most authentic? Second, how is authenticity approached when tradition is reflexively regarded as a process and not as a static object? Conceiving of "tradition as something historically concluded" prevents authenticity and interferes with transmission (Brynjulf 1975: 58). The fixative effect of policy causes anthropologist Ahmed Skounti to warn that being designated as heritage forces arts to undergo a sacrifice of authenticity (2009: 77). If the arts lose their claim to being an authentic expression of

their membership to 5,784 people in the wake of the Namdaemun disaster (see the contribution of Hae Un Rii in the chapter "Same Same But Different?: A Roundtable Discussion on the Philosophies, Methodologies, and Practicalities of Conserving Cultural Heritage in Asia" 2012: 48).

Korean culture, they risk losing their value to Korean society. In the short term it manifests in a loss of interest in arts that are no longer felt to be a part of the lives of the audience; in the long-term this could result in a reduction or cessation of funding.

Intangible cultural heritage is the inheritance of a community, ethnic group, or nation. It is often protected through efforts to establish authenticity and then preserve this authentic form. However, authenticity is difficult to determine. Mary Nooter Roberts asks if an object, formerly used in ritual in Africa, is still authentic on a bedroom wall in New York City (1994: 47).

According to the Smithsonian's Richard Kurin, it cannot be. Kurin explains,

[Intangible Cultural Heritage] is not the songs sung in any recreated or imitative form—no matter how well meaning or how literally correct—by scholars, or performers, or members of some other community. It is the singing of the songs by the members of the very community who regard those songs as theirs, and indicative of their identity as a cultural group. It is the singing by the people who nurtured the traditions and who will, in all probability, transmit those songs to the next generation (2007: 12).

The African object on the Manhattan wall is authentically part of the heritage of that region only when it is in use by those people, not when it was been re-tasked as an art object. If the community loses touch with the traditions of its own past, seeing them only as a stale manifestation of "then," should these traditions still be protected? Who are they being protected for if the people in their own traditional village, region or country no longer identify with these traditions? Geographer Dean MacCannell has leveled the accusation that when we see elements of the premodern world artificially preserved and reconstructed for our viewing pleasure we know that modernity has triumphed (1999: 8). Does this mean that authentic experience (as a performer or audience member) of the traditional performing arts is impossible; that the staging of these arts in the modern world in and of itself means they have already lost all authenticity?

Types of Authenticity

Discussing the notion of authenticity in the arts is extremely difficult. A well-known analysis of authenticity by anthropologist Edward Bruner posits four meanings of authenticity: credible and convincing, complete and immaculate simulation, original-not-copy, and certified legally valid (1994: 399-400). In the case of Korea's intangible cultural heritage we see that the government has certified certain items with the stamp of authenticity. Bruner's ideas are extended by anthropologist Michelle Bigenho; she identifies three types: *experiential authenticity*, *cultural-historical authenticity* and *unique authenticity* (2002: 16-21). Using this framework it is easier to understand how a "traditional" performer who has learned and practiced an art for most of his/her lifetime can produce a performance that is actually both authentic and inauthentic depending on the perspective of the observer. For example, a musician may present a piece of music in a new way based on an interpretation of how the strings were manipulated in the past. The musician has made every effort to present an authentic performance; it feels to her as though it is done "correctly." However, an observer could misunderstand, having less knowledge of old musics, or be turned off by the fact that the performer is not dressed traditionally, no matter how traditional her playing. It is possible the observer will feel the performance inauthentic. Finally, audience members may not have the background knowledge to appreciate witnessing the development of new forms rooted in traditional performance. The essence of the meaning of authenticity is thus in the eye of the person exercising a judgment about authenticity.

Is there actually such a thing as authenticity? Bigenho's 2002 monograph *Sounding Indigenous: Authenticity in Bolivian Music Performance* discusses the people and organizations

she jokingly dubs the "authenticity police." In her ethnographic research, the authenticity police emerged from the upper and upper-middle class who "knew better" what should be considered authentic, and from foreign groups that Bigenho encountered through their funding of culture both inside Bolivia and when Bolivian performers toured abroad. Despite the lack of a formal agreement as in Korea that determined what was authentic, these authenticity police took it upon themselves to actively critique performers, genres or performances for a failure to achieve/adhere to authenticity. The idea of private citizens, funding agencies, performance organizers or others criticizing the authenticity of performance speaks directly to the socially constructed nature of authenticity. The authenticity police may not realize the impossibility of their mission to preserve authenticity, but they are motivated by a desire to preserve respected traditions. They are working with an idea of authenticity that does not conform to what they see/hear in front of them. Perhaps they are also concerned with what will happen to their traditions amidst the rapid changes in the modern world.

Bigenho's authenticity police might be stumped by a Japanese example raised by Dawson Munjeri. Munjeri describes a Japanese shrine that—according to royal decree—must be rebuilt every twenty years. The new shrine is functionally identical to the old one, in the same location, and includes all the same furnishings—yet "the fact remains that it lacks material authenticity" (Munjeri 2004:15). A failure to tear down and rebuild the shrine would be inauthentic to the location and what is intended there. It would also make it hard to pass on the many traditional building and furnishing skills associated with the project and held onto by various local craftsmen. Munjeri further complicates discussion of authenticity with examples from Vodoun in Benin, where regularly rebuilt temples are not identical to the past temples, and newly

constructed altars include recycled items from modern society such as car parts. This experiential authenticity, based on an intention of authenticity, demonstrates the ownership over the culture held by the artist who can produce the culture. Ultimately Munjeri felt that the ways in which UNESCO expanded the definition of authenticity to "include traditions, techniques, spirit, feeling, historic and social dimensions of cultural heritage" (2004: 16) was a major step in the right direction for the clear understanding of the blurry line between tangible and intangible heritage. Authenticity is held both within the new object and the historic object; in both cases it exists because of the artist.

Beyond Bigenho's intriguing complication of the term authenticity, two problems arise when the nation decides to use the idea of authenticity as one of the major criteria for choosing what to save in arts preservation efforts. First, which version of a chosen form is designated as the most authentic? Does this mean the other forms are less authentic or completely inauthentic? Designation can be made based on one performance on one day by one group of individuals, but on another day with a different audience and a different performance space, the same performers will produce something somewhat different. Performers less adept at self promotion or just unlucky may not have been noticed by the designating body but are arguably just as authentic or even more so. Designating one version of a performing art practiced by multiple people is random at best. Second, establishing an official authentic version of a performance genre can inhibit the ability to transform as arts constantly do. Anthropologist Ahmed Skounti goes so far as to argue that being designated as heritage forces arts to undergo a sacrifice of authenticity (2009: 77). Whether this is true or not, post-designation it is harder for other artists to achieve notice. Designation then becomes a "first past the post" contest where designation is the arbiter

of authenticity partially because it has a marginalizing impact on the undesignated.

Shaping Authenticity

Change plays an extremely complex role in the question of authenticity. While change is almost assumed, "shouldn't tradition always be subject to change—both invention and development and decline and deterioration?" (Nas 2002: 140). From a bureaucratic standpoint, as efforts to preserve traditions continue, change is often seen as the antithesis of authenticity. Bureaucrats and their laws desire fixity, a firm foundation to stand on as one regulates culture. It is true that change can fundamentally differentiate performance now and "then." However, preserving heritage "may do very little to foster the processes of change and regeneration that are needed to ensure cultural vitality and heterogeneity" (Pietrobruno 2009: 240). Ironically, once an item of culture is determined to be authentic, it can quickly lose authenticity. That is, it may become inauthentic either in the eyes of those who certified it because it has subsequently changed, or inauthentic in the hearts of the artists when it is fixed without allowing for any further change. Change is threatening to those who do not understand it; although "change in cultural practices does not necessarily involve a loss of authenticity or significance—change is often essential for preserving significance" (Deacon et al 2004: 39). Without any form of change, culture can become taxidermized, a term I will further explain in Chapter Three.

Change is a two-edged sword: one edge may be entirely necessary, interesting or useful, whereas the other could be fundamentally damaging. In the real world control is difficult, in the arts,

Even the most tightly prescribed [artistic] forms... involve the exploration of possibilities within a framework, the recognition of nuance, the application of

principles of inclusion and exclusion, and an ability to capitalize in real time on the slip of the tongue, the flubbed pitch, the unbidden blob of ink (Waterman 2010: 274).

It is therefore imperative that government and international entities such as the Cultural Heritage Administration in Korea and UNESCO staffers remain open to the possibility of gradual change and allow arts to evolve—provided that records of previous versions are archived and to the extent possible, honored. Most Korean performers today learned the arts after the modern era began.⁴² The connection with the authentic village-learning process historic to most folk arts is through their teachers only. Before long the connection will be even more distant, and authenticity will be less explicit. As even the senior practitioners have learned only preserved forms, the loss of the knowledge that existed in all alternative forms of a single performance in favor of the one approved authentic form is staggering to contemplate.

⁴² The time period for "modern Korea" will naturally vary depending on who you ask—certainly historians consider modern Korean history to begin in the 1880s or 1890s. From the perspective of a sociologist modern Korea begins in the 1960s or 1970s. It is this latter definition that I adhere to.

Appendix

Appendix 2.1: Cultural Policies of Korean Leaders

Leader	Period	Major Cultural Policies
Rhee Syngman	1948-1961	Initiated the first exhibitions for traditional culture 1950- Established the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts 1952- Passed the Preservation Act for Culture. "Rhee's government considered cultural policy largely in terms of democracy and anti-communism" (Yim HS 2003: 37).
Park Chung Hee	1961-1988	1962- Established the Cultural Property Protection Law "During the 1960s, the policy concern for the cultural sector was largely restricted to the preservation and development of the cultural heritage and the traditional arts" (Yim HS 2003: 39). 1972- Enacted the Culture and Arts Promotion Law The stated goal of cultural policy during the period from 1974-79 was "cultural development aimed at developing culture by creating a new national culture built on the foundation of the traditional culture. The primary policy objectives stated in this plan were as follows: firstly, creating a new national culture and a cultural identity by establishing a nationalistic perspective on the Korean history; secondly, promoting the quality of cultural life of the people by popularizing culture and arts into the daily life; thirdly, improving the national prestige by promoting cultural exchange with the other nations of the world" (Yim HS 2003: 40).
Chun Doohwan	1980-1988	Expanded the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts. "Chun's government stressed in particular the promotion of the excellence of the arts, the improvement of the quality of cultural life and the promotion of regional culture in comparison with Park's government" (Yim HS 2003: 44).
Roh Taewoo	1988-1993	Established the Ministry of Culture The core goals of Roh's culture policy were "establishing cultural identity, promoting the excellence of the arts, improving cultural welfare, promoting regional culture, facilitating international cultural exchange and developing cultural media and ethnic reunification" (Yim HS 2003: 48).
Kim Youngsam	1993-1998	"The government of Kim Young Sam stressed cultural democracy, the creativity of the people, regional culture, cultural industry, and the globalization of Korean arts even more than before as cultural policy objectives" (Yim HS 2003: 52).
Kim Daejung	1998-2003	The five objectives for Kim Daejung's cultural policy were "firstly, establishing cultural identity by developing traditional culture and improving international competitiveness of national culture; secondly, deregulations for creative artistic activity; thirdly, enlarging government subsidy to the cultural sector; fourthly, fostering cultural industry; and finally, expanding the cultural infrastructure" (Yim HS 2003: 59-60). Established the Korean Cultural Industry Funds and the Korean Culture and Contents Agency.
Roh Muhyun	2003-2008	2005- Initiated the Asian Culture Hub Gwangju City Project Roh sought regionally balanced cultural development.
Lee Myungbak	2008-2013	Oversaw passage of new IPR related legislation that particularly handles electronic media (<i>Jejakgwonbeop</i>)

Chapter Three

The Double-Edged Sword: Protection Systems and Taxidermization

1. Intangible Cultural Heritage

Beset by concerns that globalization exerts a homogenizing force on cultural diversity, various governments have enacted protectionist policies in the cultural arena. In 1972 when the United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) passed the Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, the worldwide dialogue related to preserving humankind's treasures began in earnest.⁴³ The World Heritage list was gradually populated by icons of historic artistic achievement—the Sistine Chapel, Angkor Wat, the Taj Mahal. Member states prepared reports and applications for inclusion according to UNESCO guidelines, and the difficulty and expense of navigating this red tape is one reason why Western items still dominate the list.⁴⁴ Today, there are 890 items of cultural and natural heritage that have received this seal of UNESCO's approval.⁴⁵ Although each listing came with relatively little direct benefit, the prestige associated with listing has had substantial indirect benefit for campaigns to promote tourism or rally nationalism. Tangible culture, arguably the finished product of an individual's artistic expression, could be physically protected, although not always without spending a large amount of money. Increased visitors to historic sites have caused inadvertent damage due to sudden increase in wear and tear, and recognition of value has prompted desperate and destructive acts of thievery, while performers and artisans presenting intangible heritage have been overrun (McKercher and du Cros 2002, Bruner 2005, L. Smith

⁴³ Appendix 3.1 at the end of this chapter outlines some major legislative attempts to protect cultural heritage.

⁴⁴ The accusation has also been leveled that the UNESCO guidelines and definitions of "important" cultural and natural heritage are solidly rooted in Western definitions, making it difficult for non-Western listings. See for example Peleggi 2012, Ray 2012, and Kreps 2009.

⁴⁵ According to the website of UNESCO, <http://whc.unesco.org/en/list>, accessed on March 10th, 2011, The Republic of Korea has secured ten listings, of which nine are cultural and one is natural.

2006, Marrie 2009, Kearney 2009, and Roseman 2004). Nations have spent millions to manage and protect important cultural relics, in spite of more urgent social issues.

Originally known as "Non-Physical Cultural Heritage," the term "Intangible Cultural Heritage" was adopted by UNESCO in 1992 to describe the fleeting cultural manifestations that do not exist in a solid form. The essential difference between tangible and intangible heritage is that "while tangible heritage cannot be transmitted, it can be preserved in one way or another. Intangible heritage continues to be transmitted while undergoing constant change" (Yang JS 2004: 181). This makes regulations for protection particularly difficult to enact. Although various attempts to extend protection to intangible culture were proposed,⁴⁶ it was not until 1994 that the first major step was taken when UNESCO passed the Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity program, the predecessor to the 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (hereafter the Convention). The idea to utilize a system of "Living Human Treasures" to protect intangible culture was adopted in 1993. It was Korea that made the proposal to UNESCO to "give official recognition to persons possessing exceptional artistry and traditional skills in order to encourage the development and transmission [...] safeguard the traditional cultural heritage" (Aikawa 2001: 15). Clearly, from the earliest days of UNESCO's efforts to protect intangible cultural heritage, it has followed a model similar to the Korean CPPL. Both the Proclamation and the Convention utilized the "Living Human Treasures" terminology—as does Japan—but UNESCO's various protection efforts contain few specific directives designed to preserve heritage.

⁴⁶ For example, UNESCO tried to establish the International Directory of Non-physical Cultural Heritage in the 1980s (Van Uytsel and Kono 2009: 44). Later on the Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore (1989) was passed, although few countries followed through with the gently worded recommendations (Aikawa 2001: 13).

At the time the Convention was passed, Smithsonian Under Secretary for History, Art, and Culture Richard Kurin welcomed the benefits because "governments [would] provide stipends and direct support to tradition bearers through 'living treasures' and apprenticeship programs" (2004: 73). While various intangible cultures benefited from these protection policies, Kurin also foresaw some possible adverse effects in UNESCO's efforts, stating that the relatively mild wording of the Convention seemed to sidestep the potential pitfalls of protection programs because "the desire of Member States and experts to do at least some good for endangered cultures and traditions outweigh[ed] the fears of doing inadvertent harm or nothing at all" (Kurin 2004: 75). Although UNESCO is an international governmental organization, it has no enforcement powers aside from the ability to list, to list as threatened, and to delist items of heritage. UNESCO has sometimes been made the scapegoat for failures in protecting heritage that were actually failures on the part of local parties (Logan 2012).

I see three major dangers in UNESCO listings: (1) appropriation, which I will cover later in this chapter, (2) an increase in tourism pressures beyond those the system can handle, and (3) complacency. Once an item of heritage is listed, the dynamics of power surrounding it shift. There can be a perception on the part of artists that the government (or UNESCO) will care for the listed item; conversely, the government may think they have done their part merely by facilitating listing. In fact, after listing, heritage may be more vulnerable than before, particularly in regions with under-developed local economies.

UNESCO's efforts owe significantly to Korean lobbying. Noriko Aikawa-Faure, the former director of UNESCO's Intangible Cultural Heritage Unit, credits the idea to Former Ambassador of the Republic of Korea, Sang-Seek Park, who "submitted a recommendation" for

UNESCO to establish such a program (Aikawa 2010: 4). "Due to unanimous approval by the experts, the government of the Republic of Korea proposed a new project to the subsequent session of the Executive Board (at its 142 session) in October 1993" (ibid.). From the beginning of this UNESCO program, Ambassador Park proposed that a list of human treasures be compiled with the cooperation of national governments. Documents were sent to each country, and a training program was developed by UNESCO with "a number of countries" establishing the system (ibid.).

UNESCO encourages individual states to establish systems like the Korean system (K. Howard 2006: xiii).⁴⁷ Although it is suggested that each country's system go beyond simply surveying and listing items of Intangible Cultural Heritage (ICH), there is no enforcement on UNESCO's part. Consequently, each country must undertake the difficult task of preserving culture, each on their own recognizance, using their own budget, and "enforcing" their own protection laws. Although 142 countries have signed onto the UNESCO *Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage*, less than 8 percent (under two dozen) have instituted national policies that they pledged to create when they signed the Convention.⁴⁸ The Convention "advocates sharing curatorial authority by emphasizing the central role of local communities and the cultural bearers' themselves in safeguarding their own cultural heritage" (Kreps 2009: 203; see also Kurin 2004: 72). However, artists in some countries may not even be consulted due to their marginal status in society, and legislation passed without their active contribution may not conform to their lived reality (cf. Yampolsky 1995, 2001 and Hough 1999).

⁴⁷ Keith Howard also points out that workshops on ICH held in Korea have also helped Korea to position itself as the leader in ICH protection systems (2002: 69).

⁴⁸ There were 142 States Parties to the convention as of 12/28/2011. For the latest total see the UNESCO page illustrating the States Parties available at <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?lg=en&pg=00024>.

Well-intentioned government efforts can actually work against a goal of protecting the arts. Kurin explains that, because the Convention "reduce[s] intangible cultural heritage to a list" (2004: 74) and by doing so creates "tangibilized" (2004: 75) intangible cultural heritage, it actually misses the "holistic aspect of culture—the very characteristic that makes culture intangible" (2004: 74). Yet his conclusion is still that the desire to do some good outweighs potential damage caused by the Convention (2004: 75). Any legislative system is likely to be "caught between freezing the practice and addressing the inherently processual nature of culture" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 2006: 180). Intangible heritage "changes, it is fluid, it is never performed identically" (Skounti 2009: 78), yet "the conservation of cultural practices inevitably requires their objectification according to some ... bureaucratic format" (de Jong 2007: 161). Rigid bureaucracies and flexible performance practices are inherently uneasy partners.

The CPPL is what Laurajane Smith calls a "heritage intervention" (2006) through which, instead of allowing the Korean heritage items to naturally transform or die out, the Korean government oversaw what is dangerously close to the "taxidermization" of intangible culture. This project manipulates culture as much as it protects it by designating certain items from a certain moment in history as heritage; assigning them great importance; and trying to protect a single designated version despite the ongoing changes essential to all performance forms and the extensive changes to Korean society. The goals are clear in "Article 1: Purpose" of the CPPL: "The purpose of this Act is to strive for the cultural improvement of the people and to contribute to the development of human culture, by inheriting the native culture through the preservation of cultural properties so as to ensure their utilization."

As countries around the world look to the Korean case as an example of a successful

protection system useful for benchmarking their own efforts, they should also be aware of some of the ways in which the Korean system—the Cultural Property Protection Law (CPPL)—adversely affects the very thing it is designed to protect: traditional culture. Article 13 of the 2003 UNESCO Convention tasked each signatory country to create a plan for safeguarding the intangible heritage within its own geographic boundaries. Because Korea's example is well known in the UN, many countries have benchmarked their own efforts off the Korean law. Before adopting Korea-like measures, countries must consider the following three questions: First, do we accept change as an essential part of living culture? Second, to what degree will we accept invented nationalistic traditions as heritage? And third, how can we, as bureaucrats, listen to traditional artists and empower them to protect and transmit their cultural knowledge? If bureaucrats in each country consider these points, they may avoid some of the pitfalls already experienced in Korea and other nations.

The Convention in many respects is only a framework communicating the intentions of UNESCO. It "leaves controversial and contentious issues to later stages of implementation and application" (Kono 2009: 3-4). Toshiyuki Kono, a professor of law who helped to draft the Convention, acknowledges that the Convention had many potential shortcomings but still maintains that the Convention is "necessary to protect the global diversity of intangible cultural heritage for future generations—the dangers of our modern age demand it" (2009: 5). Kono outlines how the text of the Convention frames the issues involved in Intangible Cultural Heritage. The Convention is worded to reflect the close relationship between heritage, cultural diversity, and sustainable development, and clarifies that value is not expressed through economic and financial terms (Kono 2009: 6). The Convention defines intangible heritage in

Article 2.1,⁴⁹ calling it:

the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills—as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts, and cultural spaces associated therewith—that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity.

The wording in the Convention is vague. This has helped it to gain support, but so far it has had little impact toward actually protecting intangible cultural heritage in the world.

a. Protecting Culture by Making Lists

The Convention's largest accomplishment is the establishment of two lists: the list of Intangible Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding and the Representative List of Intangible Cultural Heritage. The former includes twelve items in particularly dire straits, and the latter has 166 items so far, including from the Republic of Korea Cheoyongmu (a court masked dance); Ganggang Sullae (women's folk dance, song, and play); Jeju Chilmeoridang Yeongdeunggut (a shamanic ritual from Jeju Island); *Namsadang Noli* (the music, puppet play, masked drama, and acrobatics of male itinerant performers); Yeongsanjae (a Buddhist ritual that includes music, chanting, and dance); the Gangneung Danoje Festival that includes shamanic rites and a masked dance drama; *pansori* (epic story songs); the Royal Ancestral Ritual in Jongmyo Shrine and its Music (Confucian); *daemokjang* (traditional wooden architecture); falconry (shared with

⁴⁹ The entire text of the Convention is available on UNESCO's website at http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=17716&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html, accessed 3/25/10.

multiple other nations); and *gagok* (lyric court genre songs sung with a chamber orchestra).⁵⁰

The Convention seeks to address the concern that "numbers within new generations who can actively practice and employ individual traditional cultural expressions and traditional knowledge is fast declining" (Kono 2009: 7).

Cultural knowledge cannot always be protected, and even if it can be, are lists the right approach? After a list has been created, then what happens? Is culture actually safeguarded? Performance studies scholar Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett levels pointed criticism at the idea of safeguarding heritage. Calling listed heritage "a mode of cultural production that gives the endangered or outmoded a second life as an exhibition of itself," she points out that UNESCO asks for designations of "vital" culture. However, if it is vital, it does not need safeguarding, whereas culture lacking in vitality will not be adequately protected by being on a list (2006: 168), and cultural expressions that do not dovetail with dominant national definitions of heritage may find listing difficult, whether vital or not. Similarly, anthropologist Christina Kreps criticizes UNESCO's List of Intangible Cultural Heritage in Need of Urgent Safeguarding, saying that it may "divert limited resources from nurturing environments that enable traditional music, dance, artisanship, knowledge, and so forth to survive" (2009: 203). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues that UNESCO's list is an attempt at "making world heritage an engine of economic development by adding value to cultural assets that are not otherwise economically sustainable locally or globally and are therefore in danger of disappearing" (2006: 163). Anthropologist Peter J.M. Nas explains that the UNESCO efforts are "based on the conviction that urbanization, modernization, and globalization constitute a great danger for the variety of human culture" (2002: 142). Nas points

⁵⁰ This list includes items listed in 2010; additional items are being processed for listing in future years. This list is available at <http://www.unesco.org/culture/ich/index.php?pg=00011>, accessed on 3/10/11.

out that, over time, systems of governmental protection may make ICH dependent on the government and alienated from the original constituency (2002: 142). Kirshenblatt-Gimblett questions the intent of making lists like those under UNESCO's Convention, asking if they refocus our attention so that governments can promote their culture, but ignore the actual culture bearers (2006: 167). She criticizes the process, pointing out that making a list is symbolic and fairly cheap, but does not require difficult actions. In fact, the Convention leaves the "major responsibility for safeguarding" with those who practice the traditions (Kurin 2004: 72). The Convention also leaves open the question of what it means to be the world heritage of humanity. Kirshenblatt-Gimblett asks, what relationship does humanity have to this culture? Humanity is not the same as an ethnic group with a historic tie to the cultural expression—humanity does not have the right to inherit the culture, only to have access to it. Anything more is appropriation (2006: 184).

Appropriation of Culture

Appropriation of culture is one of the sticky points in the Convention. Governments utilize traditions for various purposes and in ways that may not always be parallel to the agendas of the artists. Performances, especially when visually attractive and emotionally compelling, can become markers of identity that, through the use of modern technology, have tremendous dissemination potential (Bigenho 2002: 8). Dance historian Janet O'Shea explains how the classical dance genre "*Bharata Natyam* appears to conjure images of quintessential Indianness" (2007: 70), and therefore influential performers such as Krishna Iyer and Rukmini Devi "located in *Bharata Natyam* evidence of the greatness of the Indian nation" (2007: 71). Kurin raises the

concern that Intangible Cultural Heritage cannot be Intangible Cultural Heritage if appropriated by others (2007: 12). Do not "others" include the government? If the Korean cultural policy and the arbitration of authenticity provided by the certifying body is not the appropriation of Korean intangible heritage by the government, then it is at least dangerously close to appropriation. Laws protecting cultural heritage, particularly intangible heritage, are difficult to design and manage because of the inherently transitory and ever-changing nature of culture. Legislation necessitates a standard against which future performances can be evaluated in order to preserve authenticity. Paradoxically, the existence of such a law will lead to a loss of authenticity.

Although there are cases of willful appropriation of foreign culture or cultural items for profit (Rees 2003), sometimes these same cases result in increased knowledge of, respect for, and market for cultural products from a region. How do Intellectual Property Rights (hereafter IPR) fit into the Convention framework? IPR could be helpful in the protection of intangible cultural heritage, but using IPR-style protections "might restrict the freedoms of intangible cultural heritage bearers and constrict their abilities to evolve, re-create, and adapt" (Kono 2009: 18), even while protecting Intangible Cultural Heritage from being appropriated by profiteering outsiders. Another important issue is related to the inventories the Convention instructs all states to establish.⁵¹ Kono explains that these lists give rise to IPR complications; that the Convention does not explain how to integrate them with existing inventories already present in some countries; and finally, that by setting up conditions for recognition of Intangible Cultural Heritage, issues could arise related to integrity, identity, and entitlement of communities vis-à-

⁵¹ Specifically the Convention in Article 11, Section B, directs each state party to "identify and define the various elements of the intangible cultural heritage present in its territory, with the participation of communities, groups and relevant non-governmental organizations."

vis their intangible cultural heritage (2009: 22). According to ethnomusicologist Timothy Rice, appropriation can also come from inside a culture. He explains that "productive distancing is not only characteristic of outsiders and scholars; individuals operating within tradition continually appropriate their cultural practices, give them new meanings, and create their own sense of "being in the world" (1994: 6).

In our globalized world, "original" and "authentic" can be highly problematic terms as arts and derivative art forms⁵² are widely diffused. In Korea, there is no process by which a preservation association or individual could object to their art being performed by a non-member. Not only is there no such process, but there is no sense of the need to protect a song, a dance, or a method of traditional dyeing from non-members. Although Korean pop artists face cases of plagiarism, IPR issues are rarely raised with respect to the traditional arts. Middle school students form drumming groups and say that they are performing Imshil Pilbong Nongak, a young musician will record and sell a CD of *daegeum sanjo* (folk music for a single transverse bamboo flute), and, in September 2010, I saw members of the Seoul Traditional Dance Company perform a highly dance-ified and stylized scene from Bongsan Talchum without ever telling the assembled audience that they were not trained in the mask dance drama, were not members of the preservation association, and were not performing the "official" version. When I asked Jang Yongil, a highly ranked performer of Bongsan Talchum, what he thought of such performances he laughed out loud and told me, "Bongsan Talchum belongs to all Koreans, not just to members of the preservation association."⁵³

⁵² Derivative art forms are often the natural response to an inspirational "original" performance.

⁵³ Interview conducted at the Intangible Cultural Assets Transmission Center in Seoul on 9/27/10.

b. Protecting Intangible Culture

Ethnomusicologist Jeff Todd Titon sees protection of performance traditions in terms of "sustainability" and argues that: "efforts to sustain music are best directed at, and regarded as, sustaining selected sociocultural activities that encourage music's production and maintenance. In short, sustaining music means sustaining people making music" (Titon, 2009: 6). The protection of intangible cultural heritage is not and can never be a science. Each country adopts a process that reflects factors that inevitably include local bureaucratic particularities and budgetary constraints. Nations want to preserve their traditions and cultural heritage in perpetuity for a variety of reasons, most related to fostering a sense of national pride or national identity around distinctive elements of traditional culture. Yet as long as the Korean example is widely promoted it is unavoidable that many will use the Korean program as a starting point in their deliberations. The final results have varied widely, although often, as Kurin states, "many plans now in place often reflect antiquated cookie-cutter approaches, full of assumptions about the nature of tradition and its preservation" (2004: 73). These assumptions about the nature of tradition and how to protect heritage sometimes appear as a failure to understand diversity within a tradition; at other times, they display an overly conservative approach to tradition in the context of modernity.

Although the Korean case has been approached as a model for preservation laws in other countries, Korea's approach to cultural protection has been continually politicized. Park Sangmi explains how, in Korea,

[cultural policy] served as a political tool, allowing the government to enhance its coercive authority, which it then wielded to achieve state goals. Policies designed

to create an explicitly national culture were important means of cultivating loyalty and a sense of belonging to the nation. Actively looking to the Japanese model, the ROK [Republic of Korea] expanded its cultural policies to facilitate the public's acceptance of anti-communist rhetoric, the inequalities of rapid economic development, and state militarism (2010: 70-71).

Keith Howard notes that the "intervention required to bolster a national heritage can allow culture to become a government tool" (K. Howard 1996: 91). Similarly, sociologist Jeong Sujin has labeled the CPPL governmental appropriation and documented how the government and Korean activists engage in the politics of memory (2008: 124-172). Culture has been effectively used to bind people together, lending them a common understanding of themselves as part of a larger group. However, by the 1970s, Koreans began to frequently and actively resist the appropriation of traditional culture in government policy-making. Many artists in arts listed by the CPPL are caught between artistic expression through engaging in creative projects and the preservation of their traditional arts as professional artists who aim to protect their traditional culture. New compositions for traditional instruments, dance choreographed with vocabulary from traditional dance but none of its restrictions, and the *madanggeuk* dramas that grew out of mask dance dramas are just a few examples of creative projects that artists have become involved with outside their position protecting culture.

It is important to seriously think about what it means for a country, Korea or otherwise, to create policies that would preserve culture. Who can impartially arbitrate matters of culture? Kurin foresees potential problems with government control such as oppression of minority viewpoints and culture, and the lack of trained cultural conservators to carry out the program. He also sees control by universities as unlikely, given their goal of seeking out new knowledge, and advocates for museums to become central to efforts to preserve intangible culture (2007: 14).

Although there is no minority group in Korea such as the Ainu in Japan, in most countries there is a minority group or groups who may find their culture either re-tasked for government purposes or dismissed and un(der)funded.

c. The Japanese Law (1950)

The Korean CPPL was not the first such cultural policy; it is based on a 1950 Japanese law. Waseda University's Koichi Iwabuchi writes that Japan "faces the challenge of (re)constructing its national/cultural identity in the era of globalization" (2002: 5). Japan has a long history of trying to reconstruct a national cultural identity through legislation. Earlier Japanese legislation included the Lost and Stolen Antiquities Act, Temple and Shrine Protection Laws, Preservation of Stone and Metal Inscriptions Act, and Imperial Museum Laws, to name only laws in place by 1915 (Pai HI 2001: 79).⁵⁴ Obviously, the impulse to preserve national and cultural identity through cultural laws pre-dated the 1950 laws by several decades and contributed significantly to the design of Korea's CPPL (Park SM 2010, Pai HI 2001).⁵⁵

After their defeat in World War II, the Japanese government passed new laws to protect Japanese heritage, including intangible cultural heritage. Japan's present-day legislation protects intangible cultural heritage on a different model from the Korean Cultural Property Protection Law. The two chief differences are: (1) Japan did not begin by protecting folk arts,⁵⁶ and (2) their

⁵⁴ The Japanese government continued to pass laws and work to protect (tangible) culture throughout the colonial period, although this included, of course, removal of many items in the Japanese colonies (Korea, Taiwan, Manchuria, and parts of the Chinese eastern seaboard) to Japan.

⁵⁵ It is interesting to note, however, that Korea devoted a larger budget to cultural promotion in the 1970s than Japan did (despite Korea being smaller and poorer) (Park SM 2010: 75).

⁵⁶ Japan first designated folk arts and crafts for protection in 1975 (K. Howard 2002: 59).

Human Treasures are nominated not as a representative of a specific art, but as a representative artist of Japan (K. Howard 2002: 53). Korea, in part to assert its distinctiveness from Japan, emphasized folk cultural expressions as soon as intangible cultural heritage designations began. In Japan, however, folk arts were not protected until after a mid-1970s revision of the law, based on awareness of the Korean treatment of folk arts in the CPPL. After this revision the law's impact has been felt "nowhere more so than in *minzoku geinō* (folk performing arts)" (Thornbury 1994: 212).

In Japan, as in Korea, major benefits from the law have been creating public consciousness of their traditional culture and demonstrating the value of supporting heritage (ibid.: 213). The Japanese law has perhaps had an even stronger impact on the arts than in Korea. Contradictory treatment of folk performing arts by the Japanese government has resulted in a double-bind: the arts are required to stay true to rural traditions and be performed exclusively by rural people in rural communities at the traditional time of the year; yet simultaneously these rare rural performances are treated as tourist attractions by the Japanese government. Japanologist Barbara Thornbury asserts that the Japanese folk arts are being turned into "cultural icons" (1994: 222), and Hashimoto and Ambaras found that "since the passage of the so-called Festival Law, 'touristification' has gained legitimacy as the dominant social context in which to view folk performing arts" (1998: 39). They found that preservation associations were willing participants in promoting touristification of their arts (ibid.: 43). Many Japanese folk artists remain primarily employed in other lines of work, and the responsibilities of their art take much of their free time

(Thornbury 1995: 156).⁵⁷

d. The Korean Law (1962)

In 1962, twelve years after the original version of Japanese law, Korea passed similar legislation. *The Munhwajae Bohobeop* or Cultural Property Protection Law (CPPL) divides Korean heritage into four subsets, which include folklore materials, monuments (historical, natural, and scenic), and tangible and intangible cultural properties. Anthropologist Hyung Il Pai is known for her research connecting the attempts to protect culture in early twentieth-century Japan and Colonial Korea to the structure of Korean legislation today, including an analysis of the importance of the order in which different items were listed (2001). Contrary to nationalistic assertions that the Japanese impact on Korean culture was universally destructive, Pai found a systematic, if dated, attempt to control and regulate Korean culture through research, preservation, and listing policies not entirely unlike UNESCO's efforts today. Pai concludes:

I believe that despite critics' denunciations of Japanese preservation laws, it is still indispensable that we recognize the enduring legacies of state-manufactured authenticity in the bureaucratic origins of heritage management practices, for there remain undeniable Japanese cultural, aesthetic, and legalistic continuities (2001: 89).

Such cultural, aesthetic, and legalistic continuities are fascinating; however, I am more interested in the profound changes to the cultural environment caused by interruption, cessation, or reconfiguration of Korean performing arts. Despite the profound changes to the Korean arts driven by the systematic changes in society initiated by the Japanese, the impact of the Japanese colonizers was not universally oppressive. Japanese curiosity and imperial ambitions were also

⁵⁷ To learn more about efforts to protect Intangible Cultural Heritage in a variety of Asian countries, see Im, Janghyuk (2008).

behind projects such as Murayama Chijun's encyclopedia, *Local Amusements of Korea*. To "promote" and "exemplify" the new vision of Japan, various folklorists in Japan, Korea, and elsewhere in the empire conducted a "painstaking selection of traditions to be fortified, extinguished, or reimagined and reinvented" (Atkins 2010: 140). Among such reimagined arts was *changgeuk*, which are multi-part versions of the solo *pansori* epic songs. In fact, ethnomusicologist Andrew Killick has asserted that the *changgeuk* emerged due to the Japanese presence (2010). Ultimately, what is remembered most is pervasive interference—some scholars even see Japan as responsible in large part for defining culture in Korea (Jeong SJ 2008). For example, masks that were slated to be ritually burned by the mask dance drama players in Yangju were bought, preserved, and then re-used in a performance by different players at the direction of Japanese folklorists (Park CE 2003: 99-100).

The Korean Government as Culture Broker

The heavy involvement of the Korean government in culture has often been tolerated or even unquestioned, and today the Korean government is the chief culture broker on the peninsula. I use "culture broker" in the sense proposed by Kurin, who explained that culture brokers "study, understand, and represent [...] culture to nonspecialized others" (Kurin 1997: 19) while seeking to overcome "logistical, resource and technical challenges and circumstances" (ibid.: 24). The Korean government has become intimately involved as a culture broker in this process by promulgating the CPPL. The protection of Korean traditional performing arts, especially folk arts, was primarily part of a project to build nationalism and national identity, but this has required a profound reversal of attitude and national ideologies. In Korea, while culture brokers can be

negatively deemed as taking advantage of their power of representation, they are also expected to find a way to reverse such ideologies. As suggested by ethnomusicologist Chan E. Park, in the late Joseon Dynasty through its end in 1910, "cultured" Koreans retained

disdain for the native performance tradition—a "vulgarity" performed by "outcasts," shamans, *gisaeng*, and the like. In the midst of colonial and postcolonial politics, Korea's cultural semantics has drifted into an all-encompassing Occidentalism toward the politically dominant West (2000: 279).⁵⁸

There were three reasons for the Korean government to utilize folk performing arts to build nationalism. The first two are both assertions of difference and uniqueness. First, the Korean government used the arts to assert uniqueness vis-à-vis Japan. The Japanese were actively using their court arts to promote Japanese identity; a differential focus in Korea foregrounded the difference between the former colonizer and the former colony. Second, they used the arts to assert uniqueness vis-à-vis China. Korean *court* performing arts were heavily influenced by the Korean court's tributary relationship with China. Since Korea's *folk* heritage shows less cultural similarity with Chinese and Japanese arts, folk heritage was an appropriate tool to assert Korean uniqueness. Third, for the new administration of Park Chung Hee, a general who had taken control in a coup d'état, legitimacy was sought through protecting folk arts and, by extension, protecting the culture of the common people with whom Park positioned himself. The Park Chung Hee regime constantly asserted its identification to the average Korean. The popular imagination held that the lower class had been more viciously subjugated by the Japanese and furthermore had not been responsible for policies that allowed Japan the opportunity to occupy and subjugate Korea. However, formerly "low class" entertainment could not be suddenly elevated. Koreans had to overcome their own longstanding prejudices regarding

⁵⁸ *Gisaeng* are roughly the Korean equivalent of the Japanese geisha—women trained in the arts and conversation.

native performance traditions first. Park Chung Hee's policies isolated the arts from lived Korean reality. Instead, he used folk cultural contests and cultural re-enactments to demonstrate what Korea was achieving with his aggressive policies focused on development and modernization. Cynically, the "official designation of folk culture as tradition had the double effect of formalizing and displacing the lived experience of the past as an artifact while at the same time projecting and highlighting Korea's transformation from the past" (Lee NH 2003: 562). Park was only partially successful, as activists eventually turned folk performing arts into a tool against him.

As Park's aggressive economic development policies began to improve living standards, the Korean government grew more financially solvent, and large sums of money were devoted to promoting traditional culture. Without government support it is unlikely that many of these traditional cultural pursuits would have been able to survive in a capitalist market economy. Certainly, without the government emphasis on folk performing arts, many more of them would have died out completely. In this way it is clear that the Korean project to protect traditional culture can be called a success. Yet it was not without controversy, and the "struggle over cultural assets in postcolonial Korea was an intensified continuation of the contest to excavate and curate Koreana that had occurred in the colonial period" (Atkins 2010: 188).

Korean government support for traditional culture has mainly come through the medium of the CPPL, which was passed in 1962 under Park Chung Hee.⁵⁹ Under the CPPL, Korean folk culture was "used politically to symbolize the nation's cultural heritage in relation to government

⁵⁹ Different authors writing in English have used various translations of the title of the Cultural Property Protection Law. I follow the translation of Yang Jongsung, who has published extensively on the CPPL. Although some scholars use Preservation instead of Protection, it is clear that intangible culture should be protected (as a living thing), not preserved (like pickles or jam). The CPPL was instituted as Article 2 of Law 961.

policies and activities" (Yang JS 2003: 88). Park Chung Hee's administration instituted policies for the protection and promotion of Korean culture, and they did not end their cultural efforts with the creation of the CPPL. The *Yushin* reforms passed by Park Chung Hee in 1972 were ultimately aimed towards building one national Korean identity that closely corresponded with Park Chung Hee's own goals and dreams for the nation. In the 1970s, Park's administration adopted two almost interchangeable slogans: "*re-creation of national culture*" and "*re-discovery of national culture*."⁶⁰ The government wanted to use Korea's traditions to define the nation's cultural identity and could see the value of culture as a political tool. Though some decried the use of cultural spectacles⁶¹ to promote the ideology or politics of individuals, political parties, or even the country, the practice continued in this vein until Korea democratized. Park "established a set of comprehensive cultural policies" to "create a new culture" (Yang JS 2003: 57). As intangible cultural heritage policies were aimed at establishing a clear identity for post-occupation Korea, most of Park's policies strongly promoted a national identification with certain arts, yet ironically such policies were developed by bureaucrats with no performance experience and did not facilitate artistic embodiment or even teach arts appreciation. The government policies simplistically kept the arts as window-dressing alone.⁶²

According to Kim Jungsoo, the state's intervention on cultural issues can be justified based on two assumptions: (1) culture should be cherished, and (2) culture cannot develop to its

⁶⁰ Translation of slogans by Yang Jongsung (2003).

⁶¹ References to cultural spectacles usually focus on the 1988 Olympic Games, but other festivals and events such as National Folk Arts Contests are also mentioned.

⁶² The connection of ICH with identity has been discussed by many scholars including Peter Nas (2002), Laurajane Smith (2006), Branizlav Hazucha and Toshiyuki Kono (2009), Chan E. Park (2003), and Park Shingil (2000).

fullest if left to the market and the private sector (2007: 88-89). Although the second point is contentious, this was the dominant position in Korea until the Kim Youngsam presidency (1993 to 1998) and has also been the position of governments in other regions including Indonesia and China.⁶³ Although leaving traditional performing arts to the market does not sound preferable, government-driven development is not necessarily better. To effectively counteract the negative impacts of legislation on heritage, a clear understanding of the government position is essential; the state is rarely acting completely from altruism. In the past the symbols and images selected for the purpose of "prescribing Korean characteristics and culture" were utilized as powerful methods to "unify the society" (Kim YH 2003: 92). The goal of the CPPL, "to strive for the cultural improvement of the people and to contribute to the development of human culture, by inheriting the native culture through the preservation of cultural properties so as to ensure their utilization" (Chapter One, Article 1, CPPL),⁶⁴ shows the Korean government's desire to protect the inheritance of the people, but with the final goal of utilization.

e. How the Cultural Property Protection Law (CPPL) Works

The CPPL addresses more than performance. In addition to song, dance, ritual, games, and folk theatre, the law protects the traditional techniques for weaving, painting, Buddhist sculpture, palace/temple construction techniques, bow and arrow making, creation of horsehair hats, and

⁶³ For Indonesia see Yampolsky (1994, 1995), and for China see Paul Leung Kin Hang (2004). It is also worth noting that certain people and agencies within Korea continue to think that the government should develop traditional culture.

⁶⁴ This translation is from the 19th amendment to the law (Act No. 6840) in 2002, page 941.

more. Each art listed with the CPPL went through a lengthy research and vetting process.⁶⁵ The first arts were designated in 1964 (two years after the law was passed), and new designations continue until the present day, albeit at a slower rate. The individuals who protect these arts do so by performing or producing arts and teaching future artists the skills involved in the art. Table 3.1 illustrates the numbers of different types of arts protected by the CPPL.

Table 3.1: Types of Arts Certified within the CPPL

		Arts					Crafts		Total
		Music	Dance	Drama*	Games and Rites	Martial arts	Crafts	Food	
Registered arts	Number of registered arts	17	7	14	24	1	49	2	114
	Arts including sub-divisions	24	7	14	27	1	49	4	126
Preservation Associations or <i>bojonhoi</i>		14	4	13	26			1	58
Artists and Artisans	National Human Treasure	39	11 (1)**	25	37	1	65	4	182 (1)
	<i>Jeonsu Gyoyuk Jogyo</i> (teacher)	89	21 (1)	63	72	2	50	1	298 (1)
	<i>Isuja</i> (performer / artist)	1,909	690	461	600	49	471	17	4,197
	Scholarship Students	13		1			58		72
	Total	2,050	722 (2)	550	709	52	644	22	4,749 (2)
Human Treasure Emeritus		2	1	5	6		7	1	22

Figures from the Cultural Heritage Administration as of 5/31/11.

* I've written drama instead of folk theatre to conserve space.

** There is one National Human Treasure and one *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* who are certified in two different arts (*salpuri* and *seungmu*). The number in parenthesis represents the number of individuals holding more than one post.

The arts and artists listed in Table 3.1, above, do not represent all of the arts or artists in Korea,

⁶⁵ Some of the Korean sources used in this dissertation are books that grew out of the original research of the scholars who participated in the subjective project to determine which arts were "valuable" heritage worthy of preservation. In general the works created by these scholars are low on analysis and thick with pronouncements of fact.

but as the years have passed between 1962 and the present day, the overlap becomes stronger. This is partially due to the advantages to being within the system, the comparative ease of finding teachers who are within the system, and the fact that new listings for the past two decades have been almost entirely re-constructed arts (as were some of the earlier listings). In other words, performing arts that are being practiced today are listed with either the national government (under the CPPL) or with their local city/province, with very few exceptions.⁶⁶ Politics within groups or with the listing process, however, has caused various artists to operate outside the system. In addition to the two exceptions listed above, artists who may practice more than one art are only listed for one. To summarize, the table does not include trainees or people who have left the system for political reasons, nor does it reflect people who practice multiple arts.

As illustrated in Table 3.2 (below), arts are divided into two basic types: group arts and individual arts. Group arts must be performed (crafted) by a group, and individual arts are performed (crafted) by one individual (perhaps with accompaniment).

⁶⁶ Arts that could be listed but are not are generally ceremonial in nature. In several cases I am familiar with leaders of a group have made a decision not to pursue listing; in some cases such arts have later (under different leadership) pursued listing. Decisions not to pursue listing can be made to avoid what is seen as a hassle or rooted in either humility (what we do is not that special) or pride (if "they" can't see that we should be listed, I'm not going to go begging). At least every two years a researcher willing to advocate for listing "discovers" an artisan still engaged in a traditional craft practice, and I suspect that more craft arts will continue to be listed.

Table 3.2: Artists and Artisans within the CPPL system

		Arts			Crafts			Total
		Individual	Group	subtotal	Individual	Group	subtotal	
Registered arts	Number of registered arts	16	47	63	50	1*	51	114
	Arts including sub-divisions**	16	57	73	52	1	53	126
Artists and Artisans	National Human Treasure	30 (1)***	83	113 (1)	69	-	69	182 (1)
	<i>Jeonsu Gyoyuk Jogyo</i>	56 (1)	191	247 (1)	51	-	51	298 (1)
	<i>Isuja</i>	1,639	2,070	3,709	485	3	488	4,197
	Scholarship Students	14	-	14	58	-	58	72
	Total	1,739 (2)	2,344	4,083 (2)	663	3	666	4,749 (2)
Human Treasure Emeritus		1	13	14	8	-	8	22

Figures from the Cultural Heritage Administration as of 5/31/11.

* There are three types of alcohol-making listed. Two types of alcohol are made independently, and the other is made by a group.

** Subdivided arts: Drumming and Dancing (6 types), *Pungeoje* Ceremonies (4), *Pungryu* Ensembles (2), Farming Songs (2), and Alcohol-making (3).

*** There is one National Human Treasure and one *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* who are certified in two different arts (*salpuri* and *seungmu*).

In my writing, I call the highest ranked performers "National Human Treasures" after the UNESCO appellation (human treasures). In Korean they are known as *boyuja* (holders) or *in'ganmunhwajae*. The latter term came into use through the efforts of journalist Ye Yonghae, who began using the term in articles that about arts when he interviewed masters of traditional arts in the early 1960s. The term literally translates to "human cultural property." In the next rank below the National Human Treasures are the *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*, or teachers (literally teach + education + assistant). Third ranked are *isuja*, individuals who have (generally) been studying for a decade or more and perform frequently. The beginning level is that of *jeonsuja* or registered student.⁶⁷ There are a limited number of positions for *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* and even fewer

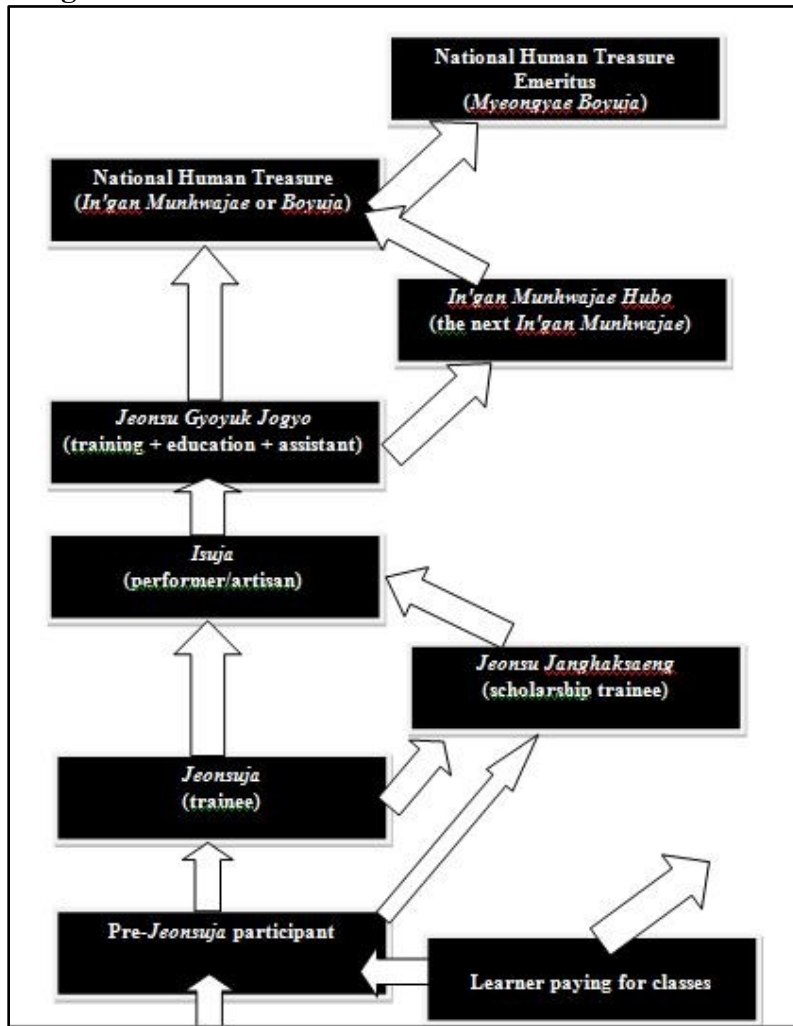
⁶⁷ Scholarship students are *jeonsuja*, and they appear in Table 3.1 and 3.2. However, regular *jeonsuja* are not in the tables.

National Human Treasures. These are vacated customarily only through advancement or death, but the numbers of *isuja* and *jeonsuja* can increase each year if a group chooses to test more members.⁶⁸ As you can see in both tables above, there are many more *isuja* than any other rank, and holders of the rank Human Treasure Emeriti are rare.⁶⁹ Also, note that not all groups have scholarship students; only groups experiencing difficulty finding and keeping new trainees are given funds for scholarship students (therefore Songpa Sandae Noli has them but Bongsan Talchum does not). If you return to Table 3.1 you can notice that as performers (or artisans) advance in rank, the population thins considerably. At present, most of the mask dance drama groups have one or two National Human Treasures and approximately five *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. Table 3.3, below, demonstrates the normal progression through ranks. This progression generally includes the steps on the left hand side but may sometimes include the steps on the right as well. Newly certified arts, naturally, need individuals who move directly from unranked to the various ranks, including the highest rank. However, for established arts it is almost unthinkable that someone would leapfrog from unranked status over existing *isuja* into a higher rank.

⁶⁸ There is a cap on the number of new *jeonsuja* per year, but because the cap is ten people I don't know of any groups having difficulty because they cannot register everyone they want to register. This may be an issue for popular teachers of solo arts, however.

⁶⁹ Advancing a member of a group to National Human Treasure Emeritus status is a sensitive issue in age-conscious Korea. If a National Human Treasure is too infirm to teach or perform they should advance, but in practice this designation is not frequently used. Most groups will keep even a very infirm National Human Treasure on the books for reasons including respect and the financial need of the elderly artist (who was probably the teacher of the decision-makers in the group).

Image 3.3: Ranks for Artists in Korea



Many learners have no intention of becoming part of the CPPL system. If they become interested in continuing with the art they can become pre-*jeonsuja* participants and, at some point, they may stop paying for classes. Some arts charge people for classes until they become *isuja*, and in the more popular individual arts it is common to continue to pay for lessons from a master teacher until the teacher decides to stop charging. A particularly talented participant or *jeonsuja* can be offered a small scholarship if this is necessary to bind the participant to the group. The funds are so small (in 2011 a scholarship trainee received only 150,000 won per month,

equivalent to just under 150 U.S. dollars) that the purpose in giving the funds is more about creating a sense of formal obligation and connection than an actual financial reward. The category of "next National Human Treasure" no longer exists, as it created bad blood within certain groups, but some individuals are grandfathered into their status as designated successor from before this title was discontinued.

Most arts and all the mask dance dramas have a preservation association, or *bojonhoi*, which consists of all the artists ranking from registered student to National Human Treasure. The *bojonhoi* oversee general issues related to the art. Preservation associations are much more important for group arts, because they coordinate performances by the entire group, yet they also exist for some of the individual arts and coordinate between the different individual artists.

While in the past the tasks of managing Korean heritage were spread out through several different governmental bodies, today almost everything is managed by the Cultural Heritage Administration (CHA),⁷⁰ a sub-ministry under the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism.⁷¹ The CPPL works to protect the arts by acknowledging and protecting the most proficient or skilled master artisans and performers, and then by requiring them to pass on their skills. The Korean law operates on the assumption that without these individuals taking responsibility for each art, an immeasurable but very real part of culture will be lost. Therefore, the key elements in preserving the intangible culture of Korea are the artists.

⁷⁰ The Cultural Heritage Administration is only the most recent name for this government body, hence publications from before the 2000s use a different term for what is essentially the same entity, yet keep it consistently under the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism (the Ministry in turn has also seen several name changes). Hyung Il Pai, for instance, calls the CHA the OCP (Office of Cultural Properties).

⁷¹ Please see Appendix 3 at this end of the dissertation for the organizational structure of the CHA.

The Cultural Properties Committee or Munhwajae Wiwonhoi

Systems that seek to legislate authenticity, such as Korea's CPPL, rely on a bureaucratic structure that includes arbiters of culture. In Korea this group is the CHA's *Munhwajae Wiwonhoi* or Cultural Properties Committee. The Cultural Properties Committee members interface with the artists and preservation associations. Hyung Il Pai, primarily concerned with the archaeological work of the CHA, describes the Cultural Properties Committee as follows:

The cultural properties committees meet monthly and are chaired by bureaucrats who were appointed after many years of dedicated government service as heads of national museums or national university museums or directors/consultants of OCP [Office of Cultural Properties]'s excavation projects. Consequently, core memberships have mostly been reserved for a few selected "nationally" prominent academics who are professors, scholars, museum curators, and specialists [...] their expertise has qualified them to be the designated spokesmen for Korean art and culture. Due to the prestige and power associated with these positions, this coveted OCP membership remains one of the most prestigious affiliations an academic in Korea can hope to attain (2001: 74).

The Cultural Properties Committee, and particularly the experts' panels within, is an answer to accusations leveled that "there is no guarantee all the officials in charge of cultural administration are experts in culture. The civil service exam system has nothing to do with the cultural sensitivity and aesthetic capabilities" (Kim JS 2007: 92-93). Although to some degree the existence of the Cultural Properties Committee sidesteps the issue of arts knowledge held by bureaucrats, there is still room for criticism since the government selects the members of the Cultural Properties Committee, who are rarely practitioners although they may be cultural experts.

The Cultural Properties Committee has ten full members and fifty to sixty associated technical members who consult on different types of arts depending on their own (scholarly) area of knowledge. They are supposed to have the autonomy and objectivity to prevent the

government from unduly influencing the process with political considerations (Yang JS 2004: 183). The members of the Cultural Properties Committee are generally divided into sub-groupings of three members responsible for each art. They evaluate the annual full-length performance called the *jeonggi gongyeon*,⁷² as well as the tests to advance to *isuja* (generally just by observing a performance) and more rigorous tests of knowledge and ability for the stipend-supported levels. The evaluation of the Cultural Properties Committee determines the funds that the preservation association will receive for the full-length show the following year. For mask dance dramas the maximum possible is 10,000,000 won (a little under 10,000 U.S. dollars). Professor Jeon Kyungwook, an expert panel member, shared his actual evaluations for several performances.⁷³ I saw that while few groups received the full amount, 8,500,000 won was still comparably quite good, but many received less. In addition, the Cultural Properties Committee evaluates the way that the preservation association is conducting its business, noting things like recruitment efforts, frequency of rehearsals, and locations of performances.

The members of the Cultural Properties Committee typically have little or no performance experience, although they may have been in a college club thirty years or more previously.⁷⁴

Therefore, evaluations are carried out by people who know considerably less about the practice (and the reality) of the art than the person they are testing. Although they might use a checklist

⁷² For some mask dance dramas almost every performance can be a full-length performance, as the actual length of the scenes is approximately one hour. However, other mask dance dramas are much longer and only perform the entire drama once per year. For arts other than mask dance dramas, such as *pungmul*, a full-length performance is longer and feels very different, yet a short performance can offer a compacted version of approximately the same content.

⁷³ For reasons of confidentiality I am unable to provide details here.

⁷⁴ Such college club experiences may have directed the area of their research towards performing arts, yet they can hardly be called expert performers. Members of the Cultural Properties Committee are generally past fifty years of age.

and their own considerable academic knowledge to check background knowledge, their ability to judge performance ability is questionable. I asked a long-term *isuja* about the Cultural Properties Committee, and she responded with unusual candor.⁷⁵

A: Who are these Cultural Properties Committee members? Do they know our dance? One time I had a conversation with one of them. But what do they really know? That person couldn't answer my questions. They can read some scholarly academic sentences and understand the overall idea as well as a regular Korean: "This is the mixed joy and sorrow, the life and satire of the lower classes." That's all they know. I don't think there is anyone who doesn't know that much. But when you ask them to go into more detail, they cannot. And yet they oversee tests for people like me.

This response indicates to me the clear feeling that the groups have of being unfairly judged. There are also concerns about the criteria on which they are judged. Age, background knowledge, and performance ability are not the only considerations: what of leadership ability? Amongst the current Cultural Properties Committee technical committee members, only one, Jeon Kyungwook, has significant mask dance drama performance experience. Professor Jeon's father became a National Human Treasure for Bukcheong Saja Noleum, and Jeon himself practiced for years, yet his nomination is due not to his own past as a performer but instead to his scholarly work on Korean folk arts, especially drama.⁷⁶ The Cultural Properties Committee members function as a formalized "authenticity police," to use Michelle Bigenho's term (2002). Although they can be criticized, they are fulfilling an important role. I discussed with Jeon the role he and the Cultural Properties Committee play.

Saeji:⁷⁷ Do you [Cultural Properties Committee members] consider leadership important

⁷⁵ I have omitted details from this conversation that might make it possible to identify the speaker, but she is a long-term participant in the arts and well respected.

⁷⁶ I have never seen Jeon mention this in his publications, a reflection of the attitudes in Korean academia, but all the performers know it and tend to like Jeon for it.

when you choose a National Human Treasure?

Jeon: No, we can't [consider it]. In the past, we listened to the opinion of the leadership of the *bojonhoi*. But nowadays, we don't do that any longer. We choose someone who performs really well. We take the recommendations of the group into consideration to some degree but their recommendations or opinions are not fully accepted.

Saeji: What would you do if someone could perform very well but didn't have any leadership skills?

Jeon: In my opinion, a National Human Treasure or *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* must have skill [performance skill] above all other qualifications. I had an experience once of selecting someone who possessed leadership but was not as good as a performer [Jeon shakes his head]. The members of the Cultural Properties Committee have to have the same standard for selecting a National Human Treasure: his or her ability as a performer. It is inevitable to have conflicts within any kind of a group. In such case, we cannot but help granting the title to the person who is a better performer than the others.

Saeji: When you choose a new National Human Treasure in a group, do you examine all of the *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* in that group [even the younger ones]?

Jeon: We have to consider all of them.

I was surprised by Jeon's answer, because I know that sometimes the Cultural Properties Committee has only been asked to evaluate the members that the group has already chosen to nominate for rank advancement. This has allowed the groups to substantially sidestep the power of the Cultural Properties Committee by only nominating the number of performers that are able to advance in rank at that time. For example, in 2006 when Hahm Wanshik was nominated for National Human Treasure status by *Songpa Sandae Noli*, he was the only person nominated. This left the Cultural Properties Committee able to choose only "yes" or "no."

Saeji: What if one has been a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* for twenty years already, isn't that important?

Jeon: I take it into consideration, but he or she must perform well. What is the point if he or she does not have skill or competence and talent as a performer? "What have you done for such a long period of time [as a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*] if you haven't developed your skill?" I might ask this question to him or her. When he or she has spent a long time learning or practicing [an art], then I expect to see

⁷⁷ From an interview conducted on 05/31/2011 in Professor Jeon Kyungwook's office at Korea University.

excellence. Supposing someone has been a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* for twenty years and they are not really good—obviously they have no talent for it. This person should quit.

Saeji: Do you think other members of the committee have the competence to judge skill?

Jeon: Nowadays most of them do. We have expert committee members. Usually, for a mask dance drama, Jeong Hyeongho and I, as well as a scholar from the province where the performance takes place, for example, it takes place in Gyeongsang Province, a scholar from Gyeongsang Province joins us. So three of us go to the performance.

Saeji: For example, Professor Bak Jintae?

Jeon: Sometimes Bak Jintae goes, Jeong Seongbak is not an expert committee member but he is a scholar, so occasionally he goes. Ryu Jongmok of Donga University wrote his MA thesis on mask dance dramas, so sometimes he'll join us. This engagement works. With three of us, if one of the three talks nonsense, the others can recognize it. And apart from these three, workers from CHA come together with us. They can tell who is being unreasonable because we [regular members and CHA staff] have a meeting afterwards. So if one time there is a problem, they won't invite that person to serve on a committee again.

Rather than criticizing the Cultural Properties Committee excessively as an institution, I would criticize the reliance on academics as the only people capable of serving on the committee. In the late 1990s, I was asked to judge a Korean middle school English song contest. I gave excellent marks to several people; so did the music teacher, another judge. However, her evaluation was based on how well the girls sang, whereas mine was based on how accurately they produced the English words to the songs. Lacking a clear agreement about judgment criteria, the girl I wanted to win was very far down on the music teacher's list, and the girl the music teacher thought highly of had very poor enunciation, if an excellent singing voice. This experience illustrates how differently an academic perspective (an English teacher judging the English) and an artistic/skill-based perspective (from someone capable of evaluating such as a music teacher who was also a part-time performer) can be. Likewise the Cultural Properties Committee needs the perspective of performers, because judgment based on academic knowledge of how an art should be performed and judgment based on the embodiment of art will

be different, and artists should be judged by their peers.

Archives and Taxidermization

Conventional archives—whether they are written descriptions, drawings of the progression of moves in a dance, photographs, or audio and video recordings—are important because they preserve particular aspects and details of traditions that would not otherwise be in the ever-changing collective memory. What archives *cannot* do is prescribe how to *perform* a tradition. Although archives are sometimes harnessed to reconstruct traditions, they cannot protect a living tradition. The CPPL clearly identified the limitations of archives for performance arts at the time it instituted the apprenticeship system of relationships we see in the progression from registered student (*jeonsuja*) to *isuja* and from *isuja* to *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* and finally to National Human Treasure, creating an archive of authenticity in the very human beings that are most knowledgeable about the art they perform/create. Despite the drawbacks to using archives to live/perform a tradition, the government has continually struggled to understand their meaning as a component of the repertoire of living artists, specifically, the necessary impact of individuals on the arts. Without investigating the ongoing impact of artists on the arts as they participate in their preservation and transmission activities, we will have only a limited understanding of how the mandates of the Cultural Property Protection Law are actually being carried out. The archives on Korean intangible culture are useful for historical contextualization, but they can tell us less about current issues with preservation of arts practices than can the actual individuals who are carrying on these traditions.

Scholars of intangible cultural heritage have appropriated a variety of creative and useful

metaphors to describe what happens to protected cultures. Since there really is no way to describe what literally happens to these arts with the legal policies inflicted upon performed arts, metaphors become helpful in understanding these realities. The term "fossilization" used by Keith Howard (2006) and Marilena Alivizatou (2007) provides an interesting view. Yet fossils cannot fool anyone—we never think they are alive. Peter Howard (2003) has written about "pickling" culture, suggesting that heritage protection systems preserve culture by drowning them in vinegar; yet no one thinks that a dill pickle and a cucumber are the same thing. The term "ossification," used by Rosabelle Boswell (2011), Jeff Todd Titon (1995), and E. Taylor Atkins (2010) implies brittleness and breakability. Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (2006) uses "freezing" to describe the process enacted by protection policies, but when something thaws it is never quite the same, and only embryos and science fiction characters can survive a period of being frozen.

All of these metaphors are crucial in understanding what happens to protected cultures, and while they illustrate the negative impacts of this process, I find that there is yet another metaphor that vividly captures the true essence of what happens to culture: taxidermization. Taxidermization is a process by which, done skillfully, we see something unmoving, but so realistically posed that we might be fooled into thinking it was just pausing for a moment. However, if we look beneath the surface, we will find that the guts are gone. Because it is no longer part of a living system, the outside environment will not affect the item we are observing—it will remain the same next year as it is today. Taxidermization is not reversible, yet it captures the exact appearance; appearances may be the limit of governmental desire.

The protection of intangible culture in Korea continually pushes the arts towards producing re-enactments instead of live, ever-changing culture. Extensive informal and formal

interviews during my fieldwork indicated that the various groups and individual performers in the CPPL system seek to patriotically protect these art forms, yet many seek to subvert the CPPL's taxidermizing influence, waging a quiet battle to keep the arts true to the original intention rather than the letter of the law. Although the CPPL and, later, UNESCO acknowledged the importance of the artists by creating the system of living national treasures, the "tendency has been to banish the repertoire to the past" (Taylor 2003: 21). The Korean law has prioritized the archive. This system disregards the valuable perspective on preservation of Korean traditional arts held by today's top experts (Kwon HS 2009, Yang JS 2003, Kendall 1985).

2. Changes to Intangible Cultural Heritage in the Post-CPPL Environment

In Korea, national ideas about intangible heritage were solidified in the 1960s and 1970s through the meeting of two groups considered knowledgeable about the arts: academics, who were members of Korea's elite, and traditional artists, who were typically rural, disadvantaged, and likely to retain a notion of inferiority attached to artistic professionals by Joseon Dynasty society (1392 to 1910). The discourse between the two parties established and archived a *wonhyeong*, or original form.⁷⁸ In some cases, the acts of resurrection of the arts were spearheaded by the performers. Accounts exist of specific performers who would not rest until their art had been

⁷⁸ The *wonhyeong* functions much like the labeling of an artifact. The *wonhyeong*, according to current Korean law, cannot be changed. "The very act of labeling an artifact in a museum, of in fact giving it a meaning, tends in practice to fix that meaning in time, or rather for some considerable length of time judging by the infrequency with which redisplay, reinterpretation is undertaken in the general urn of museum practice. [...] 'once labeled, forever true' seems still to be deeply ingrained in the museological psyche" (Boniface and Fowler 1993: 110). In reality, some *wonhyeong* have been adjusted formally, but as in Boniface and Fowler's passage, it is difficult to change the *wonhyeong* once it has been established.

designated, no matter the personal or financial cost (e.g., Hesselink 1998). In other cases, outsiders became heavily involved and "helped" rural people get local arts designated (Yi HS 2010). Once designated, the CPPL directs that all future exhibitions of the art form conform to the *wonhyeong*.⁷⁹ There was little argument at that time, since the people who assisted in creating that archive were the ones who were to perform the archived version. However, all the performers knew that the *wonhyeong* was a new creation based on a standardization of potential performance options.

The CPPL is a "heritage intervention," and has therefore caused unavoidable changes to the culture it is trying to protect. Cultural heritage protection should be carried out through creation of a "consensual heritage discourse" (Smith 2006) or an agreement about what heritage is and how it manifests through ongoing conversation.⁸⁰ "In every field of heritage there are debates between the case for things to be 'pickled in aspic,' to be passed on to another generation undamaged and untainted, and the case for things to be used, to be available to various people for various purposes" (P. Howard 2003: 17). The *wonhyeong* demonstrates the government's approval of an "undamaged and untainted" approach. Koreans were profoundly concerned with the protection of tradition, yet they had not considered that "by regarding tradition as something historically concluded one blocks from view tradition as a process which is just as current today as before" (Brynjulf 1975: 58).

For the arts to remain relevant to society an ongoing consensual heritage discourse,

⁷⁹ Written documents, photographs, and videos are kept on file as a physical archive of the *wonhyeong*, but the archive of the CPPL certified arts is understood to be embodied by the most experienced performers and artisans.

⁸⁰ Smith discusses the "consensual heritage discourse" as a dangerous concept full of judgments. She writes, "Embedded in this discourse are a range of assumptions about the innate and immutable cultural values of heritage that are linked to and defined by the concepts of monumentality and aesthetics" (Smith 2006: 4).

creating a way for people in the present to connect to the heritage of the past is needed. However, the idea of a *wonhyeong*, if interpreted literally, creates a barrier to active and engaged discourse. The fixed attitude towards the *wonhyeong* is unsurprising considering that bureaucrats use the same term when discussing how to reconstruct a temple building, or how to preserve a statue. A *wonhyeong* complicates transmission by mandating learning without change. Artists are aware that each embodiment of the art changes the *wonhyeong* in some way.

Saeji: Is Gangnyeong Talchum protecting the *wonhyeong* well?

Baek:⁸¹ We're doing a good job. But we aren't following the *wonhyeong* in every detail. It's not possible for everyone to dance the same way. As long as we don't make large changes, that will do. Each person has his/her own personality and following that the movements are different. There aren't big changes, but, for example, the character of grandmother Miyal, she uses Hwanghae Province dialect, and it's important for that flavor to come through. But no matter how confidently we try to do just like our teachers—that's impossible—so things do change.

In a conversation with Jeong Jaeman, a noted dancer and National Human Treasure, he described transmission using the example of pouring water from one cup to another. Even if every drop of the water remained, no two cups would be exactly the same and the water might look profoundly different in the new setting.⁸² The understanding that identical embodiment is impossible and intention is paramount has always been clear to artists. Most artists chose to accept the (imposed) *wonhyeong* and work within the parameters of preserving it. Yet others take a more radical stance.

Saeji: What do you think of the *wonhyeong*?

Kim:⁸³ How can one even say there is a *wonhyeong*? That day! That day, that artist, that

⁸¹ From an interview with Gangnyeong Talchum *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* Baek Uishil conducted in the Gangnyeong Talchum office on 7/21/08.

⁸² From a conversation on 11/03/04 at the National Theatre of Korea.

⁸³ From an interview with noted *Samulnori* founder, professor, and performer, Kim Duksoo, in his office at the

musician, I think whatever they do on the stage must be *wonhyeong*. Artists, the general public, scholars like you should question, raise doubt about the existence of something that is an archetype [*wonhyeong*].

Kim Duksoo clearly does not believe that such a thing as the *wonhyeong* is so intangible it can never be captured and reproduced. Fortunately, current trends in the CHA treatment of intangible culture seem to support a more flexible understanding of the *wonhyeong*, and insistence on blindly following a *wonhyeong* based on a different artists' embodiment at a different time period is increasingly seen as an impossibility.⁸⁴

Son:⁸⁵ For many different groups there is a similar problem. "What is the *wonhyeong*?" People don't share the same understanding of it. For example, "How many motions are part of lifting the shoulders?" There isn't any agreement to first do this motion, and then do that motion [to lift the shoulders]. The *wonhyeong* just says, "If you use that motion, it's right." But what do they know about Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli? In the past, one person and another person who danced Bongsan Talchum, they all did it a little differently. The dialogue, also—there were many different versions, and performers would choose what to use according to their own mind. Now everything is "first this motion, second that, third that"—there is an order for everything. It was not like that in the past, the old people know that, but the younger people they don't know. They just know the dialogue they're given. If the *wonhyeong* becomes so fixed, the fresh *mat* (flavor) will be hard to find. It will be hard and stale like old food.

Son's perspective follows closely the understanding that most performers have of the problem with the *wonhyeong*—they know that it is an artificial fixing of the art, and they worry that the long-term ramification is to choke the life out the arts, to taxidermize them. Sociologist Jeong

Korean National University of the Arts, 8/01/11.

⁸⁴ For example, in recent years the directors of the CHA have been people with solid backgrounds in Korean traditional culture, unlike the career bureaucrats that ran the agency through the 1990s. In addition, the intangible culture division of the CHA has seen an increase in staff members who have a background in or training in Korean traditional culture.

⁸⁵ The interview with Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli *isuja* Son Yeong'ae was conducted while driving from Andong to Hahoi Village before a performance.

Sujin concludes that the *wonhyeong* concept is "in conflict with artistic creation—it is closer to an "ideology" reflecting the perceptions and interests of intellectuals in relation to the reproduction of authentic national culture" (2008: 230).

Although the artists possess deep pride in their role as preservers of Korean heritage, do others care about the arts these artists strive to protect? To remain relevant to Korean society, the importance of Korean traditional arts must be continually reaffirmed through an ongoing "consensual heritage discourse" (Smith 2006), which ultimately establishes a connection between the artists, the art forms, and the rest of society. This is because "in order to be meaningful, heritage has to be based on a credible memory collectively sanctioned and approved" (Anico and Peralta 2009: 2). Yet "today in *uri nara* [our country, Korea] ordinary people are far from being concerned with our intangible cultural properties" (Son TD 2009: 103). The changes caused by the CPPL, namely the attempt to stop the arts from changing, have significantly hampered the "consensual heritage discourse" through which heritage remains relevant to the larger population, and it is my assertion that much of the manifestation of traditional heritage in Korea has therefore lost its connection to the Korean population, a loss of connection caused by the very law which was meant to protect it. The people who are today most connected to the arts traditions and working hardest to keep them alive are the performers, yet today's performers are different from those of the past.

The Korean folklorists of the 1960s and 1970s sought out and nominated certain forms of art and performance as items of national heritage to be designated under the law as part of an effort to save them from likely extinction. Despite their intentions, the "heritage intervention" of the CPPL has not prevented changes from occurring to the arts. These changes have come in two

forms, as changes caused by an unavoidably changed environment and as changes caused by the CPPL itself.

a. Changes Due to the Changed Performance Environment

The way that the CPPL was written and is managed treats heritage as an immutable object despite the widespread (and unavoidable) changes due to the changing performance environment. They come about (1) due to material considerations, (2) because of the imposition of requirements to finish the performance within the allotted time in the performance schedule, and perhaps most importantly, and (3) because of the changed engagement of the audience.



These types of changes are for the most part unavoidable. First, material adjustments, such as the use of proscenium stages, the use of pin microphones, and the continual use of the same costumes and equipment are hard to deny. Although most folk performing arts are still presented without an elevated stage and sometimes even on a sunken stage almost surrounded by seating, some venues use proscenium stages, and the performers experience such stages several

times per year. Although in most of the mask dance dramas the masks were burnt at the end of the performance, necessitating construction of new masks for each performance, this is no longer the case. During the Joseon Dynasty, *nongyo*, or farmer's songs, were sung in the field while taking part in the activity of transplanting rice. When they are staged the performers may set out plastic representations of bunches of rice seedlings. The use of pin microphones has been a great boon to audiences who want to hear the dialogue. The CHA, therefore, does not consider these types of changes as violations of the CPPL or specifically the *wonhyeong* (original archetypal form) requirement.⁸⁶

Second, performances have adjusted to the timetable that audiences and venues desire. Modern audiences expect a show to last between 70 minutes and 120 minutes. Venues often prefer to book two or more groups for a single show, so that the audience can appreciate the variations in folk performing arts. Some mask dance dramas take five hours to perform in full, and ceremonies and rites can last days. Yet each is expected to figure out how to perform shorter excerpts or pass up performance opportunities.

Finally, the engagement of the audience has radically changed. However, this change is also due to the CPPL, and I will address it below.

b. Changes Due to the CPPL

Although the existence of a *wonhyeong* requirement was designed to prevent changes to the arts,

⁸⁶ The other option would be to disallow performance in any location but the traditional location (impossible for arts from the northern part of the peninsula), and perform them there without any modernized performance equipment. This would be possible but it would be more costly to hold a single performance, harder to attract an audience, and most of all, make it very difficult for the artists to dedicate themselves full time to the arts—as performing only in the traditional manner would also mean returning to an era of far fewer performances a year.

the mere designation and compliance with the *wonhyeong* was an already significant change in itself. First, designation: the *wonhyeong* was not merely the performance format at the time of certification; rather, it was an attempt to recreate the earliest possible performance, to the extent of diverging significantly from the last known performance. Yi Hunsang (2010) describes how in the case of the mask dance drama Gasan Ogwangdae, a character that was once a Korean policeman was replaced during the Colonial Era with a Japanese policeman, yet the *wonhyeong* removed any mention of Japanese characters in the play. In general, an idealized version was designated as the *wonhyeong*, often leading to an artificial lengthening of dialogues. Arguments over the appearance of the masks resulted in a standardized version—today the papier-mâché masks are built on molds, making them truly identical in form—yet at the time of designation, there was considerable disagreement about mask construction techniques and appearance in several of the mask dance groups.

Second is the more complicated discussion of how complying with the CPPL has had the opposite impact of that intended by the law's drafters. Performances that must follow the CPPL do not speak to intangibles such as: (1) the connection between art and local community, (2) the meaning behind the performance, or (3) the constantly changing nature of culture. Such intangibles are even more crucial to the protection of tradition than concerns over changed motions, dialogues, lyrics, costumes, and so on.

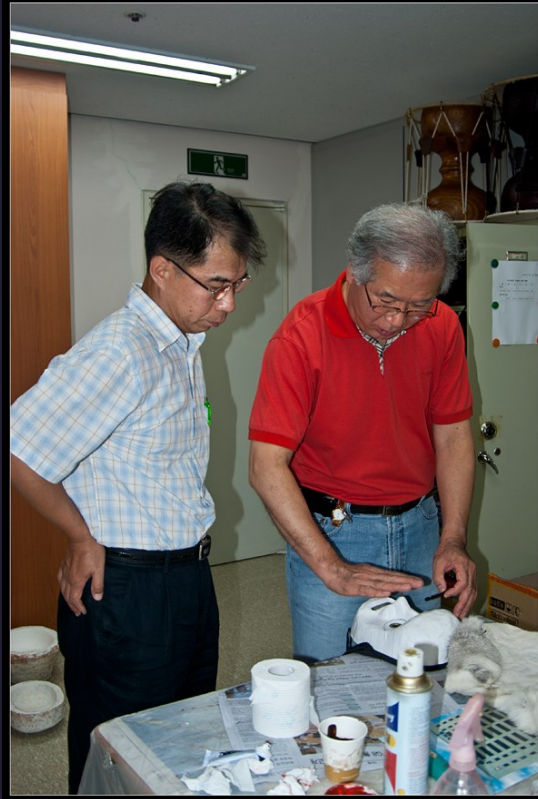
Images 3.5: Mask-making at Bongsan Talchum



Laying strips of paper into the mold to create a Mokjung mask. A completed Chuibali mask next to a mold.



Isuja Nam Mihyeon painting the lion mask (this mask is constructed on a basket).



A completed Somu mask. *Jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* Bak Sang-un, primary mask-maker, and *isuja* Jeong Yunshik, one of his apprentices, consult about how to attach a pelt to a *Yangban* mask.

Connection between the Art and the Audience

Today it is performances such as *pansori* that are deemed exotic, and not those such as *Legally Blonde: The Musical*, which enjoyed a successful run when staged in Korea, due in part to the casting of pop music group Girls' Generation member Jessica in the part of Elle Woods. Yet "music serves most of us as a symbol of our identity and history, either as individuals or as members of a group" (Yampolsky 2001: 178-79). What does it mean, then, as Koreans become less and less connected to Korean traditional performance? Most of the Korean folk performances are rooted in a specific community, with the exception of those performed by professional performers who often traveled from one region to another (such as *pansori* and *Namsadang*). Jindo Bukchum is from Jindo Island, as are Jindo Sshitgimgut and Jindo

Dashiraegi. At one time, these arts were closely connected to local identity, performed by local people employing local dialects of Korean and local drumming techniques and expressing local cultural sensibilities. They were even performed on the days that Jindo Islanders felt were appropriate. For people from other regions to watch these arts is not much different than for Barcelonans to listen to Sicilian sea songs or even for Koreans to watch a performance of Kentucky Bluegrass music. They could enjoy it as a performance, but would lack the depth of emotional connection born of the arts' intimate connection to their community.

The CPPL has de-coupled the connection between region and performance. All of the Korean national intangible cultural properties are performed anywhere in Korea and considered *national* treasures. Some of them may find more performance opportunities in Seoul than in their home region—certainly this is the case with the arts from what is now the DPRK like Bongsan Talchum and Bukcheong Saja Noleum. Performances are held on convenient days and at convenient times, although some were historically performed once or twice per year, outside, all through a winter night. In this way, the CPPL's insistence on continual performance has changed the arts by severing the connection to the local community and the agricultural calendar.⁸⁷

In addition, the *wonhyeong* and the increasing professionalization of the performers have created a barrier to non-specialist engagement with the arts. Popular music is attractive to young people partially because it is easy to understand and relates to their daily lives, and young people feel empowered to practice the choreography of the music videos in their bedrooms or in the

⁸⁷ Even if the arts were still primarily performed at the traditional times and for the traditional reasons, who would they be performed for? A major demographic shift has meant depopulation of rural areas. According to a report prepared for the OECD, as of the 2005 census, only 18.5 percent of Koreans lived in rural areas with only 7.9 percent of the population employed in farming, fisheries, or forestry (Heo and Kim 2009). In 2000, the rural population was slightly higher, 20.3 percent, compared with 1960 when 72 percent of the population was rural (Chang KS 2004: 20).

park. One hundred and fifty years ago *talnoli*, mask dance dramas, filled a somewhat similar position in village life—yet today the knowledge even of how to appreciate these traditional arts is specialized. The audience for traditional arts is eroding as consumers can choose from diverse cultural offerings from around the world. After conducting research in Japan, ethnomusicologist Kelly Foreman noted, "Japanese traditional music is enjoyed by few in Japan today, and most of those who listen to this music also study it (or have studied it in the past)" (2008: 73). Likewise, in Korea the population that appreciates Korean traditional performance has been shrinking for decades. Musicologist Keith Howard states a truth everyone knows when he writes that Korean traditional music "struggles in the marketplace" (2011: 195).⁸⁸

Location of Performance

Once I was fortunate to attend a shamanic ritual with Dr. Kim Wolduk. This ritual was not presented in a new location, at a new time, or adjusted for the convenience of attendees. We met the participants in the only authentic location for a village protection ritual: in the center of the village. Traditionally the mask dance dramas and most other folk performances were also held in this center—a large open space in the village called a *madang*. The audience (which often was barely different from the performers) would surround the performers, sitting or standing on all sides of the action. In the *madang* the mask dance players had to project their voices to make their dialogue audible through the small openings in the masks. We must presume the audience got as close as it could to facilitate hearing, but the direction the actor faced and the outdoor setting would have made it very difficult to hear everything that was said. This outdoor

⁸⁸ I address this topic in more depth in Part Three of the dissertation.

presentation in the round makes these performances somewhat different from the art forms developed for the proscenium stage.

In Korea, staging arts in the Western way became the norm starting in the early twentieth century.⁸⁹ This new performance location dovetailed well with Japanese ideas about modern presentation of arts, but it marked a significant break with the past. As the scholar Kim Jinhee explains, the proscenium, introduced during the Japanese occupation, significantly changed Korean theatre (2004: 13-14). Korean theatrical arts struggled under the Japanese Colonial government, and the Japanese were well aware how popular performance could be re-tasked for political purposes.⁹⁰ Contrary to the assertions of some nationalist historians, however, the mask dance dramas were not actively suppressed during the colonial era; in fact some dramas were actively promoted as an acceptable form of folk entertainment or as a tourist attraction for primarily Japanese tourists (cf. Choi CJ 2006, Yi HS 2010). Mask dance dramas and other Korean arts were performed less during the occupation than in previous eras. One reason was the attention given to the new globalized entertainment forms including the tightly controlled theatrical productions, and another reason was the close connection between mask dance dramas and local village-strengthening shamanic ceremonies discouraged or forbidden by the Japanese (Yi HS 2010). Without the context in which the dramas had traditionally been performed, many were discontinued.

⁸⁹ The first theatre, Won'gaksa, was built in Korea in 1902.

⁹⁰ "Because of its mass appeal and direct influence, the theater was subject to severe censorship, more so than other forms of art or literature. Under the new law, "Drama for the New System," no Korean-style costumes were allowed on stage and all props were required to be designed in a Japanese style. In addition, actors were ordered to speak Japanese exclusively, not only on stage but also in their dressing rooms. All published materials, including program bills and posters, were ordered to be written in Japanese. Needless to say, the subject matter of the plays produced under this banner had to represent undivided patriotism and utmost respect for Japan and its emperor" (Kim, Jinhee 2004: 16).

Finally, during the war years (roughly from the 1937 full-scale engagement with China to the end of World War II in 1945), most cultural activity was forbidden as the entire peninsula was mobilized in support of the Japanese war effort. After liberation and the Korean War, projects to resurrect the arts undertaken by former performers (and a new generation of folklorists, cf. Janelli 1986, Yi HS 2010) slowly emerged. Unfortunately, many performers had perished during the war, had gone to the north, or had forgotten their skills. Arts such as the mask dance dramas were resurrected or began to be practiced and performed after a hiatus. At that time the performers, many of them elderly, and almost all of them lacking the sort of social capital that would facilitate assertion of what they knew to be traditional, performed at whatever location that was offered, generally a stage.

On this stage, under stage lighting, many things changed. The observation of musicologist Hahn Man-young is that the "scenes judged tedious are cut relentlessly, regardless of their importance to the original tradition" (1990: 225). The new location for performance was more than a stage—it was also where the stage was located. Most Korean folk arts were rooted in a specific locality, often easily identifiable by the name. Imshil Pilbong Nongak is the drumming and dancing music from Pilbong Village in Imshil County. Yet in the modern era, the drummers can regularly be seen performing in Seoul and other locations during the year, un-tethered from the traditional agricultural calendar. *Namdo Deulnora*e were communal farming songs sung at key points in the year as the participants carried out large scale group transplanting, weeding, and harvesting projects. Yet "land reform removed the need for communal teams, and with it, much of the need for [agricultural] songs" (Howard 2006: 103). Hahn Man-young, discussing the same songs, explains that "melodies and texts which were once improvised by farmers over

many hours of repetitive work are now reduced to a couple of stanzas" (1990: 224). As the social function of the songs was changed or even eliminated, new adaptations became necessary. For example, mask dance dramas that had once been performed for Dano (lunar calendar May 5) or for Daeboreum (lunar calendar January 15) could not be performed once per year in the modern era.⁹¹ Instead, they were adapted to be performed on a Friday evening or a Saturday afternoon at the location the sponsoring organization designated, and thus the performances were yanked out of the *madang*, separated from surrounding activities, and disassociated entirely with the traditional calendar.

Staged performance signified that the traditional arts became a presentation, with microphones making the performance audible for significantly larger audiences and investing the dialogue in mask dance dramas with more meaning. In addition, costumes used on stage were fresh, shiny, laundered, and pressed. The color and material for costumes was sometimes adjusted to present a more visually captivating show. From at least the 1980s one could trust that the instruments of each musician are well made with excellent sound quality. Masks are carefully stored and are fairly sturdy.⁹² Performances may be presented under stage lights—the audience seated in the dark, the performers spotlighted on the stage. In short, every aspect of the performance environment has changed. Still, the most important change is in the audience and how they react to and interact with traditional performances. This has been well documented, for example, in the work of ethnomusicologist Nathan Hesselink, who writes:

Audience members are separated physically by a stage that situates them apart

⁹¹ Appendix 3, at the end of the dissertation, shows the major events in the traditional Korean year.

⁹² Masks were not burned in the case of Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli but were burned in the other mask dance dramas.

from the performers and on a different level. They are further removed philosophically as relative amateurs or connoisseurs, in contrast to the artists on stage who are seen as specialists, virtuosos, or even idols [...]. Paid admission to a concert, not membership in any particular community group, determines the right to attend, so audiences become more and more strangers to each other. This impersonal layout is further strengthened by the hall's layout and construction, which distances the performers while discouraging any communication among audience members (2001: 63-64).

Changes to performance location can change the relationship of the audience with arts in profound ways.

Although almost all presentations of traditional arts in giant stadium-type settings have ended,⁹³ particularly during the Park Chung Hee (1961 to 1979) and Chun Doo-hwan (1980 to 1988) administrations there were giant government-sponsored folk festivals held annually. These festivals included performance competitions, and winning a competition was often the precursor for being listed in the CPPL. However, the presentation in this setting caused other changes: performers "often numbered in their [sic] hundreds" and their motions were "exaggerated" and "redesigned to fit the performance space" so they could be seen by audiences in far away bleachers (Hahn Man-young 1990: 223).

Performance Meaning

Transmission during performance is never limited to an aesthetic observation of music, movement, drama, or a combination of different forms. Performances of traditional arts are intertwined with deep cultural meanings. Music is an intangible symbol of ethnic identity, and can maintain its strength even when tangible facets of identity are undergoing rapid change: "in the face of many pressures toward social integration and uniformity, intangible symbols such

⁹³ Mass performances at the opening ceremonies of major sporting events continue.

as music are sometimes all that people can retain of their identities" (Yampolsky 2001: 179). The ways that different types of cultural knowledge can be communicated through a performance vary widely. Performances are invested with meaning by local communities who participate actively in their construction. In some cases performances are even more profound because they are connected to religious beliefs. Different performances have served as a forum for topical discussion, a way to mark changes in the seasons, or a carnival-like release and connection with the ancestors. However, as performances adapt to a changing modern world, they lose the meanings they may have once had and evolve into purely artistic presentations. Hans Georg Gadamer (2006) calls this process "aesthetic differentiation," where artistic expressions are removed from the historical context and enjoyed/perceived/judged only on their aesthetic qualities as "art for art's sake." Gadamer reminds us that art cannot and should not be judged without its historical context. One example of the importance of the traditional context can be seen with the changes that occur in the performing arts in which artistic expressions are staged differently in the modern era than they were traditionally.

There are many rites and rituals in and outside Korea that are now staged without the surrounding religious content and context from which they developed. This removal of context from performance is occurring worldwide. Dance historian Janet O'Shea explains how in the Indian classical dance genre *Bharata Natyam* songs refer to Tamil literature, Sanskrit texts, temple sculptures, and religious rituals with "different understandings of *Bharata Natyam's* past therefore dovetailed with divergent politics of representation" (2007: 27). Today *Bharata Natyam* is presented as a dance form, with the origins of certain pieces serving as a colorful and authenticating background story, for a performance that is presented based on artistic merit.

Similarly, in China ethnomusicologist Helen Rees observed how after 1949 *Dongjing* ritual music in Lijiang County, Yunnan, was performed divorced from the ritual itself (2000: 40). In Korea as well, particularly following the headlong rush to purge non-Christian elements from Korean culture, the CPPL became another way to expunge religious meanings—particularly shamanic references—from the arts. The traditional ritualistic or religious meanings in the arts remain to the extent of providing a charming and authenticating origin myth, but it is difficult to find rites performed with traditional religious intent on the part of the performers and the audience. In addition, from the time that the CPPL went into effect, the arts had to be performed for the public at least once a year. This mandate has often been taken to mean in a location (central) and at a time (the weekend) that will make the art more visible, instead of a performance in the village on a date on the lunar calendar. As one foreign observer comments,

[This] has encouraged the development of staged versions. So while state-sanctioned persecution of shamanism has been widespread, particularly against ritualists as healers and shamanism as backward, the result of the promotion of shamanism as Korea's cultural core has been the encouragement of theatrical performance (Howard 2006: 136).

The staging of arts creates an additional issue for the future of the arts that include religious meaning: namely that they have a future as arts, but lose their future as (wholly or in part) ritual. I have attended many performances and celebrations, and almost all have to some extent theatricalized the arts. In January 2006, I attended a village ritual in a remote corner of rural Gyeongbuk Province with anthropologist Kim Wolduk. I was stunned to find that Dr. Kim and I were the only non-locals at the ritual. The thirty-five villagers, gathered under leafless winter trees that towered over the small house for the village deity, were all participants. The ritual was not long or detailed; the intent was rooted in ritual belief and not in performance or

showmanship. The participants, residents in a rural and fairly isolated mountainside hamlet, were with one exception over thirty. This sort of event is increasingly rare. Most Koreans have never experienced it, and many would doubt that such events are still taking place, yet it was infused with intent and clarity. The next night, half a province away, we stood with a hushed group of villagers bringing their hands together in *hapchang* (the traditional Buddhist pressing together of palms in front of the upper chest) at the appearance of the first full moon of the Lunar New Year, a holiday called Daeboreum.

Image 3.6: Daeboreum in Rural Areas



Ritual conducted at Gasong'ri and villagers, hands together in *hapchang*, greet the moon on Daeboreum.



There are many ways in which the meaning of the performed culture has changed in the modernized Korean environment. Folk group arts like the mask dance dramas, *pungmul*

drumming music, farming songs, shamanic rituals, and traditional games had had a very definite place in the year. Different types of shamanic rituals would be performed, for example, before the start of the fishing season to keep the fishermen safe on the water. Farming songs naturally were part of large-scale group farming efforts such as transplanting, weeding, or harvesting rice. Mask dance dramas were performed at village festivities, marking major turning points in the traditional calendar, such as Daeboreum, Dano, and Baekjung.⁹⁴ There was a specific reason why, when, and where various arts were performed. These meanings were disassociated from the arts almost as soon as the listing process began.

Therefore, although the demand for shamanic rites remains, since the demand for staged performances of rituals are both highly visible and relatively frequent, over time ritualists prepared to *hold* rituals may be replaced by performers prepared to *exhibit* ritual for a non-participatory audience seated somewhere beyond the reach of the stage-lights (for Korean examples, see Park MK 2003, Yang JS 2004, and Howard 2006). Yang Jongsung writes dismissively about modern-day shamans, saying that the modern-day proliferation of shamanic ceremonies that have not been requested by a client in need of a shaman are nothing more than performances of ritual:

These performances are different from purification and sacredness since they are performed according to arranged time and space criteria from the very outset. They are ... more concerned about beautiful outward display and pageantry than with their original purpose (2004: 185).

Yang argues that authenticity is at risk when researchers and bureaucrats discuss and protect shamanic ritual in terms of art and spectacle, completely neglecting the vapidness of a ritual performed without a ritual purpose. Yet the situation is even more complex, because Yang

⁹⁴ The major holidays and brief explanations are listed in Appendix 3 at the end of the dissertation.

observed the practitioners of other rituals seeking the same acknowledgement and validation given to listed rituals adjusting their ritual to match the perceived desires of the certifying Cultural Properties Committee. Where is the authenticity in a performance with ritualistic or religious significance staged for non-believers, particularly if the focus of the ritual is missing? How can we perform a funeral rite without a grieving family and yet-to-depart spirit? Although tangible preservation has also been faced with ethical issues regarding the treatment of sacred objects, these have for the main part centered on foreign exhibition of objects from a community/culture.⁹⁵

In Korea we see something very different, because Korean bureaucrats and scholars are choosing to make a spectacle out of ritual. Shamanism is particularly associated with Korean uniqueness, and yet is still often considered embarrassingly pagan, and therefore most bureaucrats are more comfortable with a representational performance than a genuine ritual. Yet even today anthropologist Laurel Kendall finds that on a grassroots level shamanism is still a vital part of the Korean landscape. Kendall explains that the large public performances of shamanism must be different because "embarrassing revelations from the private realm have no place in public *gut* [ceremonies] intended to celebrate an abstract 'Korean culture'" (2010: 14). Something similar is happening for the other items of intangible cultural heritage—the closer an art stays to traditional Korean ideology and world views, the less likely it is to be a "successful" performance in front of a modern audience. The entire CPPL system is formulated on the idea that the arts are supposed to be grand manifestations of abstracted Korean heritage.

In the early years arts were often designated for inclusion in the CPPL only after they had

⁹⁵ See, for example, Mary Nooter Roberts 1993, Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1998, and James Clifford 1988.

been performed in national folk art contests. At one time becoming listed in the CPPL was closely tied to having achieved a good result in these contests. Hahn Man-young (1990) explains how naturally this pushed the arts towards showy, extreme displays that would amaze, appear maximally distinct from other performances, and generally leave a lasting impression on the judges.⁹⁶ A similar process occurred in Japan, where it was criticized for similar reasons (cf. Hashimoto 2003: 231). Changes designed to appeal to the audience irrespective of deeper meanings are generally overlooked by the government, which sought popular support for cultural policies during the pre-democratization era and now often seeks to utilize tradition in the nascent tourism industry.

In the West artists like to say that their art speaks for itself. In the postmodern performance world the viewer is expected to take what he or she wants from the art, according to his or her own interpretation. Of course, for the long-historied Korean traditional performances the situation is quite different. An official government-certified interpretation of the arts has been codified and repeated for many years, and the audience is expected to understand Korean heritage in this way. Although complex, even somewhat contradictory, understandings of the arts may have existed at one time, the government support and sponsorship has created a dominant narrative. When a traditional artist believes that the art speaks for itself, this is based on an expectation that everyone in the audience possesses shared cultural knowledge related to the exact meaning of the art form as preserved by the CPPL.

⁹⁶ Yang Jongsung explains the link between the contests and listing: "In 1970, one year before Gangnyeong Talchum was designated as an important intangible cultural property, the group appeared at the National Folk Arts Contest as a newly discovered item and was awarded the top prize in the mask dance drama division. The following year, it was designated as an important intangible cultural property. This sequence in events is not unusual, and has in fact grown to be customary with winning the prize at the contest signifying subsequent designation" (2003: 60).

Change and the Wonhyeong

Natural gradual change is inevitable in the performing arts. In the example above, change is severely altering the shamanic ceremonies, yet Kendall has found that there are still private shamanic ceremonies that are rich in belief. Not all arts can survive the bifurcation into art for the uninitiated-outsider and art for the believer-insider. Shamanism has been able to survive because people still believe in, need, and call on shamans to hold private ceremonies. We can decry shamanic ceremonies stripped of deep ritual meaning, but as long as shamans offer private ceremonies, the situation is not dire. Yet arts that were always more oriented towards the viewer do not have a private setting in which to continue naturally evolving or retain original meanings. Surgically excising deeper meanings (or even forgetting that such meanings exist) is a more potent danger. Kurin has addressed this subject at length:

ICH is not something fixed in form that remains constant forever, safeguarded when only found in its pure, essential form. While various types and expressions of ICH may be articulated at certain points in history by their practitioner communities as the "pure," "real," or "authentic" form, such judgments need to be regarded as historically-based assessments, subject to change—even within the community—and to alternative formulations by various segments of the contemporary community. If a form of ICH is living it will, by definition, change over time (2007: 13).

Change, adaptation of new ideas, and improvisation are just as essential to Korean traditions as those in any other region. In the past Korean arts were constantly changing, particularly folk arts without any notation, diagrams, or written music. Musicologist Lee Byongwon emphasizes the importance of improvisation to Korean musical traditions, but sadly concludes that improvisatory aspects are disappearing due to transcription, the influence of the mass media, and shortened performance times (1980: 142). In other words, music/performance

that was by definition ever-changing is prevented from changing. The impulse towards conservation tries to keep the arts from changing—hobbling the improvisatory nature of all Korean folk arts—in order to preserve an authenticity which is stolen from the arts when they cease to change naturally. The memory of the movement (change) is left in the pose (proscribed form) in the taxidermized (protected) art.

The loss of the improvisational aspect of music such as *sanjo* is partially due to the effort of the musicians to preserve the *wonhyeong*, the government-certified authentic archetypal form of the art. It is also part of the reality of being a performer—there is always the desire to share one's art, and if that means being flexible to the needs of a performance opportunity, many performers will want to be accommodating. The government is the largest supporter of the traditional performing arts, providing funding, venues, and other support—all of which is much easier to receive for groups and individuals who are ranked within a CPPL-listed art. Lacking other patronage, artists can present a single scene of a mask dance drama, only two parts of a musical composition, or the frame and highlights from a dance. Although today the Korean relationship with traditional performance is not close, there is a nostalgic love for tradition in principle, even by people who do not attend any performances. The traditional performing arts, thanks in no small part to Park and Chun's utilization of them for nationalistic purposes, are part of a binding agent that creates a Korean sense of pride and community. The nationalistic attachment to the arts despite a lack of specific knowledge about them could be attributed in part to how successfully the government tied love of Korea to the traditional performing arts.

Living culture constantly changes and evolves—when culture ceases to change it becomes something else: a record of past culture, a remnant or a reminder of a society that no

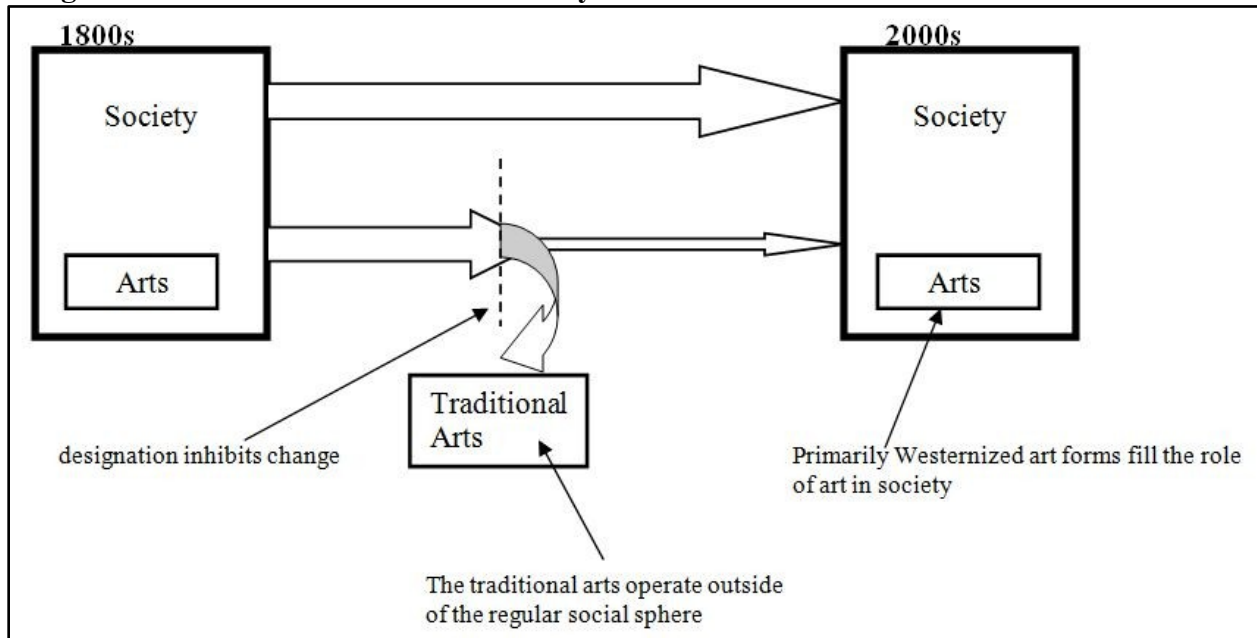
longer exists. The difficulty faced by the project of protecting intangible cultural heritage is that if "what" is being protected is clearly defined, the process of defining it has already started to change it. As long as there is freedom to think differently, do something differently, culture stays alive—it may change so much over the course of years that you cannot recognize it after several generations—but those changes kept it relevant to the population it served. To cite Harriet

Deacon:

Because intangible resources are constantly being recreated, and are therefore constantly changing, and because they depend on the practicing community to pass on knowledge or practices, a listing process will affect them immediately (positively and/or negatively) and probably more fundamentally than it would affect a building or place (Deacon et al. 2004: 38).

What the CPPL has done is to disconnect society and the traditional arts, as shown in Image 3.7, below.

Image 3.7: The Disconnect between Society and the Arts



Musicologist Paul Henry Lang asserts that performing arts that are "removed from our cultural environment [are] not readily accessible" to us because they are not "directly connected with our experience and to the symbols with which we are accustomed" (1997: 172). In pre-modern Korea it was not necessary to explain that an art was traditional or Korean. Yet today Korean arts, by and large, are "traditional" arts that are growing ever more disconnected from society and the other arts. No longer does the audience bring "a rapport with the conventions of the day" to their observation of performance (Lang 1997: 177).

Musicologist Keith Howard calls to task the CPPL for creating an environment of standardization (1996: 92). By designating certain items from a certain moment in history as heritage, by assigning these items importance over others, and by trying to protect a single designated version of a performance tradition despite the ongoing changes essential to all performance forms and the extensive changes to Korean society, the project also becomes one of

inventing tradition. This process enacted by the Korean government reverberates with Eric Hobsbawm's 1983 essay, in which the author modeled a new lens through which to examine humanity's seemingly endless desire to establish traditions. I argue that when the heritage intervention of the CPPL chose one performance performed on one occasion by one group of players as the *wonhyeong*, the one archetypal traditional way to perform that art, the Korean government became complicit in invention of tradition. Although governments have been complicit in invention of tradition for nationalistic purposes on countless occasions in recent years, the Korean example is particularly deliberate.

Hyung Il Pai asserts that authenticity in Korean culture is "manufactured and displayed for public consumption" (2001: 77). Pai believes that "in the last four decades the OCP [Cultural Heritage Administration] has been the main institution responsible for the invention of 'Korean' culture and tradition" (Pai HI 2001: 73). It is hard not to characterize the Korean case as invention of tradition when the goal of cultural policy during the period from 1974 to 1979 was:

Cultural development aimed at developing culture by creating a new national culture built on the foundation of the traditional culture. The primary policy objectives stated in this plan were as follows: firstly, creating a new national culture and a cultural identity by establishing a nationalistic perspective on the Korean history; secondly, promoting the quality of cultural life of the people by popularizing culture and arts into the daily life; thirdly, improving the national prestige by promoting cultural exchange with the other nations of the world (Yim HS 2003: 40).

A variety of scholars have exposed authenticity concerns for individual arts or designation processes, casting doubt on the historical accuracy of some current cultural presentations. For example, according to anthropologist Moon Okpyo, traditional festivals like Gangneung Danoje were reconstructed and advertised with benefits both for the local economy and for the pride of local residents (1999: 11). Moon explains that Gangneung Danoje is rooted in tradition but has

been reconstructed and choreographed, with events added specifically to make it more unique and to "emphasize its authenticity" to the extent that "the festival itself may be understood as an invented tradition in that it had never been practiced in the present-day format before its designation as the [sic] Cultural Asset" (1999: 13). In discussing the same festival, anthropologist Hyun-key Kim Hogarth uses the term "folklorization."⁹⁷ Other scholars, such as Yang Jongsung (2003) and Yi Hunsang (2010), detail the less than completely accurate reconstructions of Gangnyeong Talchum and Gasan Ogwangdae, respectively.

Although the populations and historical legacy vary enormously, one truth that seems to be emerging is that a hands-off approach sometimes, but not always, results in vibrant and popular new forms that incorporate elements of the past, often while cherry-picking what scholars find desirable in performances from their own and other regions. For example, Jean Loup Amselle writes, "when the Malian singer Rokia Traore expresses Bambara culture in 'world music,' instead of blending the former into the latter, she upholds it, maintaining that globalization paradoxically becomes the vehicle for the homogenization and preservation of cultural specificity" (2004: 87). Reacting to the restrictions of the CPPL, some artists in Korea have worked to develop new arts based on traditional ones (e.g. Yang JS 2003: 114-115). These arts, such as *samulnori*, *changgeuk*, and *changjak muyong*, have sometimes proved engaging to the public through incorporating Korean cultural specificity, but in a new way not dictated by a government agency.⁹⁸

⁹⁷ "Folklorization is a process by which an old tradition is revived and firmly re-established in a modified form" (Hogarth 2001: 254).

⁹⁸ *Samulnori* is a drumming form, *changgeuk* are *pansori* restaged as multi-performer musicals, and *changjak muyong* are newly created dance works.

3. Changing Performance, Changing Performers

Although folk arts were at one time highly participatory and the line between audience and performer blurry, there has been a dramatic shift as Korea has modernized. Hahn Man-young explains that in the case of Namdo Dulnora, "once farmers took turns to sing, regardless of their voice quality; now semi-professional singers take lead roles" (1990: 224). One way in which transmission of culture has changed in the modern era is with the opening of all performing arts as a career or hobby to all Koreans, regardless of their social background. People from the more elevated social groups in Joseon Dynasty Korea's conservative Reform Confucianism environment were sometimes aficionados of emerging professional folk forms. The professionalized folk artists performing *pansori*, various types of solo instrumental *sanjo* music, and solo dances like *salpuri* needed patrons to develop their arts. During this dynasty, the folk arts were performed by what were considered to be the lowest members of society: monks, shamans, slaves (*nobi*) and female entertainers known as *gisaeng*.⁹⁹ After the Joseon Dynasty ended in 1910 and during the upending of social classes during the Japanese Occupation and its aftermath, performers including the *jaein*,¹⁰⁰ *gisaeng*, *banin*,¹⁰¹ and nomadic performers (such as the *sadang* and *Namsadang* groups) were absorbed into the general population. The majority of the Korean population, who were mostly farmers and fisherman, participated in song and dance related to festivities marking seasonal changes, group labor, and rituals, yet spent a

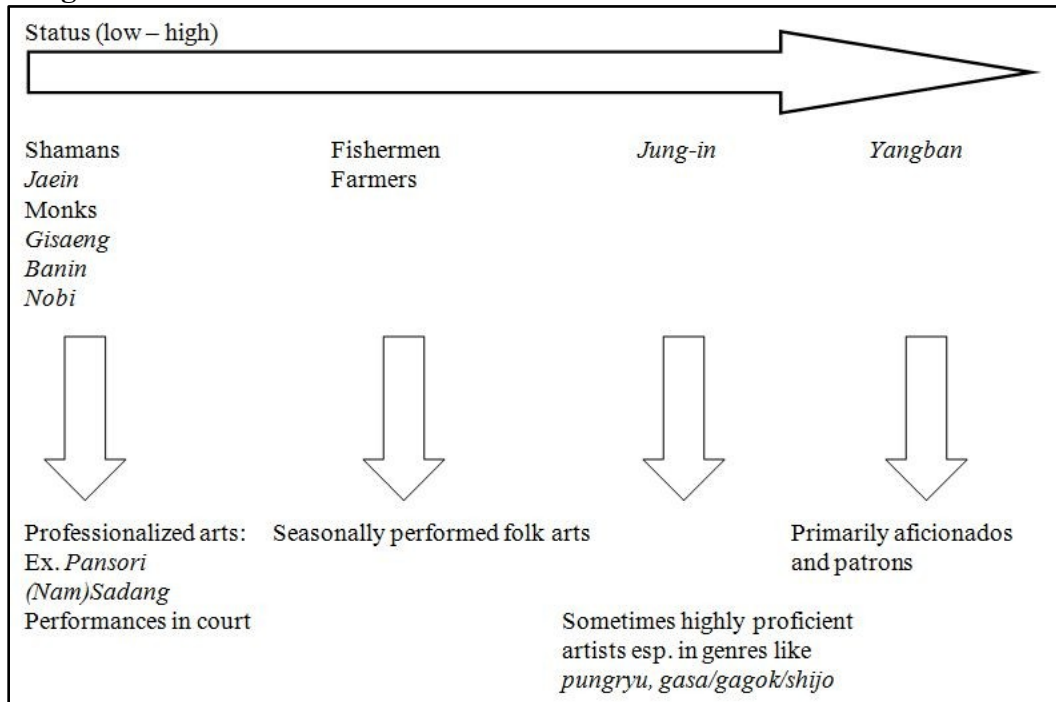
⁹⁹Not all *gisaeng* were performers, but some were highly trained performance professionals.

¹⁰⁰ The *jaein*, "most of them men from hereditary shaman families" (Jeon 2008: 133), were also sometimes called *gwangdae*. Not all *jaein* were performers, but many were.

¹⁰¹ *Banin* were entertainer-slaves of the National Confucian Academy (Jeon 2008: 135).

comparatively small percentage of their time on these activities. Image 3.8 serves as a visual explanation of the correlation of types of arts activity with certain social classes.

Image 3.8: Status and Arts Involvement in Pre-Modern Korea



Post-liberation, three factors imposed a challenge for the arts. First, even after the end of the occupation in 1945, these ideas connecting class and artistic pursuits remained, and many people, in a bid to be seen as respectable, did not evince interest in learning performing arts. Second, the nation's desperate poverty meant that many families had to prioritize survival over their investment of leisure time for performed culture. And finally, the importation of American and other cultural products from outside Korea—facilitated by the presence of American Armed Forces—provided new options for consumption of or involvement with culture. It wasn't until after the CPPL was passed in 1962 that this system gradually changed attitudes towards learning and knowing about traditional arts by conferring status upon expert artists, naming them

treasures of the nation. Nationalism became part of a strategy employed to encourage the youth to become involved in the arts. Yet despite these efforts, the process of re-energizing Korean traditional arts has been rather slow.

Perceptions of traditional arts gradually began to change as the government designated "Important Intangible Cultural Property" status on the arts, and this influenced the ways in which artists were and are referred to in the modern era. Such is the case with the popular term *in'ganmunhwajae*, the National Human Treasures of Korea's CPPL system. These artists who once hid their knowledge are now treasures of the nation. Increased nostalgia for a vanishing past has imbued knowledge of traditional arts with symbolic capital. The growing emphasis on teaching, practicing, and performing the Korean arts has not only provided the space and the ambition to preserve these, but it has also created the notion of the professional artist. Although many artists also maintain jobs outside the arts, a population of professional artists has emerged in the post-CPPL world, particularly as the Korean economy has improved. Yet these artists are still treated as if they did not know what was best for the arts. Jeong Sujin asserts that Korean cultural policy "has prevented the formation of a space for artistic production, and under these social conditions producers' internal logic is systematically ignored" (2008: 19).

a. The Second Generation

Ethnomusicologist Keith Howard explains that "by the 1990s, most if not all holders [National Human Treasures] were one generation or more distant from the artists and craftsmen who had practiced their skills in pre-modern Korea. Links with the past were becoming tenuous and, increasingly, holders themselves had learnt only preserved forms" (2006: 14). In my research I

had also noticed the profound shift between the old masters and the current performance experts. Fascinated by the lifelong dedication of Korean traditional artists who began their studies after the CPPL was passed, I focused my research for several months on these expert artists, a group I call the "second generation."¹⁰²

Table 3.9 (a): Generational Differences and Transmission

	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation
Transmission	"Authentic" learning	Learned during classes with "authentic" masters	Learned during classes with the second generation

As shown above in Table 3.9 (a), there are three distinct generations distinguished primarily by their pedagogical genealogy. As I define it, members of the first generation are those expert performers who were already considered masters at the time their art was incorporated into the Cultural Property Protection Law.¹⁰³ They learned in what is widely considered an "authentic setting" and an "authentic manner." The general idea of the "authentic," as articulated by multiple interviewees, is learning in a "pure" Korean environment—generally a village untouched by the Japanese colonizers or the American armed forces—in a "traditional" manner (the way things were taught and learned before modern pedagogical frameworks such as classes with lesson plans).¹⁰⁴ Although some individuals who learned this way are still alive, most have passed on. Through a tighter connection to a previous time these artists are posed, or pose themselves, as experts. Their memories, however distant, have been regarded as key and

¹⁰²I traveled to Korea in summer 2008 with funding from the Northeast Asia Council of the Association for Asian Studies specifically to conduct interviews related to my concern with the second generation. However, this section is informed by an understanding reached over several years of fieldwork.

¹⁰³ Some of the groups also use the terms "first generation," "second generation," and so on. When they do so, they generally refer to a time period extending backwards from the present to the late 1800s. For my purposes, I only consider up to a third generation of performers: there is no such thing as a fourth generation, but only first, second, and then perpetually third.

¹⁰⁴ There is no doubt that such an authentic setting or manner has never actually existed except in memory.

unsullied by the modern world.

The second generation is deemed to have learned in neither the "authentic" setting nor manner, although they are valued for having learned directly from these first generation masters. The second-generation arts professionals are the key to the future of the Korean arts, and they have had to inevitably adapt their arts both to the modern performance conditions and to the demands of the Cultural Heritage Administration who administers the CPPL with help from scholars who monitor the arts. Despite limitations placed on them by the CPPL strictures and the watchful eye of the CHA and their monitors, the second-generation performers have had a profound impact on the success of specific arts. Generally, traditional culture is passed down through generations "within the community setting and outside of formal instruction and commercialization" (Pietrobruno 2009: 234). During the Joseon Dynasty, most folk theatre was performed once or twice per year. Most performers learned by volunteering for supporting roles and through observing more advanced performers; over the course of several years they transitioned into increasingly advanced parts. Their successors, the second generation, were inculcated to the importance and significance of performance through a more structured manner of learning, however, and many initially had little background knowledge to contextualize the arts. As a result, the second generation has come to utilize language describing their performance that their own teachers did not explicitly need to develop. In addition, the second generation learned the arts through discreet chunks of organized information, as an organization process was part of being certified as an Intangible Cultural Property.

Finally, it is during the ethnographic present of this dissertation that we witness the emergence of a third generation: performers who learn from the second generation, with no

connection to the "authentic" environment or "authentic" masters. The increasingly tentative connection between the "authentic" and the performers has had and will continue to have an increasingly significant impact on the ability of the second- and third-generation artists to lay claim to the arts.

Without teaching new performers the law will fail in its purpose, yet the law has ensured a method of transmission widely considered less legitimate than pre-existing learning styles. As a result, referring to teachers who learned in a manner that cannot be criticized legitimizes the learner by association. Second-generation performers are pleased to recite their pedagogical genealogy—a genealogy that legitimizes them despite the fact that they were born too late to learn in the village environment. Through these genealogies, Korean performers present themselves, as musicologist Henry Kingsbury puts it, as the "individual conservator of a distinct and distinguished musical heritage. The implicit message is that if one studies with a particular teacher then one steps into a particular line of musical descent" (Kingsbury 1988: 45-46). Not all performers discuss their genealogy in the same way. In particular, those who have family connections to the art speak differently from those who do not, and prefer to talk about learning primarily from their parents or from relatives of their parents' generation—usually with such a strong pedagogical genealogy that only the parent is mentioned as a teacher, as in two interview excerpts below.

Yang:¹⁰⁵ My father was the *sangsoi* [lead player of the group on *ggwaenggwari*]. Growing up in Pilbong Village, I naturally grew to know Pilbong Nongak and in that way began to play. Because my father did it, I followed, and because the villagers had many *gut* ceremonies I encountered [the music]

¹⁰⁵ Interview with Imshil Pilbong Nongak National Human Treasure Yang Jinseong on 07/13/08 at Seoul Noli Madang.

often.

Baek:¹⁰⁶ My mother is a National Human Treasure, and because when I was young she had a dance *hagwon* [studio] since I was in elementary school, after school every day I would go to my mother [at the studio]. So I learned to dance and to play *janggu*, and because my mother was a National Human Treasure, I also naturally encountered mask dance drama. From that encounter, things have progressed to how they are today. Over a long period of time, and because of my mother's constant involvement, I kept learning.

Both Yang Jinseong and Baek Uishil explain the process of encountering tradition using the word *jayeonseureopge*, or "naturally." This wording in their narrative sets them apart from those who cannot "naturally" encounter tradition—perhaps as a subtle assertion of authenticity.

Those who entered the arts without a familial connection often list several of the (often deceased) group members. The positioning of the learner, showing how he/she had a solid background, is generally clear in these narratives.

Ahn:¹⁰⁷ Well of course at that time all the teachers here taught [us]. I learned from [National Human Treasure] Yi Yunseok, and, though they died while I was in high school, Mr. Heo Panse and Mr. Heo Jongbok. Mr. Heo Hyeondo led us to compete in a mask dance drama competition, so at that time he directly taught us. And Mr. Hwang Jong'uk, he was always next to the older teachers helping us [learn].

Choi:¹⁰⁸ I learned from the former teachers who are now passed on starting in high school. The basic motions were taught by Mr. Heo Jeong'uk, who has now passed on, and I learned from the former director of our group. I learned

¹⁰⁶ Interview with Baek Uishil, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* for Gangnyeong Talchum, on 07/21/08 at the office of Gangnyeong Talchum.

¹⁰⁷ Interview with Ahn Daecheon, *isuja* for Goseong Ogwangdae, on 01/28/11 at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center in Goseong.

¹⁰⁸ Interview with Choi Yeongho, *isuja* for Goseong Ogwangdae, on 01/28/11 at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center in Goseong.

the monk's dance from Mr. Ha Hyeon'gap and the part of Malddugi from Mr. Jeong Gwangyeol and also from the former director, Heo Jeong'uk. And I've learned and am still learning basics from our current director [Yi Yunseok].

Yi:¹⁰⁹ I started by learning *taepyeongso*. As I learned *taepyeongso* I got interested in beating the *ggwaenggwari*, and then I learned *sangmo*. I kept practicing *sangmo* as my job while I was in college. There is a troupe at the Korean Folk Village. As I worked [with that troupe], I learned from the teachers who were there—Mr. Jeong Insang, Mr. Seong Sun'gap in Daejeon. He's deceased now, but I learned Utdari music, *sulche garak*, from the National Human Treasure. After being at the folk village for about six months, I went up to Seoul, and for six months I got an education with the Bburipae Samulnori group. Then, because of work I got in school, I came here and learned and began activities with Mr. Yang Sunil and [current] director Yang Jinseong.

Gang:¹¹⁰ I learned from ritual folk music experts, such as Mr. Han Yeongseo, and the physically talented Mr. Yi Hanbok who taught us at Songpa, and from the deceased Songpa expert Mr. Kim Seongsu.

Son:¹¹¹ When I began, I learned from Ms. Kim Eunju—as a high school junior, during the summer vacation, there was a free class for students. At that time I first got to know Mr. Jang Yongil, and I also learned some from Mr. Kim Seonbong, and although he's not around now, Mr. Jang Junseok also taught me. That's how I started.

Kim:¹¹² All the current *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* have taught me a lot, as well as Mr. Kim Seongdae and his son Kim Sangmyeong, National Human Treasure. I learned from all the National Human Treasures that have now passed on, and National Human Treasures Noh Jaehyeong and Kim Sunhee are still with us. But this year Noh Jaehyeong and Kim Sunhee are what, seventy-eight? It's come to this.

¹⁰⁹ Interview with Yi Jaejeong, *isuja* for Imshil Pilbong Nongak, on 02/08/11 at the Imshil Pilbong Nongak Transmission Center in rural north Jeolla Province.

¹¹⁰ Interview with Gang Cha'uk, *isuja* for Songpa Sandae Noli, on 02/27/11 in the Songpa Sandae Noli office.

¹¹¹ Interview with Son Byeongman, *isuja* for Bongsan Talchum, on 05/28/11 at a restaurant after the annual full-length performance of Bongsan Talchum.

¹¹² Interview with Kim Sunok, *isuja* for Yangju Byeolsandae, on 02/28/11 at the transmission center for Yangju Byeolsandae, outside the town of Yangju in Gyeonggi Province.

A higher-level performer will sometimes de-emphasize who he/she has learned from, often through dwelling on other factors that legitimize his/her expertise.

Yi:¹¹³ When I first came here I'd already learned *janggu* and *buk* from musicians in Jeolla Province. I'd also done some theatre. So as soon as I started with this group I was performing as a musician. After I tried to dance the dance, I made up my mind to continue practicing, and in 1974 I won the national top prize for individual mask dance, dancing the part of the Old Wife.

In the example above we see that Yi Jaehun is emphasizing that he was already trained when he became involved with the group. Even though he could not have already known how to dance the part of the Old Wife, he "tried" the dance, rather than being taught how to dance.

b. Performer Background

In addition to the differences in how they received transmission, there is also a major difference between the backgrounds of the first- and second-generation performers. Drawing on this difference helps to clarify the important role the second generation plays in bridging the traditional practices and the modern world. Many scholars in Korea have hinted at or even baldly stated that, through their long academic study and exposure to the first generation, the scholars are more knowledgeable about the arts than the second-generation performers. Yet the second generation is in most cases more prepared to engage in an academic discussion than the first generation who were often impressed even by college students from Seoul (Yi HS 2010). The deference that was shown by many in the first generation towards professors and scholars who researched arts prior to certification has left a lasting legacy. The difference between the first and

¹¹³ Interview with Yi Jaehun, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* for Goseong Ogwangdae, on 01/28/11 at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center.

the second generation goes beyond the ability to engage in academic discourse on the arts. In fact, the second generation is prepared to speak truths that academics and government officials do not want to, but should, hear regarding the future of the arts and the effectiveness of current protection and transmission methods. They are also acutely aware of changes occurring in the arts as a result of the changes to society and the influence of the CPPL (Kwon 2009, Howard 2006). In the four groups I work with most closely many members have graduate degrees, often closely related to the arts. A somewhat similar situation is occurring in Japan, where artists receive more advanced education, often in the arts, "but the traditional way of transmitting art in the villages is now declining.... These conditions contradict attempts to develop the original elements" (Fukuoka 2010: 258). Modern pedagogical methods and the modern aspirations of young people cannot easily integrate with traditional ideas about transmission and the arts.

Table 3.9 (b): Performer Background

	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation
Employment	Farmers, employees, blue collar, self-employed	Laborers, blue and white collar workers, housewives	Mostly white collar workers
		Can be professional artists	Often professional artists
Education	Lower level of education than the Korean average	Average or above average level of educational attainment compared to their age cohorts	Average level of educational attainment compared to their age cohorts ¹¹⁴

The artists themselves are aware of these generational differences, and on more than one occasion, artists utilized the same terms with the same meaning I have assigned, although other individuals extended the generations earlier in the recorded history of their particular art rather

¹¹⁴ I do not mean that the third generation is less educated than the second. I mean that the third generation is not more educated than their age cohorts, at least not so far (because many of the third generation are in their twenties or thirties, time will tell if they pursue more advanced degrees or not).

than calling the first National Human Treasures the "first generation."

Yang:¹¹⁵ In terms of social class, [the first generation] were always quite low. However, in our generation I can get a doctoral degree, be a professor. The class system in our country has changed a lot. I am doing traditional culture not because I am low class but because I think traditional culture is right. Compared to the previous generation I am so much more proud (of being part of traditional cultural activities).

The generations are, as Yang stated, quite different, and the largest difference probably lies in their attitude towards being artists. Their position in society has changed dramatically: unlike first-generation and older second-generation performers who often had to struggle with the ideas of society and family towards the arts, the younger performers have experienced much less opposition. Sometimes families actively encourage participation in the arts.

Son:¹¹⁶ My parents like that I do this. When I first became a member of the preservation association there were few performances, and economically it was quite burdensome. My other employer was in a critical situation, and my parents actually gave me spending money—they didn't get angry, but because of their support I redoubled my efforts.

Gang:¹¹⁷ At first, if my parents had been really opposed to this work, I wouldn't have been able to do it. But they weren't really against it at all. I think they thought "he's just doing this for a hobby now; later on he'll get a real job to live on." At first, I hadn't decided that this was to be my job, either. So my parents and siblings weren't against it, and it has worked out well.

This support for a career (or even just involvement) in arts is quite different from the situation

¹¹⁵ Interview with Yang Jinseong, National Human Treasure and Director of Imshil Pilbong Nongak, conducted at Seoul Noli Madang on 07/13/08.

¹¹⁶ Interview conducted with Son Yeong'ae, an *isuja* for Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli, on 03/09/11 while in her car traveling to Hahoi Village.

¹¹⁷ Interview conducted with Gang Cha'uk, an *isuja* for Songpa Sandae Noli, on 02/27/11 in the Songpa Sandae Noli office.

experienced by individuals who started decades earlier. Yi Heunggu, National Human Treasure for *Hakmu*, for example, told me the sad story of his family disowning him when he refused to quit court dance.¹¹⁸

c. Performer Activities

There are often major differences in the performance-related activities between the generations, as outlined by Table 3.9 (c).

Table 3.9 (c): Activities

	First Generation	Second Generation	Third Generation
Teaching	Teaching casually as part of rehearsal and performance; after certification teaching became more organized	Teaching actively at schools and universities, to community groups and in special arts teaching centers on a regular basis throughout the year	Often trying to parlay arts education into more permanent employment opportunities but hampered by large number of senior artists competing for positions
Rehearsals	Rehearsal for a short intense period before the performance; after designation increased performances meant increased rehearsals	Regular rehearsals year-round	Regular rehearsals year-round
Performance opportunities	Occasional performance opportunities, more after designation	Constant performance opportunities. Most group arts perform more than twice a month on average	Constant performance opportunities.

Today a variety of structured educational methods exist, dealt with at length in the following chapters. In pre-modern Korea there were relatively few full-time positions for performing artists, and these were almost entirely in what is generally glossed as the court arts. Folk arts were not taught in a classroom setting, and only a few genres were able to support professional performers. Today, teaching remains a more profitable and certainly more reliable income source than performing. Many of the artists in the second generation spend a significant amount of time

¹¹⁸ Interview conducted with Yi Heunggu on 10/14/04 at K-Arts.

teaching. Yang Jinseong's uncle, the late Yang Sunju,¹¹⁹ told me that in one week he teaches about twenty hours, partially because he was teaching through a cyber university program, but mostly because he was teaching at Jeonbuk Dorip Gugakwon [North Jeolla Province Institute for Korean Traditional Performing Arts].¹²⁰ Bak Sang-un,¹²¹ *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* for Bongsan Talchum, described a fairly representative slate of teaching duties for any artist in a larger city. In 2008, he was teaching at a university and a high school as well as to one group of adults in Gyeonggi Province's Gwangmyeong City, who have a lesson scheduled once a week. He did not specify his duties teaching at the Intangible Cultural Heritage transmission center¹²² in Seoul where he instructs the registered students and *isuja* for Bongsan Talchum on a rotating basis with the other senior teaching members. In addition he is the primary mask maker and also engaged in passing on mask-making skills to four members of Bongsan Talchum Preservation Association. All of these cases, however, involve a specific classroom-based teaching method unlike that experienced in traditional Korea.

Another way in which the activities of the second generation are significantly different from those of the first is in terms of rehearsals and performances. The groups generally practice once or twice per week even when they are not performing. Although the CPPL mandates only

¹¹⁹ Interview with Yang Sunju, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* of Imshil Pilbong Nongak, conducted at Seoul Noli Madang on 07/13/08.

¹²⁰ Jeonbuk Dorip Gugakwon is a center for teaching and performing Korean traditional music and dance, primarily of the Jeolla Region. It is located in Jeonju.

¹²¹ Interview with Bak Sang-un, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* for Bongsan Talchum, conducted at the Intangible Culture transmission center in Samseongdong on 07/02/08.

¹²² The Intangible Cultural Heritage transmission center (*jungyo muhyeong munhwajae jeonsu hoigwan*) houses not just Bongsan Talchum, but also over a dozen other performance and craft groups. It also contains practice rooms, a small theatre, a gallery, a museum, and the offices of the Han'guk Munhwajae Boho Jedan [Korean Cultural Heritage Foundation].

one full-length public performance a year, there are a large number of additional performance opportunities.

Bak:¹²³ Last year just in Korea, we had thirty performances. These weren't just in Jindo, but also in other regions. We also perform for Chuseok and in Seoul Noli Madang, Korea House, Pungryu Theatre, and so on. This summer we don't have many performances, but last year we had a performance every Saturday in October.

When even a remotely located regional art requiring forty-five members for a single performance is able to perform thirty times a year, it is easy to claim that at least two performances a month is a reasonable estimate for most arts. Groups such as Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli perform far more often.

The extensive time spent teaching, practicing, and performing has meant that the second generation of performance experts has developed their skills to a level that some performers assert did not occur in pre-modern folk performance arts. This difference is frequently remarked upon as I talk about performance preservation issues with the more self-assured National Human Treasures, an experience that I share with other scholars of Korean performance including Hesselink (2006), Howard (2006), Yang JS (2003) and Kwon D (2005). I have seen National Human Treasures for individual arts show the audience how much more precisely dance gestures are presented today compared to how the villagers of the traditional past would render the same gesture. Although they respect the first-generation performers, when one teaches university or high school classes, practices weekly, and performs dozens of times per year, it is possible that this constant effort can translate into a level of perfection that was never demanded in the pre-modern era. It is not, however, guaranteed, nor do I mean to assert that this is regularly the case.

¹²³ Interview conducted at the Jindo Ganggang Sullae practice center on 07/25/08. Bak Yongsun is a National Human Treasure for Ganggang Sullae.

Although non-professional performers during the Joseon Dynasty may not have performed often, there is no way to know that their skills were less developed than those of modern performers. In addition, over-thinking and constant improvement can sometimes go too far, and no matter how technically advanced, a form can be stripped of some of the emotional impact of previous iterations. It is not only in terms of the performers that the CPPL has caused changes, however. It might seem that someone interested in financial success or the limelight would focus on new arts and not learn traditional arts, due to greater flexibility and the likelihood of leaving a legacy. Dance scholar Janet O'Shea asserted this belief, writing that she found that the type of person attracted to learning a bounded traditional form is not the same type of person who is attracted to a freer form that allows more individual expression and creativity (2007: xi). However, in my extensive contact with traditional Korean artists, I have observed that senior artists often feel they have a more accurate understanding of the art than the *wonhyeong* version and chafe against upholding what they consider a lesser version.

4. Conclusion

Ethnomusicologist Jeff Todd Titon believes that:

In the last half of the twentieth century, as cultural policymaking became a reality, a fundamental shift is beginning to occur, from heritage preservation to cultural revitalization, and with it the possibility of helping musical cultures to strengthen their traditional practices (2009: 7).

I am not sure that I agree with Titon. Titon and some of the ethnomusicologists working in Korea frequently mention cultural revitalization, but the improvements for the mask dance drama performers seems too little, too slow. Intangible cultural heritage is challenged by the same processes that seek to protect it. In Korea legal policies such as the CPPL precipitate many of

these challenges. Yet criticisms of the CPPL are muted. No one can deny that the CPPL and related policies caused a profound shift in attitude towards traditional artists, raising their stature in society and facilitating continued practice through bestowing respect and removing class-based stigma from participation. Government funds funneled through the Cultural Heritage Administration underwrite performances and practice spaces, as well as offering stipends to National Human Treasures, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*, and scholarship trainees. Without the government's funds in support of traditional arts it is frightening to contemplate how the capitalist market would have treated the arts.

While such benefits are continually the first benefits mentioned by any artist as well as others knowledgeable about the system, there remains criticism of the law and the CHA. All such criticism must be carefully raised and delicately worded, because within the community of bureaucrats, scholars, and artists who care about the arts there are so many linkages—no one is independent. I asked questions such as "Is the Korean government doing a good job protecting traditional performing arts?" and "Do you think the CPPL is effective?" in interviews between 2004 and 2011. Many performers, particularly the younger performers, do not think in great detail about cultural policy. They grew up with it as members of the third generation and have not directly felt much tension due to the CPPL.¹²⁴

Some of the performers that I spoke with honestly assessed the law in a positive way, acknowledging how much had needed to be done and the responsibility of the artists to improve as well as the government's responsibility. The artists quoted directly below represent the people who, despite finding some problems, felt that overall the government was doing well.

¹²⁴ I have made all the following responses anonymous to preserve the anonymity of the individuals who voiced more openly critical opinions.

- A:** The government has been really concerned about this, and these days I think they're doing a good job. In the past, they were a little negligent but [art's name] we also needed to bring up our performance, it was a little lacking. The Japanese took so much away from us during the occupation, but the Cultural Heritage Administration has year by year worked to restore [Korean culture]. They really were deeply concerned. [National Human Treasure]
- B:** I think UNESCO's program to protect intangible cultural heritage of the world is really important. Koreans, as an ethnicity, think that our old things are really important but in practice do not act that way—there is a strong tendency to run after the latest release. Therefore we have to protect or preserve our important cultural heritage through policies because it must live! [*Jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*]

When evaluating the CPPL, one major theme was that the CPPL saved the unpopular arts from extinction, even if things are still difficult today.

- C:** If they hadn't certified [arts in the CPPL] no one would be learning the less-popular arts. [*Jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*]
- D:** I think that to a degree the CPPL is doing well. There is a lot of discord, talk of preservation difficulties, and transmission difficulties. The inheritors who will receive the arts that are passed down, but the popular arts are not in danger. Unpopular arts—for example, the art of making ceramic sauce jugs, or the makers of bows and arrows—people like that find it difficult to even eat or live. In this era, the government is helping them but [...] there are a lot of people that find it so tough they don't continue [to do their art]. Institutionally there had to be some sort of systematic assistance. For example, nowadays who uses *hanji* (traditional paper)? In the past it was used often for covering doors and windows, but these days it can be made by factories or people can use cellophane. [*Isuja*]
- E:** If the government did not fund the arts or artists, no matter what title they received there would be people who couldn't live well. Although there are learners who don't care about money, usually the arts that come with more possibility to make money have an easier time getting students. The rest of the artists, our cultural properties, it's difficult for them, they're impoverished. It's really difficult for them to eat and live. For example, the makers of horsehair hats—[the hats] are expensive and really not useful. Nowadays who will wear a horsehair hat? Even with government support these people live a meager existence, we're only protecting them a little. Although it's a little pitiable, but because the government realized this situation a lot of arts haven't died out. [*Jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*]

Another major theme was to complain or at least mention the financial issues with the

CPPL, as "D" and "E" above briefly mention. If these artists are living a "meager" existence, other sources of income remain important. The lack of financial security even after forty or more years of dedicated training is a reason why many performers from many groups do not relinquish other forms of income and are only part-time artists. When discussing with academics some of them expressed the opinion that the artists *should* be only part-time artists—they do not believe it is the government's responsibility to make it easy and comfortable to be an artist.

F: I just get the 500,000 won (500 dollars) of a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. I've been doing this for forty years, but every month I get 500,000 won. Well, I'm still thankful. But this isn't the 1960s, it's the twenty-first century, and even if they don't want to give much they should update their thinking. I feel like no one in the government stops to question these budgetary matters. [*Jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*]

G: I'm really concerned because in the group arts there are a lot of participants, but only a few people are getting a stipend from the government. [National Human Treasure]

Several performers mentioned the poor construction of the law. This was often mentioned together with doubt that a *wonhyeong* (original form) could be said to exist. Overall, many younger people just accept the structure of the law, but older performers have seen changes in the government policy and enforcement and are more critical.

H: If you look at the organization of the articles in that law, it's fantastic. There are no limitations on how you can enforce it. It's so fantastic that even a child, an elementary school student, could make it. Firm guidelines for enforcement are important. I am, you could say, someone who always viciously criticizes the law. The Cultural Heritage Administration also has that opinion of me because I've left that opinion all over the Internet. [*Jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*]

Some of the artists are extremely negative about the CPPL and the CHA. This opinion, quoted below, is not that unusual. The more cynical people involved with traditional performing arts in Korea have privately expressed similar opinions to me on many occasions. Whether or not

people expressed such opinions was based on three factors: (1) positive versus negative outlook on life in general, (2) the relative success of the art they were involved with, and (3) to some extent, the degree to which they trusted that I would keep their negative opinions anonymous.

I: I feel really marginalized by this law and the CHA. The government supports Western music so much more [than traditional performance]. When there is something like a festival, it's that way. In general in Korea, I feel marginalized. Although Korea should encourage and support those who carry out tradition as their career and nurture our tradition, it would be no exaggeration to say that in Korea, Koreans obliterate tradition. This isn't unthinkable. I'm always thinking this way; I have grievances against the government [management of traditional arts]. Everyone who does traditional arts thinks this way. [*Jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*]

J: Maybe it's a little like cutting off your nose to spite your face to badmouth the Korean government, but I don't think that we should always follow the Korean government's policies unquestioningly. If what the government does is wrong, we should acknowledge it and correct it. If we pretend there is nothing wrong it can go on, unchanged [to become a bigger problem]. I am against that [inaction]. [*Jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*]

In addition, sometimes groups expressed inter-group disparity when they criticized the CHA or the CPPL. It was common for groups to point out that they had fewer National Human Treasures than another group, or that they had fewer *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*.¹²⁵ Groups from outside major metropolitan regions emphasized their added difficulty (lack of chance to perform, time to travel to performances, difficulty recruiting local participants because the population locally was small). The groups from North Korea expressed envy that groups associated with specific regions or towns in the south could be regionally sponsored in addition to their national support. Groups from the south, however, frequently mentioned how much more support Andong City gave Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli.

¹²⁵ The number of National Human Treasures per group once depended on how many had originally been listed as National Human Treasures. If in the 1960s at the time of certification five people had that title then for several decades each time one passed away another National Human Treasure was nominated. Eventually the CHA decided to change this policy, and now the only groups that have more than two National Human Treasures are those groups who had younger National Human Treasures designated before the policy change.

There are certainly bureaucrats and scholars who also have criticisms of the current policies. However, particularly for bureaucrats and scholars, opportunities for advancement can be hurt by vocal or explicit criticism. Therefore, in scholarly work, if the CPPL's failings are mentioned they are usually the failings of a previous era, particularly problems with the certification process (cf. Yi HS 2010, Yang JS 2004). One substantial area of such historical criticism is the invented nature of some or all of the traditions protected under the CPPL. In the cases of the mask dance dramas, historical continuity is rarely assured, although it is stronger in the case of Bongsan Talchum and Yangju Byeolsandae than for some of the other mask dance dramas. This does not mean, however, that Bongsan Talchum is unchanged. Doubts remain in regard to the historical authenticity of many of the arts, and political maneuvering in the designations of others raises quiet debate about all the arts.¹²⁶

Neither the Korean government nor the artists want to see a challenge to authenticity of the protected arts, yet how much more invented are the traditions today than the origin story for Tongyeong Ogwangdae? It actually is unimportant if the mask dance drama in Tongyeong began after masks washed down the river in a chest (Cho OK 1988: 138)—what was important was the communal celebratory enjoyment that the preparation and performance of Tongyeong Ogwangdae brought to the local community. This remains the most important consideration, which is why the staging of Tongyeong Ogwangdae internationally, representing Korea, or in Tongyeong or Seoul as a performance of the richness of Korean culture, allows it to be

¹²⁶ To protect my sources I cannot go into great detail, but as an example, in the certification of one art there were two groups performing it, and an influential scholar was recruited to back Group O at the expense of Group N. Despite the existence of two groups performing the art, the scholar used his considerable leverage to make sure that Group O was certified. This had immediate status and financial benefits for Group O and effectively ended the arts participation of members of Group N. Ethnomusicologist Jessica Anderson Turner presented research at the Association for Asian Studies Annual Conference in 2012 research showing that, in China, when a bid for certification fails, groups tend to quit performing or quit performing that "failed" art.

interpreted as an invented tradition for legitimizing the Korean government and institutions symbolizing membership in the group "Koreans."

Appendix

Appendix 3.1: A Brief Outline of Intangible Cultural Heritage Related Legal Efforts

Year	Location	Law
1950	Japan	Law for the Protection of Cultural Properties
1962	Korea	Cultural Property Protection Law (<i>Munhwajae Bohobeop</i>)
1972	UNESCO	Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage
1989	UNESCO	Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore
1994	UNESCO	Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity started by UNESCO
1998	UNESCO	Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity
2003	UNESCO	Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage
2005	UNESCO	Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions

Part Two

Behind the Mask

1. Introduction

In the next five chapters I will introduce transmission contexts, theorize transmission in these environments and discuss how Korea's Cultural Property Protection Law has impacted these environments. These cases were chosen to illuminate transmission within the performing arts groups that have been the focus of my research. They also show how complex transmission is, providing a warning about generalizations. Each of these circumstances is impacted by intangible heritage law, by the CPPL, but sometimes in unexpected ways. The one constant is that all groups must carry out transmission activities, and the activities described in these chapters are transmitting the arts. No matter how old a teacher or how many have been trained in the art, training activities must continue.

In the previous chapter I outlined issues with transmission—both about where and how it is happening and about how time and the Korean Cultural Property Protection Law have changed transmission. Yet for all the various ways in which I have just made general claims about transmission, particularly in Korea, I also want the reader to keep in mind the highly particular and individual nature of transmission; there are as many different ways in which transmission can occur as there are teacher and student combinations in the universe. The specific interaction between the teacher and student is always colored by factors internal to both individuals. Yet there is also a *mat* or flavor that can arise within a specific group.

2. Modes of Transmission

A central assertion of my research is that there are two types of transmission: transmission-through-performance and transmission-through-teaching. The latter type does not challenge the

pre-existing assumptions about transmission, but to some transmission-through-performance may be a new idea. Thinking of performance as a type of transmission brings to the forefront the valuable role that effective presentation of the arts can have in drawing individuals to become closer to the arts: repeat concert-goers, ticket buyers, hobbyists and even future professional performers. Transmission-through-performance is the subject of Part Three of the dissertation.

a. The Teaching Philosophy *Gujeon Shimsu*

In this section I will discuss transmission-through-education. The pedagogical philosophy, *gujeon shimsu* (口傳心受), transmitted oral directives of the skills and the heartfelt intention in the teacher's performance. Through *gujeon shimsu* or *gu-eum jeonsu* (transmission through oral directive) students slowly acquired the skills of their teacher.

The traditional image of *gujeon shimsu* is one in which an apprentice works tirelessly to be accepted by a teacher—perhaps sleeping on his porch, sweeping, and doing the washing—until the teacher finally consents to teach the student.¹²⁷ Bak Juhyeon, the *daegeum* player for Songpa Sandae Noli shared his perspective on *gujeon shimsu* with me.¹²⁸ He explained that in the modern era *gujeon shimsu* is too slow for many students. According to Juhyeon, modern students were neither patient enough for such a model nor willing to accept such a powerless role, particularly when they can easily access written and recorded music and multiple teachers.

¹²⁷ In an interview with Nathan Hesselink Kim Hyeongsun explained "When we were young and learning... If you wanted to play *jangu*, you had to walk twenty to thirty *li* [8-12 km] and work with the teacher at whatever he was doing. You would follow him around. And whenever he took a break, even for just a minute, you could sit down and ask him a question about playing" (2006: 127).

¹²⁸ Juhyeon attended middle and high school for *daegeum* and had the same major at K-Arts. Interview conducted on 7/02/2011 on the 730 bus traveling to Songpa Sandae Noli rehearsal.

Though teachers once preferred this model, in which imitation, repetition and proximity imprinted the teacher's art onto the student's body (Hahn 2007: 83), modern teachers – such as Juhyeon's – encourage their pupils to find multiple teachers and emulate the strong points of each.

There are still many ways in which the transmission of traditional arts remains an oral and imitation based practice, *gujeon*. Nathan Hesselink found that his *pungmul* teachers both appreciated the CPPL for the advantages it had brought them and "felt constrained and threatened by notation and other forms of official documentation" (2006: 122). Teachers in other arts also discouraged reliance on written records. Ethnomusicologist Paek Inok, in researching the transmission of *minyo* song, observed teachers asking their students to not look at the words in order to concentrate better on the aural cues (2007: 86):

Rote learning continues to be the prime method for the teacher to pass the repertoire on to students and is still more readily found in folk music genres such as *minyo* and *pansori*, where the score either does not exist or is not emphasized in the lesson. Thus the full and frequent participation of both the teacher and the student in playing together is necessary (Paek 2007: 87).

Certainly mask dance drama students rarely refer to written documents during class, the exception being when one or more people have not memorized the dialogue yet.¹²⁹ For blocking of moves in *sangmo* solos or mask dance dramas I have seen people scribble notes—often including diagrams—for later reference while others record their teachers on smart phones.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ Songpa Sandae Noli has a small published booklet from 2002 with the written versions of the dialogue and scene blocking; however, in 2009 the group decided to return to reliance on old binders with typewritten (not computer printed) sheets of dialogue from when Yi Byeong-ok conducted his original research. These sheets are so old and have been copied so many times the copies are very difficult to read, and though I was told there is a difference, other than general readability I could not find more than small differences in verb ending and vocabulary choice. The same number of lines, same number of sentences and same meaning are contained in both versions. At Bongsan Talchum Yi Duhyeon's 1981 book (listed in the works cited) is the approved text.

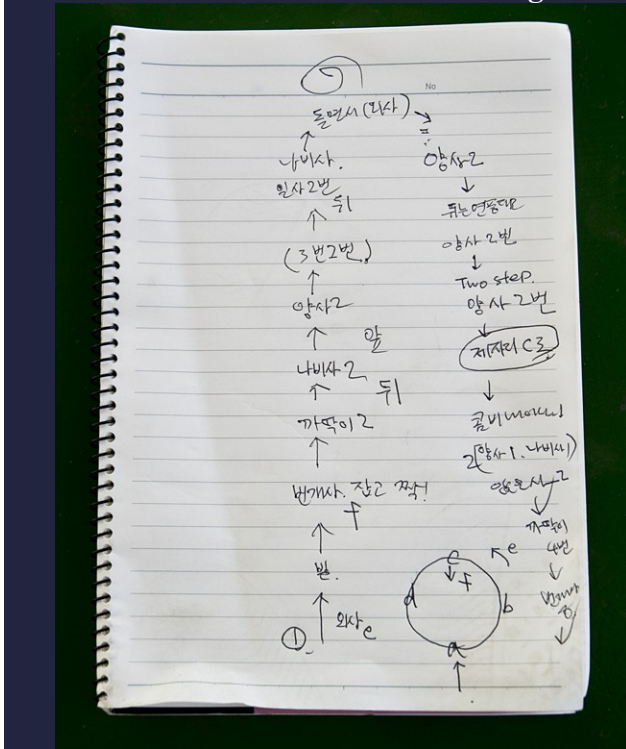
¹³⁰ Students rarely ask permission before they begin to record a teacher on a smart phone, nor are they surreptitious—the teacher knows they are being recorded. Only at Songpa Sandae Noli have I observed (repeatedly) an antipathy to photo and video during practice sessions. However, the group has no objections to documentation during

Students later share these smart phone files with friends, watching the videos over and over, pointing out the instances of particularly pungent *mat* (flavor). Paek also found that long-term students used commercial recordings as well as personal recordings (ibid.: 88). In today's changed learning environment, the *gujeon* (oral directives) of the teacher may even be undermined by archival records (such as books, videos and smart phone recordings), but resisting the widespread technology seems futile.¹³¹ Alternative sources of knowledge have a larger potential impact in the arts that are performed by individuals, not groups; however, the increased ease of access to teachers and teaching tools has necessarily caused a retreat from the traditional pedagogical concept of *gujeon shimsu* even in arts or under teachers where orally transmission is heavily relied upon.

performance.

¹³¹ When Nathan Hesselink was learning Iri Nongak he found that (tape) recording was not permitted (2006: 124). If I had any friends in that art form I would ask what the policy is today. I assume that any attempt to prevent recording has fallen by the wayside in the intervening years.

Image Part 2.1: Notation



In this diagram created by a student in a *sangmo* class the name of each move, in order, is transcribed for a solo from entering the stage until leaving it. Note the numbers that tell the student how many repetitions of the moves to execute.

The *shimsu* aspect of traditional learning meant to accept the heart, the philosophy or the mindset of the teacher as well as his or her technique. The first time I remember hearing the term was when dance scholar Choi Haeri faulted a specific performer for having succeeded in *gujeon* but failed in *shimsu* (that is, learned the mechanics without adopting the ineffable essence that lifted the teacher's performance above a skilled reproduction). The dancer had created what Walter Benjamin would call an imperfect translation. Benjamin explains that the best translation is not an exact recreation or replica, but the result of a translator who has been changed by the language from which he is translating (1968: 76). Translation, like embodiment, must retain an echo of the original which can only exist with understanding of the intention in the work that is the basis for the translation (ibid.: 76). In traditional Korean arts pedagogy this echo is grounded in *gujeon shimsu's* concept of *shimsu*. Dr. Choi claimed the performer was unable to

communicate the complicated heart of the dance without learning the *shimsu* from his teacher. After conversations with multiple performers in Korea I came to understand *shimsu* as the difference between skilled copying of a movement and the same movement energized with an intangible power. To a Korean this was tied to both the acceptance of the teacher's philosophy towards the art—the humility *not* to call oneself talented—but accepting that learning was never done, to always credit the teacher and root one's performance in the essence of the teaching.

Mask dance dramas must be learned and rehearsed as a group. Only some mechanical items such as the individual memorization of lines can be effectively practiced on one's own. The acceptance of *shimsu* in the practice of mask dance dramas, according to several senior members of Songpa Sandae Noli, meant learning to perform seamlessly with the group. Arts performed by groups, such as the mask dance dramas, have naturally always included multiple teachers, among whom certain performers are acknowledged as better at certain roles (such as the drumming of Gang Cha'uk, or Yi Suhwan's rendition of the part of Nojang, the old monk). Therefore, even though contemporary circumstances makes access to multiple teachers easy and frees students from obsequious care for a single teacher, to learn a specific role well group arts like mask dance dramas provide no more options than a solo art.

b. Transmission through Teaching

Scholars who conduct field research focusing on transmission specifically relatively are rare. However, there are some scholars who have conducted excellent ethnographic research on Korean performing arts; unavoidably this research gives some information about transmission of the arts. Even outside Korea most elucidation of transmission occurs in texts where the author's

main purpose is on another aspect of the art(s). In my examination of literature on artistic practice I have found no better text to explicate the process of transmission than dance studies scholar Tomie Hahn's work on Japanese *nihon buyo* dance. Hahn focused on transmission almost exclusively. Although Hahn's *Sensational Knowledge* educates the reader about various aspects of *nihon buyo*, her clearly focused work lightly sketches other topics to the degree necessary to clarify her points about transmission. Hahn describes transmission as occurring in four different ways: visual, tactile, oral/aural and through notation, video or other media (2007: 70-145). This is an excellent way to describe transmission processes within a specific art, but I am also curious about the *participants* and the *circumstances* under which transmission occurs, in addition to *how* it occurs.

There are a variety of formats in which the learning that informs the importance of transmission-through-teaching can take place. Within the context of government-protected Korean mask dance dramas I have identified four: (1) organized classes run by the groups, (2) learning directly with the official group as they rehearse (no special class), (3) learning through intensive camps, and (4) learning in schools or universities. I will outline each of these transmission methods as well as the other situations that also exist for arts transmission. These other situations include (5) spiritual calling, (6) staging of events to encourage participation, (7) apprenticeship, (8) one-on-one learning with the instructor, (9) osmosis, and (10) self-study. A student of the arts might learn through one mode of transmission until he/she is proficient, but in most cases students may enter the art through one mode and then continue to refine their craft through one or more other modes.

As an illustration, when I first interviewed Jo Pungnae, he had been practicing Bongsan

Talchum for seven years with a university club (which included organized classes run by advanced members of Bongsan Talchum) and later through the regular evening community classes held by Bongsan Talchum. A few months later he was invited to move up and begin rehearsing with the Bongsan Talchum preservation association members as a fellow member of the troupe. The day that he was included as an official member of the Preservation Association roll book (in 2005) he tried to act nonchalant, but I could tell he was excited. As of 2011 he is one of the regular performers in such grueling roles as "half of the lion."¹³² Many of the younger musicians and dancers may have majored in Korean traditional music or dance in one of the few universities with traditional music or dance programs. With bountiful talent and sincere commitment, entering such a university can lead to their mentorship and lessons from highly ranked performers in the CPPL system.

Below I will explain each of the ten modes of transmission in more detail, using cross-cultural comparison where appropriate.

Classroom learning

In the context of the Korean performing arts, classroom learning usually involves one performer who has been given permission by the preservation association to teach the art, and students who do not need to audition to participate in the class. Due to the political nature of rising in the ranks of the preservation association, performers who have learned for only a couple of years would be hobbling their own future in the art if they began teaching without permission. Folklorist Yang

¹³² The Bongsan Talchum lion is performed by two people—the front half of the lion holds the lions head and manipulates it. The back half of the lion manipulates the tail and lifts the front half (standing erect) on his shoulders. Inside the lion's pelt (something like a loosely woven very shaggy carpet) it is always hot, especially with shaggy overalls covering one's legs and torso.

Jongsung, in the book that developed out of his dissertation, explains that in the Korean case most arts also run classes for the general public "for the popularization and advancement of understanding of intangible culture among the public" (Yang 2003: 48). He also explains that sometimes a member of one of these classes can transition and become a member registered within the CPPL system (such as in my example of Jo Pungnae above).

Training with the Professional Performers

In general a new performer can learn for free from professionals in two circumstances: when taking money is viewed as inappropriate (see Hughes-Freeland 2008) and when everyone is concerned that artistic skills may be lost, thus making them eager to teach. The latter is the case in Korea for many group arts.¹³³ Students who are accepted as future members of the performance team can begin to learn and train together with the preservation association members. These students and lower ranked members (*isuja* and especially *jeonsuja*) are encouraged to always attend such sessions, while senior members (including the most senior *isuja*) may take turns teaching (Bongsan Talchum) or vie to teach as teaching concretizes the division between teacher and learner (Songpa Sandae Noli).

Intensive Programs

Korean intensive programs are truly intensive, often at a camp—with people sleeping away from home and being involved in the activity all day long—but there are also other types of intensive learning. Intensives are not simply a recent invention. Before large rituals in Japan, traditional

¹³³ It would be accurate to say "most" of the Korean arts protected by the CPPL, in fact. There are arts that few people think of or have ever heard of that are in dire straits, while the most popular arts are doing quite well.

music and dance is taught intensively for a few weeks (Hughes 2008: 87). This is similar to what is known of the Joseon Dynasty Korean mask dance dramas, most of which were only performed once or twice per year or even less frequently.¹³⁴ According to the recollections collected by Korean folklorists, before a mask dance drama performance there would be a brief spurt of intense preparation. In the case of *Tongyeong Ogwangdae*, traditionally performed fifteen days into the New Year, a society that oversaw religious issues in the village "would call a meeting [for performers] approximately two weeks prior to New Year's Day" (Cho OK 1988: 139). The recruited team of players would play drums around the village, raising interest and asking for funds until four days before New Year's Day (Bak JT 2001: 38-40). During this fundraising period they also rehearsed and prepared for the performance.¹³⁵

School or University Study

Traditional performing arts are sometimes taught in formal schools devoted to the arts, including the *däbtära* observed by Kay Kaufman Shelemay (1992) or the College of Indonesian Arts in Bali (known as STSI) researched by Brett Hough (1999). At STSI education has been formalized to such a degree that only approved teachers with the formal education to back up their ability

¹³⁴ In the case of Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli it is thought that performances occurred as seldom as once in ten years (Yi DH 1981: 29).

¹³⁵ Another interesting example of intensive learning was addressed by ethnomusicologist Helen Rees in *Echoes of History: Naxi Music in Modern China*. In the book she relates several cases of the formation of new performing groups in China and how they learned the musical and ritual skills for the art form. Sometimes existing groups with the skills to perform *Dongjing* Ritual Music actually taught all or most of their repertoire to groups in other communities, even gifting them with some of the equipment needed to carry out the ritual. Rees explains, for example, the transmission from Dayan Town to the nearby rural area called Gezi. The Gezi elite requested the Dayan Town association's help sometime between 1862 and 1875 (2002: 105) and the mother-son relationship between the two groups was maintained into the Republican Era (2002: 106). Although few details survive about how this transmission was carried out, it is clearly a case of an intensive program within which learning quickly and deeply was emphasized in lieu of long term gradual accumulation of performing arts skills.

(given the title *seniman* or artist) can run a class, although sometimes they invite the participation of often senior artists from the villages (they are called *seniman alam*, in this case *alam* marks the artist's lack of formal education)(Hough 1999: 246). In Korea, in addition to special for-profit arts schools without any special accreditation, there are seventeen universities that offer graduate degrees in Korean traditional music and nineteen offer undergraduate degrees. There are also several high schools that specialize in the arts; most offer Korean traditional music, traditional dance, or both. The various methods of teaching vary in intensity, but students are able to continue pursuing traditional arts and sometimes even continue to the graduate level.

Spiritual Calling

In Western musical traditions a monk or nun may feel called to share their love of God through song; in recent years this desire has taken the form of chanted Latin pieces from the Benedictine Monks of Santo Domingo de Silos, or an example from Tim Taylor's *Global Pop*, the music of Hildegard von Bingen, "Vision" sung in part by a Dominican Sister, Germaine Fritz (1997: 14-15). In Korea shamans can be either hereditary or infected, and infected shamans have no choice in the matter. Maria Seo conducted fieldwork for nine years into the ritual music of *Hanyang Gut*, a shamanic ritual performed by *gangshinmu* (shamans by infection). She first got to know her principal contacts while attending the sixth shaman anniversary of one of the men (2002). During the course of her research she observed that although some shamans and musicians learned outside the group, many continually practiced. Some ceremonies went on all day or for multiple days, so there was ample opportunity. The important difference between these shamans and why others learn their performance is that they are called to shamanism and substantially

"transmitted" to by a spirit (or more than one). In other words, they have a source of learning (and legitimization of their performance) that is beyond this-worldly reproach.¹³⁶

There are other examples of spiritual possession which can be connected to performance, such as the Moroccan Gnawa (Kapchan 2007) and in Haitian vodou; however, in both these cases any member of the audience/participatory group may become entranced, not just a designated shaman, so it is a somewhat different case.

Events that Encourage Participation

Performers may stage *ddara baeugi* or watch-and-follow-along events before or after their performance, particularly at a large festival. Although this sort of ten-to twenty-minute experience may seem quite unimportant, in the context of connection with someone who may later choose to train as a performer, it could be a pivotal moment. Folk festivals in Korea have also been noted as sites to teach folk games and activities (Hogarth 2001: 279). Participatory activities of almost any sort can bring people closer to their traditional culture and encourage their future involvement. I have seen performers bring drums and teach a *janggu* class, dance lessons, *taekkyon* lessons, and even give people the opportunity to wash their hair in water in which iris roots have been boiled, a traditional Dano activity.

In Tibet as well I have enjoyed local festivals (despite the profound Chinese mass-games twist with which they are staged). Ethnomusicologist Anna Morcom explains how some people can experience Tibetan arts is through group circle dances. Often in restaurant/bars with live singing to pre-recorded music, "the dance moves of public circle dance are very Tibetan, though

¹³⁶ This is also covered in depth by Yang Jongsung (1988).

with extensive mixing and matching of moves from different regions and newly-created Tibetan-style moves" (Morcom 2007: 31). Teaching snatches of traditional performance knowledge through such follow-along activities can be a meaningful way to connect people to traditions.

Apprenticeship

Both apprenticeship and learning one-on-one with the teacher allow the student ample opportunities to observe the master in action. After a long period of study the "transmission from individual to individual almost mirrors genetic transmission" (Skounti 2009: 77). A close student will become the legacy of the teacher to the world because the "practice of learning through visual imitation, repetition, and close proximity to the teacher reinforces imprinting—a transference and fixing of dance information in a student's physical memory" (Hahn 2007: 83).

Chan E. Park describes apprenticeship for *pansori* in pre-modern Korea:

Once the singer finishes the initial stage of apprenticeship, he or she finds a study site away from the distractions of civilization, close to Nature. The legendary self-regimentation by the singers of the past has generated numerous tales that often exist on the border between myth and reality. Through rigorous training, the voice learns to transcend age and gender boundaries to project all ranges of tone and pitch in a typical huskiness empowered simultaneously with strength and subtlety. Pansori is a lifelong process of attaining a vocal fluency that reaches the knowing audiences, just as an actor of a traditional genre is trained (2000: 273-4).

Lifelong learning processes become less attractive in a society that praises young K-pop stars for diligently preparing for their debut for two or three years. In the modern world apprenticeship is growing less common, partially because the regulated school systems that exist in most countries do not permit apprenticeship to begin at the age at which it once did. By the time a student graduates high school, after years of education with minimal classes in the arts, he or she has usually been firmly set on another path.

One-on-One

In many different traditional performing arts, transmission remains one-to-one. This relationship, which can produce extraordinarily well-trained performers, does not provide the security of a large pool of artists-in-training. In the *Kunqu* tradition of Jiangsu Province, China, Gu Lingsen and Wang Tingxin have detailed a system for promoting both serious instruction and an extended learning period:

The continuance of this operatic tradition has always been ensured through one-to-one teaching, this being considered the best method for ensuring the integrity and traditions of the *kunqu* arts. However, this form of transmission emphasizes the teaching of individual aspects of this tradition to just one actor at a time (2008: 115).

Gu and Wang explain how the participating teachers and students are motivated. The *Kunqu* Opera Academy is working actively to promote transmission, the older teaching performers are encouraged to be rigorous in their teaching, and the recently launched teaching program is planned to last for twenty years, bringing teenagers into the art to such a degree that they will learn almost all 300 of the *Kunqu* sequences and be able to perform them well. A salaried performance-related pay scheme encourages the senior players to impart sequences to younger students, of whom only the highest quality performers are allowed to perform. Essentially the teachers are paid based on how many of their students have been taught well enough that they are given the opportunity to perform, thus trying to discourage the inefficiency of one-to-one teaching.¹³⁷

¹³⁷ Another example of one-on-one learning is described vividly in Bell Yung's book *The Last of China's Literati*. Yung's former *qin* teacher, Tsar Teh-yun, was naturally gifted and learned multiple musical instruments, as well as studying *Kun* Opera under Zheng Chuanjian (Yung 2008: 34). She studied *qin* under Shen Caonong starting in 1941

Casual Learning

In the traditional context, non-professional arts were often learned casually, not through formal teacher-student relationships. It remains true for many arts around the world. Ethnomusicologist David Hughes explains that for Japanese *min-yō* it was "seldom necessary to make a conscious effort to learn: verses were short and could be remembered after a few hearings" (2008: 87).

Perhaps one of the most famous texts on informal learning of music is that of ethnomusicologist Anthony Seeger, *Why Suyá Sing*. The Suyá people whom Seeger encountered in the Amazon did not need to have a performing arts instructor; everyone in the village learned together in synchrony with the continual ecological cycle of the year (2004). They also, according to Seeger, memorized the ritual songs of neighboring people, and later after the introduction of recording technology, actively traded for new songs with their neighbors (2004: 58).

Self-Taught

In the past artists who did not establish a firm master-pupil relationship with any single individual could still move around, picking up skills here and there and improving over time. In the modern world a potential artist can stay at home with sheet music, CDs, videos, and even YouTube tutorials. The self-taught artist may have saved money but is perceived to be lacking in

(Yung 2008:50) and kept up her exploration of the instrument for the rest of her life, becoming a noted instructor later in life. Tsar began teaching in the 1950s (2008: 81); Yung, himself a former student, described Tsar's cultivated aura. She had had an excellent Confucian education and was a skilled poet and calligrapher. What is interesting about her teaching style, and one reason why Yung emphasizes the literati angle, is that he felt her literati background deeply impacted her teaching style and format: "Unlike professional musicians, *qin* players in the literati tradition generally do not practice endlessly until they can play their pieces completely free of errors in pitch and rhythm. Tsar plays through pieces one after another for her own enjoyment or for the benefit of her students. Because she plays for herself, there is no pressure to adhere to a particular interpretation" (2008: 89).

legitimacy. Most other artists note the absence of transmission in the person-to-person sense and may discount claims of ability. One of the themes touched on in the work of many scholars on performance knowledge is the increase in professionalization. Keila Diehl noticed that in McCleod Ganj, India, professionalization was "due to a learned sense that these forms of expression are so important, even sacred, that ordinary folk cannot be trusted to do them correctly" (2002: 98). In many ways this move towards professionalization has inhibited the growth of self-taught artists. However, being self-taught is easier now than it has ever been in the past.

3. Factors that Influence the Modes of Transmission

The methods of transmission vary according to three major factors: popularity, location and the organizational cultures and infrastructure of each art. The impact of popularity on transmission activities is primarily represented in whether a group or individual can charge students to learn and how much the market will bear. I will illustrate my point with the example of the three mask dance dramas on which I focus. Bongsan Talchum is the best known. The members of Bongsan Talchum, in addition to charging lesson fees to each student for regular classes held in the Intangible Cultural Heritage Transmission center, also individually teach at other locations including at universities. Although Goseong Ogwangdae does not charge enough money to turn a profit, they hold winter and summer intensive training camps for several weeks each vacation. These camps run consecutively for a minimum of five weeks per vacation and as many as nine, depending on instructor availability and student demand. Songpa Sandae Noli, on the other hand, can barely attract enough students to make it worth running the class even when they offer free

classes to housewives. When a potential new recruit visits the facility, they immediately try to incorporate him/her into the regular rehearsals of the group. Popularity is also a factor for other arts. Although it is kept quiet and particulars are not disclosed to the Cultural Heritage Administration, I have heard of fees to be accepted as a regular student of the most famous and influential solo artists running close to five figures, with hourly lesson fees over 1,000 dollars.¹³⁸ The competition amongst trainees in the most popular arts is rumored to be cut-throat, which helps explain why they would be willing to spend exorbitant amounts to learn directly from the person who will nominate them for rank advancement and give them more performance opportunities. Because publishing such details would make it hard to continue working with a given performer, other scholars have not been very explicit about such fees in their research. However, Senior Curator Yang Jongsung does hint at the situation in publications based on fieldwork conducted in early 1990s.

Yang trained under Yi Maebang, one of Korea's most famous solo dancers, designated a human treasure for both *seungmu* and later *salpuri chum*.¹³⁹ Overcoming years of arts politics, Yi has become so influential that he has established his own lineage for both dance forms ("Yi Maebang *ryu*"). At the time that Yang was studying under Yi, the initial fee to study was \$5,000 for *seungmu* and \$3,750 for *salpuri chum* (Yang 2003: 73). As Yang explains, "the power of selecting *isuja* nominees gives Yi Maebang control over his students. It also sets the stage for a great deal of political maneuvering," because only two of Yi's students can be approved as *isuja*

¹³⁸ As a point of comparison, my close friend Jo Eunjeong teaches *gayageum* in private lessons. She has an M.F.A. in *gayageum* and many years of performance experience, but is just barely over forty (still young for traditional music) and is not ranked in the CPPL system. She charges \$250 an hour.

¹³⁹ Being certified a National Human Treasure for two different arts is rare and impressive. It is also problematic as many arts use similar skill sets, and the precedent set by Yi Maebang has opened up more claims to be double certified.

by the Cultural Properties Committee every year (2003: 75-6). Yang described the behavior of the second-and third-ranked performers as "so competitive that intense conflict" becomes an integral part of their artistic careers (2004: 186).

The impact of geographical location on transmission is both significant and unavoidable. With the exception of the arts from the north now protected in the south, the institutional home of the art must be its ancestral home. Naturally some arts have no specific "home" location, such as the arts that were performed by arts professionals in traditional Korea, (e.g. *pansori*, *seungmu* and *Namsadang*). Arts such as Goseong Ogwangdae cannot move away from Goseong. Although Goseong is not a convenient travel destination and the area does not receive significant numbers of domestic or international tourist visits, the art is linked to the history and community in Goseong and remains there. Naturally, this also means that there are fewer performance opportunities for the Goseong Ogwangdae preservation association. Travel to a major population center like Seoul takes time and extra investment compared to artistic genres located in Seoul. In the 1960s Korea underwent massive rural to urban migration that continues today, and small towns like Goseong consequently have few young people available to learn the art. Even if they can attract the attention of a local teenager, the odds are that his/her parents would prefer for their child to study piano, ballet, or even hip-hop "back dance," all three of which seem to have a more favorable future and greater social status. If the teenager does learn Goseong Ogwangdae, he/she will still leave Goseong for college, and it is unlikely that he/she will move back.

Although you might expect the leaders of Goseong Ogwangdae to look for promising dancers amongst the intensive camp students, in my interviews they expressed doubt (perhaps a jaded position developed over many years) that any of the students involved would become

regular members in the future, mostly because they would have to live in Goseong for several years to establish membership. The director of Goseong Ogwangdae, Yi Yunseok, admitted that several of their current performers do not live in Goseong.¹⁴⁰ He emphasized that these members still perform purely because they do not have enough performers to present the play without calling upon people who have left Goseong to find a better job or higher salary.

Finally there is the impact of the organizational culture or infrastructure of each artistic group or solo artist. Some arts are run by outgoing, charismatic, talented social-networkers with a flair for self/group-promotion. Others are not. Most of the members of group arts in discussions on this topic say that it is simply easier for solo artists. They have more mobility and freedom to perform overseas, try new cooperative projects, appear on television shows or give newspaper interviews. One of Yi Maebang's students, the *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* Kim Myoseon, lives part-time in Japan and travels to America frequently to perform. She is able to go anywhere, put on her costume, hand a CD to the sound technician and perform her dance.

Infrastructure, often originally established due to the efforts of one or more artists who approached potential sources of funding, is an important facet of organizational culture. Goseong Ogwangdae and Imshil Pilbong Nongak have, with the assistance of various government funds, constructed transmission centers for their arts. These centers include locations for practice and presentation, as well as a facility where students participating in intensive camps can sleep and eat. Goseong Ogwangdae's center is three minutes walk away from the Goseong Mask Museum. The museum is a close partner since, in addition to mounting educational displays, it also provides another venue at which to rehearse or perform. Imshil Pilbong Nongak occupies an

¹⁴⁰ Interview conducted outside Pungryu Theatre, 08/04/08.

increasingly built-up facility including three separate buildings dedicated to rehearsal, three outdoor rehearsal grounds (one with seating for performance), an indoor performance hall, an office building, a staff housing complex, an art gallery with attached seminar room and two buildings dedicated to housing guests. The father of the current director, Yang Jinseong, secured the original land and began the building project.

a. Memorization Methods

Memorization of Sets of Motions

Tomie Hahn observed that in training for the Japanese dance *nihon buyo* the dancers learn *kata*, set patterns that are then reconstituted in various combinations to form the dance choreography. This sort of training based around memorization of key moves is quite common to dance training. "It is believed that regular practice of prescribed dance poses and movements reinforces artistic skills in the habitual body, and as movements become embodied, an experience of freedom and realization may occur" (Hahn 2007: 43). Out of the three Korean mask dance dramas on which I am focusing, only one drama, *Songpa Sandae Noli*, teaches through memorization of set motions which can be strung together (with one leader calling out the next motion a couple beats in advance), but there is no set order. The other two, *Bongsan Talchum* and *Goseong Ogwangdae*, teach through memorization of long sequences of motions.

Memorization Using Oral Notation

In the context of the Chinese *Dongjing* ritual music investigated by Helen Rees, the traditional way to learn the melodic aspect of the music was through a system called *gongchepu*, which was

a sort of oral notation process. It was like singing the notes instead of playing them analogous to singing Western "do re mi." Students memorized the *gongchepu* and then made notes to refer to later (2000: 88). A similar system of oral notation exists in other areas. In India dancers will sing the onomatopoeic sounds of the drums in dance traditions such as Manipuri as they learn the steps. In Korea written notation for drumming is an onomatopoeic rendering of the sound made when striking the drums.¹⁴¹ In drumming classes the students are often singing (voicing) quietly to themselves "deongdeong–deong–ddadeong–gidak gung –ddadeong -- -- deong–ddadeong–gidak gung dda–deong–deong–deongddadeonggugungdda gung dda gung deong gung dda gung dda gung deonggugungdda gung dda gung."¹⁴² David Hughes explains that in pre-modern Japan there was no term for oral/aural transmission as opposed to written transmission, since almost all Japanese music was transmitted aurally (2008: 15). Certainly in *The Gei of Geisha*, the geisha whom Kelly Foreman observed used notation and recording in certain arts and not in others such as *shamisen*, which was learned wholly by memorization (2008: 35).

b. Methods of Teaching

Tomie Hahn's observations of how the arts are taught in Japan essentially holds true in Korea as well. They can be taught through (1) modeling motions/sounds which are copied by the learner, (2) physically moving the learner (adjusting the angle of a foot), (3) oral instructions ("bend your knees more"), and (4) notation on paper, video, and sound recordings. In her case study of *nihon*

¹⁴¹ In fact there is another traditional notation system for drumming with a circle, stick and dot. This system is also widely used but was not used by Imshil Pilbong Nongak where I was conducting my fieldwork.

¹⁴² This is the rendering of the *janggu* hourglass drum part for *jilgut bon garak*, one section of five in the piece *Oimachijilgut* from *Imshil Pilbong Nongak*. Deong represents both drumsticks at once, dda (and gidak) is only the right and gung (as well as gugung) only the left. I am using more or less dashes to represent a break in the voicing of syllables.

buyo Hahn saw that the use of the first three methods depended on the level of the learner, but in Korea different teacher's comfort levels with different methods were the single largest contributing factor in the method utilized, and the teacher's comfort varied based on the gender, age and intent of the learner. For example when teaching younger men Yi Jonghui and Gu Cheolhoi, two of my *sangmo* teachers and *isuja* for Imshil Pilbong Nongak, would use physical blows and strikes on the male learners including kneeling a student in the center outside the thigh muscle, when they had made the same mistake too many times. Yi Jaejeong, also a *sangmo* teacher and *isuja* for Imshil Pilbong Nongak, who was nearly twenty years older than most of his students (and more than ten years older than the other two instructors) would make a game out of striking all the students, male or female, although he went lighter on the women. While Gu was shy about touching any female student, both Yi Jonghui and Yi Jaejeong would manipulate the bodies of the lowest level students to achieve the proper spin of the *sangmo*. Kim Eunju, *isuja* and instructor for Bongsan Talchum, on the other hand, never touched any of her students, not even to adjust the angle of a head, and certainly never struck any of them. She spoke confidently and clearly and demonstrated motions with a hint of humor at all times. If a student did not correct themselves according to her instructions after one or two teaching attempts she would cease the correction and cheerfully ignore their continually incorrect motion. Yet if the learner intended to continue with traditional performance, and particularly if they were performing Bongsan Talchum in public, Kim Eunju would repeatedly correct them. Yi Jonghui also showed this tendency to correct a student intensively if they were preparing to perform for an audience.

c. Individuals and Transmission

Often these different modes of transmission are essentially about the relationships between teacher(s) and student(s)—Yi Jonghui had to know the intention of the learner in order to give them more intensive corrections. Even a very beginning performer can be asked where they learned, and naturally Yi would want his students to represent his teaching to the best of their ability. In traditional arts it is common to discuss pedagogical lineage, whether this is formalized in a sense of studying within a particular school/lineage (*ryu* in Korea or *ryū* in Japan), or emphasizing acquisition from a specific teacher (from Yi Maebang). As Helen Rees explains in regard to China, "above all, the men I interviewed remembered the transmission patterns in terms of the individuals involved" (2000: 111). In Japan Kelly Foreman found that the loyalty to the teacher was so intense that "many geisha trust a recording [they made of the teacher playing] over musical notations" (2008: 36-37).

4. Moving Forward

The introduction to the transmission contexts and outline of transmission methods presented here are intended to prepare the reader for Part Two of the dissertation. In the next five chapters I will introduce the individuals artists involved with transmission and show how they negotiate their transmission contexts. In each case I will illustrate how transmission is occurring, who is involved, and what major issues and concerns have driven their process.

Chapter Four

No Longer "Just" for Fun: Professionalization and the Traditional Arts

1. Bongsan Talchum Full-Length Performance 2006

The annual full-length performance for Bongsan Talchum was held on June 6th, 2006 in an outdoor amphitheatre on the grounds of the National Theatre of Korea, a location signaling the importance of the group and their show. When I arrived early, fellow students of the art were taking tickets at a booth next to the entrance. As I chatted with friends and waited, the audience poured in to the amphitheatre. Before long the aisles were filling up and cushions had been dragged in to create one more row of seats just in front of the lowest riser. Many of the audience members were part of Bongsan Talchum clubs or had been students of the professors who were performing, and the audience was excited for the rare opportunity to see a full-length show featuring all of the top-ranked performers. Even though many in the audience already knew every step and line of dialogue, the audience was transfixed by the quality, the perfection, the finesse with which the players danced, turned, sang and spouted pithy dialogue accompanied by the most accomplished musicians. At the end of the show the performers invited everyone who knew *Bongsan Talchum* to join them on the packed earth to dance the basic movements from the scene of the Eight Dark-Faced Monks. Forgetting the problems involved with dancing while wearing a skirt,¹⁴³ I joined everyone for an exuberant few moments of *communitas*—feeling Korean tradition coursing through my body as I shook my head to make a non-existent mask come alive.

¹⁴³ This dance includes squatting moves.

Image 4.1: Bongsan Talchum Annual Full-length Performance, 2006



2. Korean Mask Dance Dramas

The Republic of Korea has a lively tradition of masked dances, some of which also carry dramatic content.¹⁴⁴ The folk mask dance dramas that I am concerned with are collectively known as either *talnoli* or *gamyeon'geuk*, although they are sometimes mistakenly referred to as *talchum*. For clarity I use the phrase "mask dance dramas" in my dissertation, but when speaking Korean I use the term *talnoli* following the work of Bak Jintae, a noted mask dance scholar (cf. Bak 1990, 2004), although another influential scholar, Jeon Kyungwook, prefers the term *gamyeon'geuk* (cf. 2005, 2008). Some readers may have previously heard the term *talchum* used, but using the term *talchum* to refer to every mask dance drama in Korea is something like calling

¹⁴⁴ Please see Figure 0.1 in the front matter of the dissertation to review the various folk theatre productions in Korea.

every MP3 player an iPod.¹⁴⁵ Although everyone will understand what you mean, it is inaccurate, particularly in scholarly work. The term *talchum* can only be accurately used when referring to the three mask dance dramas from Hwanghae Province, an area now within the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK). *Talchum* is a variant within the larger genre of mask dance dramas, and the *talchum* dramas have more similarity in costume, mask, movement and story line with each other than they share with other types of mask dance dramas such as *sandae noli* or *ogwangdae*.

Many of the traditional performances protected nationally are unfamiliar to a majority of Koreans. However, amongst all of the mask dance dramas, most people would agree that Bongsan Talchum serves as the de facto representative mask dance drama. Although there are several reasons why Bongsan Talchum has achieved this position, the continual effort towards professionalization has been the single most crucial element. In this chapter I will briefly outline evidence for considering Bongsan Talchum the representative mask dance drama, followed by a discussion of how Bongsan Talchum came to professionalize. Finally I will discuss the impact of Cultural Property Protection Law on professionalization, and professionalization on the preservation of Korean traditional arts. Overall this exploration provides a framework through which to introduce performing arts issues in Korea in the most idealized of possible contexts.

¹⁴⁵ Simply speaking, *talchum* is a regional dialectical term for mask dance drama, but scholars of mask dance drama (as opposed to scholars of other subjects who are not familiar with the large differences between the different variants of mask dance drama such as *talchum*, *sandae noli*, *ogwangdae*, *yayu*, and *byeolshin'gut*) stay away from the inaccurate implications of using a regional term to refer to all national variations. For example, considering the sixteen chapter titles in the edited volume *Gamyeongeukeui Jonghapjeok Gochal* (2010), we can see that the most used term is *gamyeon'geuk* (Yi Duhyeon, Jeong Sangbak, Jeon Kyungwook, Jeon Shinjae, Yi Bohyeong, Yang Jongsung, Heo Yongho), then *talnoli* (Bak Jintae, Jeong Hyeongho, and Son Taedo), *talnoleum* (Kim Ikdu) and the other authors are only discussing single dramas. It is past time for Western scholars to stop using the colloquial term *talchum* to refer to all mask dance dramas when Korean scholars have long since abandoned this terminology.

3. Bongsan Talchum as the Representative Mask Dance Drama of Korea

In Los Angeles at the 1984 Summer Olympic Games the Bongsan Talchum Preservation Association performed a demonstration representing the richness of Korean culture, which was designed to raise anticipation for the 1988 Olympics in Seoul. In 1988, as the Korean government worked to mold the image of Korea through the grand pageantry possible when hosting the Olympics, Bongsan Talchum was again chosen as one of the artistic features of the country's society and culture to be demonstrated to the international audience. The Korean government's use of Bongsan Talchum is already a strong argument for its status in the eye of the government as an unofficially representative item of Korean culture. I have also demonstrated the predominant awareness of Bongsan Talchum through surveys.

I conducted surveys that included the prompt to "name every mask dance drama you can." In spring 2005 I conducted a convenience sample survey of 287 Koreans in their twenties, and the fall of 2010 I conducted audience surveys at the Andong International Mask Dance Festival.¹⁴⁶ Table 4.2 below brings this data together into an illustration of the wide-spread awareness of Bongsan Talchum. It was foreseeable that the group surveyed in Andong in 2005 would know the regional Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli mask dance since they were walking through festival grounds which were decorated with characters from that mask dance drama, and 85% of the respondents were from Andong or neighboring North Gyeongsang Province.

¹⁴⁶ Convenience sampling, though inherently flawed, is still an adequate gauge of the predominance of familiarity with Bongsan Talchum as opposed to other mask dance dramas.

Table 4.2: Name Every Mask Dance Drama You Know

	April 2005 street survey	2010 survey at Andong Mask Dance Festival ¹⁴⁷
	287 respondents ¹⁴⁸	81 respondents ¹⁴⁹
No answer	86 (30%)	36 (44%)
Bongsan Talchum only	167 (58%)	5 (6%)
Bongsan Talchum and other MDD	23 (8%)	20 (25%)
Other MDD but not Bongsan Talchum	11 (4%)	18 (22%)
<i>Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli</i> ¹⁵⁰ among listed MDD	22 (7%)	27 (33%)

In Table 4.3, below, I have shown the results for a Korean-language Google search demonstrating the predominant web presence of Bongsan Talchum compared to the other mask dance dramas. Web users were obviously more familiar with Bongsan Talchum, whether they were writing about it as an example of traditional culture, blogging about it, learning it, or advertising a performance. Indeed, the difference between internet mentions of Bongsan Talchum and the other mask dance dramas was extreme.

¹⁴⁷ In 2010 I distributed surveys only inside the performance venue directly before the performance of a Korean mask dance drama and received my replies after the performance ended. Many of these performances were not of Bongsan Talchum or Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli; however not all respondents thought to name the drama being performed before them.

¹⁴⁸ 287 respondents in their twenties were surveyed on the street in Seoul, Cheonan and Daegu.

¹⁴⁹ 81 respondents of all ages were surveyed inside the main performance venue at the Andong Mask Dance Festival during performances of Korean mask dance dramas.

¹⁵⁰ If a respondent said Andong Talchum the only thing they could mean is Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli, which is a long name and hard to remember. Andong, the small city close to Hahoi village, is associated in the minds of many people with the mask dance from Hahoi village.

Table 4.3: Mask Dance Drama Information on the Internet¹⁵¹

Name of Dance	Hits on Google ¹⁵² 4/23/2006	Hits on Google 12/07/2011
Bongsan Talchum	38,900	1,270,000
Eunyu Talchum	17,800	135,000
Gangnyeong Talchum	14,900	218,000
Songpa Sandae Noli	885	146,000
Yangju Byeolsandae	9,250	309,000
Tongyeong Ogwangdae	762	172,000
Goseong Ogwangdae	13,500	253,000
Gasan Ogwangdae	948	73,600
Suyeong Yaju	915	232,000
Dongnae Yaju	730	84,700
Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli ¹⁵³	11,200	339,000
Bukcheong Saja Noleum	18,300	241,000
Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeon'geuk ¹⁵⁴	n/a	17,200
Jindo Dashiraegi ¹⁵⁵	829	85,900

Source: Korean-language search on Google Korea. Search conducted April 23rd, 2006 and December 7th, 2011.

a. Character of the Dances

I often asked people why they thought Bongsan Talchum was better known than other mask dance dramas. When asked to speculate, many claimed that Bongsan Talchum is "better," particularly that it "looks better." This is frequently expressed by non-specialists who are aware of mask dances, but it was also consistently the first answer given by members of the Bongsan Talchum Preservation Association. When I asked Bongsan Talchum Preservation Association member and *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* Jang Yongil why Bongsan Talchum was more popular than

¹⁵¹ The searches were conducted using the full Korean name in Korean script, no spaces. Searches in English would not return accurate results because of alternative Romanizations.

¹⁵² Korea's premier search engine, Naver, does not return a number to indicate how many results have turned up.

¹⁵³ If this mask dance drama spent more energy on teaching people the (long) proper name of the drama, it might turn up more often. I suspect that a large number of additional mentions exist with the name somewhat incorrect.

¹⁵⁴ In 2006 Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeon'geuk was not listed as a mask dance drama but only as part of the Gangneung Danoje celebration.

¹⁵⁵ In 2006 Jindo Dashiraegi was characterized with the mask dance dramas, despite the absence of masks. It is no longer characterized in this way.

other dances, his answer was unambiguous: he explained that the reasons for its preeminence were because of the "content" and the "image" of the dance. As Jang spoke he enunciated certain syllables and words by dragging them out, while grating others across his larynx. His passion was communicated both by this energetic mode of speech, and also by his twinkling eyes as he excitedly discussed the positive attributes of his favorite subject:

Jang:¹⁵⁶ Bongsan Talchum looks better, it is funnier, it is not quiet, it is active and the motions are impressive to everyone. Anyone can be quiet, but when the dancers strongly leap into the air, explode into a turn, bounce—oh, that catches the audience's eye!

Many other performers shared this opinion. I got very similar responses when asking Bongsan Talchum Human Treasure Kim Aeseon,¹⁵⁷ Bongsan Talchum public education instructor Kim Eunju,¹⁵⁸ Bongsan Talchum dancer Jo Pungnae,¹⁵⁹ Bongsan Talchum *piri* player Kim Hoseok¹⁶⁰ and others in the Bongsan Talchum group. Although it might seem natural that the members of the group think their art is superior, it is also interesting that most did not mention Bongsan Talchum's professionalization as a factor. To assert that their art was more popular because of

¹⁵⁶ Jang Yongil is a Master Teacher and active instructor of Bongsan Talchum. He has been a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* since 1980, and began learning the dance before it was registered as an intangible cultural asset by the Korean government. He teaches university classes on Bongsan Talchum as a lecturer, and is also the most active teacher conducting classes for the *isuja* and other performers. From an interview at Intangible Culture Teaching Center on 4/14/06.

¹⁵⁷ Kim Aeseon is a Human Treasure. She began mask dancing as a four-year-old child, performing in the role of the monkey. Her father was a Human Treasure and famous mask dancer as well. She was interviewed at the Intangible Culture Transmission center on 5/12/06.

¹⁵⁸ Kim Eunju is the primary teacher for *Bongsan Talchum*'s public education program. She teaches two classes per week to students who come to the Foundation for the Preservation of Intangible Culture specifically to learn Bongsan Talchum. She is an *isuja* and has been a member of the Preservation Association for 25 years. Interviewed multiple times between 2005 and 2011 at the Intangible Culture Transmission center.

¹⁵⁹ Jo Pungnae is an *isuja* for Bongsan Talchum. Interviewed at the Intangible Culture Transmission center, 4/25/06.

¹⁶⁰ Kim Hoseok is a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* and a professor of Korean Music, specializing in the sounds of Hwanghae Province in North Korea. Interviewed at the Intangible Culture Transmission center on 5/12/06.

professionalization would have been giving credit to themselves instead of giving credit to the natural properties of the art form.

Bongsan Talchum's visual impression is strengthened in the following three ways: the dance features fast, dynamic movements; the dancers wear brightly colored costumes; and many characters use long sleeve extensions that add size and drama to the motions. First, the dance features relatively fast, highly dynamic "masculine" movements.¹⁶¹ For example, in the dance of the eight dark-faced monks, the third monk leaps into the air, pulling his legs up, tucked in front of his body, as high as the performer can physically jump. In 2011 while joking around before a performance, *isuja* Ryu Dongcheol told me he'd abandoned the chance to dance the third monk many years ago since he was "no longer a young man." That is, younger men could leap impressively—Ryu was content to dance a more earthbound character. Second, in Bongsan Talchum the characters wear clothing made from eye-catching shiny silk while many of the other dances use matte cotton. Additionally, the tunics of the Bongsan Talchum dancers are offset by wide embroidered silk belts in a contrasting color, not the simple unadorned cotton belts of the players in most dances. Finally, I believe that the largest contributing factor Bongsan Talchum's visual impact is provided by the frequent use of the white *hansam*, long sleeves that extend the arms about one meter.¹⁶² These fluttering, eye-catching sleeves make any movement appear larger. Coupling the fast masculine movements, shiny costumes and use of *hansam* with the clever bits of poetry and snatches of song in the drama, Bongsan Talchum's attractiveness

¹⁶¹ The movements in this mask dance drama are characterized as *namseongjeokin* or masculine in Korean perhaps because they are wild and aggressive, not graceful. For example, a chapter on this act begins "Bongsan Talchumeseo *gajang hwaryeohago namseongjeokin himi dotboinda*." [Within Bongsan Talchum the scene that stands out for the most magnificent and masculine power.] (Jeon GW 2004: 19).

¹⁶² Although *hansam* are used in some of the other dances, they are used by more characters in Bongsan Talchum than in other dramas.

becomes clear.

Other researchers have also commented on the visual strength of Bongsan Talchum. Lee Kyonghee extends the visual impact to the masks themselves, writing: "the masks, often goggle-eyed and rendered in bright primary colors, add much to the dramatic impact of each character" (2001). The appearance of the dance, however, is not enough to fully explain Bongsan Talchum's preeminence. Ultimately, I have found that professionalization is a much more important factor in the success of the art form.

Image 4.4: Bongsan Talchum



As the performers look on Kim Seonghae (*isuja* in blue) and Kim Jongyeop (*jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* in gray) officiate over the *gosa* ceremony. Audience members also pay their respects.



Act 1 is the dance of the four *sangjwa*, or novice monks. They are carried in and dance in slow synchrony.



Act 2 is the dance of the Eight Dark-Faced Monks. Each enters, delivers a monologue, dances, and is driven off stage by the next. Finally all eight monks dance together.





The *hansam*, silk clothing and eye-catching mask of a Bongsan Talchum dark-faced monk (left) contrasts with a dark-faced monk from Songpa Sandae Noli (right).





Act 3, Sadang Chum features the songs and singing style of Hwanghae Province.



Act 4, the dance of the old monk, Nojang, has three parts. In the first part the younger monks tempt Nojang by bringing him together with Somu, a beautiful young shaman. Below you can see him wooing her.



After Nojang gives Somu his prayer beads, she is won over.



4. Professionalization of Bongsan Talchum

Regardless of how visually effective Bongsan Talchum is, as shown in photos from the first four scenes, above, there are many other mask dance dramas in Korea.¹⁶³ Bongsan Talchum was able to achieve pre-eminence through four factors leading to the degree of professionalization which is seen today. These are a history of professionalization, professionalization in teaching and training the dance, professionalization of performance and continual efforts for professionalization.

a. History of Professionalization

Bongsan Talchum has had a long history of professionalization. It is hard to know definitively when the art began to be performed, but leading mask dance scholar Jeon Kyungwook feels strongly that because Bongsan Talchum began the process of professionalization earlier than other dramas, it had a head start that continues to provide an advantage.¹⁶⁴ The early mask dance drama scholar Yi Duhyeon wrote:

It is said that the man who revived the Bongsan mask dance was An Jomok, a low-ranking official who lived in Bongsan about two hundred years ago. After he had been exiled... he returned and instituted many innovations into the drama, changing the wooden masks that had been in use to paper [papier-mâché] ones, and later, together with other low-grade officials, taking principal command over the play altogether. (Yi DH 1975: 52)

At the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century, many dances and dramas in Korea were performed by amateurs. Although during prosperous times with successful

¹⁶³ Figure 0.1 in the front matter presents an overview of the different dramas.

¹⁶⁴ Jeon Kyungwook is a Professor at Korea University and a member of the Intangible Cultural Properties Committee, as well as a son of a Bukcheong Saja Noleum National Human Treasure. Interviewed in his office on April 28th, 2006.

yangban and amenable rulers there had been many court performances, as the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) drew to a close, this pattern became less common. What remained were occasional folk performances marking important turning points in the lunar calendar, performed by locals who enjoyed the arts but were occupied with other work. Financial incentives also changed the arts: for example, *Songpa Sandae Noli* was performed in the local market, an important Han River port, by quickly-assembled casts of low-class performers who had time and needed the money. The performers of Bongsan Talchum included members of the *jung'in*, the Joseon Dynasty professional class,¹⁶⁵ and they enjoyed an uninterrupted line of transmission stretching back to long before the time of Yi Seonggu, an early proponent of professionalization. Although few details are known, Yi Seonggu was an end of the 19th century *jibsa*, servant of the government,¹⁶⁶ who pushed Bongsan Talchum to improve and become more professional, spicing up the dances in various ways to make them faster while adjusting the motions to be bigger and showier than before. Jeon explains:

Yi helped the Bongsan Talchum to become the jewel of the mask art of the Hwanghae-do Province from the end of the late 19th century to the early 20th century... He was given the position of *Mogabi*, the prima player of a mask dance drama who supervised the production, the direction and the dramaturgies related to the entire mask dance drama (2005: 45).

Since the time of Yi Seonggu, Bongsan Talchum's success has been linked to achieving a level of skill and polished performance which other teams have not been able to equal. This was

¹⁶⁵ According to Bak Jintae, a Professor at Daegu University and the Director of Daegu Central Museum, interviewed by the author at Seoul Station on 5/20/06. Bak has written half a dozen books on mask dance dramas in Korea. Jeon Kyungwook explains, "The Bongsan Talchum players were Isok, merchants, and local residents" (2005: 136).

¹⁶⁶ "*Jibsa* (집사, 執事) a servant belonging to the lower classes who was employed by the local government of Bongsan" (Jeon KW 2005: 45).

partially because of Bongsan Talchum's advantageous location at a major crossroads north of Seoul and south of Pyeongyang, where one of Korea's largest late Joseon Dynasty markets was located. Presumably because of audience demand, the players were able to focus and specialize:

Merchants who loved mask dance paid all expenses for performances, and some merchants and patrons, who were dancers themselves, organized an exclusive body since their business thrived thanks to huge audiences. Sometimes, a single show drew as many as 20,000 spectators.¹⁶⁷ Elevated balconies were built around the open-air theater for viewers who paid for food (Cho DI 2005: 44).

Performances on a regular basis facilitated the creation of a permanent troupe. The two-story structure is mentioned in other documents as well; apparently, it was used for the annual Dano Festival and divided into twenty-eight compartments (Cho OK 1982: 39). For the purposes of the merchants, particularly in the balcony restaurants, a good show would have made the audience want to get a comfortable seat to sit and watch instead of craning their necks on the ground below. Seats in the restaurants would mean more food and drink sales; Bongsan Talchum was located at the nexus of commerce and entertainment, and the traders and travelers along the route both supplied new audiences and carried the news of Bongsan Talchum's troupe to other parts of the country.

During the Japanese occupation of Korea, professionalization of Bongsan Talchum continued. In 1936 Bongsan Talchum was the first of the mask dance dramas to be broadcast nationally on the radio. Song Sokha, a pre-eminent early folklorist,¹⁶⁸ arranged a performance of Bongsan Talchum when he was working with the *Donga Daily News*, and Yi Haegu served as

¹⁶⁷ It would be very interesting to know where Cho found this figure. It seems somewhat doubtful, although intriguing, considering Korea's Joseon Dynasty population estimates.

¹⁶⁸ Yang Jongsung calls Song Sokha the father of Korean applied folklore scholarship (2003: 20). Song primarily focused on material collection.

the announcer.¹⁶⁹ The professional performers used a detailed full-length script, which impressed early folklorists with its level of sophistication in comparison with mask dance dramas from Gyeonggi Province such as Yangju Byeolsandae (Yang JS 2003: 24).¹⁷⁰

After the Korean War, which violently failed to reunify the supposedly temporary division of Korea after World War II, northerners who had resettled in the south came together in refugee communities based on hometowns or home regions.¹⁷¹ Some of the refugees from Sariwon had had experience with Bongsan Talchum, and these refugees included some of the important performance leaders. Bongsan Talchum was their method of play, and by beginning to practice again they felt reconnected with their own community.¹⁷² Among these performers were two men, Kim Jinok and Min Cheonsik, who had both been performing the dance for 60 years (Yi DH 1975: 520). They were two principal early members of the reassembled troupe, and the earliest designated National Human Treasures. Although they both died in the late 1960s, they were able to teach Bongsan Talchum to a new generation of performers. Another key teacher was Yang So-un, who had previously studied at a school for *gisaeng*,¹⁷³ the closest equivalent to an arts university during her time period.

¹⁶⁹ Jeon Kyungwook, interviewed by the author on 4/28/06 in Seoul.

¹⁷⁰ Yangju, home of Yangju Byeolsandae, is relatively close to Seoul, and the dialogue of the mask dance drama was transcribed in its entirety in 1930. The other nationally protected mask dance drama from the Seoul area (extant today) is Songpa Sandae Noli, but it was not performed after a drastic flood destroyed the port, village and marketplace of Songpa in 1927 until it was resurrected and then incorporated into the CPPL in 1973. In Toegyewon Sandaenoli was certified as the 52nd Intangible Cultural Asset of Gyeonggi Province (not of Korea).

¹⁷¹ Organization around one's ancestral home is still a characteristic of Korean society, it was as useful for the rural to urban migrants as it was the refugees from the DPRK.

¹⁷² According to National Human Treasure Kim Aeseon, who was interviewed on 5/12/06 in the Bongsan Talchum office. Kim and her father, a former National Human Treasure, both performed before resettling in the south.

¹⁷³ *Gisaeng* are the Korean equivalent of the geisha in Japan, skilled artistic performers who typically spent their time entertaining men.

I emphasize this historical continuity because the long-term professionalization and continual transmission of Bongsan Talchum has allowed this drama to retain the full complexity of the past while continually reaching out to new audiences. In contrast, the majority of the Korean mask dance dramas were not performed during the colonial era, or performed only a few times. Some were not revived until twenty years after the Korean War. Among others, Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli, Gangnyeong Talchum, Eunyul Talchum and Songpa Sandae Noli all had to recover from significant breaks in their transmission.

b. Professionalization: Teaching and Training

Activities of the Performers

The previous section has clarified the historical and continual professionalization of the drama, particularly as it developed into a staged piece. Just as the players could develop and focus on *Bongsan Talchum* performance with their own dedicated theatre, the players today continue to be highly educated in the arts and generally devote themselves to the traditional arts for a great portion of their time, not just as a hobby or weekend activity:

Bak:¹⁷⁴ The biggest reason we've been able to do so well is that we're almost all arts professionals. Almost everyone has graduated from university, and more than that, most are trained in the arts. We're also closer knit for being from the same background, and everyone understands the importance of even the smallest role, because they understand it as an entire performance. People don't get hurt feelings and leave if they don't get to dance a major character.

On the homepage of Bongsan Talchum (<http://www.bongsantal.com>) there is an announcement section where the upcoming performances of different members are advertised.

¹⁷⁴ Bak Sangun is the Bongsan Talchum expert on construction of the masks and costumes. He is a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* and has been involved with Bongsan Talchum since the 1960s. Interviewed at the Intangible Cultural Properties Transmission Center on 4/21/06.

Often this is out of date, but dozens of performances (other than Bongsan Talchum) are listed, particularly performances of those members who are better at self-promotion. According to 2004-2006 office manager Jeong Sundon, 80% of the Preservation Association members are graduates of Seoul Arts University and 10% are graduates or current students of the relatively recently founded Korea National University of the Arts (K-Arts). Son Byeongman, a recent K-Arts graduate, listed seven other K-Arts people in the group.¹⁷⁵

Jeong:¹⁷⁶ Many people say it's very hard to become a member of our group, because they [preservation association officers] don't care how long you practiced or how long you plan to continue, they want to find people who are in the arts... people who are top level. People who want to do it professionally.

Even though the mask dancers, with the exception of Bak Sang-un, did not point out the highly trained performers as a reason for Bongsan Talchum's relative success, people such as Jeon Kyungwook, a member of the *Munhwajae Wiwonhoi* which observes, tests and evaluates the performers on behalf of the government, have noticed the difference in performer quality:

Jeon:¹⁷⁷ Why is Bongsan Talchum doing so well now? Because these other groups, they don't have professional dancers. They [other groups] are amateurs. The people who are doing Bongsan Talchum, many of them are famous—Kim Jongyeop, Jang Yongil, Choi Changju—not just them, but lots of people. Where did they come from? From Seoul Arts University, from the Drama Department. They graduated and kept doing Bongsan Talchum, after continuing for so many years, they can't help but do it well!

As we enjoyed tea in his book-lined office, he returned to this theme several times, mentioning many different ways in which he saw the Bongsan Talchum group as professional. The majority

¹⁷⁵ One of the professors at K-Arts is a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* for the troupe, but many of the K-Arts members are not his students, but rather musicians who provide accompaniment for the group.

¹⁷⁶ Jeong Sundon was interviewed by the author in the Bongsan Talchum office on 4/20/06.

¹⁷⁷ From an interview at Jeon Kyungwook's office at Korea University on 4/28/06.

of the Bongsan Talchum *bojonhoi* members work full time in the arts, as you can see in Table 4.5 below.

Table 4.5: Bongsan Talchum Performers' Occupation

Name	Rank	Arts Employment	Unrelated Employment	Notes
Kim Aeseon * ¹⁷⁸	National Human Treasure	X		Her only work is related to Bongsan Talchum. Past retirement age.
Jang Yongil *	<i>Jeonsu Gyoyuk Jogyo</i>	X		University lecturer on Bongsan Talchum and mask dance
Kim Jongyeop	"	X		Works for the Traditional Music Broadcasting Company and does traditional theatre
Choi Changju *	"	X		Professor of KNUA in mask dance
Bak Sang'un *	"	X		University lecturer on Bongsan Talchum and mask dance. Mask maker
Kim Hoseok *	"	X		Professor of traditional music
Bak Yongho	"	X		Professor of traditional music at KNUA
Kim Seonghae	<i>Isuja</i>		X	
Kim Jonghae	"	X		University lecturer in Korean dance
Ryu Dongcheol	"	X		Actor
Kim Miae *	"	X		Teaches students Bongsan Talchum
Song Inhyeon	"	X		University drama lecturer
Kim Eunju *	"	X		Teaches students Bongsan Talchum
Ha Sanghwa	"		X	
Bak Wonmok	"	X		Artistic Director of the Seoul Performing Arts Center
Yun Gijong	"	X		Event planner for arts related events
Jeong Yunshik *	"		X	
Won Yuseok	"	X		Performer at Sejong Center for the Performing Arts
Kim Seongbin	"		X	
Yi Eunsun	"		X	
Kim Jinseong	"	X		Performer at Sejong Center for the Performing Arts
Kim Aera	"	X		University professor of traditional music (<i>haegeum</i>)
Yu Eunmi	"		X	
Bak Hobin	"	X		Modern dancer
Im Eunju	"	X		Director of a dance institute
Kim Hyeongjik	"		X	
Jo Juhyeon	"	X		Actor
Jeong Sangbong	"	X		Director of an acting institute
Kim Gwangjun	"	X		Orchestra performer

¹⁷⁸ An asterisk designates all the people I interviewed between 2005 and 2011.

Go Juhee	"	X		Orchestra performer
Son Byeongman *	"	X		Teaches students Bongsan Talchum
Yang Haegyeong	<i>Jeonsuja</i>	X		Theatre Actress
Gang U-jong	"	X		Theatre Actor
Jang Gyeyun	"	X		Theatre Actor
Kim Hyeonjeong	"	X		Teaches students traditional music (<i>daegeum</i>)
Yun Seokman	"	X		Teaches students traditional music (<i>daegeum</i>)
Kim Yongha	"	X		Teaches students traditional music (<i>haegeum</i>)
Jo Haeryeong	"	X		Performer for the National Traditional Performing Arts Center
Ahn Hyeongmo	"	-	-	Currently serving mandatory military service
Jo Pungnae *	"	X		Seoul Performing Arts Center performer
Yi Janghun	"	X		Performer in "Nanta"
Choi Yeongjin *	"	X		Runs an independent performing arts group "Ta'ak Project" and performs with "Isa Knox"
Bak Yongshin *	"	-	-	Currently serving mandatory military service
Bak Mijin *	"	X		Teaching traditional arts privately and theatre actress
Jo Hana	"	X		Teaching traditional arts and theatre actress
Han Gyuseon *	"		X	
Bak Insu	"	-	-	Currently attending university full-time
Kim Yeongshin	"	X		Acting coach

Data collected on 3/17/11 from Jang Yongil.

The intensive full-time commitment to working in the arts (often precluding a standard degree of financial stability) is one of the reasons why Bongsan Talchum has been relatively successful. Dance scholars Wainwright and Turner found that the financial difficulty accepted by many performers could be attributed to their sense of the performing arts as a vocation or calling, not just an occupation. Just as they found that "ballet dancers are typically astonished that they are paid to do something that is characteristically described as a 'joy'" (Wainwright and Turner 2004: 312), I have also found many members of mask dance drama groups who freely traded the chance to make a more stable income for happiness.

Performer Identity

Who are the performers of traditional Korean group arts? Audiences cannot easily get a sense of the personalities behind group arts. On the other hand, in solo arts the art can become tied in the public imagination to the life and training of specific individuals. At the performance of a major performer such as Ahn Sukseon, a National Human Treasure for *gayageum byeongchang* (*pansori* excerpts performed while playing the twelve-string zither), an audience will also hear some of Ahn's personal and professional background. However, the performance of group arts such as mask dance dramas rarely includes a spotlight on the history and background of specific individuals. If any individual is singled out before, during or after a performance, such attention will probably be confined to the National Human Treasure(s) within the group.

As artists professionalize, audiences become accustomed to the idea that they are watching full-time professionals; however, with the exception of Bongsan Talchum, the majority of performers in group arts have other work unrelated to the arts. In Japan the situation is similar: Barbara Thornbury found "no matter how dedicated the performers are, a schedule of ten or so presentations a year is a burden for people who do not earn their living from acting but from farming or working in factories and other businesses" (1995: 156). In Korea those who are working full-time in the traditional arts are, predominantly, musicians. This is well illustrated by the following tables sketching employment data for Goseong Ogwangdae, Yangju Byeolsandae and Songpa Sandae Noli.

Table 4.6: Goseong Ogwangdae:

Name	Rank	Arts Employment	Unrelated Work	Notes
Yi Yunseok *	National Human Treasure		X	Attained rank in 2006. ¹⁷⁹ Although Yi is a farmer he also performs as a well-regarded solo dancer.
Heo Jongwon	<i>Jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo</i>		X	Attained rank in 1990. (farmer)
Choi Geumyong	"		X	Attained rank in 1987. (farmer)
Yi Howon *	"		X	Attained rank in 2000. (farmer)
Yi Jaehun *	"	X		Attained rank in 2000. Traditional art dealer and artist
Yi Taeyeong	"		X	Attained rank in 2000. (farmer)
Yi Doyeol	<i>Isuja</i>	X		Attained rank in 1987. Runs the Mask Museum in Goseong
Jeong Chaeseung	"		X	Attained rank in 1986.
Yi Yeongsang	"		X	Attained rank in 1987.
Jeon Gwangyeol *	"		X	Attained rank in 1997.
Ha Hyeon'gap *	"		X	Attained rank in 1997.
Kim Changgeun	"		X	Attained rank in 1998.
Hwang Jong'uk *	"	X		Attained rank in 1998. Runs the office and teaches the art at K-Arts
Nam Jindo	"		X	Attained rank in 2002.
Ha Manho *	"		X	Attained rank in 2002.
Kim Jaemyeong	"		X	Attained rank in 2005.
Kim Dongsu *	"	X		Attained rank in 2009. Teaches <i>Goseong Ogwangdae</i> and drumming classes.
Yun Hyeonho *	"	X		Attained rank in 2009. Works for the Cultural Properties Protection Association.
Kim Seongbeom *	"	X		Attained rank in 2009. Actor.
Heo Changyeol *	"	X		Attained rank in 2009. Member of "The Gwangdae," member of "Cheonha Jeil Tal," graduate student at K-Arts
Choi Yeongho *	"	X		Attained rank in 2009. Member of "The Gwangdae"
Ahn Daecheon *	"	X		Attained rank in 2011. Leader of "The Gwangdae," graduate student at K-Arts.
Choi Yonggwon	"		X	Attained rank in 2011.
Go Seokjin *	<i>Jeonsuja</i>	X		Seoul Performing Arts Company member.
Gang Gyeongmi	"	X		Works in performing arts management and production.
Heo Hyeonmi	"		X	

Data collected on April 3rd, 2011 from the Goseong Ogwangdae website (<http://www.ogwangdae.or.kr/>) and confirmed and expanded through conversation on July 7th, 2011 with Bae Hwajeong, office staff member for the group.

¹⁷⁹ The year the performers attained their rank was copied from official documents provided by the Cultural Heritage Administration.

Table 4.7: Songpa Sandae Noli:

Name	Rank	Arts Employment	Unrelated Work	Notes
Kim Hakseok *	National Human Treasure	X		Attained rank in 1995. Kim is retired and spends his free hours in the office of the group.
Ham Wanshik *	"		X	Attained rank in 2006.
Ahn Byeong'in *	<i>Jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo</i>		X	Attained rank in 1996.
Yi Byeong-ok *	"		X	Attained rank in 2000.
Kim Myeongha *	"		X	Attained rank in 2000.
Yi Suhwan *	"	X		Attained rank in 2000. Yi is essentially unemployed; his chief occupations are <i>Songpa Sandae Noli</i> and taking photographs of traditional performances.
Seo Byeongmu *	<i>Isuja</i>		X	Attained rank in 1980.
Yi Yeongshik *	"		X	Attained rank in 1980.
Kim Banghyeon	"		X	Attained rank in 1986.
Kim Yeongsuk *	"	X		Attained rank in 1986. Office manager for the group, a position she has held for over a decade.
Jeon Chulgyu	"		X	Attained rank in 1986.
Yi Hanbok	"		X	Attained rank in 1991.
Im Chaeyeon	"		X	Attained rank in 1992.
Gang Cha'uk *	"	X		Attained rank in 1994. Gang works full time as an accompanist, usually on <i>janggu</i> but he plays multiple instruments.
Jeon Gyeonghee *	"		X	Attained rank in 1994.
Yang Heunggi *	"		X	Attained rank in 1996.
Tahn Jongwon *	"		X	Attained rank in 2003.
Jang Gyushik *	"	X		Attained rank in 2006. Performer in the traditional variety troupe <i>Shinbaram</i> and certified teacher of traditional music to elementary school students.
Yi Yeonsun *	"	X		Attained rank in 2006. Teaches private and group lessons in <i>janggu</i> and performs.
Eo Wonseok *	<i>Jeonsuja</i>		X	
Bak Juhyeon *	"	X		Teaches private lessons in <i>daegeum</i> and works as an accompanist.
Ham Seungheon *	"		X	
Yun Jihee *	"	X		Teaches private lessons in <i>haegeum</i> and works as an accompanist.
Ahn Dami *	"	-	-	University student majoring in traditional percussion.
Yi Yeonghyeon	"		X	

Data collected through years of exposure to all the members of the group, then confirmed through emails with the office manager, Kim Yeongsuk.

Table 4.8: Yangju Byeolsandae

Name	Rank	Arts Employment	Unrelated Employment	Notes
Noh Jaeyeong	Nat'l Human Treasure		X	Retired. Attained rank in 1964. No longer really active with the group. ¹⁸⁰
Kim Sunhee	"	X		Retired. Attained rank in 2002.
Kim Sunhong *	<i>Jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo</i>	X		Teaches the mask dance drama, makes masks and costumes. Younger sister of Kim Sunok. Attained rank in 2001.
Shin Haechun	"		X	Attained rank in 1990.
Hong Sanghyeon	"		X	"
Kim Jeongseon	"		X	Attained rank in 2001.
Kim Sunok *	<i>Isuja</i>	X		Group director. Attained rank in 1987.
Bak GU	"		X	Attained rank in 1998.
Yu MS	"		X	Attained rank in 1998.
Son CS	"	X		Teaches students music, makes and sells <i>daegeum</i> . Attained rank in 2004.
Yi SG	"		X	Attained rank in 2007.
Bak IY	"		X	Attained rank in 2007.
Mun GH	"		X	Attained rank in 2007.
Go Gyeongmin *	"	X		Works in group office, makes masks and drives the group bus, dancer.
Yi YH	"		X	
Bak JH	"		X	
Han EO	"		X	
Yi YW	"	X		Orchestra Musician- Piri
Yi SH	"	X		Orchestra Musician- Haegeum
Yi YE	"	X		Orchestra Musician- Daegeum
Hong JH	"	X		Orchestra Musician- Daegeum
Yi OJ	"		X	
Yun SJ	"		X	
Kim DH	<i>Jeonsuja</i>		X	
Son EO	"		X	
Kim SR	"	X		Orchestra Musician- Daegeum
Yi SY	"	X		Orchestra Musician- Haegeum
Hyeon BR	"		X	
Kim HS	"		X	
Han CH	Student		X	
Kim JE	"		X	High school student
Jang MS	"		X	"

Data collected on February 28th, 2011 from Go Gyeongmin.

The tables above make clear three general truths about professionalization and the arts: Bongsan

¹⁸⁰ I only have the rank attained date for the members who have been participating longer because I received that rank data from the preservation association directly.

Talchum has professionalized to a greater degree, older performers are more likely to have non-arts employment, and musicians are the most likely to be supporting themselves from the arts.

The degree of Bongsan Talchum's professionalization is shown through the fact that only eight of the forty-eight members work outside the arts. This means that roughly 83% of the group members have careers in the arts. Compared with the rates for the other mask dance dramas—Goseong Ogwangdae, which has eleven of twenty-six members full-time in the arts (42% full-time artists), Songpa Sandae Noli with seven of twenty-five members working full-time in the arts (28% full-time artists) and finally Yangju Byeolsandae with eight of thirty-two (25% full-time artists)—Bongsan Talchum is far more professionalized.

Table 4.9: Professionalization in Four Mask Dance Dramas

	Bongsan Talchum	Goseong Ogwangdae	Songpa Sandae Noli	Yangju Byeolsandae
Members with Careers in the Arts	83%	42%	28%	25%

Second, examining Goseong Ogwangdae, Songpa Sandae Noli and Yangju Byeolsandae, and excluding retirees who are now full-time artists, of the National Human Treasures and *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* there are only four people who are full-time arts professionals out of fifteen. Amongst those four, two have a questionable status as full-time artists as one is seemingly content to live on very little money and the other is supported by a spouse. Four out of fifteen amounts to a rate of 27% full-time artists in the highest two levels of the arts. In the lowest level, *jeonsuja*, excluding students, 6 of 14 are full time artists, for a rate of 43%. Clearly it is more common for the youngest group members to be full-time artists; even including the younger

*isuja*¹⁸¹ the increasing tendency towards full-time artist status is clear.

Table 4.10: Arts Professionals by Rank

	Human Treasures and <i>jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo</i> who are arts professionals	<i>Jeonsuja</i> who are arts professionals
In Goseong Ogwangdae, Songpa Sandae Noli and Yangju Byeolsandae	27%	43%

Third, the rate of professionalization of musicians is far beyond that of the members who focus on dance. In Goseong Ogwangdae, Songpa Sandae Noli and Yangju Byeolsandae we can see that of the 29 people employed full time in the arts, 16 are employed based on their musical talents (to a greater degree than dance talents) for a professionalization rate of 55%.¹⁸² Most mask dance dramas perform with approximately six musicians, while twenty to thirty dancers take a turn on the stage.¹⁸³ The relative professional success of musicians makes it clear that at least at the moment it is still more difficult to achieve success based on the drama and dance talents of the group members than it is to be successful based on ability to play/teach instruments as they are used for mask dance dramas and for other traditional arts.

¹⁸¹ Roughly speaking, since people appear on each table in order of seniority within the art and most people start in their twenties, the younger *isuja* are the people with names closer to the bottom of the table.

¹⁸² The three members of The Gwangdae all play music and dance/act during performances of The Gwangdae but two dance for Goseong Ogwangdae and one plays music for the mask dance drama. Therefore I counted one member as a musician and two members as non-musicians for my purposes here.

¹⁸³ I exclaimed to Kim Sunok, the director of Yangju Byeolsandae, about the number of professional musicians in the group and her explanation was that since the musicians are working as performers already there are often schedule conflicts, hence they need more musicians in their group just to ensure that someone is available for the performance.

Table 4.11: Rate of Professionalization for Dancers Compared with Musicians

	Dancers who are arts professionals	Musicians who are arts professionals
Arts Professionals in Goseong Ogwangdae, Songpa Sandae Noli and Yangju Byeolsandae	45%	55%

The performers who are not full-time artists work in a wide variety of fields, although jobs that allow some flexibility (such as owning a business or farming) are common and no one holds a job with an inflexible corporate climate (such as working for major companies like Samsung or LG). The majority of performers with another primary source of income betray no interest in becoming more fully committed to the arts. Many of them have told me that they find the arts an enjoyable break from their other responsibilities. They are committed to their art, and it is a large and important part of their life; the amateur performer might be compared to the serious amateur cyclist who spends thousands of dollars on equipment and rides several times per week, often devoting his entire weekend to training or racing.

Teaching Community Members

Bongsan Talchum's professionalization is demonstrated by the activities of the dancers and musicians in the troupe, especially the transmission of performance techniques. Pedagogical methodology is a major area in which the different preservation associations demonstrate very different methods of complying with the Cultural Property Protection Law's requirement to teach the art. Similar to most other mask dance groups, Bongsan Talchum has regular public education classes for amateurs to learn the dance, but they keep these students more strictly segregated from the performers than many other groups. Groups that are less professionalized often blur the

lines between performers and learners. They may allow community members to attend the rehearsal of the group or offer free classes. Sometimes they use a team teaching approach that combines with the low number of students to seem as though one is learning with the artists (since senior members correct and test junior members at the same time as teaching the new learners).

Bongsan Talchum has a formal public education program in the same building where their office is located. Students pay 50,000 won per month,¹⁸⁴ or about 50 dollars, and buy their own *hansam* (sleeve extensions) and *mituri* (slippers) to use during practice.¹⁸⁵ Many of the performers also teach actively in other locations for additional personal income. Kim Eunju, the usual teacher of the public education classes, has no other job besides teaching Bongsan Talchum. She teaches two public classes in Bongsan Talchum at the Intangible Culture Transmission Center twice a week, for a total of four hours. The preservation association pays her a salary for teaching these classes. In early 2006 she also taught classes at two different middle schools; in 2011 she was still working at the same two schools. In the past she has also taught at a variety of other schools. Jang Yongil, one of the most active instructors for the lower ranked members of the performance troupe, which trains separately from the public classes, teaches regular 16-week university classes. He has no job besides teaching Bongsan Talchum.

c. Professionalization of Performance

The folk performing arts were historically performed outdoors, most often in large open spaces

¹⁸⁴ The fee increased to 60,000 (60 USD) a month at the start of 2011, for new students only. Continuing students continued to pay 50,000 won a month and most had no idea the price had gone up.

¹⁸⁵ In 2011 *hansam* were being sold for 10,000 won (10 USD) and the *mituri* slippers were 20,000 won (20 USD).

with neither a raised stage nor raised seating. In the present day, where stages are considered more professional, Bongsan Talchum is performed inside and on stages more often than the other mask dance dramas. They also charge for admission more often than other groups, most of which perform for free, and they refuse to perform in several locations they agree have poor sound quality, such as Seoul Noli Madang.¹⁸⁶ In these ways they work to insure that each of their performances is more attractive to the audience, preserving their excellent reputation.

Image 4.12: Songpa Sandae Noli Performing in Seoul Noli Madang



The Bongsan Talchum preservation association has also demonstrated their professional status because in addition to performances inside Korea, they have been involved in a large

¹⁸⁶ The poor sound is caused by bad roof design, causing a constant muddying of the sound quality.

number and type of international performances. Bongsan Talchum has gone overseas approximately twenty-one times, and some of these tours were to multiple countries. Their first overseas performance was in 1977, when they were invited to the United States at the behest of the Asia Society. By 1977 there were eight mask dance dramas designated as Intangible Cultural Assets. Why did the Asia Society pick Bongsan Talchum? Christine Loken-Kim,¹⁸⁷ who wrote the lecture-demonstration for the performances in the US, explained the decision to invite Bongsan Talchum: "It was a combination of the availability of the group, the clear technique that they exhibited, that the members were professionals and the exciting style." Another interviewee explained that the former Director of Performing Arts, Films and Lectures of the Asia Society, Beate Gordon, knew Yi Duhyeon and came to Korea to audition the different groups, only then choosing Bongsan Talchum. In addition to large tours, there are also smaller trips by members of the group. For example, in early 2011 Kim Eunju and three others went to Uzbekistan to teach a workshop for two weeks, as well as performing a single scene in several performances.

d. Continual Efforts for Professionalization

Bongsan Talchum's professionalization extends beyond teaching, training and performance issues. They were one of the first groups to open a website, which includes a mailing list and detailed information about how to register for classes (including times and costs of lessons and the cost of required shoes and *hansam* sleeve extensions), current accomplishments of members, photos of all the current performers and detailed background information on Bongsan Talchum.

¹⁸⁷ Christine Loken-Kim, a practitioner of Bongsan Talchum in the 1970s and anthropologist employed at Boston University, email correspondence, reply received on 5/17/06.

In addition to this carefully crafted internet presence, their recent choices of office managers also demonstrate the seriousness with which Bongsan Talchum takes the task of preserving their culture.¹⁸⁸ Unlike every other mask dance group, Bongsan Talchum's office manager is not a member of the troupe but rather hired for professional qualifications such as training in business management or, when possible, arts management. This is a recent transition; until March of 2005 a troupe member was their office manager. In addition to their professionalization efforts regarding the Internet and staff, the group has their own minivan with bright, colorful Bongsan Talchum decorations on the outside and a custom-built system to hang costumes and store masks for transport inside the vehicle. Bongsan Talchum's interest in continual improvement is one of the ways that the art keeps its advantage.

5. Final Words on Professionalization

Professionalization is the most important contributing factor to the success of Bongsan Talchum and what sets this mask dance drama apart from the others in Korea. Bongsan Talchum is part of a web of relationships involving the audience, the performers, the media and the government. In this exchange, Bongsan Talchum provides an entertaining performance with beautiful imagery, often utilized in tourism advertisements. Bongsan Talchum's performance satisfies the audience, the imagery satisfies the media (photographers and even advertisers), and the way the preservation association conducts their business satisfies the governmental goal of cultural preservation.

For the individual members of Bongsan Talchum and the preservation association as a

¹⁸⁸ The past four office managers have been two people in arts management Master's programs, one graduate of an MBA program and one graduate of an MA program in anthropology focusing on Korean dance.

whole, their goal is a successful performance. The professional reputation of the members (since they are associated with the arts for their entire careers, whether as professors, performers with other groups or arts administrators) is affected by the quality of the performance. They will lose credibility if *bojonhoi* (preservation association) performances decline in quality. Bongsan Talchum wants to show skilled dance movements with expert musical accompaniment and deliver the dialogue with verve, spirit and accuracy. During practice each detail is repeatedly polished, and nothing is considered unimportant to the final performance. Many years of practice may be required before a performer attempts a major part, like Chuibali or Nojang, in a setting like the full-length performance described at the start of the chapter.

Bongsan Talchum has become markedly professional, including in their presentation style. Bongsan Talchum's performers are comfortable presenting on a stage either indoors or outdoors, and they are not thrown off by lack of audience participation, which was an important part of traditional performances. Although the increasing separation between audience and performer is true for all of the Korean folk arts, Bongsan Talchum seems to have adapted to a lack of interaction with the audience better than some of the other groups. Their ability to perform well for an audience that is not familiar with Korean traditions is one of the reasons the group has been so successful. Their choice of which act to perform in a shorter performance, or what to perform in front of non-Koreans has served them well. Although group members may appreciate the scenes with abundant dialogue, modern audiences appreciate high-energy movements and are less interested in verbal humor such as word plays. Bongsan Talchum's *bojonhoi* prepares for the audience instead of merely preparing to accurately reproduce the *wonhyeong* and perform Korean tradition as dictated by the CPPL.

This is important because the audience wants to be entertained. If they have invested time and / or money in order to see a performance, only a polished and professional show will satisfy the modern-day audience, overloaded as they are with visual stimulation and accustomed to modern performances that cater to short attention spans. The audience gives their encouraging applause to Bongsan Talchum and enjoys the performance in return. The fast, active dance movements show athletic skill and seem more impressive to an untutored eye than the slow and highly controlled movements of some other dance genres. Bongsan Talchum, switching between dance, drama and song, satisfies the audience.

The preservation association is not only seeking to satisfy the public. The government is also involved since Bongsan Talchum is one of the items of intangible culture protected under the Cultural Property Protection Law. The government oversight body, the *Munhwajae Wiwonhoi*, or Cultural Properties Committee, sends the three people overseeing the mask dance dramas to watch the annual full-length performances, certify rank increases and write reports about the art. All the arts have a legal responsibility to continue performing and training future generations while maintaining the tradition. Bongsan Talchum satisfies the government's requirements, allowing their preservation association to continue receiving not only funds for both the group and for the highest ranked individual performers but also performance opportunities and office and rehearsal space in the government's Intangible Cultural Property Transmission Center in southern Seoul.

In summary, Bongsan Talchum is the best-known mask dance drama and commands considerably higher name recognition than the other mask dance dramas. The art has a history of professionalization; the Bongsan Talchum preservation association has a high percentage of

performers who are full-time professional artists, and the group's activities in terms of teaching and performance are professional. They have acquired the trappings of professionalization; a company vehicle, a professional office manager and a professional website are not just useful for the troupe but they are also indicators to everyone who comes in contact with them that Bongsan Talchum Preservation Association is a group of professionals. These indicators say that they cannot be treated as out-of-touch seniors still clinging to a dying manifestation of their North Korean hometown culture.¹⁸⁹ By appearing more professional, they create an environment in which they are treated ever more professionally.

6. Connection to the Cultural Property Protection Law

The Cultural Property Protection Law impacts professionalization and professionalization impacts the preservation of Korean traditional arts. It should not be surprising that the performers of Bongsan Talchum and the other Korean performing arts are professionalizing differently from Western performers. The Korean cultural environment, the relatively recent development of the country and the differing physical demands of the Korean arts are all reasons for divergence. Yet the CPPL has also had an undeniably large impact. The CPPL pushes the arts towards professionalization through language that impresses upon artists their great responsibility to protect the heritage of the nation. It also provides just enough money through performance opportunities (and through stipends for the highest ranked performers) to encourage artists to become more fully committed to the arts. The entire system, including how grueling it can be to

¹⁸⁹ The Bongsan Talchum Preservation Association does not emphasize their roots in the DPRK, partially because few members practicing today are from refugees from the north—only Kim Aeseon has lived in the north, and she is the only member still alive with open ties to the north. This contrasts with the situation for Bukcheong Saja Noleum—that art is a rallying point for those from the Hamgyeong Province region—and performances are treated as an opportunity to reaffirm cultural ties.

work all week and perform all weekend, pushes artists towards becoming professional (or not continuing their involvement if they do not professionalize). Traditional artists, scholars and government officials often see the changes wrought by the professionalization detailed here as a double-edged sword. While professionalization produces a good performance that can demonstrate the beauty and richness of Korean culture, at the same time it can be part of a process of distancing an art from its roots.

If you learn that a performer has sung in Carnegie Hall or performed at Madison Square Garden, you will unconsciously increase your evaluation of the performer's skills and importance. Likewise, the certification of an art as being a legitimate part of Korean traditional heritage worthy of protection under the CPPL has a strong impact on how that art is seen. Particularly for audience members who feel no confidence in their own ability to distinguish a good *pansori* singer from a bad one, or a talented mask dancer from one who is not, the titles of National Human Treasure, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* and *isuja* are very important. The combination of this legitimization through the law and Bongsan Talchum's name recognition has made it easier for the Bongsan Talchum players to become full-time artists.

Of course, becoming part of the *bojonhoi* for Bongsan Talchum is easier if an artist has already made a commitment to artistic professionalization. In order to have time to carry out all the activities of the professional artist, it is difficult to hold down another job. Indeed, jobs that are not related to the arts are seen as an indication of lack of commitment. I perceive a worm Ouroboros of interlocking factors including professional training, professional activity, professional skill, professional title and professional opportunities. Each performer commits to the arts and then continues to rotate, training more, participating in more activities, improving his

or her skills, attaining more impressive titles and securing more opportunities, as can be seen below in Image 4.13.

Image 4.13: Professional Treadmill



Although the 19th century Bongsan Talchum performers may have performed more regularly than just at major turning points in the traditional calendar, in Joseon Dynasty Korea most performers had other work as well as performing. Mask dance drama participation was for fun and community building. Just as Yi Yunseok, National Human Treasure for Goseong Ogwangdae, is available for international tours, solo dance engagements and all the Goseong Ogwangdae performances while continuing to farm, the players of the past did not confine their activities solely to Bongsan Talchum. As those performers carried out their activities they were also able to, like Yi Seunggu, "improve" the art and incorporate other innovations according to their own judgment. This is not true in the wake of the CPPL. The CPPL fixed the acceptable form of the art and the performers literally bring books to class, such as the book of the scholar

responsible for Bongsan Talchum's certification, Yi Duhyeon. Performances are to be the best possible recreation of what Yi researched in the mid-1960s. Although Jang Yongil and other performers have spent the past forty years or more learning and performing Bongsan Talchum, even teaching it in universities, according to CPPL regulations, they do not have the liberty to change the presentation in regards to specific arm movements, dance steps and dialogue.

Choi Changju, a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* and professor at Korean National University of the Arts, has staged performances of Bongsan Talchum according to alternative records from the 1930s and 1940s, eschewing the CPPL certified *wonhyeong* for Bongsan Talchum. However, these are not performances of the preservation association, but of students at K-Arts. Witnessing rehearsals and a later performance according to the alternative version of the mask dance drama that Choi Changju espouses, I found that it was more complex than what I had learned from Kim Eunju and Jang Yongil. Discussing a scene where drummers entered the stage and danced flashily, Choi explained that this version was "too difficult" for performers, with the exception of those who were professional-grade drummers as well as dancers. Yet Choi's students were not, ultimately, able to stage a performance as effective as that of the *bojonhoi*, and I felt that performance of the non-CPPL-sanctioned version was as much to assuage Choi's boredom with teaching the same thing over and over as any other goal.

The most serious concern with the professionalization of Bongsan Talchum or any other folk performing art is the potential for distancing the performance from its roots. Bongsan Talchum was, in the 19th century, considered earthy, ribald and exciting. With flashy dance moves and intelligent wordplay, it had broad audience appeal. Yet as the performance has professionalized in a CPPL-approved manner it has unavoidably lost spontaneity in thousands of

performances without dialogue variations, in performances that increasingly preserve a strong differentiation between audience and performer and in an increasing loss of relevance of the mask dance drama to the concerns of the audience. The only acceptable changes have been to tone down the most risqué lines and actions to suit an audience with Christianized attitudes towards nudity and sexuality. The mask dance drama is slick and perfect, as befits a professional group, but an element of raw power and unpredictability has been lost along the way.

Image 4.14: Bongsan Talchum's Shaman



The final scene in the drama ends with this shamanic ritual—a good way to end a chapter, too.

Chapter Five

The Development of Multi-Faceted Performing Artists: Professional Training in *Yeonhi* at the Korean National University of the Arts

Although I disagree with Paek Inok that "currently the process of learning and teaching *gugak* "traditional music" takes place primarily through schooling in a formal educational system" (2007: 82), I have noticed that formal (degree-granting) education in the traditional arts has increased. At the start of my fieldwork I was interested in the Korean National University of the Arts (K-Arts¹⁹⁰), not only because it had a mask dance major, but because the entire program focused on *yeonhi*, or traditional folk theatre (such as mask dance dramas and *pungmul* drumming music). I wanted to know if formal education was possible for subversive, informal folk theatre. This chapter is my journey to understand the *who* and *how* of transmission within this university, illustrated with stories of learning mask dance dramas.

1. Meeting Yun Wonjung

In August 2010 I climbed the stairs to the large rooftop classroom in the *Muhyeong Munhwa Jeonsu Hoigwan*, the Intangible Cultural Properties Transmission Center located in southern Seoul near Seolleung Tomb. The stairs began outside the back door of the *Pungryu* Theatre. At the first landing I passed the doors to the changing rooms; at the second landing the floor leading towards the exhibition rooms for craft arts was scuffed. I was relieved when I reached the top of the stuffy unventilated stairwell and stepped through the doors onto the roof, and a moment later through the second set of doors to the best practice room in the transmission center. The air-conditioners were blasting cool air over the hardwood floor from both ends of the long rectangular room. As in my previous visits, the curtains were drawn back from the mirror along one wall of the room, a lectern stood in the corner and a giant pile of mats like those used for

¹⁹⁰ The Korean National University of the Arts has recently chosen to use K-Arts instead of KNUA (previously used) when talking about their university. The shortened Korean version of their name is *Hanyejong*.

gymnastics was stacked at the left end of the mirror, across from cabinets filled with the props of other groups. In this same room I had practiced Bongsan Talchum twice a week every time I was in Korea between 2005 and the present day.

When I returned to Korea in 2010, I immediately resumed my Bongsan Talchum rehearsals and observed the teaching and learning process in this room under the watchful guidance of Kim Eunju, an *isuja* for Bongsan Talchum. My diminutive teacher had already begun class; she exclaimed a greeting and told me to jump right in. With the years of practice under my belt, the leaps and turns of Bongsan Talchum felt immediately comfortable, like slipping into a favorite sweater re-discovered in the back of the closet.

During my MA thesis fieldwork, I had spoken with Bongsan Talchum teachers and also interviewed several professors at K-Arts between 2004 and 2005. My MA thesis focused on Bongsan Talchum, and I had noticed the increasing number of *Yeonhi* or traditional folk theatre department K-Arts graduates in the Bongsan Talchum preservation association. These young members received K-Arts training under tenured professor Choi Changju, who is a Bongsan Talchum *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* (the second highest rank for performers). I had not stopped to wonder where such students came from before they entered the K-Arts program.

The first night back at Bongsan Talchum class, I began to learn. During the break, I had a chance to take stock of the other students. That was when I met Yun Wonjung. Wonjung was young, in his last semester of high school. He was adorned with a huge grin, shaggy hair overdue for a cut, and well-worn sweatpants. At first he was shy and awkward around me, whether because I was a foreigner, much older or for another reason, so it took a couple of classes before I learned exactly what his status was. I was surprised to find out that he was preparing to audition

to the premier performing arts university: the Korean National University of the Arts. Knowing little about the process of applying, I grew interested in hearing everything he had to say about his progress and learning more about him in general. Two weeks later when Wonjung also appeared at my class with Yi Jonghui at the Seoul Transmission center for Imshil Pilbong Nongak, I was suddenly shoulder to shoulder with this bashful young man for over for seven hours a week. Through Wonjung I came to better understand formalized university training in the traditional arts, from the application process onwards.

2. Korean Arts Education

Korea has a system of college preparatory and technical high schools, with more than 80% of students enrolled in some type of college preparatory program. Wonjung attended a technical school, Semyeong Computer High School, where he majored in Electrical Systems. He had been tracked into a future in the trades, and yet in the fall of 2010 decided to pursue a different life path: he was full of jitters as he prepared for his audition to K-Arts. Most applicants to K-Arts come from high schools that focus on the performing arts, but according to the K-Arts website, "in order to discover students with creative potential for infinite growth rather than those who learn only by repetition, K-Arts has innovated the admission process every year."¹⁹¹ This emphasis on creative potential allows not only those students who have already studied a performing art for an extended period, but also students like Wonjung, who otherwise could only dream of entering what many believe is the best performing arts school in the country. This

¹⁹¹This quotation is from the website of K-Arts "Vision of K-Arts" English-language page. Accessed on March 27, 2011. The website is <http://www.eng.karts.ac.kr>.

contrasts with what apparently occurs in the Western conservatory system; according to musicologist Henry Kingsbury, admission is "generally awarded specifically to a high level of skill in a narrowly specified area" (1988: 4).

There are currently six middle schools and twenty-six special high schools that include majors in traditional music and dance. Only five of these thirty-two schools focus exclusively on Korean traditional arts, while the other schools enroll students of non-Korean arts as well. The Ministry of Culture and Tourism's Report "Traditional Theatre Industry and Globalization: Planning Manpower Training" released in June 2007 reported that there were 2,257 students enrolled in the *gugak* major and 1,139 enrolled in the Korean traditional dance major. University *gugak* programs had 633 places available for new students in 2006. Of course some of the high school *gugak* majors continued in other departments, such as Jungang University's departments of traditional orchestral music, music for musicals, musical composition and percussion music (the four majors take 108 students per year) and K-Arts' departments of music, Korean traditional arts, traditional folk theatre and dance (the four majors take 85 students per year). There are twenty-two universities that offer majors in *gayageum*, *geomungo*, *daegeum*, *piri* and *haegeum*.¹⁹² Only six universities have a dedicated major in Korean traditional dance (many more offer Korean traditional dance as one aspect of a dance major), three offer a major in *pungmul*, two have a major in shamanic performance and only one, the Korean National University of the Arts, offers a major in mask dance dramas.

K-Arts remains relatively small, with personalized attention for all students. In February 2007 K-Arts graduated thirty-three people from the music department, four from the Korean

¹⁹²Source: Ministry of Culture and Tourism's Report "Traditional Theatre Industry and Globalization: Planning Manpower Training." Released in June, 2007.

music theory department, ten from the *yeonhi* folk theatre department and twelve from the Korean dance department. The average time to degree is high; however, no one has ever publicly or privately criticized the education at the school and in the short time since it was founded it has become highly regarded.

3. Korean National University of the Arts (K-Arts)

K-Arts is a relatively new university. It was officially founded by the government in 1992 and opened in March of 1993, although the School of Traditional Arts did not open its doors until 1998. The university has six schools and twenty-nine departments. The School of Traditional Arts has four departments: Korean Traditional Music, Korean Traditional Dance, Korean Traditional Arts Theory and Folk Theatre (*yeonhi*).¹⁹³ Not only does K-Arts provide training in CPPL-listed traditional arts, but it has also become an important employer of adjunct and tenured artist-faculty members, including several National Human Treasures.

Korean education typically focuses on rote memorization and discourages discussion or questions in class; this is both culturally-ingrained respect for elders and a practical response to the classroom overcrowding of the past. Educational attitudes, at least within the Folk Theatre department, are unlike that seen at many other Korean universities, a factor that I believe is important in the higher rate of success for K-Arts graduates. Combined with the attitudes towards age described earlier and the arts preservation system that emphasizes the *wonhyeong*, it is difficult for students, particularly of the traditional arts, to express or develop their own

¹⁹³ Why is *yeonhi* best translated as folk theatre and not traditional theatre? The arts that make up *yeonhi*, such as mask dance dramas, *pungmul*, and *Namsadang*, are all folk, not court, genres.

creativity. The educational philosophy at K-Arts is therefore quite unusual:

K-Arts strives to provide the best educational environment for "the creative few" who will ultimately change the existing paradigm of the arts as we know it. The educators at K-Arts do not think that we teach or train our students; rather, we encourage and stimulate our students, and provide the right environment for our students to learn and grow by themselves.¹⁹⁴

This is related to what Henry Kingsbury refers to as the gap between skills and potential. In *Music, Talent and Performance: A Conservatory Cultural System* Kingsbury explains the difference between having great potential and little formal training and simply having trained for a long period of time (1988: 63). Almost anywhere this would make entry to an elite conservatory very difficult, but the K-Arts Folk Theatre Department is a one-of-a-kind in Korea: students like Wonjung who want to major in mask dance drama coming from a technical high school have a chance.

In the pre-modern era performers generally (and naturally) learned several related performance skills, allowing for more flexibility. However, in the post-CPPL era *one* traditional performer or group is responsible for preserving *one* of the different dance, theatre, music or other forms and is focused on teaching *one* art. Students choose an art and associate themselves with a teacher who is able to teach that art. Because almost all performers are certified National Human Treasures, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*, *isuja* or even trainees for only one art and well aware that other artists are more expert at other forms, they tend to teach their students only one art, even though other arts are closely related. Therefore students become highly proficient in single arts or single styles, and many of my interviewees claimed to have never learned another art form. Most Korean university programs in the arts are designed so that students focus on

¹⁹⁴ Source: Ministry of Culture and Tourism's Report "Traditional Theatre Industry and Globalization: Planning Manpower Training." Released in June, 2007.

performance of only one instrument, or a handful of closely related dance forms, and the student's relationship with one primary teacher guarantees that they continue to have one primary dance form. The contemporary situation in Korea, just as in most Western university arts programs, sees students graduating with primary training in only ballet or only piano, even though they may have a working knowledge of other forms, but the violinist who also performs on the cello (or the *gayageum* player who also performs on the *ajaeng*) is rare.

As K-Arts is the only location for such a study in Korea, the *Yeonhi* program is even more unusual within K-Arts. The following section will explain the evolution of what I call "cosmopolitan modernity" at K-Arts.

a. Making the Cosmopolitan from the Local

Kim Duksoo [Kim Deoksu] is arguably the most famous traditional performer in Korea. His talent, clear recognition of the importance of self-promotion, and perhaps a little luck, have made Kim the closest thing that the traditional performing arts has to a household name. Born in 1952, Kim received an early education under his father and other older male relatives in *Namsadang* (the previously itinerant variety show including drumming, puppets, mask dance drama and acrobatics) and first achieved acclaim on the *janggu* as a seven-year-old. Kim's short biography, as presented in most promotional materials, is that in 1978 after achieving early fame, he founded the original *Samulnori* group, thus inventing the genre now known as *samulnori* (literally four + things + play).¹⁹⁵ He remains enormously successful today; a 2007 news article

¹⁹⁵There are many reasons why the group and Kim Duksoo gained so much national and international acclaim, and one of them is because of an American woman, Suzanna Samstag Oh, who was at their side in the early years, from 1983 to 1994. In a memoir account she describes how she came to be their tour manager, facilitating many international performances that raised *Samulnori's* reputation in Korea. (Harris 2004).

in the *Jungang Ilbo* claimed that Kim performed 180 times a year both inside and outside Korea.¹⁹⁶ He does not limit his artistic efforts to performance alone, and he has become an important leader in performance education. He founded the *Yeonhi* department at K-Arts, where he is the Department chair, directs various other performing arts groups and leads the Hanolrim *Samulnori* School.

Kim Duksoo is charismatic and handsome. He is noted not just for his flashy left-handed *janggu* technique, but for his energy level, distinctive facial hair and short frame. I visited him in his office to hear more about K-Arts and his thoughts on arts education.

Kim:¹⁹⁷ I determined that *yeonhi* should be a subject of university study, created the majors and outlined all the requirements for students in the department. I instinctually believe that teaching the way our department does gets closer to the roots of Korea's traditional performing arts culture [than other schools]. In general in Korean universities, since Seoul National University founded a *gugak* major in their music department in 1959, a lot of music and arts programs have included some *gugak* training and majors have been established. Yet although *yeonhi* is the basis of our traditional performing arts culture, in all that time there hasn't been a *yeonhi* program. In 1998 here at the Korean National University of the Arts they established the Center for Traditional Arts and then the *yeonhi* program was born. It has an extremely important historical significance from an academic and performing arts point of view. Many professionals in our [Korean] traditional performance even say that [founding the program] was a kind of "cultural event." From now on even though this was not studied from an academic perspective until recently, the practical techniques of performing arts have to be organized to educate students. And simultaneously many theoretical works will emerge [due to academic attention]. Already at K-Arts the friends [students] majoring in theory and practical technique have finished their doctorates, causing a big change. This is not confined to just Korea, this is happening in other countries, too. Because of this [transition] maybe Korea's traditional *yeonhi* / Korea's performing arts are in conversation with research from East Asia, Northeast Asia. I believe that there is a major shift in research [on the arts] starting now.

¹⁹⁶ *Jungang Ilbo* newspaper story from February 21st, 2007 by reporter Kim Hojeong, available online at http://article.joinsmsn.com/news/article/article.asp?ctg=15&total_id=2640644. Accessed December 3rd, 2011.

¹⁹⁷ Interview conducted in Kim Duksoo's office at K-Arts on 08/01/2011.

Kim Duksoo and those who share his vision at K-Arts have rethought traditional arts education. A re-emphasis on practical techniques and as Kim mentions, encouraging practically trained students to develop academic works related to Korean performance, will (over time) cause a significant re-examination of assumptions about traditional arts and traditional arts education.

What Kim Duksoo has done is to take the local to create something cosmopolitan. He did this first for *pungmul*, the style of drumming and dancing music from farming and fishing communities where it was part of traditional ceremonies, community work efforts and celebrations. Taking it out of this traditional ceremonial context, Kim and three other top musicians—Yi Gwangsu, Kim Yongbae, Choi Jongshil¹⁹⁸—staged *pungmul* rhythmic techniques with four seated performers on the same percussion instruments used in *pungmul* (*janggu*, *ggwaenggwari*, *buk* and *jing*). The widespread popularity of this *samulnori* music makes it obvious that Kim and the other members of the original quartet were tapping into the needs of modern and cosmopolitan Koreans who needed a break from tradition even as they retained interest in Korean sounds. The seated *Samulnori* group, performing flashily on a stage, demonstrating skills that could not be learned quickly and easily, offered something new and innovative. Moreover, they took a rural tradition that had grown increasingly remote from the urbanizing population and reinvented it in a form that energized not only urban Korean audiences but audiences abroad as well.

Yet between 1978 and the present day, a shift in thinking has meant that *samulnori* music is now widely considered traditional "by the majority of the Korean population, as well as

¹⁹⁸In fact the original 1978 performance was Kim Duksoo and Kim Yongbae with Choi Taehyeon and Yi Jongdae, but the latter two became a footnote as *Samulnori* did not become well known until they had left (Hesselink 2004).

mainstream media, academia, and government agencies" (Hesselink 2012: 132). *Samulnori* became popular because it was based on traditional expressions, able to appeal to nostalgia, yet simultaneously new and fresh—in the process of becoming a genre that extended beyond the activities of one group, it actually had to become traditional. What was once popular music has withstood the test of time to become our traditional music today, as I have stated earlier in the dissertation. What is curious about the case of *samulnori* as a genre is that the creative re-imagining that allows tradition to stay fresh was originally the work of one group.¹⁹⁹ Although today most *samulnori* performers also learn *pungmul* techniques, and successful performers tend to include selections from both the *pungmul* and the *samulnori* canon in their performances, in the past, *samulnori* allowed drummers to concentrate on refined drumming techniques without the skills that *pungmul* players needed in addition to drumming.²⁰⁰

Kim Duksoo, demonstrating the same sensitivity to the evolution of traditional performance that was evident when he formed *Samulnori*, has turned 180 degrees and re-imagined training for traditional performing arts. Where most performing arts training programs focus on learning "one" tradition, Kim Duksoo emphasizes the importance of a more "holistic" way of experiencing tradition. Turning to a holistic understanding of the commonalities between different folk traditions, Kim creates a cosmopolitan reworking of the arts training process.

Undoubtedly because of his background in the traditional folk theatre productions of the

¹⁹⁹ When Kim Duksoo teaches his students at K-Arts he holds himself and the genre of *samulnori* as an example to encourage the students that nothing is impossible if you have good creative ideas and work hard.

²⁰⁰ *Pungmul* performers need to perform choreographed movement in tandem with a large number of other performers. They need to be familiar with ritual and community-related activities that occur in tandem with playing *pungmul*. Although *samulnori* can be performed in simpler costumes while seated, *pungmul* requires coordinating the motion of a *sangmo* ribbon hat and dance steps with the drum beats. In addition *pungmul* has become more complex as it has absorbed the impact of being registered with the government within the CPPL.

Namsadang and early training that considered multiple arts,²⁰¹ Kim Duksoo was able to conceive of a different way to teach arts. He also recognized that a conventional conservatory is actually weaker at conserving tradition (if arguably better at conserving specific skills), and as long as the *Yeonhi* program's stated goal was to conserve tradition, it had to develop a new model.

Now pulling back from the focus on drumming technique, Kim Duksoo is training all the students of the Folk Theatre department to think of *yeonhi* as an inter-connected group of skills. For Kim, playing the *janggu* in a *pungmul* or *samulnori* style is not enough; the student needs to be able to specify and demonstrate the difference between different regional styles and perform them on all of the *pungmul* instruments. In addition, a student must not be prepared only to perform in percussion ensembles, but also to accompany different mask dance dramas or shamanic ceremonies. For dancers it is not enough that a drummer execute the correct *jangdan* (rhythmic pattern); the interplay between dancer and drummer is so important that many top dancers refuse to perform with a drummer who not is not able to converse in the language of shared breath that permits dancer and drummer to work in perfect synchronicity. Traditionally an accompanying drummer was considered the crucial element even in *pansori* vocal renditions. As an example of the primacy of the drummer, once I enticed a (full-time professional arts educator and performer) friend to attend a performance of Bongsan Talchum with me. He was more impressed by the way the drummer accompanied the dancers than what the dancers did and rushed to congratulate her at the end of the show. In Kim Duksoo's K-Arts program the goal is to train performers to fit into every role—from center stage soloist to interlocking part of a large

²⁰¹*Namsadang* performances include: 1) ceremony in the form of the *gosa*, a ceremony that also occurs at the start of other types of folk theatre such as *pungmul* and mask dance dramas; 2) puppet shows; 3) mask dance drama; 4) *pungmul* drumming; 5) tight-rope walking; 6) disk-spinning; 7) tumbling and 8) *mudong*, where one to four performers dance or pose while held aloft by a single dancing performer.

group performance to sensitive accompanist. Mask dancers must be able to drum and drummers must be able to dance. This is simultaneously a return to tradition—to a holistic understanding of the commonalities between different folk traditions—and a cosmopolitan reworking of the arts training process for a world where wearing only a single hat (or costume) is no longer enough. What I have described in this section is depicted below in table 5.1.

Table 5.1: Folk Performing Arts from the Traditional Model to Cosmopolitan Modernity

<p>Traditional Model</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning a variety of performance skills to varying degrees • Generally lacking a financial or commercial goal
<p>Modern Model</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Conservatory (<i>Daegeum</i> players focus on <i>daegeum</i>) • Specialization: performers of one mask dance drama learn only that drama • Focus: preservation of the arts
<p>Cosmopolitan Modernity at K-Arts</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Learning a variety of performance skills to varying degrees • Focus: holistic understanding of arts • Bonus: flexibility in the job market

To roughly summarize the difference between a K-Arts and a conservatory education, students in the *Yeonhi* program actually leave with less specialization than when they enter the program. This is because when they enter they demonstrate their skill at basic drumming and two aspects of their proposed major, yet when they leave they are expected to have advanced abilities in mask dance dramas (plural), shamanic rites (plural), styles of drumming (plural), skills within *Namsadang* and be able to develop new creative works from the traditional raw materials.

Furthermore, since K-Arts seriously promotes creativity, holistic knowledge and skills, the students become better qualified for perhaps more jobs than would the conservatory-educated student with more specialized skills.

Entering the Yeonhi Program at K-Arts

The process for getting accepted to K-Arts is similar to the processes at other conservatory or arts programs around the world. Yun Wonjung, whom I saw three times a week, twice at Bongsan Talchum and once at Imshil Pilbong Nongak, talked me through this process over the course of multiple informal interviews starting in September, 2010.²⁰² Wonjung's first round of auditions for the 2011 academic year consisted of two exams;²⁰³ one to play seated *seoljanggu* and one to dance the part of Chuibali, a character in Bongsan Talchum. The fifty-three students applying for acceptance already knew that only thirteen would be admitted. Of the applicants, only four applied for the mask dance drama major: Wonjung and three women. I knew and had practiced with one of the women since 2005, but she was eliminated in the first round. In the second round Wonjung had to sing a section from Bongsan Talchum in the distinctive *seodo sori* (Western) style. Passing this second round, he took a short written exam, which he found extremely challenging; he reassured himself that every other applicant also found it difficult.

Saeji: How did you prepare to enter K-Arts?

Yun: In high school I got involved with a club. We learned (among other things) Bongsan Talchum and our teacher was Mr. Yi Seongju. I ended up taking classes one on one with him, and then he introduced me to Mr. Son Byeongman, who

²⁰² Interviews with Yun Wonjung conducted at the Intangible Cultural Properties Transmission Center where we attended class for Bongsan Talchum, at the Seoul Transmission Center for Imshil Pilbong Nongak, on the subway, while walking to and from class, at K-Arts after Wonjung entered the university and via email and Facebook between September 2010 and March 2012.

²⁰³ The Korean academic year begins in March.

also gave me lessons and taught the club when Yi didn't have time. [After Yi suddenly died] I had to practice on my own, but since starting in 10th grade I'd had Mr. Yi Seongju and sometimes Mr. Son Byeongman's lessons, I had a lot of background. After three months of grieving Mr. Yi Seongju, I concentrated eight hours a day on learning Bongsan Talchum, two hours on learning *janggu* and about one hour a day on singing.

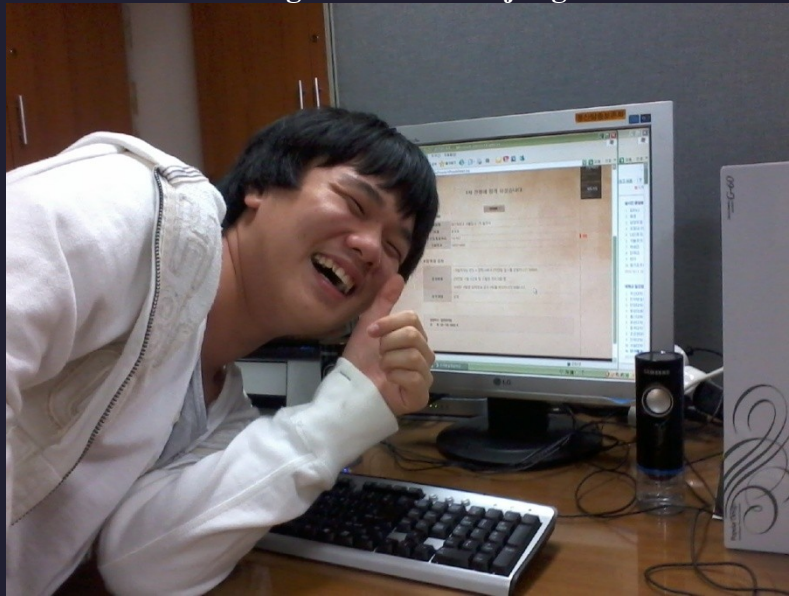
Saeji: How did you learn *janggu* and singing?

Yun: First I was learning from Mr. Yi Seongju [an *isuja* for Imshil Pilbong Nongak and a *jeonsuja* for Bongsan Talchum], I met Yi Jonghui [*isuja* for Imshil Pilbong Nongak] through him. He immediately seemed like a close older brother. Mr. Yi Seongju also taught me singing, but after he passed on I watched and practiced with the video of the 62nd annual full-length performance [of Bongsan Talchum] and then Mr. Son Byeongman corrected me.

Saeji: Your exam was on the character of Chuibali, so why did you come to the evening class?

Yun: In the morning I've been having classes with Mr. Son Byeongman and in the evening class with Ms. Kim Eunju I get a chance to check the motions one more time. It's really been a great help. Also when I go to the audition I have to take tests on basic motions, too, so this will help me to improve my points.

Image 5.2 Yun Wonjung



(Top) Wonjung showing me on the computer screen that he had passed the second round of the audition. (Below) Happy to be in class at K-Arts.



In December 2010, when Wonjung finally received the exciting phone call that he'd been accepted, I received a triumphant text message within minutes. He later emphasized how unreal it had felt to achieve the goal he had worked steadily towards for so long, regardless of his background. Not only was he one of the 13 out of 53 students to be admitted to K-Arts, he was the first from his high school to ever get accepted. Lower-classman "Cheolsu"²⁰⁴ who also participated in both classes with me was determined to be the second, as he was already preparing for auditions in fall of 2012.

The Yeonhi Learning Experience

Upon entering the *Yeonhi* program, students are confronted with the importance of their role as the memory keepers of traditional cultural knowledge. They undergo a dynamic process of internalizing performance skills of many forms of Korean traditional arts. In the following section, I will discuss the pedagogical transmission process at K-Arts and the normal course load during the semester and the inter-semester intensive courses.

²⁰⁴ I used "Cheolsu" in quotation marks to indicate that this is an alias (as opposed to all the other names except "Yeonghee" in this dissertation. We decided to do this due to his young age.

Image 5.3 Kim Giyeong



Kim Giyeong rehearsing the part of Won *Yangban* in the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center and posing with Song Taehwan and part of the dinner they prepared.

Kim:²⁰⁵ I'm twenty-one years old, I'm a sophomore majoring in *pungmul*, specializing in *ggwaenggwari* [small gong] and my name is Kim Giyeong.

Saeji: Did you apply to any other schools?

Kim: I only turned in application documents to K-Arts. I didn't really have any desire to go anywhere else. There aren't many other places to learn *yeonhi*—and the classes are fantastic and there are many professors I wanted to work with, so I chose K-Arts.

²⁰⁵ Initial formal interview at the Goseong Ogwangdae transmission center in Goseong on January 25th, 2011. Additional questions and clarifications about her schedule and classes via telephone, text message, email and Facebook.

Saeji: What are the good points of this school?

Kim: At first I just thought I could focus on percussion, but I learn mask dance dramas, shamanic ritual, pungmul, all kinds of music and dance for the entire country is taught in harmony. This is really how we can keep from forgetting our traditional cultural knowledge. When I think about it, here I can continue a dynamic process of learning and increasing my skills, it's really great.

Saeji: What are your future plans?

Kim: I want to be an artist. As long as I can keep moving my body I want to perform until I am widely acknowledged as a pre-eminent artist. It doesn't have to be playing the *ggwaenggwari*; I want to steadily internalize all forms of Korean traditional *yeonhi*. I think that still there is nothing that I truly know—but as I continue to learn, I'll get there. I don't want to become a *jeonsuja* [trainee in a preservation association]—I want to make my own thing. After I've learned as much as possible, I want to create new works.

I asked Kim Giyeong to share her class schedule for the 2011 spring semester. As you can see in the schedule below (Table 5.4), Giyeong is taking eleven separate classes, for a total of twenty-seven classroom hours a week. Almost all of the classes are technique classes, most are marked (I) for a beginning level course, or (III) which would indicate that this course is part of a series during her first, second and now third semester in university. The practice classes occasionally have written assignments, but in general written assignments are saved for theory classes. Most theory classes are taken in the third and fourth year; the only general education classes are, as illustrated in the schedule, English and Korean literature. Each of the technique classes requires a certain amount of practice time.

Table 5.4: Second Year, First Semester, *Yeonhi* Student Schedule²⁰⁶

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
9-10			Korean Literature (I)		
10-11					
11-12	English for Trad. Perf. Arts (I)	Tightrope and Presentation Skills (I)	<i>Gayageum</i> Practice (I)		<i>Gayageum Byeongchang</i> Practice (I)
12-1					
1-2	Mask Dance (Goseong Ogwangdae) Practice (III)		<i>Pungmul</i> Performance Practice (<i>Udo Nongak</i>) (III)	<i>Samulnori</i> & Ensemble Practice (III)	Shamanic Performance (<i>Donghaean Byeolshin'gut</i>) Practice (III)
2-3					
3-4					
4-5		Studio Workshop	International Performance Preparation-Lighting (III)		
5-6					
6-7					

Giyeong explained that most of the classes are required; the only class she has chosen is the beginning *gayageum* class. She chose that class to supplement the required class in *gayageum byeongchang*, as it requires the students to both sing (in a *pansori* style) and play the *gayageum* simultaneously. Although some musical instruments are affordable, even cheap *gayageum* cost nearly a thousand dollars, so the university provides practice instruments for non-majors. Kim does not own her own *gayageum*, but she is happy to borrow one and use rehearsal rooms at school. The tightrope class also includes trips to the room where a tightrope (thigh high on most people but up to tiny Giyeong's waist) is erected over mats. In the tightrope class the students learn various comedic routines and practice the songs that accompany the theatrical presentation of tightrope.²⁰⁷

One of the most fascinating classes is the studio workshop class on Tuesday afternoons.

²⁰⁶ Compare this schedule with the schedule for Seoul National University *Gugak* (traditional Korean music) major Kim Yuna at the end of the chapter in Appendix 5.1.

²⁰⁷ One of the majors in the *Yeonhi* department, *Namsadang Noli*, includes tightrope walking and comedic routines. The tightrope course would thus be of the most interest to the *Namsadang* majors, just as Giyeong Goseong Ogwangdae class would be more interesting to mask dance drama majors and the shamanic ceremony of *Donghae'an Byeolshin'gut* would be most important to the shamanism majors.

In the class, which includes students from the traditional music and traditional dance departments, the teachers encourage the students to take turns making small presentations to each other on stage and giving critiques. First and second year students mostly learn how to be the stage crew and make small solo presentations, but the third and fourth year students form groups across majors and present as a group. Once per term there is a class presentation to the professors, who give detailed feedback. The *samulnori* class for second-year students focuses on how to perform *samulnori* together with other types of music. In the class they crank up music, including jazz and Korean orchestra pieces, and try to play along with muffled instruments. In groups of four (for the four instruments) they will present to the professor and the rest of the class; the next week they will try a new piece of music.

Giyeong described the classroom styles of her professors as varying greatly, although most preferred demonstration and joint participation over textbooks or drawn out explanations. In my visits to K-Arts, I never saw the students with an open book in the classroom, though once photocopied song lyrics were passed around. In places like K-Arts, oral education has not entirely died out; ethnomusicologist Inok Paek speaks of the tendency in folk musical genres to see a greater emphasis on oral transmission than in other arts (2007: 83). This is even more accentuated in the case of folk theatre, because although notation is possible for the dialogue and many students sketch the movements on the stage while learning, oral transmission is still the preferred path to holistic understanding.

Discussing Giyeong's schedule, it was clear that the K-Arts education was open to new interpretations of tradition and to "cross-cultural collaboration" and "hybridity," both of which ethnomusicologist Nathan Hesselink considers the norm in post-*Samulnori* (post-Kim Duksoo)

Korea (2012: 132). In interviews with both Kim Duksoo and Choi Changju I asked if they encouraged their students to become involved with CPPL-listed arts, to train up as *jeonsuja*.

Saeji: Do you presently think that it is good for the *Yeonhi* Department students to have a position with a preservation association?

Kim:²⁰⁸ No. That's not what the students want, but it's what the preservation associations want! Because the students are good. Me, I just try to stay out of it. It is win-win if they go and study there, but I don't want to be involved. After students graduate, confidently making a choice is best. Because I'm the chair of the department if I say "good" or "bad" then maybe I also have to say something about what is needed, what the current circumstances are. I am too well aware of how many problems there are with various preservation associations. That's a problem for this era. But of course they can learn something through a position with a preservation association.

Choi:²⁰⁹ I don't think it's bad. None of the teachers here think that the students should only learn from one person, like it is here. If they go to a preservation association and learn, then they can learn each role from the person who is best at that role.

Both of the professors' opinions indicated the understanding that people can learn from working with the preservation associations, the *bojonhoi*, but neither indicated a strong desire to support the traditional arts through inserting well-trained college graduates in their twenties into the system. At K-Arts the understanding that there are other ways to be involved with performance is clear. Transmission of cultural knowledge, embodiment of the arts, shows cultural values whether in or out of the CPPL system.

Mask Dance Drama Education at K-Arts

To learn how the mask dances were taught at K-Arts I contacted the instructor (and manager of the *bojonhoi*) for Goseong Ogwangdae and asked if I could observe class. *Isuja* Hwang Jong'uk

²⁰⁸ Interview conducted in Kim Duksoo's office at K-Arts on 08/01/2011.

²⁰⁹ From an interview conducted with Choi Changju, professor at K-Arts, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* for Bongsan Talchum, in his office 04/11/11.

assured me that I could observe, explaining that he would be unable to attend the next class, which would be taught instead by Heo Changyeol. Everything was settled for me to meet Changyeol at the nearest subway station on Monday. From him I learned that Goseong Ogwangdae is taught to second and fourth year students. In the first semester of their second year the students learn the basic motions of the drama, a routine that takes around five minutes from start to finish. The basic motion set was constructed based on motions from all the principal characters, and is most similar to the dance of the *yangban*, upper class literati gentlemen, who appear in the second act of the drama. In the second semester the students learn the individual dances of *Won Yangban*, the leader of the *yangban*, and *Malddugi*, the clever servant who makes fun of the *yangban*. In their fourth year the students are required to review each of the three mask dance dramas taught at the school for 10 weeks each, a time frame that does not quite correspond to the academic calendar.

During the break I asked the students about their interests and their future goals. The two fourth-year students in the first class I observed were preparing for graduation; one young man was already a *jeonsuja* performer with Pyeongtaek Nongak, a type of *pungmul* music, and he had also worked with *Yangju Byeolsandae* and hoped to return to that group and become a *jeonsuja* with them as well. After graduation he intended to continue working with Pyeongtaek Nongak, one of the groups that performs most frequently. The only other student in the class that day, a beautiful woman focusing on the *janggu* drum, intended to teach *pungmul* and perform with a group of ten young women, five from K-Arts, who had already been performing together for over a year and had established a degree of recognition. I was impressed that although both students were majoring in *pungmul* their mask dance motions were quite competent.

After lunch with Changyeol, I watched him teach the second year students. Changyeol and I chatted while he took a quick rest after the initial twenty minutes of class. He explained that the key to success at K-Arts is passion about not only their own performance major but also the complementary studies of other folk arts. He also emphasized how useful it would be for the students to internalize the motions from Goseong Ogwangdae, as these are the types of motions that good *pungmul* players are making at the same time as they are playing. He demonstrated how the arm motions with drum sticks in the hands and a *jangu* strapped to the body look if they move as in Goseong Ogwangdae, or how much better *sogo* dance is if the dancer can move with the accents of Goseong Ogwangdae. He admitted, however, that some drummers only want to drum and that mask dance drama majors do not like studying all the other mask dance dramas, they just want to study and practice their own drama, at least at first.

Later that day I met Wonjung at Bongsan Talchum class and told him I had learned he would study Goseong Ogwangdae and Yangju Byeolsandae during his second and third years at K-Arts, and his immediate response was that he did not want to. I was disappointed by his attitude, partly because it would seem that students entering K-Arts would be extremely open to the required holistic performing arts education. Initially Kim Duksoo's vision of holistic education is hard for students who have spent years in specialized study culminating in admission to K-Arts. Yet in early 2012, I emailed Wonjung to check on his progress, and in his email he stated that it took some time to "become accustomed" to the style of education at K-Arts, but that he had "made a good decision" to enter the school.²¹⁰

On another occasion I visited K-Arts to observe the Bongsan Talchum classes taught by

²¹⁰ Personal email communication received 1/5/12.

professor (and *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*) Choi Changju. Choi's classes were different from Changyeol's class, partially because Choi had the added benefit of Kim Mi-ae (an *isuja* for Bongsan Talchum) drumming for the morning class he taught to the freshmen. During the first hour of class Kim Mi-ae also led the students in the *seodo sori* (songs from western Korea) that are part of Act Three (*sadang chum*) in Bongsan Talchum. After the singing rehearsal was finished, the students practiced the mask dance drama. Because I observed class six weeks before a student performance of the drama, they were not just rehearsing basic motions together, but actually proceeding through each scene. When there was a solo part, such as the solos of the eight dark-faced monks, the other students danced behind one student who was officially performing the solo, and only that one student spoke the monologue at the beginning of the dance. During other scenes, only the number of students needed to perform each role practiced the motions. Unlike in other learning environments, Choi's students did not focus on the star characters, and practice the dances of those characters independently of the scene in which they appear.

Image 5.5: Choi Changju and Kim Mi'ae at K-Arts



Choi's students had begun to practice the drama during the winter break. The K-Arts program includes study during both winter and summer vacation (in Korea both of these vacations are about 7 weeks long). Students have an intensive focused course with teachers followed by a break. Then, before regular classes resume, they reconvene to continue practicing (with periodic supervision). They continue to practice after the semester starts, and during the middle of the following semester the students present a performance of the subject they first studied during the break. In order to understand K-Arts' transmission methods and to deepen my understanding of Goseong Ogwangdae I participated in the students' winter training in this art.

b. K-Arts Students Learn the Entire Goseong Ogwangdae Mask Dance Drama

K-Arts' *Yeonhi* or traditional drama department includes majors in *Pungmul*, mask dance drama, shamanic ceremony and *Namsadang*. Every year at the start of the school year the department gives a large presentation based on one of the majors; for 2011 the department had chosen to feature mask dance dramas. Although there are also classes in other mask dance dramas, the three dramas that every student in the department is required to study are Bongsan Talchum, Goseong Ogwangdae and Yangju Byeolsandae. All students, including the entering students who had yet to attend a single class, were divided into three teams to receive intensive training from January 16th to January 30th, rehearse and then present a performance in May 2011.²¹¹ Students chose which drama to study based on interest and professor input, but when the size of the groups was significantly uneven, the department stepped in and re-assigned some students.

After I met Changyeol in November, we had stayed in touch. The two of us had discussed my desire to return to Goseong for a winter intensive. He let me know that the K-Arts students would be going for two weeks and facilitated my joining their group. The Korean National University of the Arts had chosen to rent a bus to take the students down to Goseong since, unlike the students in college clubs who make up most of the students training in Goseong, K-Arts students were being required by their university to go to the class. The university wanted to avoid putting financial stress on the students. The students who would perform Yangju Byeolsandae and Bongsan Talchum received their training on the K-Arts campus in northern Seoul and went home (or to their dormitory) at night, experiencing nothing different from their

²¹¹ The three dramas were presented May 5th, May 7th and May 8th although these dates were not set until April and the initial estimate had been for performances in early April.

normal financial burden.²¹² To offset any extra expense on the part of the Goseong Ogwangdae team the K-Arts Department of Traditional Folk Theatre arranged a bus for travel in both directions and even sent the students a contribution towards the cost of their food.

On my freezing cold 41st birthday (Korean age)²¹³ I arrived at the bus parked on their campus just two minutes before it was scheduled to leave. After we had started moving, I began talking with two of the young men who were sitting farthest forward on the bus. They turned out to be Taehwan, the official leader of the team who would perform Goseong Ogwangdae, and Jaeyun, the newly elected student president of the Korean Folk Theatre Department. At first I was nervous that they would find me an interloper, but we chatted about their backgrounds and as I demonstrated knowledge related to traditional performing arts (and the ability to speak Korean) they relaxed and made me feel welcome. Unlike during my previous training camp in Goseong, we were staying in a small suite above the Goseong Mask Dance Museum, a three-minute walk from the Goseong Ogwangdae transmission center. We cooked, ate, cleaned, slept, dealt with finicky heating (the floor roasting us one night, no heat at all the next), had near-nightly *duipuli* parties and even held additional rehearsals in our three room suite. Almost without exception, if we were not in the transmission center we were in our rooms.

²¹²K-Arts students have intensives during each vacation; unlike most college students in Korea, they plan to be in class for at least part of each vacation.

²¹³ As is well known, Koreans count age starting from one at birth. It was my fortieth birthday.

Image 5.6: Instructors and K-Arts Students in Goseong



During both weeks of training the schedule was the same. Sunday night we met the other participants in the training camp. Before meeting them, Taehwan earnestly addressed the K-Arts team, explaining that in the past their school had come across as being elitist or unfriendly when attending trainings together with students from clubs (not students majoring in the arts). He asked everyone to make an effort to be friendly, yet it was clear from the way he couched this argument and from how the students responded that they felt that the K-Arts students were professional while the others were *just* participating in clubs. The other students were in fact nervous around the K-Arts students. In the large group introductions, where first the leader of each group and then each student introduced themselves, the K-Arts students missed the opportunity to say that they majored in *pungmul* drumming (in all cases save one) and did not necessarily have any special skill in mask dance. Even entering first-years Heesu, Gaeun and Inseon came across as being in some way more serious about Goseong Ogwangdae.

Image 5.7 Students Practicing



(Top left) Yunman, (top right) Manhee and Jeong'u, (bottom left) Jaeman playing the *taepyeongso*, (bottom right) Junyeong, Heesu and Taehwan.

The students did in fact have a reason to feel more pressure, particularly since their future as performing artists depends on their acquisition of a large number of first-rate skills and leaving a favorable impression of their skills with upperclassmen, graduate students, professors and lecturers. In short, anyone in Korea's inter-connected art world might be able to recommend them for an opportunity in the future. However, as was quickly revealed the first Monday morning, the K-Arts students were not any better at mask dancing than any of the other students, and were worse than many. The club students had, in most cases, memorized the basic motion set to the degree that they could follow along with an upperclassman who had the motions down pat. The K-Arts students, on the other hand, had not memorized the motion set. At the end of the spring term in 2010 the then-sophomores had had it memorized, including Jeong'un, Haemi and Gyeongjin, but time had passed. The first run-through in particular was quite embarrassing. By the end of the week the K-Arts students were as fluent as most of the club students in the motions, partially because of their background and partially because they trained harder, but they never appeared to be having as much fun as the club students. The K-Arts students took the process of training in Goseong Ogwangdae very seriously and in addition to physical training they engaged in deep conversations with the instructors. At the end of the second week their motions were excellent, head and shoulders above all but the very best club students.

Intermission: Yi Haemi

January 24th, 2011. I had known Korean National University of the Arts (K-Arts) student Yi Haemi for less than two weeks, but during that time we had cooked, eaten, cleaned, slept, drunk *makgeolli* and practiced Goseong Ogwangdae until every ounce of our energy was gone. Haemi had the slit thin eyes and short-cropped haircut of the hugely successful Brown Eyed Girls' Ga-in, and she was every inch the artist—she even formed her letters sideways. Haemi is a *janggu* player and a *pungmul* major at K-Arts.

About Yi Haemi

- Saeji:** How did you choose your major?
- Yi:** My mother's oldest sister "did" *gugak*. She sang *minyo* as the top student of a prominent *minyo* teacher, and taught in a big *gugak hagwon* (studio) in Incheon. They didn't just teach *minyo* there, but also *janggu*, dance, *gayageum*, *daegeum*, and so on, it was that sort of really big hagwon. So my older cousins and I, we all did *gugak* naturally from when we were very young. When my mom saw that everyone in our family was doing *gugak* she avoided her responsibility and ordered me to do figure-skating. But even though I was very young that was not okay with me, more even than singing, my head had been invaded by the beat of the *janggu*. I was so interested that during vacations I'd just live at my aunt's house, move all my things there, I started doing that when I was in kindergarten, and from the summer of second grade of elementary school I became a regular hagwon student.
- Saeji:** Yet you didn't major in *gugak* or singing, but rather *pungmul*, why?
- Yi:** I learned *minyo* first as I explained, starting with *Gyeonggi minyo* [Gyeonggi region style of singing *minyo*]. I performed and participated in contests, but at the same time I was learning *janggu* in the hagwon as well. I found it really interesting, and I felt *shinmyeong* [an ecstatic emotional high generated in performance]. Also most people who sing *Gyeonggi minyo* have a high clear vocal quality, but my father is from Jeolla Province, and my voice is more appropriate for Jeolla Province style *minyo*.²¹⁴ The mismatch with my voice made it so that singing was less interesting to me than *samulnori*. I've always liked using my body and being active—I didn't just want to play *janggu*, I wanted to learn other instruments, too but my teacher told me to concentrate on *janggu*. That's how I came to be majoring in *pungmul* as a *janggu* player.
- Saeji:** How did you choose to come to K-Arts?
- Yi:** Since I was very young I've known that it was K-Arts or nothing for me. So I didn't even file the paperwork to take the college entrance exam in November, I knew that if I failed the audition to K-Arts I'd just have to apply to K-Arts again. My older cousins-- everyone went to K-Arts, my whole family doesn't even really consider another school. Although both K-Arts and Joongang University have a *yeonhi* major, I wanted to be able to learn under someone as influential as Kim Duksoo. I also thought that through the studies at K-Arts of shamanic music, and the songs of shamans that I would benefit a lot. When I was young, when my cousins came to K-Arts, when there was the new student performance, I came to watch it and it really impressed me. Afterwards at the *duipuli* [cast party] I had to introduce myself. I had already done the math. So I said "I'm Yi Haemi of [entering class of] '09." Of course that was at the 2002 new student performance. That year I also came to watch "Eternal Love of Chunhyang" at K-Arts. At that *changgeuk*-style *yeonhi* I was impressed by the high quality of the performance and it made me want to come to K-Arts even more. So I've been planning my

²¹⁴ Generally called *namdo minyo* or the southern style of singing.

entry to K-Arts for at least that long.

Saeji: Have you become a *jeonsuja* of any registered art?

Yi: No, my dream is a little different. I want to become a performance organizer. I've had this dream since high school, my teachers and my family all know it. I wondered if I should major in promotion or if studying *yeonhi* was the best idea, finally I decided that to do the best job at promoting *gugak* I needed to have a lot of knowledge about staging performance. I entered the *yeonhi* program and I've learned a lot of different things. Because I went to an arts high school I have a lot of various performer friends, our plan is for me to organize performances and for those friends to take the stage.

Saeji: How often do you perform?

Yi: Big performances, just at school. But I often do small performances to make some money—like performances at traditional weddings, after the ceremony to do a congratulatory song or if there is enough time, to do *pan'gut*. I often do *jishin balpgi* type *gilnori* at festivals and other events. There is a little theatre called Ggumteul near Hongik University, and sometimes we can even do solo shows there—my friends in *hanbok* singing *pansori* and we play fusion music... things like that.

Saeji: Do you get paid for all of this?

Yi: Yes. I don't get these opportunities through school, so I can make money from them. Usually you get paid by direct deposit a week or so after a show.

About K-Arts

Saeji: What are the strong points of K-Arts?

Yi: I know that many schools have their own strong points and their impressive professors, but I really think that our school has the premier professor in each subject. Also if you compare with other schools, we don't admit many students to you almost learn one on one with the professors. Becoming close to the professors you can talk with them about music and spend a good time. Through learning and preparing and performing in shows I can also see the improvement in my skills. Since I learn with premier experts of each art, for example, *udo nongak*, after I've graduated even though it's not my specialty, I can teach it to people, perform it, extract its highlights to use it in new pieces... that's really great.

Saeji: After coming to K-Arts what have you learned that really stands out?

Yi: During my first winter vacation intensive we created a traditional play, "Gochu Malrigi." That was really new for me, since I'm a drummer. And I've learned so many things, not just *pungmul* or *samulnori* but also *udo nongak*, *donghae'an byeolshin'gut*, Bongsan Talchum... and for the first time ever I had a native English speaker to teach me English conversation.

Saeji: What is it like to have famous teachers like Kim Duksoo?

Yi: Professor Kim Duksoo was my professor first year and he will teach me in my third and fourth year. Last year [2010] when I was a second year I didn't have his class. He is so passionate and energetic. When I first had his class the room was packed but he played *jangu* for us and put the *sangmo* on and did it himself. I

could feel what an exceptional person he is.

Image 5.8: Yi Haemi



(Top left) Haemi and Junyeong, (bottom left) Haemi plays the *janggu*.

About Learning Goseong Ogwangdae Mask Dance Drama

Saeji: What do you think of this intensive camp at Goseong Ogwangdae?

Yi: This practice is really interesting—not like coming here and learning on my own, but with my classmates and upperclassmen and the new students—laughing at the difficulty we are all having fun learning. It's really different to be together for 24 hours a day, not the same as having an intensive on campus [and going home at night]. It's hard, but it's fun at the same time.

Saeji: What is the most difficult?

Yi: Waking up in the morning is the hardest because we're staying up so late every night drinking. And of course I think it's hard to use the body like this.

Saeji: How is this different than when you learned Goseong Ogwangdae at K-Arts?

Yi: Here we can learn from everyone—a different person for each role. At school

when we learned we just had Mr. Hwang Jong'uk and Mr. Heo Changyeol, the two of them. I came here last summer, too, and I really think learning this way is great.

Saeji: What individual role did you learn?

Yi: Last week I learned Malddugi [the servant], last summer I learned Mundungi [the leper]. Mr. Jeon Gwangyeol and helping him Mr. Ahn Daecheon taught us.

Saeji: Do they teach in an interesting way?

Yi: Yes, actually no. More than teaching it interestingly they teach in a way that breaks down one move by one move. If I don't understand from Mr. Jeon Gwangyeol then I can ask Mr. Ahn Daecheon and Mr. Jeon Gwangyeol will explain things I didn't understand when Mr. Ahn Daecheon was teaching—like that. Even though they had some doubt that a woman could perform such an energetic dance, they really concentrated on teaching me. In that way it's been very interesting. But in the midst of learning I had to switch to concentrate on learning the part of the concubine in Act Five, so this week I will keep learning Malddugi.

Saeji: Do Mr. Jeon Gwangyeol and Mr. Ahn Daecheon teach differently?

Yi: Yes, it's quite different. Just like the director [Yi Yunseok] and Mr. Kim Dongsu teach the beginning motions differently. The director explains the feeling and teaches us, but then if we didn't get it, Mr. Kim Dongsu sees that the feeling isn't living in our dance and teaches us one motion at a time. Like that Mr. Jeon Gwangyeol explains what sort of feeling needs to come alive, and Mr. Ahn Daecheon helps us find the feeling and memorize the order through going slowly one by one. Also because he's younger it's easier to ask him some questions.

Saeji: What do you expect to be your clearest memory of this intensive?

Yi: Of course the Saturday performances are great, but on Sunday on our day off when we went with the teachers to play pool and went to the wharf—eating instant noodles on the cold, windy wharf—and the drive. Not every day, but when the teachers come with some drinks they bought to share with us and talk about music. Actually I think every day there is some special memory. I'm a *janggu* player, but at Goseong, compared to learning Bongsan Talchum or Yangju Byeolsandae I just really enjoy the dance, the dance moves just feel so natural to me. I learned Bongsan Talchum when I was a first year, and I'm not a mask dancer—I didn't think mask dance was that exciting—but when we had Goseong Ogwangdae class [at K-Arts] I was not absent even once. That's when I felt how fun mask dance could be.

Saeji: Did your opinion of Goseong Ogwangdae change after you came here yourself?

Yi: I felt that it was even more exciting. Also I feel like our team will do better than the other two teams and I get a great chance to develop good relationships with this team. The dance was already really great, but the more I know the more enjoyable it is.

Training Process

On the first two days of the camp the students learned the basic motions of Goseong Ogwangdae from Yi Yunseok, the National Human Treasure of the group, and then the basic motions were reviewed by Kim Dongsu and Heo Changyeol. In my field notes for the Monday of the first week, January 17th, I wrote:

Everyone followed along while Yi Yunseok explained (a lot) and had us follow his motions (a little). Yi's very amusing, although I admit I used to be a bit afraid of him because he unexpectedly punctuates his speech by suddenly increasing his volume many times over. Throughout the day he had three primary things that he kept yelling and making us repeat: (1) *be-gi*, which could be interpreted as getting rid of ghosts or malevolent spirits, but he explained that in the modern world it refers to any sort of thing you need to get rid of, not just ghosts. (2) *eushigae*, a sort of up and down shrugging type motion with the shoulders, a motion which is essential to proper performance of Goseong Ogwangdae. (3) *baegimsae*, the name of one type of motion that occurs in the mask dance several different times where you slap your hands onto your knees, and then bring the right arm to the left shoulder. It is a very distinctive motion from the mask dance drama. He also emphasized a lot of other random things through volume of speech and both students and the younger *isuja* admitted they often cannot understand him. If one looks past the volume, however, it's obvious that he's a sweetheart and just quite unusual in his manner of speech.

After two days of learning the basic motions the students were divided according to which of the five starring roles they would learn.

In Goseong Ogwangdae the starring roles are those of the leper Mundung, the *yangban* leader Won Yangban, the clever servant Malddugi, the old monk, and the old wife Keun Eomi. For the first week the students were left to decide who would learn which part on their own. Hwang Jong'uk, Heo Changyeol and Ahn Daecheon, the three people associated with K-Arts and the upcoming production, exerted no pressure on the students. For the second week, however, the three instructors came up with a list for the performance in May with their first choice and an alternate or two for each part. Generally the instructors judged that the upperclassmen should be

given more opportunities. After they explained their rationale to the students, they asked the students to make the final determination. The first week I studied the part of the monk next to Gyeongjin and Ga'eun. The second week I learned the part of Malddugi with Min'gi and Haemi. It was decided that Min'gi would have the role. The first week Jaeyun performed Mundung, but ultimately the part was given to Taehwan and Jaeyun was given the job of playing the lead *ggwaenggwari* gong to accompany the performance. Only he and Haemi, on *janggu*, would be permanent accompanists, the other musicians would appear and disappear as the needs of the acts were met. Although the first week diminutive Giyeong performed Won Yangban, the second week the part was taken by Jeong'u and he was chosen as the performer for the show. The final key role, that of the old wife, was granted to Inseon for the first week but everyone agreed that Junyeong had to learn it the second week and he was given the part for the performance as well.

When the students learned the key parts they separated into five groups, each with one or two of the Goseong Ogwangdae performers to teach them the role. On Wednesday and Thursday of both weeks all the students practiced the starring roles. Friday was spent on stage blocking (how to enter, what part of the stage to occupy, how to interact with the others), together with teaching the lesser parts. Due to the complexity of the final act, that act began practice as a unit on Thursday, under the direction of Yi Jaehun, who devoted himself completely to teaching the youngsters. Stage blocking included a substantial amount of teaching the other roles for four of the acts. Since the first act has only Mundung on stage, learning the dance was already enough to teach the stage blocking. Act Three, for example, was taught entirely in these run-throughs as the act had no dance component, merely two characters running around the stage interacting with each other and exchanging dialogue. The students were taught that the mystical creature Bibi

would run for the *yangban* three times; the first two attacks would bewilder the *yangban*, but he would not notice the fearsome creature. The third time he spots Bibi and shows fear by shaking his fan and using his cane to ward off Bibi. How to deliver the dialectical Korean dialogue (containing words the students were unfamiliar with) was also taught during the run through. A certain part of the day dealt just with how to bring characters on and off the stage.

Image 5.9: Instruction



(l-r) Heo Changyeol and Ha Hyeon'gap demonstrate dance moves to the students.



Yi Jaehun explaining Act Five to the students who would perform that act.



Jeon Gwan-yeol explaining the stage blocking in Act Two.

By the time the second week rolled around, the K-Arts students were being given much

less slack than the club members and being pushed much harder. I took notes as Heo Changyeol led the K-Arts students through a practice. "Stop being so soft and floaty! This is a man's dance. Use your shoulders," he instructs, then exaggerates the more male and assertive motions he wants to see. Each of Changyeol's motions as he demonstrates is exceedingly precise. "Don't do the motion roughly somewhere around here (gestures) do it exactly like this (demonstrates)." He uses a confident, strong and slightly projecting voice to teach, but it is also kind and respectful. Jeong'un asks a question, and he answers calmly and authoritatively. "Extend your arms on the diagonal completely. See here how the hand rotates? This motion has to be accented right here. This is big and strong." He punctuates his instructions by calling out the beat. When he slaps his knee for one motion it seems so hard it'll leave a bruise. "Make sure you flow this motion into the next motion." He stops working in the circle and instructs all the students to line up behind him and face the mirror. "The *mat* [flavor] will come out if you do it like this [demonstrates]." The students clap, thanking him for his teaching. "Find the feeling," he explains, "no matter if you're doing this or playing *ggwaenggwari*. All the way to the end of your fingers, you need to be dancing with all of it." He counts to show the accent for the students as they continue. "Straighten your back. Look in the mirror." Then he laughs and grins at someone who I presume is doing what he wants and he gets a big grin in return. "With strength! Use your shoulders! Straighten! That's what I taught you! To the end of your arms! That's it."

After they finish he flops down next to me on the plastic covered sofa in the corner of the room next to the mirror. Asking him about his tougher teaching of the K-Arts students he tells me, "This is stuff they need to hear, because they're professionals. I wouldn't give this detailed critique for club students." Another time when I ask him if any of them have found the *mat*, the

flavor, of Goseong Ogwangdae he tells me not yet. His answer did not change by the end of the two-week training no matter how many hours the students practiced.

Image 5.10: Learning the Part of Malddugi



Ahn Daecheon leads students in the dance of Malddugi on a quay five miles from the transmission center.



Min'gi, Haemi and Ahn Daecheon take a cell phone photo together.



Daecheon took the students to the traditional market where we shared snacks such as *sundae*.

Getting to Know Each Other

Despite the enormous amounts of hours dedicated to their training, the students didn't spend all their waking moments on rehearsal. Almost every night, there was a *duipuli* drinking party. The parties were at times almost unbelievable. One evening there was a drinking game involving mixed teams of the K-Arts and club students, the losing teams had to drink quarts of *makgeolli*.²¹⁵ On other days the K-Arts students stay apart from the club students and those uninterested in alcohol were welcome to drink water, juice or soda instead. Many of the *duipuli* contained little arts-specific conversation, but several times the instructors joined in and conversation became more serious. For example, on January 20th, Hwang Jong'uk, Kim Seongbeom, Ahn Daecheon and Heo Changyeol all imparted their advice, wisdom and thoughts to the students, some of whom also had to give answering extended toasts. Among the themes they discussed was the fact that this group of students had chosen to come to Goseong.

²¹⁵ *Makgeolli* is roughly equivalent to beer in alcohol content. I know how big a quart is, four quarts in a gallon—and they had to upend it.

Hwang: You could have been in the teams studying Yangju Byeolsandae or Bongsan Talchum on campus, instead you're here. This requires more effort, longer hours, living together, cooking, loss of freedom, etc. But there are advantages—among which is the understanding of Goseong Ogwangdae that you could get if you actually were in Goseong being much greater than if you just learned on campus from us. Here you can feel the environment, meet all or many of the performers, and get a more holistic understanding of the mask dance drama through getting to know the local area.

After serious discussion ended the group devoted several minutes to discussing what the students could do on the weekend to get even more of a feeling for Goseong. Eventually that weekend they had a barbeque and drove to the shore where they shared cup ramen noodles next to fishing boats floating on the black night sea. Another theme of the conversation was their future as performing artists and attracting an audience – this started when I was asked to contribute my advice (to cultivate the other students in the class as future audience members), but Hwang and the others had a lot to say about it, too. We talked about how the club members were their future audience; that they needed to reach out to these people who were already interested in the arts and get them to come to their shows. Trying to remember more of what was said as I was typing up my account I asked Minji and Ga'eun. Ga'eun, who was having trouble memorizing the difficult monk's solo explained, "There is nothing in here right now except," gesturing to different places on her head, "monk's dance, monk's dance, monk's dance, monk's dance."

Image 5.11: Life at the Transmission Center



Students also played games, slept and rested and took turns cooking—here Jeong'u dishes up rice.



Training after Returning to Seoul

After the training period in Goseong, the students dispersed for the Lunar New Year holiday.

Two weeks later they began to rehearse for the performance of Goseong Ogwangdae in Seoul on the campus of K-Arts. After the new school year began in March, they established a rehearsal schedule of three evenings per week. During the day they were involved in their regular course load.

During February the students had two weeks of holiday—those who lived in southern Korea had gone straight home from Goseong. At the end of the month they began practicing, but

it was not until March (when the new school year began) that rehearsal became regular again. In March they met three evenings per week for a two- to three-hour rehearsal. I attended rehearsal twice, on March 16th and the 23rd. On the 16th both Heo Changyeol and Ahn Daecheon also attended, giving the students feedback on their rehearsal. Daecheon, older than Changyeol by a year, ran the rehearsal, which proceeded from basic motions through the acts in order. In contrast to the training in Goseong, the students seemed to lack energy and passion for the rehearsal process. Daecheon called them to task for seeming as though they were just going through the motions—for example he pointed out that when Malddugi brandished his whip the body language of the other players was unconcerned instead of worried. Their stage blocking, or even awareness of the extent of the stage, was also criticized. Certain students seemed to have some difficulty remembering their lines and dance solos and I wondered if they had actually been rehearsing as often as they claimed. Act Two and Act Five, both of which required a large number of performers on the stage at once, were most heavily criticized. At the end of the night Daecheon, after excusing the others, kept the Act Five crew rehearsing for another hour. Throughout the evening Daecheon's directions were primarily verbal, but Daecheon focused on Act Five, Changyeol gave directions to students from other acts through physical demonstration and discussion.

Image 5.12: Rehearsal at K-Arts



Act Four: Minji and Gyeongjin rehearse.



Act Three: Heesu (Bibi) attacking Manhee (*Yangban*).



Act Five: Jeong'un as the concubine, Junyeong and Yunman as the old married couple.

Act Five: Taehwan, the servant, pulls the blind healer (Jeong'u) onto the stage.



On March 23rd when I returned to observe their rehearsal again, the students were rehearsing independently, and there was tape on the floor (visible in the bottom two photos above). It will surprise no one familiar with Korean traditional culture that on the first visit the students gave each other very little critique. They did not object to the criticisms from Daecheon and Changyeol, but accepted them calmly, occasionally asking a follow up question for clarification. No direction was contradicted, nor did Changyeol say anything contradictory to Daecheon's assessment. On the second visit the oldest members of the class, all male, Taehwan, Jaeyun and Junyeong, gave out almost all the directions and criticism, with a small amount of additional criticism from the men just a year or two younger. Only in one instance, when Manhee (a 3rd year student) was criticized, was there a hint of backtalk: Manhee clarified that he'd received contradictory directions from Daecheon and from Changyeol and he was searching for a middle ground. The students had improved in the specific areas they were criticized for the previous week, but there was still need for many rehearsals before the performance.

Performance

Finally the performances were held in May; I watched Bongsan Talchum to support Wonjung and of course the Goseong Ogwangdae performance. Bongsan Talchum and Yangju Byeolsandae are both longer and more complex, taking three hours or more to perform. This differs significantly from the full-length performance of Goseong Ogwangdae, which does not last over an hour and a half. The Goseong Ogwangdae team used a *pungmul* opening act, which included several *Namsadang* students demonstrating juggling and tumbling and a drawn-out

final bow, to stretch the show to three hours. At the end the students were glad to have gone through the entire learning process, but they did not have show particularly celebratory attitude; instead, their mood was subdued. At a restaurant with Yi Yunseok, Yi Jaehun, Hwang Jong'uk, several of the younger Goseong Ogwangdae *isuja* and all the students, many were happy to hear compliments on their performance, yet they were professional enough to know that the learning process had just begun.

Image 5.13: Goseong Ogwangdae Team in Performance



(Left) Extended introduction, Jeong'un dancing.



(R) Act 2: Won Yangban and Doryeong.



Act 2: Won Yangban and Malddugi face off.



Act 2: Won Yangban surrounded by the other yangban.



Act 5: The concubine wants to get her baby back from the old wife.



Act 5: At the end of the scene after the concubine has killed the old wife (for dropping and killing her baby), there is a grand funeral procession.

I was personally very satisfied with their performance; at moments I felt the *mat* (flavor) showing through, at least in the case of certain students. By the end of the show I had been yelling with excitement and jumping around in my seat. As I watched my chest swelled with pride and I leaped up afterwards to hand everyone bouquets of flowers. I felt that the students had done an excellent job and I was encouraged that they held the future of Korean performing arts in their capable hands, but this was particularly in comparison with the disappointing Bongsan Talchum performance I had seen three days before. I had told Yun Wonjung, who had performed the key role of Chuibali despite being a freshman, that he had been one of the only high points in the show. In an email Wonjung sent me on July 25th he explained his viewpoint.

Yun:²¹⁶ To tell the truth when I saw you five minutes before the show began I felt that energy of a mask dance performance and it seemed everyone was feeling it and getting excited, but our performance lacked the *mat* [flavor]. At this school all the students study together in every class, some are excited about mask dance drama and some are not—but if you don't try to learn as hard as the professors try to teach you, and prepare even harder for a performance, you won't succeed.

Notice in Wonjung's statement his humility—he did not congratulate himself and his team and consider the learning process "completed." As someone with professional intentions he was not willing to accept that the performance had come off well. He positioned himself clearly as someone who saw the value in team unity and the professor's teachings, implying that the failing was the responsibility of the students, particularly due to differential degrees of commitment. Clearly this bothered him, but he was the only student on his team majoring in mask dance drama, specifically in the drama they were performing: Bongsan Talchum. Furthermore as a

²¹⁶ From private email correspondence, Wonjung's answer was received on 7/25/11.

freshman he would not have been able to scold or direct the other students.²¹⁷ What I read in his statement is a clear desire to keep working to improve, and nothing could be more beneficial to the future of the performing arts.

c. The Significance of K-Arts

K-Arts' unique model is still an experiment, and it is not above criticism. As can be deduced from Wonjung's statement above, not all the students seem equally committed to their studies. Yes, it *is* difficult to enter K-Arts; but some may enter the school with more passion for their art than for the K-Arts system of education. My observation based on attending the two-week camp with the students and keeping in touch both in person and on the Internet is that the students were passionately devoted themselves to their studies. By contrast, Korean college students at other universities, particularly in their first two years, are notorious for being primarily occupied with recovering from the high-stress pressure-cooker of Korean high school.²¹⁸

At some point in their training at K-Arts the students either decide to leave the program or become more committed. As can be seen in the table 5.00, below, K-Arts alumni are often still involved in the arts on a part or full-time basis. Many are considered successful artists, and few abandon the arts. Even while attending K-Arts they are already beginning robust performing careers. In the Western music conservatory model, Henry Kingsbury states that:

It is only a small minority of conservatory alumni who will be able to go on to a financially life-supporting career in music. In light of this, the paid performing

²¹⁷ As explained in the introduction, age is extremely important in Korean social relations. When Wonjung is a senior or even a junior he will be able to express his opinions freely. As a freshman he cannot reprimand upperclassmen for not being serious enough about the performance.

²¹⁸ I say this from the perspective of someone who taught university ESL classes in Korea for four and a half years.

done by conservatory students might be better understood in economic terms as comparable with a summer job rather than as "professional" work (1988: 19).

This does not match the Korean case, at least not in the case of the K-Arts students. Here, students don't just adopt the "self-image as professional musicians," (Kingsbury 1988:19) they actually do transition into full-time professional performers by the time they graduate. One reason for their success is the way that K-Arts connects students to other performers and performing arts companies. Professor Kim Duksoo is motivated to further bolster the success of the students through utilizing as many as possible in his own extensive teaching and performing activities. All the professors, as well-respected performers, can access extensive networks to assist their students. Students in conservatory programs in the West are often billed, even on recital programs as "student of so-and-so;" likewise in Korea students who have a close relationship with a particular teacher tend to bill themselves as students of that particular teacher. Obtaining permission to call oneself the student of a particularly well-respected teacher is a milestone for some performers. Attending K-Arts can open the door to this relationship for these students.

I collected data on the success of K-Arts graduates, as shown in Appendix 5.2 at the end of this chapter. I was able to collect data on 72 graduates, the entire graduating classes of 2002 (the first year a student graduated) to 2007, and the class of 2011. Unfortunately the *Yeonhi* Department has not collected data on 2008-2010. The department does not keep close tabs on their graduates, and 33% of their graduates are either not engaged in the traditional arts or are unable to contact; however, this leaves 64% (46 graduates) who are fully engaged with traditional performing arts at present. Between the K-Arts data and the update I received through the assistance of K-Arts MA student Yu Sejeong, I discovered that it was primarily women who

had been employed in the traditional arts and later quit—surely parenthood (Koreans prefer for the wife to stay home in a child's early years if financially possible) has much to do with this.

4. Conclusion

The K-Arts students I lived and trained with surprised me in their sweetness. Although I am accustomed to Korean social interaction and manners, I found the K-Arts students to be exceptionally balanced, happy and respectful. They also seemed less stressed than the other Korean college students I spent years teaching. Western dancers that Clyde Smith (2001) interviewed emphasized the difficulty of life in the conservatory, a place in which they were exposed to verbal abuse from faculty members and an intense training schedule followed by a life of touring that is physically exhausting and emotionally draining. This seemed very different from the K-Arts experience.

Entering K-Arts is difficult; the professors work hard to accept only the most committed students, but there is tension within the program between Kim Duksoo's vision of a holistic education where all students are able to cooperate in various types of performance, and the desire of some students to focus on the genre or instrument they prefer. Once the students have entered the program, the training process is rigorous. Not only are they expected to attend classes and rehearsals throughout the school year, but they must attend intense trainings during the normal summer and winter holiday. These intense trainings are usually confined to the K-Arts campus, but sometimes leave the campus, as the Goseong Ogwangdae team did. Off campus the learning process is, if anything, more intense, as the students drive themselves to show professionalism and exceptional ability for not just their own professor, but multiple instructors and other learners. However resistant they may have been originally to the idea of holistic education, by

the time they graduate the students have been trained in this manner and are considerably more marketable. Each student has different dreams—although some are interested in working within the CPPL system (and maybe *jeonsuja* or even *isuja* while at K-Arts), others are more interested in creating new works, organizing performance, or arts education.

The study of dance and mastery of skills—"musicality, acting ability, stage presence, and charisma"—gives dancers artistic capital (Wainwright and Turner 2004: 315, see also Koanantakool 2006). What will they do with those skills? They can follow the model of being involved with CPPL-listed arts, and also working outside the CPPL on creative projects—as can be seen in Appendix 5.2 there are few who seem to take this road, with only 14 graduates out of 72 exploring this route. They can abandon their education. Or they can branch out entirely in new ways, forming or joining a performing arts company that creates new works using traditional vocabulary.

It is this last option—involvement with new groups creating new variations on tradition—that is the most fascinating aspect of K-Arts. It also may demonstrate the most viable future path for Korean traditional performing arts. Ethnomusicologist Nathan Hesselink, in light of the success of *Samulnori* as a group and as a genre, questions the need, or the continued need, for the CPPL system in Korea. In Hesselink's eyes, Korean cultural policy "has ignored almost every significant musical event on the Korean peninsula" in the past century (2012: 134). Certainly the vibrancy of many of the performances emerging for K-Arts compared against some preservation association performances raises concerns for the future of the arts. This public university was formed to help preserve tradition, but with the leadership of Kim Duksoo is evolving more into a chrysalis for the emergence of the future of Korean traditional performing

arts, a future that, at its most elemental, looks an awful lot like a return to the past. Rejecting the CPPL-inspired, typical-conservatory pattern of extreme focus on a single art, at K-Arts we see a generation of artists emerging who have multiple skills and general training. The future for these artists—for Haemi, Giyeong, Wonjung and the others whose stories are in this chapter—is bright.

Appendices

Appendix 5.1: Seoul National University *Gugak* Department's Kim Yuna's

	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
9-10		Beginning Watercolor Painting			
10-11	Beginning Table Tennis			History and Structure of Western Music	Eastern Artistic Theory
11-12					
12-1	Practice of Traditional Songs		<i>Gugak</i> Analysis		Korean Court Ensemble
1-2		Knowledge of Western European Religions		Knowledge of Western European Religions	
2-3	Dance Sports		Performance		
3-4					
4-5		Korean Traditional Orchestra Rehearsal	Korean Folk Music Ensemble	Korean Traditional Orchestra Rehearsal	
5-6					

6-7

This schedule from spring 2011 was the fifth semester for Yuna, an *ajaeng* major.

Appendix 5.2: K-Arts Graduates Success, as of 4/10/2012

Year of Graduation	Major	Student Name	Current Activities	Other
2002	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim Wonmin	Leader of the traditional performing arts troupe "Ggokduso", Lecturer at K-Arts	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim MY	<i>Gugak</i> instructor for the Korean Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Sports MBC Madangnoli Performer	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Shin HY	Teaches <i>gugak</i> in middle and high school	
2003	Training for full-time professional artists	Kim Daegyun	Full time performer and lecturer	National Human Treasure for Tightrope Walking
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim BG	Performer for the National <i>Gugak</i> Center	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim YJ		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim JH	Member of the traditional singing group "Sotdae" Regular performer in Yangju and at the Namsan Korean Folk Village	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Bak Yeonshik	Leader of the traditional performing group "Shinmyeong" Solo performer as "Jeolmeun <i>Gugakin</i> Bak Yeonshik" Elementary school <i>gugak</i> teacher	Gyeonggi Dodanggut <i>isuja</i> , <i>Maeheonchum</i> Preservation Association Member Interview subject
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Gang MS	Performer at "Chongdong" Theatre	Jindo Dashiraegi

				<i>jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo</i>
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Bak JH		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Jo JY	Elementary school <i>gugak</i> teacher Performer with the Jungang traditional music orchestra	
"	<i>Talchum</i>	Byeon Sangsuk		
"	<i>Talchum</i>	Yi JH		
"	<i>Musok</i>	Yang YE	<i>Gugak</i> instructor employed by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism	Bak Byeongcheon-ryu Gamu-ak Preservation Association
2004	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim GC		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim BS	Lecturer at the German school	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim HJ	Kindergarten teacher of <i>gugak</i>	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Seon GN	Employee of the Federation of Artists of Chungju	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yu JU		Pyeongtaek Nongak <i>isuja</i>
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Choi YS	Member of "Uturi" theatre company K-Arts Theatre Lecturer Member of PMC productions	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Choi JG	Busan City Traditional Orchestra Member	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Choi JH		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim AJ	<i>Gugak</i> instructor for the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism's <i>Gugak</i> Association Member of the project band "Nalrari"	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Mok JH		Gyeonggi Dodang'gut <i>isuja</i>
"	<i>Talchum</i>	Shin HY	Member of the women's <i>pungmul</i> group "Taedong" High school lecturer	Namsadang Noli <i>jeonsuja</i>
"	Training for full-time professional artists	Kim Haksu	Lecturer at Joongang University Lecturer at Gyeongmin University Lecturer at K-Arts (<i>Yeonhi</i> Department) Leader of the <i>yeonhi</i> company "Beodeulsori" Member of the theatre group "Michu"	
2005	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim SH	Performer at Chongdong Theatre	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Seo JY		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yu SJ		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Jo JH		Donghaean Byeolshin'gut <i>isuja</i>
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Choi JI	Member of the group "Be Being"	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim GT	Member of the group "Hanolrim"	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	So GJ	Member of the group "Hanolrim"	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Ju YH	Leader of the group "Cheongbae"	
"	<i>Musok</i>	Hwang Minwang		Namhaean Byeolshin'gut <i>isuja</i>

				Taepyeongmu <i>jeonsuja</i>
2006	<i>Pungmul</i>	Seon Yeong'ok	Member of "The Gwangdae" and "17 Dae Pumba"	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yi Jeongil	Member of "The Gwangdae"	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Ahn Daecheon	Leader of "The Gwangdae"	Goseong Ogwangadae <i>isuja</i> Interview Subject
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Oh HJ	Member of the traditional percussion group "Noreummachi"	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Bak HY		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yi JH		
"	Training for full-time professional artists	Han GS	Member of the women's <i>pungmul</i> group "Taedong"	<i>Namsadang Noli</i> <i>isuja</i>
2007	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim MS		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Hyeon SH	Member of "Hanolrim" performing arts company	Maecheonchum Preservation Association Member
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yi SM		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim YJ	Member of "Hanolrim" performing arts company	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Shin JH	<i>Pungmul</i> instructor	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yi EM		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yi JH	Member of "Hanolrim" performing arts company	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Jeon YR		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Wang S		
"	<i>Talchum</i>	Heo Changyeol	Member of "The Gwangdae" Member of "Cheonha Jeil Tal"	Goseong Ogwangdae <i>isuja</i> Interview Subject
2008				
2009				
2010				
2011	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yi SE	Member of "Changbae" folk theatre company	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Won BY		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yun HJ	Member of "Yuhee" performing arts company	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yun YJ	Member of "Yuhee" performing arts company	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Song DE	Member of "Yuhee" performing arts company	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Bae JC	Member of the Nowon [District] Arts Company	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim JH	Member of the Pyeongtaek City Performing Arts Company	<i>Pyeongtaek Nongak</i> <i>jeonsuja</i>
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim JM	Member of the traditional percussion group "Noreummachi"	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Jeong YM	Performer at the Walker Hill Casino on the	

			US military base	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yi SU	[continuing education in graduate school]	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim HH	Member of the traditional <i>yeonhi</i> company "Ggokduso"	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yi HC	Performer at Chungdong Theatre	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Mun SJ	Performer at Chungdong Theatre	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim SE	Performer for a theatre company (unnamed)	
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Kim JH		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Shim HY		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yu JY		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yi YR		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yi EJ		
"	<i>Talchum</i>	Bak MJ		
"	<i>Pungmul</i>	Yi SJ	Member of "Yuhee" performing arts company	

Source: Gathering the information for this table was multi-part, the basis for the information contained here was a chart prepared in late 2007 by the office of the *Yeonhi* Department at K-Arts. The same office also prepared a chart for the 2011 (February 2011) graduating class, but protested that going back to gather the data for 2008-2010 could not happen until a professor or administrator demanded it. Yu Sejeong, a friend and current MA student at K-Arts checked all the data on my original table and updated entries for approximately twenty students. To the best of her knowledge the other data is also true.

Chapter Six

Learning Is Never Done: Age and Performance in the Korean Context

"Looking to the examples set by one's elders is a notable feature of Korean culture, as is an almost unqualified reverence for anything borne of antiquity" (Hesselink 2012: 134).

1. Introduction

Systems like the Korean system for protection of intangible cultural heritage, despite recognition of the archive of memory within the bodies of the performers, push performative memory to transcend the individual, to become the possession of agencies like the Cultural Heritage Administration. Korean society has modernized so rapidly that *bballi bballi* (quickly quickly) has become a mantra, and culturally constituted notions of learning are challenged by this new mindset. Yet these traditional learning philosophies endure, and the arts are still passed on through a process of transmission that has always been about individuals who acquire their mastery of the arts through a lifetime of learning. In this chapter I will explain how long-standing ideas about transmission and aesthetic concepts are indispensable to the traditional arts, and how this results in staging of the elderly.

Diana Taylor urges us to shift our focus to embodied culture (2003: 16). What about the elderly in performance? Dance scholars explain how a few decades ago, ballet performers in the West could continue dancing into their sixties. Today they retire from active performance earlier due to changing ideas of a balletic body and increased athleticism required by the choreography (Wainwright and Turner 2004: 324). At the age that ballet dancers retire, dancers of Japanese *nihon buyo* are shining brighter than ever before. Tomie Hahn found that these dancers come into their "prime" at around thirty, and do not stop dancing until "he/she passes away or can no longer move" (2007: 38). Korean traditional performers hold similar attitudes towards age and performance. However, the privileging of age in Korea does not appear in literature on performance or in the texts related to performance instruction (beyond the elderly as a source of

spoken knowledge about pre-modern ways). In writing by Korean scholars this has at least partially been because the participation of older performers is not unusual or remarked upon in Korea. The invisibility of age in performance-related writing and the extreme visibility of age in the performance environment is one of the most fascinating issues related to Korean performance. In the interview below, pay attention to how Kim Eunju discusses age and learning.

Intermission: Interview with Kim Eunju





Kim Eunju, *isuja*, for Bongsan Talchum on the *janggu* drum usually performs the part of *sangjwa* (previous page).

I have formally and informally interviewed Kim Eunju at least as much as, if not more, than any other performer whose name appears in these pages. It is fair to say that I am a fan of this generous, talented, energetic woman. The interview I include below begins with nearly a minute of good-natured ribbing and laughter. Kim Eunju is someone who is delighted by life.

Kim:²¹⁹ I began dancing when I was six years old, as a kindergarten student. Probably most people expected me to pursue court dance, or even a Western dance form, people who knew me when I was young wouldn't expect me to be doing Bongsan Talchum today. From when I was very young I knew I'd spend my entire life as a dancer, I had the same dream through elementary school, middle school and high school. And now look at me, although I may still need to work on my skills, this is what I am doing with my life. I need to keep learning throughout the rest of my life, continuously. I became an *isuja* in 1990.

Saeji: When do you think you'll become a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*?

Kim: (Laughing) First I'll have to get older [eat some more years]. Okay?

Saeji: I wouldn't ask other people that question. But you know me and know how much

²¹⁹ Taken from an interview on 7/28/2008 at the Intangible Cultural Heritage Transmission center.

I love your teaching, so I hope you don't misunderstand.

Kim: Of course not, thank you. Probably when I'm in my late 50s or my early 60s-- there is a test to advance to *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. I'll probably take it then. I think I should be better [at Bongsan Talchum] by that age!

Saeji: Other than Bongsan Talchum, do you have anything you like to do—like a hobby?

Kim: That's a problem. I don't have a single hobby. I have to work, and I have to practice dance at other places, and at the moment I'm also in graduate school. Sukmyeong University. I'm studying *seungmu*, *salpuri* and other dances like that with Jeong Jaeman [a National Human Treasure].

Saeji: Wow, if you're studying with Jeong Jaeman are you going to become a really perfect dancer of *seungmu* and *salpuri*?

Kim: (Laughs) There's not way that I can become perfect, someone like me who can't even follow the teacher. There are still so many ways in which I am lacking, and compared to the teacher, I am still young, right? But I think I'm really lucky that I have this opportunity. I'm surrounded by really amazing other students, too. People I can become friends with, people I can cooperate with in the future. That—graduate school, that's what I do for fun. I have a lot of things I do that are interesting but no real hobby.

2. Learning Is Never Done

Performers and those involved with Korean traditional performance use the word *mat*, or flavor, to speak of the intangible aspects of a performance that make it particularly good. Just like Korea's fermented foods, *mat* increases with time, and is reflected in the emotional depth and complexity of a given performance. I asked a fellow student at a Bongsan Talchum class if after five years of practice she had any *mat* in her own movements.

"Yeonghee":²²⁰ *Mat* comes with time and a lot of experience. When I am older it might be possible for me, but for now it is not.

Younger practitioners of the Korean traditional arts are well aware that they are not involved in an art that can be quickly mastered. The idea that "learning is never done" permeates all aspects of the transmission and performance environment. For younger people internalizing this humble

²²⁰ Interviewed at the Intangible Cultural Properties Transmission Center in Seoul 4/07/2011. "Yeonghee" remains anonymous throughout the dissertation.

attitude is essential for success in the traditional arts; without it one would become impatient. For performers in the middle of their career—for example the older *isuja* such as Kim Eunju—the understanding that they must continue to learn and practice is even more important. The maxim "learning is never done" appears repeatedly in my ethnographic research, although not always as explicitly as Kim Eunju's statement in the interview above. This flies in the face of the Korean *bballi bballi* (quickly quickly) quality of modern life, but patience is required to be willing to accept the sometimes glacial pace of lessons. This pedagogical concept frames the ways in which performers are taught and how the arts are performed.

The strong Korean consciousness of age differences²²¹—frequently attributed to the Confucian beliefs embedded in society—facilitates an environment in the Korean traditional performing arts in which an older teacher is expected to maintain the humility that they, themselves, are also still learning, even though they must also confidently instruct students. Although performing arts teachers use this concept to motivate their students, the idea of continuous learning in the Korean traditional performing arts is beginning to seem like a potential barrier. Participation in contemporary non-Korean arts is associated with a clearer and faster payoff for talent than the traditional arts in which people are indefinitely required to maintain the attitude of "still learning."

The "learning is never done" philosophy also counteracts any egotistical desire to achieve acclaim. Although there is an audience eager to see specific individuals perform in well-

²²¹Consciousness of age differences is embedded in almost every usage of the Korean language. Speakers are expected to adjust verb endings and vocabulary according to the differences in age and status of the speakers and hearer; hence, a first meeting between Koreans generally includes a series of questions designed to determine the level of respect to be given to the other person. A difference of even one year in age requires the younger speaker to use more respectful language until the two people, by mutual agreement, decide to speak with each other "comfortably."

promoted events such as *Chum* (a gala performance discussed later in this chapter), in general artists in the field of traditional culture do not receive widespread individual recognition. The Korean traditional arts do not generally offer a sufficiently stimulating outlet for those fame-driven performers seeking the spotlight. Although there would be no guarantee that one could become the soloist or the headliner, classical music does have big-name stars. The general Korean public does not know the names of even the most influential performers within the sphere of traditional arts. Although some solo performers such as dancer Yi Maebang and *gayageum byeongchang* National Human Treasure Ahn Sukseon are well known, they both practice solo arts. The only traditional performing artist with truly wide-reaching name recognition is Kim Duksoo (*Samulnori* founder and professor discussed in the previous chapter). Group arts within the CPPL system are never billed as "featuring X dancing the part of Chuibali" or "Imshil Pilbong Nongak with a *sangmo* appearance by Y." This culture of a specifically billed front-liner does not exist in Korean mask dance dramas nor any of the other group folk arts including group games like Andong Jajeonnoli or Ganggang Sullae, *pungmul* drumming and group dances such as Jinju Geommu. In some cases the mask dance drama groups will introduce their highest-ranked members to the audience, but this is generally done without making a fuss about which role they play. Without the mask many of the costumes are similar enough that the audience may not be able to tell which part they performed. Therefore there is no such thing as a star mask dance drama performer. There also are no child prodigy mask dancers, because although children can participate (in the role of the monkey, for example), they cannot perform a major role. The mask dance drama participants often seem to revel in their anonymity.²²²

²²² Some performers specifically ask me not to photograph them in costume but *sans* mask to preserve their

The CPPL's positioning of a few performers as National Human Treasures, but not enough to cover all of the key roles in a mask dance drama (or key functions in other group arts such as *pungmul* drumming, ritual music, shamanic performance, and Buddhist ritual) has been an enduring problem. This process objectifies the artists (Titon 2009: 10), particularly the National Human Treasures. Placing just one or two performers above the rest inhibits casual teaching and learning from all senior members of the group to all junior members of the group simultaneously. The existence of the CPPL system and its associated ranking of performers have had the effect of promoting certain performers as preferred teachers due to their government-certified status. Unfortunately, the ranking system does not correlate on a one-to-one level with the ability of individual artists. Even if rank and ability were congruent, just as some professors may be excellent researchers and writers but poor at leading classroom discussion, highly skilled performers are not always able to communicate clearly about their art.

The profound changes to the traditional arts environment in the modern era and to the import placed on the performers as the protectors of Korean tradition has changed how arts are transmitted. In pre-modern Korea, the folk arts were taught almost entirely through mimesis. In this way, the knowledge of art was entirely embodied in the teacher and consequently reflected upon their students. Performers either were amateurs who performed part-time for their own pleasure (often as part of a community) or were full-time professionals.²²³ Until the end of the

anonymity while in costume—in this case I have also been careful not to specify who is playing a character when they appear in performance photographs included in the dissertation.

²²³ In the case of some arts members of the *jung'in* or yangban classes (the two top classes) cultivated artistic skills, generally playing an instrument such as the *gayageum* zither but carefully maintaining the status of self-cultivation, not professional performer. A few mask dance dramas, including Bongsan Talchum, are known to have had *jung'in* performers, as was covered in Chapter Four.

19th century, most mask dance dramas were performed by amateurs.²²⁴ At that time some intensive performing positions at regional markets developed, including at the market at the historic Han River port of Songpa (Yi BU 2006). Mask dance drama skills were generally passed on by watching and following along during rehearsal and performance. New members would participate on the outskirts of the group at first, gaining skills until they became adept enough to fill more important roles. These non-professional highly participatory arts did not require performers in bit parts to be able to do much more than move from one designated interaction to the next with proper timing. The less experienced participants could pursue deeper study through seeking one-on-one training from a group member who struck them as talented, but there was no requirement to engage in organized study.

3. Staging the Elderly


Korean society, with a foundational respect for age and experience grounded in the teachings of Confucius, places more elderly people in the limelight in all sectors of society. There are many other societies in which older people are accorded more respect because they have more skills, knowledge, property, civil and political power, among other reasons (Simmons 1945). In other societies older people can lose respect, as they are not economically contributing to economic success and have turned over resource control to younger people (Press and McKool 1972). Some anthropologists have found that most societies have two categories of old people: people who are old but still contributing to society (accorded respect) and people who are old and due to

²²⁴ Professional performers were members of traveling itinerant troupes who performed a variety of different arts including mask dance drama, preserved today by the *Namsadang* troupes in Seoul and Anseong, Gyeonggi Province.

physical and mental decline have become a burden (who may be abandoned) (Keith 1980: 341). It has also been shown that the status of old people is vulnerable to changes as society modernizes (Cowgill and Holmes 1972); the anthropologist Jennie Keith has gone so far as to conclude that "good treatment for the aged is part of a vanishing life-way and impossible in the modern world" (1980: 342).

Image 6.2 Poster for Chum


춤 일거수 일투족으로 이룬
 시간의 약속. 백여년 망상한
 그 고독을 감상하네.
 세월의 짐을 받고서니 진공의
 테가 들리고, 무심한 빈손은
 공기의 걸로 스미니~ 오호라!
 단산의 뽕이 죽음을 물고 오동죽을
 넘노나네.

서기 이천 일백년 봄날
 진옥성길고 기호시역 쓰다. 



2011.6.19일 오후 5시 **국립국악원 예약당**

승무 진유림 한량무 임이조 민살풀이춤 조갑녀 민살풀이춤 장금도 채상소고춤 김운태 도살풀이춤 이정희 교방굿거리춤 김경란 북춤 하용부
 시나위연주 | 장고 김청만 | 아쟁 박대성 | 거문고 김무길 | 대금 원정현 | 피리 한세현, 정석진 | 해금 김성아 | 구름 정명만 | 타악 유인상, 김주홍, 안호성, 박중훈
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춤

일거수일투족으로 이룬 시간의 탁발.
 뼈만 남은 그 앙상한 고독을 탐하네.



시나위, 그 털끝하나 안 들어가는 짝 찬 소리의 급소를 찔러 들어가 요지부동으로 서 버리는 순간, 말없는 춤에서 대갈일성이 나고 있었다. 고작 5분 그러나 참으로 그럴 수 없는 진공묘유(眞空妙有)의 순간이었다. 우리가 그토록 이야기 해왔던 "서있기만 해도 춤이 된다"는 말이 허언이 아니었다. 말끝마다 "춤은 조간녀"라던 남편사람들의 말 또한 허언이 아니었다.

조간녀

조간녀(趙甲女 1923년 생) 활동할 때는 영숙(英淑)이란 예명을 썼다. 열세 살 무렵 남원의 송사교가 놓였을 때 강 이편에서 출발해서 저편까지 거닐며 송무를 추었고 다리 가운데서 벗고들었다. 혼인 후 편에서 물러났고, 춤이 있으나 가족을 때문에 다시 돌아서지 않은 명무였다. 2006년 <어머니의 춤>에 다시 나왔고, 2008 <천년만세> 2009년 <춤 조간녀>에 출연했다.

와 보라! 흥곽을 드르륵 열고 심장을 덥석 쥐는 그 5분



무심히 깨낸 빈손이 공기의 결 속으로 스며들었고 축축한 신음에 결로되어 손끝에 춤이 똑똑 떨어졌다. 그간 '일록'으로 알고 숨겨온 춤은 찬란한 '묘양'이었다. 그러나 도무지 옮겨 담을 도리가 없는 춤. 발견되지마자 부서져서 망실되어가는 유적, 아니 벌써 풍화되어 날려버리고 한 줄 밖에 없다. 하여 매 순간 소매를 부여잡고 보내는 메별(袂別)처럼 시리다.

장금도

장금도(張金道 1928년 생) 채만식의 탁류가 흐르던 군산이란 대저에서 인력거 두 대가 와야 춤추러 나갔던 최고의 예기(藝妓). 아들의 장래 때문에 춤을 정했지만 강제만경 넘어 피다한 춤 소문 때문에 곡절 끝에 다시 나서야 했다. 1999년 <영무초창공연>, 2004년 <여유, 허공에 그리는 세월>, 2007년 먼저 간 아들을 위해 살풀이춤을 추었던 <해어화 장금도>에 출연했다.

풍운을 여는 춤의 노름마치와 '드림 시나위'



춤의 노름마치들... 노명무와 함께 반열의 편에 서는 <송무>의 진유림, <북춤>의 하용부, <교방굿거리춤>의 김경란, <한량무>의 임이조, <도살풀이춤>의 이정희, <채상소고춤>의 김운태, 우리시대 장쾌한 춤의 노름마치들이다. 춤이란 모름지기 악과 손발이 맞아야 하는 법. 당대 최고의 장교 김청만에게 악을 청하고 아쟁의 박대성, 대금의 원정현, 피리의 한세현 해금의 김생아를 부르니 '드림 시나위'다. 춤을 부르는 최고의 소리에 단산(丹山)의 봉(鳳)이 죽실(竹實)을 물고 오동 속을 넘노닐 터이다.

음악감독 김청만



기획·연출 진옥섭 "강호제현이시여! 장차를 장담 못하는 춤이기에, 부디 왕림하여 '시간의 증인'이 되어주소서."

그간 초야에 묻힌 명인들을 찾아왔다. 그 반열의 명무를 무대에 올려 <남무, 춤추는 처용아비들>, <여유, 허공에 그리는 세월>, <전무후무>를 완성했고, 발품으로 찾은 명인의 이야기를 담은 '노름마치'를 출간해 베스트셀러가 되었다. 2008년 KOUS 예술감독으로 인명되어 <팔무전>, <팔일> 등을 올리며 춤의 새 편을 열고 있다.

The Staging of Chum

On June 19th, 2011 I attended a large gala performance entitled *Chum*, organized by Jin Okseop, in the large hall of the National Gugak Center. I arrived early in order to meet with dance scholar Choi Haeri. As she informed me about her research and answered countless questions I scribbled notes. Occasionally we would hit a break in our conversation and our attention would be drawn to the increasingly large number of attendees milling and chatting around a display of large brightly painted *buk* drums in the lobby. Everyone was in attendance, from performers, to cultural policy makers, to professors who research the performing arts. *Chum* was a major event on the traditional performance calendar for the year. That evening two elderly dancers, who had not been staged in recent years,²²⁵ would dance for the audience. These dancers, Jang Geumdo, born in 1928, and Jo Gapnyeo, born in 1923, were extensively promoted in the advertisements for the show (Image 6.2, above). The language in the advertising made it clear that these two elderly women represented the "authentic" embodiment of Korean dance; the message was pellucid that this was a rare and precious opportunity to see "real" Korean dance, or *chum*.

That evening from my third floor balcony seat I watched Jin Okseop's eight carefully chosen dancers move across the wide expanse of the National Gugak Center's Ye'akdang Theatre, alone but for the musicians lining the right hand side of the stage. I was thrilled by Yi Jeonghee's *dosalpurichum* and inspired by Kim Untae's *chaesang sogo chum*.²²⁶ Yet the highlight of the

²²⁵ I have intentionally chosen to use the word "staged" here instead of "performed" for the implication of a lack of agency. To say that someone has been staged implies that the curation of the performance might not rest entirely in the hands of the performer.

²²⁶ *Dosalpurichum* is a variation of *salpuri*. *Salpuri* is a dance that was choreographed based on the mourning dance of shamans. It features a white silk scarf, in the case of *dosalpurichum* the scarf is long—more than ten feet in

evening was the performance by Jang and Jo, which posed complex and conflicting responses. Jin Okseop, emceeding the performance, was caught between the humility he felt next to the formidable dancer Jo Gapnyeo and the pressure to provide an acceptable evening of entertainment for the packed house. Jo danced, uncertainly, for less than two minutes before she made a move to leave the stage. What could Jin do? He stopped her, entreating her to dance a little more by raising his own arms and dancing opposite her. Suddenly Jin's friend, the crossover artist Jang Sa-ik, appeared from offstage; grabbing a *ggwaenggwari* he beat out a lively *jangdan* (rhythmic pattern) encouraging Jo to dance for another forty-five seconds. At last the elderly and clearly infirm woman was helped off the stage by a younger female relative. As I watched this scene unfold I felt sad for Jo—seeing her manipulated for the audience's entertainment, at that moment, I felt that the performance of the authentic had been prioritized over her own wishes.

Ideas about age in Korean performance can be most clearly illustrated through descriptions of solo dances like those in *Chum*.²²⁷ It was not the only performance I saw with older dancers on stage, however. Watching show after show that frequently included performers in their eighties, some *non-Koreans* with whom I attended performances raised criticism related to the age of the performers: how younger (and more beautiful/handsome) performers would have presented a much "better" performance. While age can be seen in some environments and by some individuals as a deficiency (interfering with the mechanics of performance), in a society such as twenty-first century Korea, age is connected with legitimization: elderly performers

length—and manipulated to great visual effect. *Chaesang sogo chum* is another way to express dancing with the *sangmo* and *sogo* hand drum.

²²⁷ The term elderly is, in this era of increased life expectancy, much more complex than it was in the past. However, for the sake of simplicity I will refer to anyone over the age of 60, pivotal in Korean culture as the first time a person experiences the same animal and element (for example water pig or metal horse) as in the year they were born, as elderly.

presented to the audience as farmers are "obviously" more in touch with traditional Korea and hence traditional performance because they are presumed to have learned "in the natural village environment." Watching performances in Korea over many years, and being familiar with the Korean cultural policy system, I have long accepted that the performers will frequently be quite elderly.

In many types of dance outside Korea dancers are usually under thirty-five years old. These dancers are on stage to please the eye, and recruitment of dancers includes conventional beauty, as well as talent in the movement form. Singers can continue to be active as long as their voices are attractive to the audience, even if they are not conventionally good-looking. However, in high level dance companies around the world, the leading performers are often fairly young: in the case of ballet it is infamous how early the careers of the dancers' peak. There is pressure for these individuals to retire from performance while still fairly young, leaving their reputation for strong performances intact.

Image 6.3: Elderly Performers



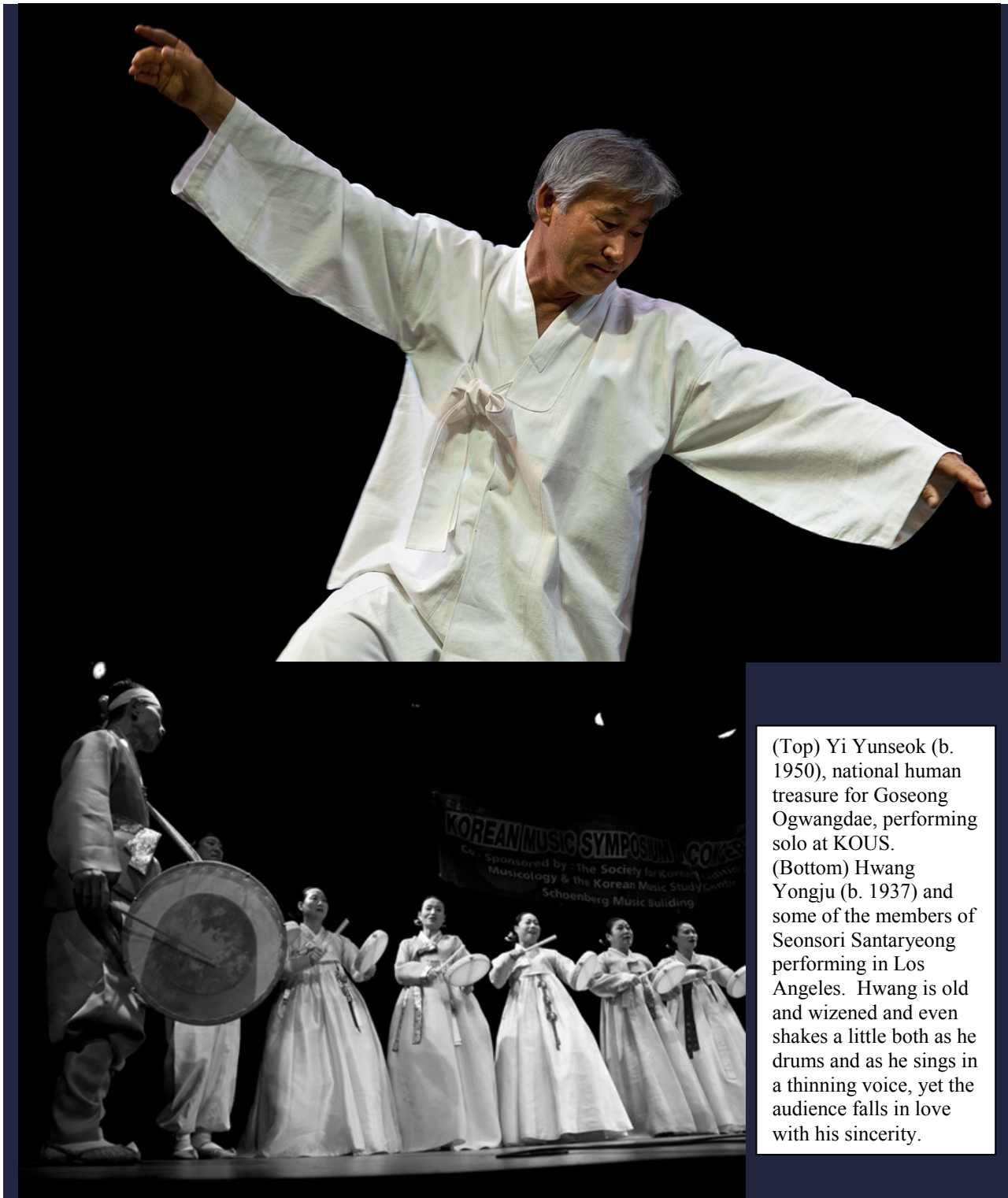
(Top) In this grab shot at the end of a performance dancer Yi Maebang (b. 1927) joins that evening's performers (including his wife) on the stage for a bow. (L-R) Yi Myeongja (b. 1942), Kim Myeongja (Yi's wife), Gweon Myeonghwa, Yi Maebang, Choi Seon and Choi Jongshil (one of the key early members of *Samulnori*). (Above) Yi Geunhwaseon (b. 1924), National Human Treasure, performing with Bukcheong Saja Noleum at the Andong International Mask Dance Festival.



(Left) Yi Okgeum performing with a *pungmul* group. (Right) Yang Seokok (b. 1954) performing *Taepyeongmu*.



(Left) Yang Gilsun performing *dosalpurichum*. (Right) Gang Eunyeong performing Jindo Bukchum.



(Top) Yi Yunseok (b. 1950), national human treasure for Goseong Ogwangdae, performing solo at KOUS.
(Bottom) Hwang Yongju (b. 1937) and some of the members of Seonsori Santaryeong performing in Los Angeles. Hwang is old and wizened and even shakes a little both as he drums and as he sings in a thinning voice, yet the audience falls in love with his sincerity.

In Korean performance the oldest and most experienced performer, often a National

Human Treasure, will frequently be the star—drawing an audience, providing the focus for media coverage, and receiving adoring standing ovations. In some cases, however, these National Human Treasures may be beyond the apex of their ability. I provide the following descriptions of performers I have seen, all of them highly ranked performers in the national, provincial or city-level policy instruments for protecting intangible cultural heritage. I have seen performances by dancers so infirm I was afraid that when the choreography required them to kneel down they would not be able to rise again at the proscribed place in the music; who pushed themselves off the stage floor using the hand drums and drum sticks they had knelt down to retrieve; who have lost their balance and quiver and sway as they balance themselves on one foot; whose hands were visibly shaking at most moments while they were on stage; who walked out with a cane and had to pick it back up as soon as took their bow for the walk off the stage; who were led onto stage and helped off again at the end; who had obviously abridged a dance in order to have enough energy to finish. The most profound example was when I saw a performance by a dancer so beset by osteoporosis that she was bent over with a huge hump on her back. Yet her performance was also a good example of why these elderly performers draw an audience.

Although her corporeal movements were limited by her osteoporosis, the energy and the desire with which she danced was astounding. An entire evening with seven to nine dances, such as the "Chum" performance, can be performed by dancers with an average age in the upper seventies.

Sometimes these dances gained a richer, deeper and more meaningful performative significance through the limitations of the elderly performer. Occasionally moved to tears, I have looked around me only to find that the other audience members were dabbing at their own eyes as well. There is no denying that a forty- or fifty-year-old could have executed *salpuri*, *seungmu*

or *taepyeongmu* after twenty-five or thirty years of training with the same technical proficiency and hopefully just as much emotional complexity as their elderly teacher: but with perfect balance and a straight back, if not the taut skin and lush hair they enjoyed at twenty-two. Then why are dancers still dancing at seventy? There is an aura of spectacle involved in performing with a disability, in this case, the ravages of time on the body; but the spectacular is seen positively as passion for dance so deep that physical limitations are vanquished.

In a study on ballet Steven Wainwright and Steven Turner found that dancers became "addicted to" the "sheer physicality of their working lives." Eventually "the vocational calling to dance" becomes their identity (2004: 316). Certainly this is the case with elderly performers in Korea, but there is also pressure from below. The performance of an elderly teacher, that legitimization of their skill, is transferable to the student. This is particularly an issue for arts that are not yet registered with the CPPL. In most cases, however, the performer longs for the stage. This is certainly the case for Yi Maebang, the most famous solo dancer in Korea (and National Human Treasure of both *seungmu* and *salpuri*). Yi was still performing in December 2010, although he is in his nineties. The twenty-two page glossy program for the performance was full of photos from Yi's illustrious career, and the large hall was sold out (see image 6.5, below). Four days later I had a long conversation with Kim Eunju before Bongsan Talchum class about Yi's performance. Kim described with superlative, even poetic, language how Yi's performances had once been so beautiful as to move the watcher to tears. "His feminine motions were so pure as to be unmatched," Kim told me, while agreeing that he could no longer dance that way.²²⁸

²²⁸ Interview conducted at the Intangible Cultural Properties Transmission center, 12/30/10.

Image 6.4: Front cover of the Yi Maebang "Final Performance" program 12/26/2010.

LEE, MAE-BANG

중요무형문화재 제27호 승무 · 제97호 살풀이춤 예능보유자

외길 인생, 宇峰

李梅芳

전통춤 대공연



Embodying Culture

Returning to my discussion of *Chum*, the language employed in the flier (Image 6.2) is as exceptional as the photography and the calligraphy. The paragraph describing the dance of highlighted performer Jang Geumdo reads:

A careless empty hand penetrated into flesh. A wet melody condenses in the air and from the tip of the fingers drops of dance fall, just like dew dropping. Dance, which once was thought a "blemish," and hidden from people, was in fact sparkling, beautiful design. However, this is dance that cannot be contained in anything. It is a relic that vanishes into thin air, upon discovery. Yes, it has already been weathered by wind and only a handful of it remains. So, it is sad just like a heartbreaking separation from a lover who tries to grab at one's sleeves.²²⁹

Hold the image of dance as a withered remnant in your mind, performed by a grandmother unsteady on her feet. Despite the fact that many Koreans genuinely wish to see the "authentic" performances by dancers such as the two elderly women mentioned above, there is a tension between skill and age that permeates the core of the traditional performing arts in Korea. Perhaps it is the consequence of the broadly held agreement that learning in the arts is a lifelong process, a process without end that foments the pre-eminence of age within the performing arts. This collective agreement may foster a situation in which an older artist may find it difficult, or even impossible, to avoid the stage, or even to get off it once they have entered the spotlight.

The presence and participation of older performers brings a timeless connection between the pre-modern tradition and the urban stage in such a way that younger performers are unable to replicate. The older performers, particularly the remaining members of the first generation certified in the CPPL, are seen as embodied stores of memory. In addition their knowledge of the

²²⁹ The complex metaphoric language presented in this flier was translated by Hyun Jisoo, MA Korean Studies (Yonsei University, 2007) and MA East Asian Studies (Columbia, 2012).

art form, after a lifetime spent learning, is considered excellent (unless they prove otherwise) due to their prior performance and teaching accomplishments. Recognition for the status of elderly members of the community is manifested in expressions of care, using respectful language, providing gifts, seeking advice, celebrating ancestral knowledge and more. Yet age alone does not make a performer more authentic. In addition to their knowledge of the art form, these older performers are also attributed with authenticity through considering their prior performance and teaching accomplishments, such as those mentioned on the *Chum* poster. They embody not merely their own memory of the traditional arts but also the collective memory of an earlier Korea. Like oral narrative, dance can't be the same way twice; memory intervenes, for it is a "perpetually actual phenomenon, a bond tying us to the eternal present" (Nora 1989: 8). Some of these elderly performers may have achieved a high rank through the CPPL system—although in the context of some audiences, a previously overlooked or undiscovered elderly talent (as Jo and Jang were presented) is more enticing than a National Human Treasure. Although the poster text mentioned above avoids using a term as problematic as "authenticity," it implies authenticity by advertising a dance that is aged (weathered by wind), intangible (vanishing into thin air), and rare (only a handful remains).

I was initially uncomfortable when Jin Okseop kept the elderly dancer Jo Gapnyeo on the stage in the *Chum* performance, yet it seemed others had a different reaction. After the show, while talking with friends in the lobby, no one else mentioned any discomfort or dissatisfaction with that aspect of the evening. Regular audience members may have seen similar presentations in the past—I certainly had. On December 26th, 2010 at Yi Maebang's performance (image 6.4) the audience witnessed him being helped off the stage by a young woman after each of his

appearances during this show—a detail that I saw as a performative act of respect-for-the-elderly (as well as perhaps a hint not to expect Yi to dance as he could when he was strong enough to leave a stage on his own power).

This sort of unscripted performance is not only applauded, it is desired. Geographer Dean MacCannell, following Erving Goffman's idea of back and front spaces, discusses viewership practices in tourism (1999: 92-99). Front spaces are what the viewer is meant to see. Contrarily, back spaces are the places where the performer can relax—no longer on stage. The back space is behind the scenes, and when it is exposed it makes us feel that we are experiencing an authentic reality that we would not otherwise see with the groomed and prepared approved sights. In the *Chum* performance as Jin Okseop prevented Jo Gapnyeo from leaving the stage, the audience may have voyeuristically felt that Jin was facilitating their observation of a back space particularly with Jang Sa-ik, unscripted, appearing on the stage to encourage the elderly woman's performance.

Why Stage the Elderly?

What are the cultural underpinnings that encourage the performance of elderly dancers in Korea? I see three interlocking reasons for staging the elderly. First, there is the audience's *desire for the authentic*, for the person trained in the village who is the embodied connection with a near-mythical past that has been lost in the urbanized modern age. Watching the performer who physically holds the "old" knowledge and "old" ways, depending on the viewpoint of the audience member, is more rewarding than watching the lithe young dancer who, after even two or three years of practice, should theoretically be able to perform the dance well. This desire for

the authentic allows the knowledge and experience of the elderly performer to function as a placeholder that trumps the erosion of physical competence.

Second, there is an *emotional aesthetic effect* produced by specific Korean dances that cannot be communicated successfully by a flexible twenty-year-old. Dances such as *salpuri*, the solo of *Mundung* in Goseong Ogwangdae or almost any of the old monk characters in the various mask dance dramas require a certain degree of heaviness or *han* (the Korean emotion that combines sorrow, regret and even resentment) to be infused with the motions (cf. Loken-Kim and Crump 1993, Loken-Kim 1983, Jeong BH 1997).²³⁰ Although it can prove to be particularly challenging for younger dancers to exhibit an emotion like sorrow, it is not impossible. A well-known illustration of the importance of *han* in certain Korean performing arts is illustrated in the movie *Seopyeonje*. In this Im Kwontaek film, the *pansori*-singing father blinds his protégé daughter in order to improve her singing. He believes that without the understanding of suffering the daughter will learn by losing her sight she cannot achieve perfection in her rendition of *pansori*. Ethnomusicologist Heather Willoughby (2008) in her examination of *pansori* has found that such narratives are preserved in the way that *pansori* singers present themselves to the audience. For example, in the program for a performance singer Yi Jueun explained that in her twenties she did not understand the "real life lessons" in the *pansori* and only practiced "skills, sound, and performance practices," but that in her thirties she has had more experience of life, so that the stories' "profundity moves me and brings me to tears" (2008: 73). Willoughby explains, "a master performer, therefore, needs to go beyond portraying the events and dialogues in a

²³⁰ Robert Farris Thompson, discussing African dance, describes the smoothness with which dancers should move, describing the need for "consummate vitality" (1974: 7), the value placed on "vital aliveness, high intensity, speed, drive" (ibid.: 9), and on supple, flexible movement (ibid.). Simply speaking the Korean aesthetic makes it possible for the dances of the elderly to be satisfying, where they would not have been satisfying in the circumstances Thompson describes.

realistic manner; through a process of sublimation they must also become reified within their own lives" (Willoughby 2008: 73-4). If an audience expects flexibility and swiftness (or soaring high notes) they may not get this from these older performers. Yet for an audience who expects a complex traditional Korean aesthetic, the performance of a weathered grandmother will be superior to that of a young dancer with a Miss Korea face. Korea is not alone in recognition of the depth in the performances by older artists. Similarly in Japan, "it is believed that while a youthful beauty can capture an audience even without refined technique, a mature dancer has experienced and embodied more of life and this essence can be imbued in her dance" (Hahn 2007: 38).

Third, the *cultural policies may play a role in the staging of the elderly*. By labeling a performer a National Human Treasure, their performance has been awarded a kind of legitimization and added value, becoming considered more of a "star" or a "brand," as opposed to those elderly performers who do not yet have this rank. Even when National Human Treasures may be past their peak, and even if their performances may be less captivating than those performed five, ten or twenty years ago, the legitimizing effect of the law is powerful. Moreover, the National Human Treasures are also usually the leaders (or at least figureheads) of the *bojonhoi* or preservation association that protects their art. Within the group they are accorded the respect due their ability, knowledge, age and rank. This means that they often have right of first refusal on an opportunity to perform (or in the case of a group art, perform a starring role). Imshil Pilbong Nongak *isuja* Yi Jonghui told me "I think they continue to perform because they want to. They still have the desire for the stage."²³¹ In a society and in front of an audience that

²³¹ Personal conversation held on 4/05/2011 at the Imshil Pilbong Nongak Seoul Transmission Center.

accepts the performances of the elderly, there is nothing stopping them.²³² Yet, since the CPPL requires the National Human Treasure to perform, a performance opportunity may be seen as an obligation. If the performer does not continue to avail him or herself of performance opportunities, he/she will be encouraged to retire, to become an Honorary National Human Treasure. This position is in practice a non-stipendiary designation for former National Human Treasures who are too infirm to continue their activities. For those who continue even as it becomes physically very difficult, their decisions may be influenced either by a financially difficult situation, their stubborn pride or a continued desire for the limelight. In general, Honorary National Human Treasures are almost always no longer physically able to leave their homes or health-care facilities.

There are people who are critical of the extreme respect granted to age. One dancer explained that the extreme respect accorded to age was a barrier to the development of dance in Korea.

A: Sometimes the National Human Treasures are no better than their students. And there are professors who have a Master's and Ph.D. but they have never been a dancer, yet now they're teaching others to dance and giving them false hopes and dreams.

Being a National Human Treasure does not necessarily mean an artist is the best performer in a group (or even that he or she was in the past). The frustration of students who are faced with the contradiction between respect for a teacher and desire for individual success when they realize they have outgrown their teacher is well known to performers around the world. Their decision is

²³² While writing this chapter, the *International Herald Tribune* (the international edition of the *New York Times*) ran an article about Tsuyako Ito, an 84-year-old Japanese geisha, the last one in the tsunami-stricken town of Kamaishi, who was preparing for a performance at the time that the tsunami struck, but had to be carried to higher ground by an admirer. This profound respect for the knowledge of the elderly is a cultural trait Japan and Korea share.

made more difficult in Korea for performers striving in government protected arts because the teacher's support for the student's advancement in the ranking system is essential.

How does this situation compare for musicians? I did not observe musicians who had lost their ability to perform at a high level on stage. I believe that this is partially because age has less aesthetic impact (increased age showing increased authenticity) for an art that is consumed first by the ears. While watching a performance by elderly dancers with Yu Sejeong, a *daegeum* player currently working on a Masters in traditional music theory at K-Arts, I leaned over and asked her if musicians who now shake and quiver continue to perform.

Sejeong:²³³ When someone watches an old dancer it's obvious the dancer is old, and people are impressed that they can dance despite the physical difficulty. For the old musicians it isn't so obvious that they're old, it just starts to sound bad. The musicians retire when they feel they cannot perform at a high level anymore.

Heo Juri, a *gayageum* player, had a similar opinion, pointing out that few elderly performers continue into their seventies, that this is unusual and only in the instruments that do not require an intense level of physical exertion.²³⁴ However, in discussion with Seoul National University Professor of Korean Music Hilary Finchum-Sung she described cases of *gayageum* players who have lost the speed needed to flit from string to string and other similar instances that she has seen of age-impaired musicians who are still performing.²³⁵ I would need to do more research on musicians (and perhaps be better trained in music) to evaluate this more fully, but I remain convinced that it is less common for age-impaired musicians to perform.

²³³Personal communication, 4/04/2011 at KOUS.

²³⁴Personal conversation, 4/05/2011 at the Imshil Pilbong Nongak Seoul Transmission Center.

²³⁵ Personal communication at the annual conference of the Society for Ethnomusicology, Philadelphia 2011.

The Perspective of the Younger Performers

Young practitioners of the traditional arts are well aware that they are involved in a lifetime of learning—they accept the philosophy of *learning is never done* and do not expect to become an overnight sensation (as may happen in popular music). In Korea, to be successful in the traditional performance field, one must be willing to accept the traditional manner of interacting. Younger, or less-experienced (and hence lower-status) members of groups always hurry to provide for their teachers: anticipating wishes, carrying bags, making coffee, cleaning and anything else they can think of. Nathan Hesselink has described this respect-based relationship as similar to the relationship of parents and child "in the traditional Confucian filial sense" (2006: 146). I observed this universally with all four of the arts I practiced, and I believe that if a student is not comfortable in this type of relationship with the teacher they cease their participation. Attempting to continue learning without respecting one's instructor would be impossible.

A performer's age plays an important role in dictating their contribution to the performance. For years after beginning to perform they will be able to perform either in a performance only with other younger learners,²³⁶ or in the roles appointed to them by older members of a group. Many of the mask dance dramas have a lion character—dancing this part is hot and sweaty and requires coordination with the other half of the lion—and this is the type of role that the youngest members can expect. In addition they have multiple responsibilities on and off stage. On stage they may drum for an act, don a costume, dance a minor role, change again and drum for another act. Off stage they will haul heavy bags of props and costumes, set up the

²³⁶ In this case they will not be performing as the *bojonhoi* but only as a club, as students of K-Arts, or even as a solo performer.

stage, fetch drinks and other such tasks. For example, Heo Changyeol, an *isuja* for Goseong Ogwangdae, was born in the late 1970s, but as of 2011 he was still the youngest member of the group.

Heo:²³⁷ It is really difficult to be the youngest of the performers, so difficult it's practically killing me. Dongsu, Daecheon, Seongbeom—all of them are just one year older than me, but I have to bear this burden alone. The hardest thing about being part of the group? Definitely being the youngest and waiting in vain for someone younger to join.

In another conversation Changyeol explained that he had been dancing the part of Bibi (a mystical creature who jumps up into the air and runs around the stage repeatedly, testing any performer's physical condition) for fifteen years. Although Bibi is a fun character, Changyeol's personal focus is the starring role of Mundung, the leper. There are several older members who also focused on the same part; so Changyeol will not be performing it unless all of them are unavailable. His experience is not unusual:

Ahn:²³⁸ I almost can't [have a chance to] dance Malddugi. The young preservation association members can't do the big important roles. Sometimes for whatever reason even though the director [Yi Yunseok] was going to do the part, he passed it onto manager Hwang Jong'uk, and under him is Mr. Jeon Gwangyeol... so honestly Dongsu danced it [the part of Malddugi] once and Hyeon'u danced it once. It's like that.

There is an element of luck involved in being a younger performer and having a chance to dance a major role; most younger performers in the group arts only get the experience of the lesser roles. Performers in the mask dance dramas are assigned to focus on certain roles based on a match with their personality. Because it is suitable, because it harmonizes well (*chal eoulrida*) with their personal character is how people explain which role(s) they focus on in rehearsal.

²³⁷ Interviewed at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission center 1/27/2011.

²³⁸ Interview with *isuja* Ahn Daecheon conducted at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center on 01/28/11.

Unfortunately for Ahn Daecheon or Heo Changyeol, the roles they train for have many other older (and also suitable) performers.

Why then would a young person become involved in the mask dance dramas or any of these large group performances where they cannot expect to have a starring role for years? For the last nine years I have asked younger performers this question over and over. There are two main answers. First, the practitioners of these traditional arts are extremely passionate about the arts. Second, loving the arts and understanding the importance of preserving traditions, younger members feel a great deal of responsibility to preserve these skills and know learning is never done. They understand that one day the older members will be gone and that they are the future of the art. Practitioners have no illusions about the greater popularity or interest in Korean traditional arts in Korean society.

4. "Learning Is Never Done" and Elderly Performers: Transmission Goes On

Songpa Sandae Noli

Songpa Sandae Noli is a mask dance drama group that demonstrates a commitment to preserving the art and the lifelong practice needed to do so. As I described in Chapter Four, the performers in this group are mainly working outside the arts field, with only a handful of the youngest performers working full-time in the arts. Most members already earn a living through regular jobs (as a high school teacher, in import/export of supplements and vitamins, in publishing or, like National Human Treasure Hahm Wanshik—interviewed below—educating engineers about hygiene); therefore, performance fees, split amongst the members of the group, are not financially sufficient to influence the group's decisions. They have only performed overseas once,

despite several opportunities, because many key members find it difficult to get several consecutive days off work.²³⁹

The environment at Songpa Sandae Noli rehearsals and in the office is very different from what I experience at Bongsan Talchum. While Bongsan Talchum is business-like and brisk, with everyone entering the office for a reason and engaged in a specific task, Songpa Sandae Noli often seems more like a family. People stop by the office, ostensibly to talk. Food is shared. Instant coffee is drunk during drawn-out conversations. Even the newest members of the group, generally speaking, have been associated with Songpa Sandae Noli for over ten years. This protracted relationship is not in any way unusual, since most group arts elevate performers to the status of *isuja* around ten years after the performer becomes a *jeonsuja* member of the *bojonhoi* (they might become a *jeonsuja* a year or two after beginning to learn the art).²⁴⁰

Like other group arts Songpa Sandae Noli contains a steady core of performers that has come together over the course of decades to rehearse and travel to local and international performances. Therefore the relationship of the group members with each other is extremely important. The performers of the group arts accept that the lifelong process of learning means lifelong relationships with the others in the group; however, these interpersonal relationships are not always easy. Between 2005, when I began practicing with Songpa Sandae Noli, and the present day I have seen various tensions arise and play out between members. The significance of the various relationships swirling within the Songpa Sandae Noli preservation association

²³⁹ In fact the CHA will subsidize overseas travel once per year to perform, but only for performers ranked *isuja* and above—the youngest members will not be given one of the limited number of subsidized tickets if an older member is interested in going. This, unfortunately, can cause tension in a group where certain lower ranked people are essential (especially musicians to accompany the mask dance dramas), but certain higher ranked people expect to have right of first refusal.

²⁴⁰ For a popular art like Bongsan Talchum it takes longer to become a *jeonsuja*.

office and rehearsal room lies in an observation of how the members of the group pursue the goal of preserving Songpa Sandae Noli, overcoming intra-group conflict. Each individual involved in transmission of these government-certified art forms is challenged not only to spend a lifetime acquiring and honing the skills involved in the art but also to overcome difficult personalities and conflict with other members of the group. Even if it would not be politically sensitive to switch genres, the demonstration of dedication involved in the "learning is never done" pedagogical principle means that switching arts resets a performer to near-beginner status. Consequently artists tend to commit to an art form (and the group of other performers) with the understanding that changing arts is not an option.²⁴¹

a. Transmission Environment

Learning to perform seamlessly, in the case of Songpa Sandae Noli, means attending rehearsals. The Songpa Sandae Noli preservation association takes two five-week vacations a year during the muggiest month of summer and the coldest month of the winter. The rest of the year they regularly meet; during the spring and fall high seasons there are sometimes rehearsals and performances in the same week. Over the course of the past several years, Songpa Sandae Noli has had neither a regularly scheduled paying class (similar to Bongsan Talchum) nor a free class that recruits beginners to start a new class on a designated date (such as the classes advertised by

²⁴¹ Sometimes individuals are involved with arts that are vastly different, such as a court art and a folk art. Sometimes they're involved with two arts in very different ways (drumming with Imshil Pilbong Nongak and dancing with Bongsan Talchum); however, being involved with two different types of *pungmul* or two different types of mask dance drama would not be acceptable.

Bukcheong Saja Noleum).²⁴² For years rehearsals were on Saturday afternoon; 3:00-4:00 was devoted to teaching the *jeonsuja*, with any higher-ranked member present able to instruct and review basics as a warm-up. The time period 4:00-5:30 was devoted to rehearsal for the performers (the bulk of whom are *isuja*). The rehearsals are not classes, and are not designed to teach the material. Instead, they are an opportunity to practice the basic motions together and to rehearse specific scenes. The people who rehearsed the scenes were chosen based on attendance or weakness observed during a recent performance, or to diversify the performer pool for a role. Occasionally a performer suggests a new way to interpret a stage direction, and a rehearsal of the section they address can include a lively discussion.

In late 2010 the *isuja* collectively decided that Friday evening was more convenient for them to rehearse and also that they wanted to rehearse on their own, without *jeonsuja* present. Although some of the higher-ranked members (one of the two National Human Treasures and at least three of the *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*) complained that they were not available on Friday evenings, these complaints fell on deaf ears. *Jeonsuja* were strictly forbidden from attending, even Eo Wonseok and Hahm Seungheon, who had already been performing with the group for the past few years. These *isuja*-only rehearsals started off strong with good attendance, but by the late spring 2011 the group decided to return to the previous Saturday afternoon model. I had been barred from the Friday rehearsals,²⁴³ but the impulse to split rehearsals had been based on a commitment to professionalism and seriousness without the distraction of people from other ranks.²⁴⁴ The official explanation for returning to one common rehearsal on Saturday was that

²⁴² In the summer of 2011, however, the preservation association decided to offer a free community class.

²⁴³ I was allowed to observe twice but not participate.

²⁴⁴ This may have been because various *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* are each trying to assert their dominance (in relation to

the Friday time slot did not work.

The older members of the group are never shy about critiquing the younger members, who in age-conscious Korea must patiently accept the criticism without objection. Members who are of roughly equal status also critique each other, although this can at times become a lively discussion or near-argument. Other senior members will also contribute their opinions. If the exchange continues the members of the group will, if it is a fresh point, gather around. If the discussion is rehashing a point the two often disagree on, people may instead leave the vicinity. Although the titles of National Human Treasure or *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* are important to members of the group, in these discussions it was clear that age and the period of time learning Songpa Sandae Noli was the most important factor—*isuja* who had been learning since the mid-1970s were not hesitant to confidently share their own opinions.

the others of the same rank) by imposing their version of the mask dance drama on the *isuja*, who are uncomfortably stuck in the middle, or it may have been to use their time on their own practice instead of on teaching newer members (who were not yet *isuja*).

Image 6.5: Songpa Sandae Noli in Performance



The musicians of Songpa Sandae Noli: although two *piri* (the small vertical oboe) play at once, only one *daegeum* (large transverse bamboo flute) plays at any time. One *daegeum* player who sometimes joins Songpa Sandae Noli is missing in this composite. (Top) Gang Cha'uk on *janggu* and Yi Hanbok on *piri*. (Middle) Kim Banghyeon on *daegeum* and Im Chaehyeon on *piri*. (Bottom) Yun Jihee on *haegeum* and Bak Juhyeon on *daegeum*.



All the masks for Songpa Sandae Noli are set out behind the altar. The full-length performance begins with a *gosa* ceremony. *Gosa* is a shamanic ceremony to ritually (and respectfully) open the performance space and bless the performers and the performance. *Jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* Ahn Byeong'in, at the microphone, is officiating.



Omjung (Act 2), Sangjwa (Act 1), and Saennim (older *yangban*) with Doryeonnim (youngest *yangban*) (Act 10).



In Act 6, *Chim Noli*, when one of the dark-faced monks falls ill, an acupuncturist (in white) must be fetched to cure him.





In Act 11, *Saennim*, *Miyal*, *Podo Bujang Noli*, Grandmother finds her husband after a long separation, but he has a concubine. He casts off his wife, but then a young police inspector notices the pretty concubine and he wins her affections from the old yangban *Saennim*.





In Act 12, *Shinhalaebi*, *Shinhalmi Noli*, although the old couple are reunited they quarrel and grandmother dies. Grandfather calls his children and they change into mourning clothes and fetch a shaman to perform a ceremony.

b. Contested Meanings

The following three excerpts from my field notes illustrate how the members of Songpa Sandae Noli contest meanings within the group. The individuals involved are all highly ranked, with strong personalities. They challenge the completeness of each other's memories and demonstrate different approaches to the issue of transmission to lower-ranked members and the audience. In the first field note, two highly ranked individuals contest for the authority to lecture the rest of

the group.

Field notes 12/11/ 2010: Today Yi Byeong-ok (*jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*) lectured everyone about the history of Songpa Sandae Noli. He explained a lot of things that we already know, working to drum into our heads the history of the drama. "There were five major Han River ports." "Songpa was the largest in the area." "Baekjung Noli was the annual festival most noted in the area—it lasted an entire week." As he proceeded to the point where he was explaining that only Yangju Byeolsandae and Songpa Sandae Noli, amongst the "*sandae noli*" type of mask dance drama were still extant, Hahm Wanshik (National Human Treasure) grew tired of listening. Hahm took over the lecture and explained some points he thought Yi should have mentioned, actively used the white board as Yi Byeong-ok watched. When Hahm proceeded to explain the *samhyeon yukgak* (the type of musical group that accompanies Songpa Sandae Noli), he claimed that in the past the *gayageum* was one of the instruments in the group. At this point Yi Hanbok (a *piri* playing *isuja*) spoke up and corrected Hahm (because the *gayageum* was not an instrument in the *samhyeon yukgak*).

As I watched the scene described above it was obvious to me that Hahm Wanshik, partially because Yi Byeong-ok's lecture was full of basic content, became increasingly sure that he could add more richness and depth to the discussion than Yi was supplying. Indeed, when Hahm began talking, his explanations of how the port at Songpa had looked before the great flood that wiped it out and where the Songpa port locals had had to move at the time of the flood had depth and complexity not normally included in the discussion of the flood. However, as Hahm continued he introduced an interpretation of the instrumentation for the mask dance drama that was wrong; probably everyone present was aware that he was wrong and some may have felt uncomfortable as he misspoke. However as "learning is never done" and Hahm is the National Human Treasure we listened dutifully until Yi Hanbok, in his position as highest ranked musician, corrected Hahm.

Image 6.6: Songpa Sandae Noli Jeonsu Gyoyuk Jogyo



Yi Suhwan and Yi Byeong-ok relaxing before the start of a performance. (Below) Yi Suhwan poses with two masks he had made in 2010. The two masks are for the characters Podo Bujang (white) and Nojang (dark grey), the two characters that Yi generally dances.



In the next field note excerpt, below, two individuals with a different teaching style contest how to teach the movements in the mask dance drama.

Field notes 3/26/2011: When I arrived Yi Suhwan (*jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*) was teaching Eo Wonseok (*jeonsuja* who has already performed for several years) in the kind of way that allows only one momentary mistake or perceived mistake before stopping the action and explaining the mistake. Yi was frustrated that Eo Wonseok and Hahm Seungheon (*jeonsuja* who has already performed for many years, also the son of Hahm Wanshik) were not attending the rehearsal on Friday night, claiming that this would make it hard for the Eight Dark-Faced Monks to have coordinated motions (Eo and Hahm are two of the eight monks). When Hahm Wanshik arrived Yi complained to Hahm about the split Friday/Saturday rehearsal time. Although Yi had clearly come with the understanding that he was leading the Saturday rehearsal/class, Yi cannot both drum and model the motions, so Hahm drummed while Yi danced (Hahm is good at both, while Yi is a great dancer but not good enough to drum for a performance). Although Yi's directions and motions were very clear, Hahm inserted himself into the dance teaching by chanting directions with the *jangdan* he was beating out on the drum. "*Dui-eseo apeuro, dui-eseo apeuro*, (from the back to the front, from the back to the front)" he chanted as we followed Yi's motions (which did include the arm sweeping from behind the head to the front). Although Yi could have tried to chant the same thing, the vigorous continuous dance motions would have made it hard for him to do so.

In the context documented above Hahm Wanshik again demonstrates his authority as the National Human Treasure, inserting his voice (and his style of teaching) into a lesson in dance movement rehearsal that was being led by Yi Suhwan. Culturally, Yi was forced to accept this situation and could not object, as Hahm is both older and higher ranked. In this case, however, Hahm had not erred and was rather showing enthusiasm for teaching.

In the final field note excerpt below, we can see how two highly ranked individuals contest a change to the mask dance drama. Although the change is minor, the issue at stake is rigorously holding to the *wonhyeong* meaning while altering a gesture in order to effect better communication with the audience.

Image 6.7: Nojang Playing Cards



Field notes 6/18/11: Yi Suhwan and Hahm Wanshik discussed how Yi does his key role, Nojang (the old monk).

Yi: If you do it like this no one understands what you're doing, so I changed the motion like this [makes the distinctive gesture of throwing down a card in the well-known game "go-stop" played with flower cards or *hwatu*].

Hahm: It's better to do it the original way.

Yi: There's no point in making a motion the audience doesn't know. Young people don't know it, no one does *tujeon* anymore.²⁴⁵

Hahm: But what you're doing looks like *hwatu* [the game came to Korea during the Japanese colonial era, so it is not native to the country and it is ahistorical to include it in Songpa Sandae Noli], even though you're supposed to be doing *tujeon*.

Yi: The important thing is that the audience will now understand that Nojang is playing and laugh. If you do this [*tujeon* motion] they won't know what's going on. If you do this [*hwatu* motion] they understand.

²⁴⁵ *Tujeon* is a game played with thin slats of wood in eight different suits, *hwatu* is a game played with small cards, about half the size of Western playing cards. The cards are slammed down in a distinctive motion easy for Nojang to imitate.

As was already discussed in Chapter Three, since being designated an important intangible cultural asset, Songpa Sandae Noli, like other Korean traditional arts, is officially denied the freedom to experiment with new forms or changes to the art such as those that would have spontaneously arisen without controversy in the pre-modern era (Yi BO 1985: 52). Should the mask dance drama be preserved in one way, with the text (directing Nojang to "sit down and play *tujeon*") and the motion in agreement, or should the mask dance drama be preserved to maintain the meaning in the eyes of the audience (the audience will not see "play" with the *tujeon* motion as clearly as they will with the *hwatu* motion). Yi advocates for preserving the essence of the scene: Nojang is doing something monks should not do. Hahm takes the hard-line approach: by misrepresenting the game that Nojang is playing Yi is changing the scene.

Image 6.8: Songpa Sandae Noli Performers



Preparing for a performance in Namwon (11/20/2010), Kim Hakseok (National Human Treasure, hand raised) speaks with (l-r) Yi Yeongshik (*isuja*), Yang Heunggi (*isuja*), and Jeon Cheolgyu (*isuja*).



Hahm Wanshik introduces Songpa Sandae Noli to the audience.



Organizing the masks and props before each show is the key to quick changes between scenes when performing on the road. Here Jeon Cheolgyu inspects a prop.



(Left) Practicing stage blocking in Namwon, *isuja* and office manager Kim Yeongsuk, foreground, flanked by Jeon Cheolgyu (left, *isuja*) and Eo Wonseok (right, *jeonsuja*). (Right) Seo Byeongmu holding up the Songpa Sandae Noli banner which kept blowing over during a performance in Andong.



(L-r) Yang Heunggi (*isuja*) preparing the *gosa* for a performance, Yi Byeong-ok as the emcee, and the character of Haesangeomeom (the midwife).

Intermission: Interview with Hahm Wanshik

I first informally interviewed Hahm Wanshik in 2004. He has always been welcoming to me and has encouraged my participation in Songpa Sandae Noli. He is a cosmopolitan world citizen—the traditional arts are only one part of his life. He fills diverse roles well, at times an engineer, at times a grandfather and at times a traditional artist.

Saeji: Tell me about your background.

Hahm:²⁴⁶ In university I studied engineering and in graduate school I studied the hygiene industry. Today I am a professor of industrial hygiene at the educational institute for occupational health and safety of the Korean Occupational Safety and Health Agency under the Korean Ministry of Labor. After I graduated from high school I started Songpa Sandae Noli. I studied for about a year and in 1973 I became a formal member, one of the first group of *jeonsuja*. At that time we had six National Human Treasures. After that in 1980 I became an *isuja* and in 1989 I became a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. On August 16th, 2006, I received certification as a National Human Treasure and I am actively involved in the transmission of Songpa Sandae Noli.

Saeji: How did you learn about Songpa Sandae Noli at first? Were people in your local community involved?

Hahm: Like now, at that time it wasn't people in the local vicinity who did it, but anyone who lived in Seoul who was interested. At the very first in 1973 when Songpa Sandae Noli was registered in the CPPL, the practice center wasn't in Songpa but in Seoul's Seongdong District, Shindangdong Neighborhood—it was there for about three years. In 1976 we moved down to Songpa and after that the Songpa District citizen's increased, but today it's really open to any person with interest to be part of the transmission of the mask dance drama education.

Saeji: How did you hear about Songpa Sandae Noli?

Hahm: A boy two years ahead of me in high school, Kim Yongjin, told me. After high school in 1971 he entered Dongguk University, and in February of 1973 I graduated Dongdaebu High School and Mr. Kim Yongjin introduced me to Songpa Sandae Noli, which he was already learning. From that time onwards I always pushed myself to learn diligently. In addition my maternal grandparents were from Songpa—I was born in Songpa District, in Garakdong. My paternal grandparents were from the area around Dongdaemun Gate.

Saeji: When you first started were there a lot of college students involved?

Hahm: Ah, at that time there weren't that many college students, people with jobs sort of like now, but there were a lot of people in their 20s and 30s.

Saeji: Was it really interesting?

Hahm: At that time, just like now, I devoted myself fully to Songpa Sandae Noli. Some people had that sort of devotion, some people quit, few people were as

²⁴⁶ Interview with Hahm Wanshik conducted at the Songpa Sandae Noli practice room on 6/25/2011.

committed as I was. Since I had spent a lot of time in Songpa ever since I was a little kid, spending most vacations living there, I knew some things about the Songpa area's special properties, the society, culture, the working people's lives—from when I was born I had felt this area in my body. So when I first started learning Songpa Sandae Noli I felt a sense of vocation and responsibility. From that time until the present day I have felt the same, the very same emotional connection.

Saeji: Did you ever take a break from the mask dance drama?

Hahm: When I went to the military I had to take three years off, but since then I basically haven't ever taken a break. As is well known, I absolutely always show up to rehearse. I've done it this way and I will continue this way.

Saeji: How did you learn all the different roles and how to play *janggu* as well?

Hahm: Oh my, in my house back then there was absolutely no way that anyone would accept [my participation in] music or dance. In the very beginning, back in 1973, 1974 when I started learning my maternal grandfather and grandmother scolded me really badly. My mother, father and paternal grandmother scolded me, too. They forbade me to practice, but because this was our special Songpa [District] culture I did it even more diligently. Now when I look back, I didn't learn Western dance or Western music, from 19-20 years old I was drawn to our Songpa Sandae Noli, to traditional music and dance. Songpa Sandae Noli's music and dance gave me a feeling of familiarity. Playing the *janggu*, too—I've been playing for about 38 years now, and it's still not easy to beat the drum. Definitely hard. Even a simple rhythm needs to be consistently practiced. In the same way the dance motions need to be practiced daily. Although I come here and practice with others, at the very least, no matter where I am, even when I'm on vacation, I practice every day for a minimum of ten minutes.

Image 6.9: Hahm Wanshik Hahm Wanshik, National Human Treasure





Hahm Wanshik performing the character of Omjung, his signature role.

c. Practicing Songpa Sandae Noli

As should be clear from the three field note excerpts, the Songpa Sandae Noli classes and rehearsals were not single-teacher affairs. The *jeonsuja* such as Hahm Seungheon, Eo Wonseok and I always received multiple directives from different people. The history of the art and the execution of the motions was contested and discussed in front of us. We kept quiet and watched and learned, executing the common motion *yeodaji* in two distinctly different styles depending on who was leading practice that day.

As I attended rehearsals between 2005 and 2011, I was often restricted to practicing the basic motions with the group, then observing rehearsals of scenes. I only regularly began to run through scenes in 2010. While I was initially frustrated that I was not learning concrete chunks

of information or choreographic sequences as quickly as in Bongsan Talchum class, I gradually grew to see the advantages to this learning process. Just as people had learned in the past I was required to watch and listen, repeatedly; instead of following a syllabus, I was learning through my eyes and ears and occasional precious moments of direct instruction. First, by learning from multiple teachers I was taught to see the same motion or the same scene from different perspectives. Second, by listening to instructions and experiencing the variation within the art, I was able to come to a deeper, integrated understanding of what was unchangeably part of Songpa Sandae Noli and what was open to interpretation or gradual shift (like the two card games). Third, arguments and discussions about the art stuck in my mind longer than a simple repetition of a single truth. Fourth, observing the way that each of the performers had their own area of knowledge and expertise, and noting how they were able to defer to each other's judgment on various points, allowed me to observe that they also were continuing to learn.

The basic differences between the way Songpa Sandae Noli and Bongsan Talchum train new members and incorporate them into the performances is outlined in Table 6.10, below.

Table 6.10: Training New Members at Songpa Sandae Noli and Bongsan Talchum

	Songpa Sandae Noli	Bongsan Talchum ²⁴⁷
Training of new members consists of:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Practicing basic motions ▪ Observing rehearsed scenes ▪ Memorizing the dialogue 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ New members are already considered talented, committed performers ▪ They have already learned all the basic motions and rehearsed scenes in classes at the transmission center or in university ▪ Training focuses on cleaning up and improving their understanding and technique
<i>Bojonhoi</i> training by...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Any available senior member and as many senior members as are present 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ One senior member teaches for two months, then another senior member is given the responsibility ▪ Only one senior member is present at a class
Incorporation into performances...	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ If there is no senior member available to perform the role, after several years of proving interest and ability, one may perform ▪ No formalized way to move from practicing to performing 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ New recruits start with the highly athletic scenes not attractive to senior members, such as the front and back of the lion and the dark faced monks ▪ The presumption is that they will move into performing within months of becoming a member of the troupe ▪ Senior members will perform one choice role in a performance instead of changing and performing more than once, so younger performers can perform²⁴⁸

Asking Eo Wonseok about how different the motions were depending on who was teaching, he claimed that the motions had not been different. This I attributed to Wonseok's focus on the big picture—in the big picture the motions had not changed. Hahm Seungheon was clearly surprised when he and Wonseok were told they were doing *yeodaji* wrong, and it took Seungheon more than five minutes to actualize the non-stop directions to correct his motion. Rather than arguing or protesting he simply kept struggling against his habitual way to do the motion until it was correct according to the current directives. When I asked him after class

²⁴⁷ Please note this describes how Bongsan Talchum is taught to people already accepted into the *bojonhoi*; in other words, they are already more advanced than the students discussed in the following chapter.

²⁴⁸ *Jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* Bak Sang-un and Jang Yongil have both explained this to me.

about it, he called it "educational" and denied any frustration.

Image 6.11: In the Songpa Sandae Noli Practice Room



(Above) Jang Gyushik (the youngest *isuja*) and *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* Kim Myeongha rehearse. (Right) Hahm Seungheon (*jeonsuja*) practices while holding the binder with the dialogue.

5. Age and Embodying the Gravitas of the "National Human Treasure"

Age has a large impact on who becomes a National Human Treasure. Kim Hakseok, the senior National Human Treasure for Songpa Sandae Noli, was elevated to that rank in 1995. This was more than ten years before Hahm Wanshik was given the same title. Although several people have told me that Hahm was clearly the most knowledgeable and multi-talented candidate in 1995, he was not nominated for the title because he was still too young: National Human

Treasures are usually older than sixty.²⁴⁹ As Kim was born in 1938 and Hahm was born in 1956, Kim was clearly more equipped to embody the gravitas of a National Human Treasure. In addition, the retired Kim was willing to commit to spending time in the office for the *bojonhoi*, hence performing as a figurehead for the group. Today Kim, who is not familiar with all the roles and never teaches class, generally performs the role of the shaman—an important and straightforward, if flashy, role in the closing act of the play. While Kim Hakseok may not be the most talented dancer in the group, his commitment to the art (he joined the *bojonhoi* in 1976) gives him authority, and his age lends him an aura of authenticity.

²⁴⁹ A few notable exceptions exist, but these are generally for cases where the physicality of the art is hugely important and no older practitioners exist, such as in the case of Kim Taegyun, the national human treasure for tightrope walking (in Korea tightrope running and jumping might be a more accurate description).

Image 6.12: Kim Hakseok—National Human Treasure for Songpa Sandae Noli



The elder national human treasure for Songpa Sandae Noli, Kim Hakseok, in the clothing and hat of a yangban.



Kim Hakseok dances the role of the shaman conducting a mourning ceremony.

6. Conclusion

In the 1960s and 1970s, as the various arts were examined and certified for inclusion in the CPPL, the only knowledgeable performers in a given group tended to be the oldest performers. These comparatively elderly performers had experience with the mask dance dramas and other arts during the Japanese Colonial Era (1910-1945) or even during the late Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910). Naturally, they taught the younger players who were recruited to help resurrect the art but these senior performers needed to handle the more advanced and complicated roles, as well. This precedent, combined with the Korean attitude toward age and the idea that learning is never done, led to the present situation, where age and seniority are so important, that at least in mask dance drama staging the senior members take all the most complicated roles. Senior members perform in key roles even when they may no longer have the energy the role needs. An audience that can see the ravages of time on a solo dancer, and find a way to enjoy their performance due to a desire for the authentic and an emotional aesthetic effect, does not receive those same visual prompts when watching a mask dance drama: the age of the performer is obscured by the mask. They may simply see a less than compelling show. This is problematic for the future of the masked dance dramas.

As we have seen, the philosophies surrounding the performing arts transmission environment in Korea encourage an attitude that learning is never done, push performers to portray an inner emotional connection with the arts, and continue to give elderly performers an opportunity for the stage long past when Western Europeans have retired even from physically undemanding occupations. This, combined with the history outlined above, has led to a situation where the younger generation is often prevented from engaging in the most thrilling starring

roles until they are already in their fifties. Traditionally the audience has been fascinated by an opportunity to see the oldest performers—those who embody a link with pre-modern society. However, this link erodes as each of these elderly performers pass on. National Human Treasures are generally older than sixty; sixty years ago Korea achieved independence from Japan. If the oldest performers are no longer representatives of a time before Japan (and they cannot be), and if most of them have limited memories even of the colonial era, I worry that unless Koreans redefine the way they think about authenticity—allowing it to be based on the experiential feeling of authenticity instead of on a historical link, as it is presently based—the oldest performers may lose their audience.

Chapter Seven

A Case Study of Mask Dance Drama Students: Capitalizing on Korean Heritage

1. Kim Yongcheol and *Baramiya*

Kim Yongcheol appeared in my Bongsan Talchum class in early March 2011. He was silver-haired, with the erect carriage that marked him as a professional dancer. During his first two classes we learned his background—he was not the slightest bit shy to demonstrate a flurry of key motions from various traditional dances or to break into a dramatic modern dance routine. A dance instructor at three universities in Seoul, including the Korean National University for the Arts, he had also amassed an impressive resume of past performances, appearances and international tours. He even brought us the multi-page colorful pamphlet for an evening-length work of his choreography staged four months earlier. Yongcheol's dance clothes looked lived-in and comfortable, and he was deferential but not fawning to our instructor, Kim Eunju. On his third day in class he announced that he was preparing a modern dance piece and wanted to include Bongsan Talchum movement vocabulary. By the fifth class he had received the permission of the Bongsan Talchum *bojonhoi* and recruited several of the male class members to be part of his production. On April 29th, less than two months after he first appeared in the class, I watched an evening performance showcasing the work of six choreographers from Korea, Japan and China; the final piece was Yongcheol's with class members Yun Byeongho, Bak Jeonghyeon and Heo Sejun dancing, the former two in featured roles.

Image 7.1: Kim Yongcheol's *Baramiya*



Kim Yongcheol's impressive resume of past performances, appearances and international tours is enviable: he is an entrepreneur of culture and a full-time art professional. This chapter examines the process by which people like Kim Yongcheol, people who have or want to have careers based upon the performing and teaching of Korean culture, learn to strategically capitalize on Korean heritage. In this chapter I argue that the students in the Bongsan Talchum class, such as Kim Yongcheol, Yun Byeongho, Bak Jeonghyeon and Heo Sejun, attended in order to later use that knowledge; to capitalize on Korean heritage. They intended to exchange the *embodied cultural capital* of knowledge of Bongsan Talchum for economic benefit through *entrepreneurship of the self*—a pursuit of Bongsan Talchum performance knowledge that also represents a form of *cosmopolitan striving*. In order to explain my rationale I will begin by describing how knowledge of Bongsan Talchum is transmitted, outline who the students in the class are and then address the three aspects of cultural capital, entrepreneurship of the self and cosmopolitan striving.

2. Learning Bongsan Talchum

Bongsan Talchum, from Hwanghae Province in what is now the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK), cannot be taught the same as it was in Joseon Dynasty Korea. In the DPRK it is still performed, although viewing YouTube clips it hardly seems to resemble Korean folk dance at all. In the Republic of Korea, as discussed in Chapter Four, it has been preserved, originally by refugees, and was incorporated into the CPPL system in 1967. In 2011 this mask dance drama can be learned through school clubs, in classes at community centers, or in a conservatory or other university environment. However, the easiest classes to access are those for the community offered by the *bojonhoi*.²⁵⁰

²⁵⁰ The preservation association for *Gyeonggi Minyo*, a vocal form that is usually sung in a group, but can also be performed by a solo singer with an accompanist on the *janggu*, distributed a fifteen-page booklet describing their classes at *Han'guk Jeontong Yesul Hakgyo* (Korean Traditional Arts School). The classes were 400,000 won each, although the booklet clearly was designed to steer students into spending 2,100,000 won on six different subjects or 2,700,000 won on eight. Students could enroll as majors (within the *bojonhoi*) or as regular students; completing a certain number of classes was necessary to become *jeonsuja* or later *isuja*. According to a table within the booklet, if a student studied full time for three years, they could acquire thirty credits and advance to the rank of *isuja*. Some groups, however, have made the decision to offer learning opportunities for free. This may be because they feel they need to offer classes for free in order to attract students, or because they feel that the arts are not something to profit from. Within a *bojonhoi* different members may hold opposing opinions, but as with most things in Korea, the opinion of a dominant older and higher ranked member will end up becoming the standard practice. Clearly the choice to charge for lessons or give out knowledge for free is based on a combination of precedence, inclination of the leaders in the art, and the overall perceived popularity of the art form. Some groups advertise to attract non-paying students; trying to get several people learning together to start at once in order to simplify teaching efforts and perhaps create a sense of camaraderie amongst a cohort of new recruits. This model is followed by the singing form Seonsori Santaryeong and by the mask dance Bukcheong Saja Noleum. The two groups periodically create a small pamphlet or poster and make efforts to advertise the start of the free class.

Image 7.2: A Bongsan Talchum Program with Class Advertisement



봉산탈춤 강습회 안내

시간 _ 매주 월/목요일 19:00~21:00
장소 _ 서울무형문화제 전수관
문의 _ 02-566-6356

[중요형문화재 제 17호]
봉산탈춤보존회

135-090 서울시 강남구 삼성동 112-2 서울중요무형문화재전수회관
TEL_02-566-6356 FAX_02-566-7818
www.bongsantal.com

The text reads:

Time: Every week Monday/Thursday 19:00-21:00

Place: Seoul Intangible Cultural Properties Transmission Center

Info: 02-566-6356

At the bottom is the address and contract information for the group.

Today those classes, as advertised in Image 7.2 above, are taught for two hours two nights a week in a hard-wood-floored room in front of a giant mirror, the sort of room that hosts dance classes around the world (see Image 7.3). The diminutive teacher of the Bongsan Talchum public classes, *isuja* Kim Eunju,²⁵¹ has been teaching the public classes for a decade, and doing so is perfectly suited to her personality. She is cheerful—her bright and sunny manner is reflected in her near constant smile and the way she punctuates her teaching with laughter. She is also business-like and efficient. Her teaching is calculated and focused; the only breaks are those

²⁵¹ An interview with Kim Eunju appeared as an intermission in Chapter Six.

the students dramatically demand by literally collapsing to rest on the floor after practicing a series of difficult movements. Although Kim Eunju seems youthful and de-emphasizes the age gulf between the students and herself, she is treated with the unreserved respect students give their favorite teachers. In a demonstration of the respect students have for her, before the class begins they always fetch her *janggu* drum and arrange it for her in her preferred corner next to the mirror so that she only needs to carry her handbag to class. As she walks to the *janggu* she never fails to exclaim personally about those students who have shown up after an absence, commenting on a new haircut, teasing about a new girlfriend and asking the result of an audition or performance. Her comments betray the fact that many students communicate with her through text messages or phone calls even when they are absent, and she mildly chides students who do not communicate as well.

I was a student in this class from January 2005 until June 2006, during the summers of 2007, 2008 and 2009, and from August 2010 to August 2011. Many students appear at the beginning of the month, but their attendance peters out until, at the end of the month, no one expects them to reappear. In the roughly three years I attended that class I observed that a month averages a little more than ten new students, but at the end of the month only one or two of them will remain. Once a student has demonstrated a more serious intent, Kim Eunju will tailor her teaching to their needs. For example, Yun Byeongho, a young man who began performing with the Bongsan Talchum *bojonhoi* in the fall of 2010, is accorded respect for his knowledge of *sajachum*, the Lion Dance. When the class practices *sajachum*, Kim Eunju defers to him, and he leads the group. While Kim Eunju values his performative knowledge of this one dance, there are times in which she corrects Byeongho more forcefully than some other students. Clearly, if

he is to become a full-fledged performer with the *bojonhoi* he must attain a high level of expertise in other roles as well, and Kim Eunju is training him based on the seriousness of his intent.

a. How the Class is Taught

The attitude that "learning is never done," explained in the previous chapter, manifests itself in the Bongsan Talchum class through an absence of the rituals of educational process: there is no cohort of beginning students, advancement through a clear series of educational goals, syllabus, nor advancement to clearly delineated higher levels followed by graduation. Students simply leave for various reasons. Some leave when they decide to spend their time on other activities and can no longer dedicate the time to the Bongsan Talchum class. Although the tuition is very low, it is possible that a changing financial status can also cause a student to stop attending. Even serious students sometimes take a break due to injury, and occasionally they never return. The most enthusiastic students continue with the class until they have extracted as much benefit from it as possible; even after they cease regular attendance they will revisit the class to say hello and sometimes participate for a night.²⁵²

²⁵² Those who participate for an extended period of time and then quit have often either moved up to the *jeonsuja* and *isuja* classes, entered university for the performing arts, or are performing in a show with a long run.

Image 7.3: Scenes from Bongsan Talchum Class



In this photo Kim Yongcheol is in the front left, Yi Byeong'u is front center, Yun Byeongho is front right, Heo Sejun is behind Kim and high school student "Cheolsu" is behind Yi. Eom Hayeon is obscured by flying *hansam* in the back corner.



(L) Yi Byeong'u and "Yeonghee" participate in the Bongsan Talchum class; Kim Eunju stands at the *janggu*. (R) "Cheolsu" practicing a motion.



Bongsan Talchum class, (l-r) "Cheolsu," Yi Byeong'u and Eom Hayeon.



Although the participants in the class cannot graduate there is a clear division into beginners and more advanced students.²⁵³ During their initial period of participation (the length of which is determined by how quickly they can memorize movements) beginners are taught in roughly 15-minute increments. While Kim Eunju teaches the beginners, the more advanced students rehearse on their own, or with friends—after a few minutes the beginners rehearse while the more advanced students are led through practice. When there are true beginners Kim Eunju never rests, teaching the beginners and then leading the more advanced group without any personal downtime. Each student starts by learning *Palmokjung Chum* (Eight Dark-Faced Monks' Dance), a scene in which the monks enter one-by-one, speak to the audience about themselves and their experience being monks, and dance a short solo before exiting. At the end of the scene all eight monks dance in unison. This learning process consists of layers of lessons because, while they are usually in the order mentioned below, they are taught in a very bare-bones manner at first, with a return to the beginning to add depth and complexity occurring repeatedly through the learning process. The lessons to be learned are generally:

- 1) *Basic motions*
- 2) *Basic motions for circling and exiting the stage*
- 3) *Monk 4 (variant 1 and monk 4 variant 2)*
- 4) *Monk 7*
- 5) *Monk 2, 3, 5, 6 (no specific order)*
- 6) *Monk 8*

When students become more advanced they get less individualized instruction and spend more time following along, with occasional corrections called out and sometimes demonstrated by Kim Eunju. By the time a student has advanced to the 5th step mentioned above they are

²⁵³ Due to the philosophy of "learning is never done" that pervades the classroom, and the absence of separate classrooms or graduation, all the students are beginners—we are just true beginners or more-advanced (but also beginners).

generally shown the motions once by Kim Eunju and then stand behind the most advanced students to copy their moves.²⁵⁴ A member of the class might start to feel like they had learned most of the scene once they can execute the basic motions and the solos of seven different monks; however, there is another layer to the lessons:

7) *The individual monologue of each monk and monologue delivery*

8) *Interaction—how to enter the stage, drive off the previous monk, deliver the solo and then exit*

Once a student has mastered each of these steps they have successfully learned the dances of seven of the eight dark-faced monks (Kim Eunju never teaches monk 1). Learning the monologues is a long and drawn-out process; many people show little interest in memorizing the difficult Chinese-character-based monologues. Consequently Kim Eunju rarely teaches more than the monologues of monk 2 (the easiest to understand) and 8 (the shortest), although I have worked on monk 3 with her before.²⁵⁵ I have never seen her actively teach the other monologues, though students with particular interest sometimes follow up with her one-on-one during break.

²⁵⁴ The choice of which student to turn to for help reveals a complex calculation with factors such as approachability, confidence, recent praise or criticism from Kim Eunju, age and various unspoken clues. I often see new people turn to Hayeon, even when Hayeon had barely learned more than they had. With her background in modern dance and ballet she carries herself like a dancer. What Hayeon herself knew was that her motions were hampered by her background and she has had to work harder than many students to overcome her previous training; in other words for a very long time she was exactly the wrong person to ask. When an older person joins the class, they often turn to me. Perhaps this is because it is more comfortable to ask someone near their own age. Ironically very few people turn to Byeongho, who is the only member good enough to dance with the preservation association. Byeongho, with his short limbs and thick torso, does not look like a dancer, and he is actively criticized by Kim Eunju who is preparing him more a bigger performance role. Many misread the criticisms as indication that Byeongho is a weak dancer, when the opposite is true.

²⁵⁵ Because Korean readers of this dissertation may doubt that the monologues could be difficult to understand I include here the Korean monologue for monk 4. Most members of the class were so unsure of their own understanding that they would not attempt to explain (in colloquial Korean) several phrases. The historical (Chinese) references were as obscure for them as they were for me until Kim Eunju, who had a detailed knowledge of each line, phrase, and word, explained.

"평라수 맑은물은 굴삼려에 충혼이요, 삼강수 얼크러진 비는 오자서의 정령이라. 재미하던 백이숙제 구추명절 일렸건만 수양산에 아사하고, 말갈하는 소진장의 열국대왕 다달래도 염라대왕 못달래며, 춘풍세우 두견성에 슬픈 혼백 되었으니, 하물며 초로와 같은 우리인생이야, 이런 좋은 풍악소리 반겨듣고 아니 놀 수 없거든 ~ 소상반죽 열두마디!"

Taken from a handout of the monk's monologues distributed by Kim Eunju.

Image 7.4: Bongsan Talchum in Performance



Nojang has a short-lived relationship with Somu before the playboy Chuibali appears, drives off Nojang, and fathers a child on Somu.



Dark-faced monks enter the stage, white *hansam* fluttering.

While a student is engaged in learning *Palmokjung Chum* (Eight Dark-Faced Monks' Dance), or perhaps even after they have learned them, they might also be exposed to the other scenes such as the Lion Dance or *Saja Chum* (the lion dance is normally something male students concentrate on), or the Novice Monks Dance or *Sasangjwa Chum* (the dance is usually something that the female students concentrate on). The solos of Somu (a young woman), Halmi (an old woman), Chuibali (a playboy), and Nojang (an old monk) are just a few of the other lessons that Kim Eunju will teach as the group grows generally more proficient. However, at no point will Kim Eunju or anyone else ever congratulate a student on having advanced to a higher level or having completed their training. The concept of completion of training is quite alien to the highly complex mask dance dramas and the Korean attitude towards arts training.

In other words the class is never-ending, particularly since the newly arrived students form blocks of learning and the attrition of long-term attendees means that the proportion of more-advanced students to less-experienced students is usually weighted heavily towards the latter. Some students grow tired of the seeming lack of acknowledgment of progress; one grew frustrated and eventually quit the class, sending a series of rancorous text messages to the remaining students to protest the fact that despite her long attendance she still was not accorded an opportunity to perform (performances of the class members have occurred irregularly in the past when a large enough group of long-term attendees is motivated to put on the show). Drama on the part of this participant aside, most students did not see our class as the basis of performance of Bongsan Talchum but rather as the stepping stone to other opportunities.

b. How Bongsan Talchum Is Taught Differently Due to the CPPL

Naturally the inclusion of Bongsan Talchum in the CPPL has changed the genre. The current teaching method, as I have just described it, is much more detailed and structured than in the past. In the aftermath of designation as a national intangible cultural asset and the requirement to teach the art, Bongsan Talchum has had to develop a specific training methodology. The performers have had to break down the traditional drama into specific teachable lessons: groups of motions and chunks of dialogue always delivered in the same order by the same character in the same costume. To explain more concretely we can examine the character of monk 3. Today monk 3 is always as follows:

Clothing: Yellow overcoat

Monologue: "Grasping a walking stick and wearing traditional straw sandals..."

Dance Solo: Beginning with two giant frog jumps

However, as Kim Eunju and *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* Yang Jongil explain when teaching, in the past it was possible for any of the eight monks to wear the yellow overcoat, any of the seven speaking monks (or more than one) to deliver the monologue beginning with the phrase "Grasping a walking stick" and any monk (except monk 1, who is so drunk he rolls around on the floor) could have danced the solo with two giant frog jumps. When Bongsan Talchum was designated an *jungyo muhyeong munhwajae*, important intangible cultural property, paperwork was filed that fixed a certain monologue to a defined series of motions and a costume for each monk, and they have remained that way since.

3. Madanggeuk

A few years after the CPPL went into effect Korean activists began utilizing mask dance dramas

to make political statements. If one examines the history of theatre in Korea, during the colonial era Japanese *shinp'a* drama and modern Western-style dramas became prevalent, and after liberation contemporary Western dramas replaced other types in Korea (Lee YM 1997: 45). Therefore by the time that President Park's regime designated various mask dance dramas as the collective heritage of the Korean people, many Koreans had already grown unaccustomed to seeing the arts performed. In an era of painfully rapid transition embodied culture in Korea is/was a way to push back against Western universalism and developmentalism (Yea 1999: 222). This sentiment is echoed by historian Don Baker when he writes that the "pre-urban Korean drama and ritual became... an emphatic rejection of an uncritical openness to all things modern and Western" (1995: 2). Activists, many of them college students, actively resisted Park's appropriation of folk culture, and the "students adopted the mask-dance drama as a carnivalesque heteroglossia contesting the military state's narrative of domination" (Choi CM 1995: 252). The institution of mask dance drama study groups on campuses was quite common from the early 1970s.²⁵⁶ Students participated in intensive programs or classes to learn mask dance dramas or simply learned from their upperclassmen on campus.

During the *Minjung* movement in the 1970s and 1980s, activists in Korea utilized the mask dance dramas and reworked them into a new form of staged social critique called *madanggeuk* (heavy on the dialogue and light on the dance).²⁵⁷ These *madanggeuk* were a popular subject of research, particularly for those who experienced the struggle for democracy in

²⁵⁶ The first such group was said to be the "Folk Drama Study Group," organized by students of Seoul National University in 1965 (Kim Kwang-ok 1997: 7). This group included current Bongsan Talchum *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* Yang Jongil and Bak Sang'un, among others.

²⁵⁷ According to some scholars *madanggeuk* is still more about bodily movement than many Western theatrical forms (Lee YM 1997: 55).

Korea (Kim YE 2010, NH Lee 2007 and 2003, Lee YM 1997, Kim KO 1997, Yang JS 1988, Sorensen 1995, van Erven 1988, Nanney 1985). At the height of *madanggeuk* activity enthusiastic participants and audiences embraced these plays, which were rich in Korean traditional elements but expressed the concerns of the moment. The *madanggeuk* sometimes "succeed[ed] in getting the audience in such a state of ecstatic frenzy that they [were] spontaneously transformed from spectators into slogan-chanting political demonstrators" (van Erven 1988: 159).

Madanggeuk, generally staged in defiance of government attempts at censorship, conveyed socially aware messages to groups of like-minded individuals, such as members of the same church or labor union. This made the generally amateur performances more dynamic, participatory and at times educational (Lee YM 1997: 47-48). The *Minjung* cultural movement, in which the students were major players, fought back against some of the ways that the government was appropriating and using the performing arts, particularly through informal stagings of new "shamanic rites" and mask dance dramas reincarnated as *madanggeuk*. The participants in this movement, "those Koreans who embellish and promote populist values and sentiments in the face of hegemonic definitions of culture, modernity, and the nation" (Yea 1999: 223), raised awareness of traditional performing arts, but the activists also appropriated the arts for their own political agendas. Today there are parents who worry if their children get involved with mask dance dramas or *pungmul* drumming, equating that interest with becoming activists. Traditional drumming is still recovering from an image of being a gateway drug to choking out slogans in a cloud of tear gas. The *Minjung* movement used the traditional arts, claiming them as the property of the people. The participants learned what they needed from the traditional artists

and then continued to focus on larger issues such as democratization, a self-serving appropriation different from the government actions only in that the protest use of traditional culture included a broader swath of the population in traditional arts activity than were included in the government's utilization of traditional arts for propaganda purposes. Historian Namhee Lee explains that

the initial task of the 1960s—to restore the original form and structure of folk tradition—gave way in the 1970s to inheriting the creativity and spirit of folk culture, which was to be expressed in the idiom of contemporary society and arising from contemporary needs and issues (2003: 565).

According to Lee, the embrace of folk culture by both the government and the students was fundamentally contradictory; "the presumed existence—indeed the necessity—of an authentic, re-discoverable folk culture was not questioned. Both the state and the oppositional intellectuals imagined folk culture to represent a viable national culture that was at once different and yet the same" (2003: 562).

The participatory aspect of *madanggeuk* has remained strong until the present day. To this end *madanggeuk* continues to call on Korean traditional elements as familiar and re-occurring tropes. In addition Korean traditional folk performances welcomed audience participation in the use of mask dance drama elements by giving the audience the feeling that they could contribute and ideas of how to do so. In contrast to the *madanggeuk* of the past, which were at times criticized for being excessively political to the extent of lacking in aesthetic merit (Kim Kwang-ok 1997: 5-6), modern *madanggeuk* expresses a wider range of entertainment purposes albeit often interlaced with a social or political message. Several of the members of our Bongsan Talchum class, who were also involved in *madanggeuk* at least part-time (particularly Yi Byeong'u and Bak Jeonghyeon), were learning Bongsan Talchum as immediately applicable

job training.

Image 7.5: A *Madanggeuk* at the 2010 Andong International Mask Dance Festival



4. Students in the Class

Sociologist Karl Mannheim has argued, "to capitalize a heritage one has to live in it and at the same time be sufficiently distant from it to see what in it is relevant to the present and what is not" (1956: 82). At the time Mannheim wrote Korea did not yet have a law specifically to protect heritage, but even with the passage of the CPPL, perhaps even because of it, Koreans have continued to grow more distant from their heritage. It is only the performers and participants in Korean traditional performing arts, such as the students in this Bongsan Talchum class, who grow close enough to heritage to imagine ways to capitalize from it. In the vignette at the start of

the chapter we saw Kim Yongcheol's progression from attendance of Bongsan Talchum class to incorporation of learned motions into a dance performance outside of class. Another class member, Yi Byeong'u, began class in January and was already performing the lion dance from Bongsan Talchum with Michu Geukdan, the *madanggeuk* theatre company he works for, by April. Bak Jeonghyeon, one of the students Kim Yongcheol utilized, spent five months learning before he began performing the lion dance in a project with Bongsan Talchum's senior *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*, Jang Yongil. In these cases the use of Bongsan Talchum was particularly direct, but all of the attendees in the class perceived a benefit to attending class. Some were already performers and thought of class as more advanced training in a specific performance style, while others originally were interested in Korean traditions but became more interested in performing as time went on. The majority of the students were on a trajectory to utilize the art. I observed people with the same motivations when I practiced with this class from January 2005 to June 2006, and on several short visits to Korea. I collected all the attendance data from January 2010 to July 2011 and made Table 7.6 (below) including all class members who continued attending for three consecutive months.

Table 7.6: Long Term Students of Bongsan Talchum during Field Research²⁵⁸

Student	Reason for attendance²⁵⁹	Occupation	Period
"Yeonghee" ²⁶⁰ (18)	To prepare for university audition	Student (entered university in 2012)	2006 ²⁶¹ --- * ²⁶²
Shin Miae (early-30s)	To learn and perform Korean traditions	Seamstress, traditional clothing	2009- 2/2011
Jeong Mihaeng (early-30s)	To learn and perform Korean traditions	Civil engineer	2009-*
Kim Seonyeong (early-30s)	To prepare for performing Korean theatre (including Bongsan Talchum scenes) in France	Stage actress	2/2010- 1/2011
Yun Wonjung (19)	To prepare for university audition	Student (entered university in 2011)	5/2010- 12/2010
Eom Hayeon (early-20s)	To gain ability to perform traditional arts as well as modern dance and ballet	Preparing for university admission, retail	8/2010-*
Yun Byeongho (mid-20s)	To learn parts other than the lion dance, which he already performs	Student, later office worker	10/2010-*
Bak Jeonghyeon (late-20s)	To learn Korean traditional theatre	Stage and musical actor	10/2010-*
Bak Yeonshik (mid-30s)	To develop the skills to teach the movement and talk about Korean mask dance dramas	Performer and certified teacher of Korean traditional music	11/2010-*
Yi Byeong'u (late-20s)	To learn the lion dance and other parts of Bongsan Talchum	Performer in a traditional theatre company	1/2011-*
Heo Sejun (early-20s)	To deepen understanding of Korean ways for use in film on Korea	University student	1/2011-*
Bak Juhyeon (early-20s)	To learn and perform Korean traditions	University student	2/2011-*
Kim Yongcheol (early-40s)	To incorporate Bongsan Talchum into a dance performance	Professor of dance and choreography, dancer	3/2011- 5/2011
"Cheolsu" (17)	To prepare for university audition	Student (aiming to enter university in 2013)	3/2011-*
Gang Hwayeon (early-20s)	To learn Korean traditions	University student	5/2011-*

Source: Attendance data from Kim Eunju, instructor. Participants for less than four consecutive months are excluded with the exception of Kim Yongcheol.

²⁵⁸ Appendix 7.1 shows complete attendance for two months.

²⁵⁹ Every time a new student joined we would all introduce ourselves and our reasons to take the class, I also engaged in informal discussions with all these members on their reason to attend.

²⁶⁰ Both Yeonghee and Cheolsu are aliases as they were minors until the end of the fieldwork year.

²⁶¹"Yeonghee" began studying Bongsan Talchum in a middle school club; she met Kim Eunju through the original club instructor (another Bongsan Talchum performer) and began attending the evening class after she entered high school (approximately March 2009).

²⁶²In this table * indicates someone who was still attending at the end of my fieldwork period. I expect some to continue attending even after I have filed the dissertation.

The table shows clearly that in the case of the Bongsan Talchum evening course, studying mask dance drama was a process of self-development with a perceived economic benefit. Previous academic studies on the motivations behind learning traditional performing arts in Korea have identified two types of learners: first, the college student who engages with Korean traditions to reconnect with rural origins and Korean identity (SG Park 2000, D Kwon 2005, Yi HS 2010), as well as to utilize the arts in pro-democracy protests (NH Lee 2003, Tangherlini 1998, Sorensen 1995); and second, the housewife searching for a meaningful hobby (Baker 1995, Paek 2007). Yet Table 7.6 demonstrates that the students in the Bongsan Talchum class had concerns beyond a general idea of "learning more about Korean traditions." Of the fifteen students six (indicated by violet shading, above) were interested in expanding their skill-set to include (more) Korean arts and *already had a way to use the knowledge*. Three (light blue) of the students were preparing for K-Arts admission. Four students (orange) were interested in using the art in a non-professional capacity, as serious hobbyists. The final two students (gray) had as-yet tentative plans to use the art—one of these was hoping to also apply to K-Arts when financial concerns were met, but not in the Folk Theatre Department.

5. Learning Bongsan Talchum for Self-Development

a. Cultural Capital

According to Pierre Bourdieu, cultural capital manifests itself in three settings: as embodied cultural capital (within the individual), as objectified cultural capital (within the cultural good), and as institutionalized cultural capital (within the cultural enterprise itself) (1986). Embodied cultural capital becomes an "integral part of the person" that can only be transmitted through a

period of education, but cannot be bequeathed in the manner of an object (Bourdieu 1986: 245). Bourdieu's arguments about cultural capital are largely tied to social class, and in Korea social class has long been connected to the acquisition of specific cultural skills. In post-liberation Korea some people hid their knowledge of folk arts because they were afraid it would brand them as members of the (technically eliminated) lowest class.²⁶³ Knowledge of the music appreciated by the *yangban* (the elite class)—for example *pungryu*, *shijo* and *sanjo*—once indicated status. However, in the modern era as the status of all Korean arts has risen (partially due to the legitimizing power of the CPPL and government promotion of all traditional arts as the valuable heritage of the nation), knowledge or ability related to Korean traditions is associated with being a cultured individual, and not with a specific class background.²⁶⁴

In Korea the connection between knowledge of folk arts and lower class membership was upended particularly during the *Minjung* cultural movement in the 1970s and 1980s. The ideology within this movement—based around democratization, reunification and social justice—explains how it can be both patriotic (loving the non-capitalist culture of folk Korea) and subversive (framing opposition to the government within a performance of Koreanness) to study folk traditions. Mask dance dramas and shamanic ceremonies were appropriated and adapted within this movement. People newly interested in the Korean folk arts (many of whom

²⁶³In fact some mask dance dramas, such as Bongsan Talchum, were not performed only by the lowest members of society, but the general perception across Korea was that mask dance dramas were performed by the lower class.

For example, when Im Seokjae carried out research on Yangju Byeolsandae in order to nominate it for inclusion in the CPPL, his chief informant had to be convinced to participate because he was afraid that if his knowledge of the mask dance drama was known, his son, a school teacher, might suffer due to more widespread knowledge of the family's class origins.

²⁶⁴Yet research carried out by Okon Hwang and scheduled for presentation at the Society for Ethnomusicology annual conference in 2012 shows that many parents still consider studying a Western classical instrument a strategic cultural investment and generally do not encourage their children to learn Korean traditional instruments.

were students from the most politically active elite campuses in Seoul) sought out elderly farmers and fishermen who had once performed actively. These grandfathers (and grandmothers) were often taken aback not just by the interest in their art, but also that young college-educated people were suddenly showing deference to the knowledge of (sometimes illiterate) villagers.²⁶⁵ After democratization, the participation in mask dance dramas for political purposes tapered off but the idea that knowing Korean arts (or about Korean arts) is connected to Koreanness has remained.

Over the past two decades, as Korea arrived at and passed the hazy line between being a developing and developed nation, the ways that Koreans search for and experience Koreanness have gradually changed. In line with the worldwide increase in heritage tourism, a way in which "ethnic and national identities are constantly constructed and reconstructed" (HY Park 2009: 164), Koreans have sought out experiences of Korean tradition. The increase in domestic heritage tourism has emerged in the form of *munhwa dapsa*, trips to sites of Korean culture with an educator (Oppenheim 2008, 2011), staying in lineage houses and participating in Confucian rites (Moon OP 2011), and the Buddhist temple-stay experiential program that blossomed particularly in the lead-up to the 2002 World Cup. Ways of engaging in traditional arts have also changed radically. As I have described, these include mask dance dramas as the occupation of professionals, or a professional subject of study in which to receive university training. Learning a Korean traditional performing art cements membership within the group that rehearses and later performs together. More importantly it is an alternative method to feel and embody membership in imagined communities, such as the greater community of Koreans through

²⁶⁵This dynamic is described well in the first-person account of such a college student published by Yi Hunsang (2010).

forging connections based on "embodied practices and sonorous experiences" (Bigenho 2002: 3).

Bourdieu asserts that transmission of cultural capital within a family provides the child with a store of cultural capital that better positions him for success in education and professional pursuits. In the same way, transmission of the Bongsan Talchum skill-set within a class setting like that described above provides the students with a store of embodied cultural capital positioning them for success in traditional arts. In 2012 embodied cultural capital is less about performing markers of membership in a class than performing markers of membership in (one of potentially many) spheres of society.²⁶⁶ The *Minjung* movement, at least temporarily, increased the political efficaciousness of mask dance dramas, meaning that knowledge of mask dance dramas allowed for a different power configuration. Cultural capital is learned and trained, whether unconsciously (the family model) or consciously (Bongsan Talchum class). The process of self-development with a perceived economic benefit from knowledge of Bongsan Talchum begins with acquiring the embodied cultural capital of Bongsan Talchum knowledge through long-term participation in the class. Only two published papers (Baker 1995, Yi HS 2010) ethnographically address learning/transmission issues with mask dance dramas directly, although several other papers and dissertations touch on the issue.²⁶⁷ Most scholars in the 1970s and 1980s

²⁶⁶ This has been discussed extensively in research that rejects the idea that cultural capital is only something possessed by dominant/higher classes. For example, sociologist Prudence Carter argues against the either/or dichotomy between dominant and non-dominant cultural capital, arguing instead that her subjects (African-American low-income students) employed and recognized different types of cultural capital for different circumstances and employed it strategically to achieve their own goals—even when those goals were not the dominant-society-approved option (2003).

²⁶⁷ Although this may be surprising to some readers, Korean research on mask dance drama has focused almost overwhelmingly on the meaning of the mask dance dramas to Joseon Dynasty people; most scholarship has been carried out by historians and scholars of Korean literature who parse the dialogues. Ethnographic research on mask dance drama was conducted by scholars intent on uncovering the facts of each drama (the masks, the dialogue) before elderly former-participants passed on. Yi Hunsang's paper (2010), an auto-ethnographic account of his own participation in the resurrection and CPPL listing of Gasan Ogwangdae, is exceptional because Yi is only now

found a connection to Koreanness in mask dance drama learning; this was not contingent on the length or depth of participation. Learners were hobbyist housewives (Baker 1995), or they were politically motivated college students and young adults pursuing a connection to Korean tradition often through using mask dance dramas to create *madanggeuk* (e.g. Lee NH 2003, Lee YM 1997, Yang JS 1988). No other scholar has written about learning mask dance dramas as acquisition of cultural capital. However, other dance scholars have written about cultural capital tied to dance: in their study of professional ballet dancers, Wainwright and Turner explained that "dancers inevitably acquire considerable embodied cultural capital as their career progresses through hundreds of performances" (2004: 315). In the case of middle-class Thai participation, Paritta Chalernpow Koanantakool found that consumption of traditional dance became a way to acquire knowledge that translated into cultural capital (2006: 218). For these semi-professional Thai dancers of *ram thai* "[dance] discipline is perceived as knowledge that empowers practitioners to speak with authority" even on the subject of the Thai-ness of dance productions (Koanantakool 2006: 230).

reflecting on his ethnographic encounter from 1974.

Image 7.7: Bongsan Talchum Class



Attendance ranged from five to nineteen with average attendance of seven to twelve. This photo from 6/9/2011 shows (standing l-r) Yi Byeong'u, Yun Byeongho, "Yeonghee," Eom Hayeon, our teacher Kim Eunju and (sitting l-r) Heo Sejun, Bak Jeonghyeon, a student who stayed less than 3 classes and "Cheolsu."

b. Entrepreneurship of the Self

Although in the Korean context knowledge of arts such as Bongsan Talchum was once explicitly connected to membership in lower classes, today cultural capital in the form of mask dance drama knowledge is actively cultivated by long-term participants in the Bongsan Talchum class. Knowledge of how to perform Bongsan Talchum can be utilized in the workplace, or assist in hiring for a performance job. Entrepreneurship of the self, as theorized by anthropologist Jesook Song, is the condition in which Koreans maneuver, invent and adapt in order to find employment

post-financial crisis (2007: 337).²⁶⁸ Korea, which enjoyed almost guaranteed lifetime employment until the end of the 1990s, went through a difficult transition after 1998. Particularly after the 1997-1998 financial crisis "aggressive cultivation of the liberal self through self-disciplining processes was prescribed as a breakthrough for the difficulties in the job market and in business and industry" (Song 2007: 338). Artistic young people, like those in the Bongsan Talchum class, were well aware that self-cultivation was the best guarantee of ongoing employability. Just as businessmen may attend English language classes hoping that fluency will allow them to advance in their company, young arts professionals learning Bongsan Talchum are preparing to perform or teach Bongsan Talchum, or in Kim Yongcheol's case, to mine the mask dance drama's motions for new dance vocabulary.

Preparing to Enter University—"Yeonghee"

As I discussed in Chapter Five, one type of entrepreneurship of the self made possible through the Bongsan Talchum class is the preparation for the K-Arts *yeonhi* program. When I first rejoined this class in 2010 I met Yun Wonjung, who in the fall of 2010 used Bongsan Talchum skills to enter K-Arts. "Yeonghee," another student, was also admitted to K-Arts in the fall of 2011 after demonstrating her skills in Bongsan Talchum. In addition "Cheolsu" began studying Bongsan Talchum in addition to Imshil Pilbong Nongak in the early winter of 2011; he will be auditioning for K-Arts in the fall of 2012. Although he will apply as a *pungmul* major, not a mask dance drama major, he knows the closely associated skills will help him. These students are early career professionals in traditional performing arts, using this training as part of their

²⁶⁸ The 1997-1998 Asian financial crisis caused a huge shock to the Korean economy which continued to be felt strongly into the first decade of the 21st century.

entry to an elite institution.

"Yeonghee" is a high school senior at Seolak High School in Gapyeong (outside of Seoul), a location she described as graced with "clear water and clean air." Although one of the youngest students in the Bongsan Talchum community class, she was also one of the most serious about the art and had been attending the class consistently for longer than any other student during my year of fieldwork.²⁶⁹ "Yeonghee" studied all three years of middle school with fellow middle school students and two different instructors from the *bojonhoi*. When she began high school she told me "I started learning *jeonmunjeokeuro*." Literally translated *jeonmun* means 'one's specialty.' Thus, from the tenth grade she was already approaching Bongsan Talchum with professional goals or aspirations as the basis of her study.

Saeji: Why do you continue to learn Bongsan Talchum?

"Yeonghee": It's hard to explain—I think it's my destiny. Once I tried it, I wanted to continue, and I don't have the slightest desire to change my path or try something else.

Saeji: I know you started *janggu* drumming classes, how long has that been now?

"Yeonghee": It's been about half a year but I can't practice often enough, I only have a lesson once a week and practice on my own the rest of the time. I practice a varying amount of time, if I am feeling it I'll keep going, but otherwise just a little bit.

Saeji: So why are you studying *janggu*?

"Yeonghee": I want to understand Korean traditions through my body, through physical embodiment. If I go to a good arts program [the inference is K-Arts] I have to audition, and the audition will include my skill on the *janggu*.

Saeji: What do you think of practicing in this class?

"Yeonghee": I don't just think of this as only practice, a lot of people come here and all practice together, so I think that I am also learning about human relations—we talk, we dance, through communicating with each other I think I'm really learning the most. ["Yeonghee" was also having private lessons with Kim Eunju].

Saeji: The participants here are always changing, but in my view it seems that these days there are more people who are working in traditional performing arts than in the past.

"Yeonghee": Yes, I've noticed that little by little it's been changing that way. A few years ago there were more office workers and elementary school teachers, but these days many of the students are arts professionals.

²⁶⁹ Interview conducted on 4/7/2011 at the Intangible Cultural Properties Transmission center in Seoul.

Saeji: What do you think of practicing together with them?

"Yeonghee": There are strong and weak points, of course. The feeling in class is different, both are good, though. I find that I have more to say to and learn from people who are in the arts, sometimes I'm at a loss for words with an office worker.

"Yeonghee's" interview contains not only information about her preparation to enter K-Arts, but also the interesting observations, based on her long exposure to the class, that fellow students are changing, something that I have also observed in my years in and out of the class. In addition it is interesting to note how "Yeonghee" singles out the social element of being in the class. The broad cross-section of students from different ages and backgrounds, brought together by a common interest in Korean arts, would not be as easy to mingle with outside this class environment.

Traditional Arts Teacher—Bak Yeonshik

Another of the students in the class, Bak Yeonshik, spends most of his time teaching and learning Korean arts, and the appeal of socializing with others in his classes has long since worn off. Yeonshik is a government-certified teacher of Korean traditional music.²⁷⁰ He explained, "One of the reasons I go around teaching in school is because when I was young there wasn't any way to learn. I'm opening a door to lifelong interest."²⁷¹ To allay my curiosity he allowed me to

²⁷⁰ In Korea regular school teachers responsible for music education in elementary school and music teachers in middle and high school have had an abysmally poor education in traditional Korean music. Every music classroom has a piano, and students learn selections from *The Sound of Music*. Starting with the seventh national curriculum in 1997 the Ministry of Education has pushed for more teaching of traditional music, but without competent teachers this is quite difficult. Therefore a program of certified, roving, supplementary teachers who are specifically qualified to teach traditional music was established. Several ethnomusicologists are preparing publications on this topic, including Hilary Finchum-Sung and Im Miseon.

²⁷¹ From an interview conducted on 5/11/2011 in a restaurant in Anseong.

shadow him as he taught in a Korean public elementary school in Anseong.²⁷² His rotating schedule had him in this school on Wednesday; he visited four other schools on the other days of the week. In the classes I observed he taught *danso* (a small vertical flute somewhat akin to the recorder), *janggu* drumming rhythms (with hands on the desk in lieu of the loud hourglass drum), and folk songs.

Although he was skilled in so many important subjects, he was not satisfied. Yeonshik explained to me that he attended Kim Eunju's class in order to be prepared to teach students the motions of the dynamic and well-known mask dance drama. He was also training in *minyŏ* vocals, leading a ritual drumming group (who performed at the twice annual performances of Songpa Bridge Crossing ceremony), dancing in the troupe of well-known traditional dancer Yi Jeonghee and training in theatre acting with hopes of getting a role in a historical TV drama. Each of the traditional performing arts skills that he was able to teach increased his value and employability as a teacher of Korean traditional music and performance in Korean schools, and his ability to get jobs as a performer and accompanist outside the school system. Yeonshik loved traditional arts and wanted to teach and perform, but he was not prepared to only teach the same songs and drum rhythms for the rest of his life.

²⁷² I shadowed Bak Yeonshik in April, 2011.

Image 7.8: Bak Yeonshik



Yeonshik was perpetually curious and always learning. One of his friends had extensively studied traditional architecture, so she led us on a three-hour detailed tour of Gyeongbok Palace teaching us details I have never heard a tour guide mention before—and he noted it all down.

Performer with a Company—Yi Byeong'u

Yi: Why am I learning? Even when I was young I was attracted to traditional arts but my family wasn't supportive of my interests. First I went to college, to Dongguk University (the Gyeongju campus), and I went to classes for a little more than a year, but I just wasn't interested in the content and I dropped out.

Saeji: When did you actually begin to learn traditional arts?

Yi: Late, about one year after I summoned the courage to move to Seoul. I was already twenty-five, because I'd finished my military service. So it's been about four years. I didn't even know where or how to start learning arts. I had to start with the real true basics (laughs).

Yi Byeong'u, a full-time performer with the *madanggeuk* troupe Michu Geukdan relayed to me how hard it had been to learn the arts. He detailed a long list of different skills he had worked to acquire, from *sangmo* ribbon-hat spinning to modern dance.²⁷³ He felt positively about *madanggeuk's* ability to harmonize certain Western elements with Korean traditions; furthermore,

²⁷³Yi Byeong'u interview conducted on May 12th, 2011 in the Intangible Cultural Assets Transmission Center, Seoul.

despite his modest demeanor, pride shone through as he explained that many of the most traditional and dynamic elements included in the performances of his group were the most popular, particularly with the youngest audience members. The first few productions he worked on were closer to dramas, albeit with plenty of slapstick. As time went on he learned more and more traditional skills, including high energy *pungmul* drumming and *sangmo* spinning. A few months after he began Bongsan Talchum he also started performing the *sajachum* (lion dance).

Yi: At one point, realizing how much I was enjoying what I was already learning, I decided I had to learn Bongsan Talchum. Our [Michu Geukdan] leader Mr. Kim Jongyeop told me how to go about learning it,²⁷⁴ and I followed his directions and ended up here at the *bojonhoi* class. Actually at our *madangnoli* I can only see Mr. Kim Jongyeop from time to time, but before having an opportunity to get on the stage I don't think I could have met someone like him. Anyway, I started learning here in January of 2011. Right from the beginning with Bongsan Talchum it hasn't been easy to grow accustomed to the movements, and even though I had already been doing *madangnoli* I found the Bongsan Talchum movements quite hard, but so very interesting, so much fun! It is as if I've been filled with joy, so as I do it, even as it's hard I'm really enjoying myself. I can tell how much I'll still have to learn to do Bongsan Talchum well, but I want to live together with Bongsan Talchum, that's how I feel. Ah, what a disorganized explanation (laughs)!

Many of the class participants, like Byeong'u, found the art so much fun that their initial reason to learn and their reasons to continue were quite different. I also frequently remarked that no matter how I felt when I arrived at class, I went home happy and energized.

Independent Performer—Bak Jeonghyeon

The connection of Bongsan Talchum with entrepreneurship of the self was made very clear in a conversation with Bak Jeonghyeon, a tall and energetic class member with a background in

²⁷⁴ Kim Jongyeop is also a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* for Bongsan Talchum.

musical theatre.²⁷⁵ We conversed about what he had gained from the class:

- Bak:** First of all I've been able to work with Teacher Jang Yongil, doing the lion dance, with the lion tamer. We've just been doing that scene.
- Saeji:** In those performances that was the only scene from Bongsan Talchum?
- Bak:** Right. These performances with the Gangwon Province Dance Company have only included us doing the lion dance; they imported us especially for that part. We started in March and kept going until now, that's about five months. In this way I've taken what I've learned and been able to earn what I need to eat, to live—the pay I got was enough for my personal life...
- Saeji:** Anything else?
- Bak:** If I have another skill that helps me to get work, I can survive [can eat]. In an audition or other opportunity, if this supplements my meager skills...
- Saeji:** What would you do in an audition?
- Bak:** I could show them the eight monks' dance, or the lion dance, depending on the circumstance.
- Saeji:** Didn't you also perform a dance with Kim Yongcheol?
- Bak:** You know that.
- Saeji:** I'd like you to explain in your words.
- Bak:** Yes, we performed in the Asian Dance Festival. At that time we were the Korean representative team, the creative mask dance we learned here we took and performed—it was really interesting and I think we left a great impression.
- Saeji:** Do your activities here fit well with your career?
- Bak:** For someone like me, who is trying to live as a stage actor, I'm getting a lot of benefit. It's good for my career and good for my skill-set.
- Saeji:** Do you want to become a member of the regular troupe for Bongsan Talchum?
- Bak:** At first that was what I wanted, but then after I had an opportunity to perform I realized there isn't a large difference between what I would do as a member for the troupe and what I am doing now, it's just a matter of having the name [holding the title of being part of the *bojonhoi* moving closer and closer to National Human Treasure status]—but I'm already performing with the same teacher.
- Saeji:** Is that name important to you?
- Bak:** At first it was. But then that was what I thought from a position of ignorance. Now I know that I can develop my skills and if the name comes it does, but I am more motivated by the opportunity to learn and my confidence that no matter what I can perform well.
- Saeji:** Don't you have another plan these days?
- Bak:** It's just between us until after the festival, right? We made another team.²⁷⁶ At the Andong International Mask Dance Festival they have competitions, and we've

²⁷⁵ Bak Jeonghyeon interview conducted on 8/08/11 in the Intangible Cultural Assets Transmission Center, Seoul.

²⁷⁶ The other participants in this proposed project were from the class—Juhyeon, Sejun and potentially Byeongho—if he could work out his schedule.

been thinking of participating.

- Saeji:** Would it be a new mask dance or would you perform part of Bongsan Talchum?
Bak: We'd make a new performance using movements from Bongsan Talchum—really we haven't finished thinking through it yet.

Although Bak Jeonghyeon's experience through Bongsan Talchum was not necessarily representative—being an athletic man, able to memorize choreography quickly, and an unemployed actor gave him opportunities that most others in the class did not have—the variety of ways in which the mask dance drama was able to benefit him demonstrates what the class was able to offer.²⁷⁷

Although Jeonghyeon sounded positive that he would not become a member of the *bojonhoi*, if he is offered that honor I believe he will accept. Many other students, including students that I learned with between 2005 and 2006, are now performing members. I discussed the transition from the evening community class to the *bojonhoi* with Kim Eunju:

- Saeji:** Have many of your former students from this class become members of the *bojonhoi*?
Kim:²⁷⁸ Depending on your perspective you could say that a lot of students have become members, or you could say that just a few have. Nam Mihyeon, you know her? And Son Byeongman, Jo Pungnae, Gang Ujong, Yi Janghun, Bak Yongshin—I can remember you practiced with him last summer when you visited. Six people? A little more?²⁷⁹ I don't know why I can't remember if there were more, but of course in the future as well if anyone has great skill and interest, then we'll invite them to be part of our family.

For the *bojonhoi*, as Kim Eunju made clear, the class was a way to find and train students who, if they showed promise, could be brought into the group to replenish the ranks of performers. A

²⁷⁷ In Bongsan Talchum all roles can be played by men and only a small number of roles are customarily played by women.

²⁷⁸ Interview with Kim Eunju conducted 7/28/2008 at the Intangible Cultural Properties Transmission Center.

²⁷⁹ In addition, after 2008 Bak Mijin, Han Gyuseon, Bak Insu and other students I had once learned with under Kim Eunju became *jeonsuja*.

generation before, learning a mask dance drama was connected to politics, not job skills, yet in the contemporary moment as students entered the class with long-term entrepreneurial interests, the *bojonhoi* received the benefit. As students paid to be trained, a teacher was employed and simultaneously the class became a long-drawn-out audition.

c. Cosmopolitan Strivings

In their desire to learn Bongsan Talchum and re-connect with Korean traditions I was witnessing the students' development of a cosmopolitan self. It may seem contradictory to assert that by focusing on learning Korean traditions these individuals were (partially) concerned with something beyond Korea. However, in modern Korea, almost every activity is framed in relation to the West. Anthropologist Cho Hae-joang has discussed how the 1990s, Koreans began to search for cultural identity not just motivated by individual desire, but also motivated by the desire of increasingly globalized Korean companies to know how to present Korean culture to outsiders and how to discuss the cultural differences between Koreans and people from other regions (1998: 75).

In *The Intimate University* (2009) anthropologist Nancy Abelman posits the existence of a "cosmopolitan self"—a self that knows his/her place in the world and is able to navigate ideas and spaces beyond Korea, but without losing the sense of being Korean (134-135). One of Abelman's interviewees discussed the cultivation of a "cultural zone" within which Koreanness is maintained, while simultaneously conserving the desire to achieve based on a cosmopolitan/Western rubric of success (136-138). The same process has been described in performing arts in other regions, "Learning to do Thai dance is learning to have an essential(ized)

Thai body. Thai dance makes one, in some sense, classically Thai" (Koanantakool 2006: 226). Learning Bongsan Talchum is a way self-aware students and teachers can maintain their own cultural zone even while they consume popular Korean and foreign culture.

Koreanness in the World

Anthropologists Park So-jin and Nancy Abelman suggest that "the idea of what it means to be South Korean is transforming: increasingly, to be South Korean means to be South Korean "in the world" (2004: 650). Park and Abelman discuss the acquisition of English in Korea, claiming that "mothers' management of English after-school education for their children speak[s] to their own class mobility (or maintenance) and cosmopolitan strivings" (2004: 648). How is this different from the young performing artists involved in the Bongsan Talchum learning experience? For the mask dance drama students engaged in self-entrepreneurship through learning Bongsan Talchum, there is an ever-present consciousness of how knowledge or ability gained in class may translate into not just domestic but also international opportunities.

In the performance sphere as well the assertion of Koreanness is clear. It is this impulse that led Kim Yongcheol to incorporate movement vocabulary from Bongsan Talchum into his modern dance, "Baramiya," in an international dance festival representing Korea. In fusion performances that incorporate traditional elements, or in unadulterated performances of Korean tradition artists position themselves as Korean, even while they look outward. This outward gaze, the cosmopolitan striving, was clear in formal and informal interviews. Although most had not pursued foreign language training, limiting their "cosmopolitan strivings" to opportunities coordinated by others, the strong desire to present work overseas or for foreign audiences was

apparent. In interviews they explained that knowing Korean traditional arts, or making use of the traditional arts in their performances, would raise interest in their performance and/or in Korea.

Among the students this was most obvious in the cases of Kim Yongcheol, who had already performed internationally, often incorporating elements of Korean tradition to add a new flavor that differentiated his works from those of other modern dancers/choreographers. In addition he had taught Korean dance abroad. He explained:

Kim:²⁸⁰ Two years ago I had an opportunity to go Guangdong (China) to teach Korean dance; a lot of Korean dance is dignified and quiet and graceful; as I would be teaching men I realized that I should pick something more attractive for them and I thought of mask dance. For one month I learned from Kim Eunju, building our connection. That connection allowed me to start dreaming of and later to create the "Baramiya" choreography that we performed a few days ago.

Kim was not the only one taking Bongsan Talchum overseas. Students such as Kim Seonyeong were in class specifically to attain enough skills to teach and show Korean traditions when outside Korea. In Seonyeong's case she saw enough interest in Korean traditions during an earlier sojourn in France that she had worked out a plan with four others to perform Bongsan Talchum and performances inspired by Korean traditions, as well as teach workshops in Paris for most of a year.²⁸¹ She was to be the Bongsan Talchum expert and other members brought other skills to the table (and would be trained in Bongsan Talchum by Seonyeong). To this end Seonyeong studied Bongsan Talchum for almost one year. At the end of 2011 Bak Yeonshik traveled to Canada, where he taught Korean traditional performance workshops for a month, primarily to Korean-Canadian students.

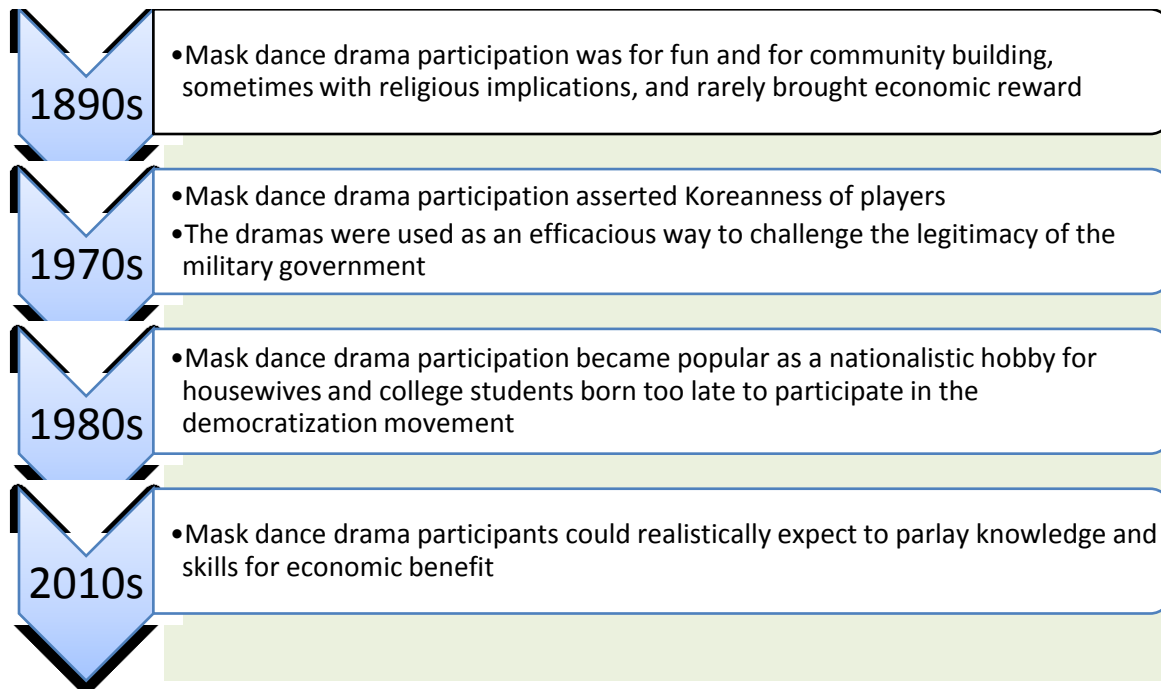
²⁸⁰Interviewed 5/02/11 at the Intangible Cultural Assets Transmission Center, Seoul.

²⁸¹Communicated in a series of informal interviews during class between September and December, 2010.

6. Summary

In this chapter I have outlined the surprising changing motivations of students receiving Bongsan Talchum transmission in exchange for a monthly lesson fee. The changes can be best communicated by reference to Table 7.9.

Table 7.9: Changing Meaning of Mask Dance Drama Participation



These changes are surprising, but what is not surprising is that Bongsan Talchum, one of the most successful groups, is negotiating the system through a regularly established class that, first, brings money into the preservation association coffers; second, employs at least one teacher from the group; third, fulfills the government directive to transmit the art; and fourth, allows the most interested potential future preservation association members to partake in what is essentially both training and an audition for group membership.

One of the greater implications of training students in Bongsan Talchum is that after they

learn they can perform it or incorporate the motions into a neo-traditional or fusion performance. However this is not a new concern, particularly for Bongsan Talchum, many iterations of which were performed throughout the *Minjung* Movement. The performers in the group, including Kim Eunju and Jang Yongil, have laughed off my questions about sullyng the tradition or confusing audiences. They feel that Bongsan Talchum is the heritage of the entire nation, to do what they will with, and they do not object to any other performances. Kim Eunju was proud to attend "Baramiya," and she received special recognition in the program. *Bojonhoi* members organize entire productions of Bongsan Talchum at other locations, such as the Korean National University of the Arts, even though this produces performers able to perform the exact same scenes (although I can see the difference, the untutored could not). In fact the evening community class has even staged performances in previous years. Considering Bongsan Talchum's 1967 inclusion in the CPPL and many years of performances both official and unofficial, it seems clear that the preservation association's laissez-faire attitude has been the appropriate reaction.

If the goal is to preserve tradition then relying on Kim Yongcheol would be unwise, as his primary commitment is to his own career, not to preserving Bongsan Talchum. This reveals the ultimate importance of the *bojonhoi*, since no matter how many people learn, and for what reasons, the *bojonhoi* remains responsible for preserving the art in its "authentic" form as a precious item of Korean heritage. When the *bojonhoi* finds someone who is both committed and talented, they have the option of asking them to engage in this preservation goal together. Otherwise they cheerfully teach whoever signs up for class with no other expectation.

Appendix

Appendix 7.1: Attendance in April, 2011

Name	4/4	4/7	4/11	4/14	4/18	4/21	4/25	4/28
"Yeonghee"		x	x	x				x
Bak Yeonshik	x ²⁸²		x				x	
Eom Hayeon	Hayeon was injured and took the month off							
Bak Jeonghyeon	x	x	x	x	x			x
Yun Byeongho	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
CedarBough Saeji		x		x		x	x	
Yi Byeong'u	x	x	x	x				
Heo Sejun	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Bak Juhyeon	x		x	x	x	x		
Bak Shinma	Shinma would sometimes stop by and hang out but wasn't training							
Kim Yongcheol	x			x		x		x
"Cheolsu"		x		x		x		x
Yi YH		x		x		x	x	x
Jeong NR			x		x			
Yi JH	x							
Ryu SS ²⁸³	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Jo YS	x				x		x	
Choi JI	x	x						
Gwak HG		x						
Gang HY	Kim Eunju must have felt it likely they would return after							
Choi YN	attending in March, but neither of these two did.							

Attendance in May, 2011

Name	5/2	5/9	5/12	5/16	5/19	5/23	5/26	5/30
"Yeonghee"	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Bak Yeonshik	x	x		x		x		x
Eom Hayeon	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Bak Jeonghyeon						x	x	x
Yun Byeongho				x		x	x	x
CedarBough Saeji ²⁸⁴	x		x		x	x		x
Yi Byeong'u	x		x	x	x	x	x	
Heo Sejun		x	x	x	x			x
Bak Juhyeon	x			x		x		
"Cheolsu"			x		x		x	
Jeong NR	Stopped attending (Kim Eunju always left their name in the books if she was hopeful they would continue).							
Kim Yongcheol	x	x						
Yi YH		x	x	x				

²⁸² Some students pay half tuition and only show up one day a week.

²⁸³ Ryu SS was a dancer for Kim Yongcheol, as was Yi JH. They attended classes to get a better idea how to perform in "Baramiya," learning Bongsan Talchum from Kim Eunju as well as filtered through Kim Yongcheol.

²⁸⁴ I was not being a bad student by not having perfect attendance—there were concerts and events that I had to attend for other aspects of my research.

Jo YS	Stopped attending							
Gang Hwayeon		x	x	x	x	x	x	
Choi YN				x		x		

Chapter Eight

Drumming, Dancing and Drinking Makgeolli: Liminal Time-Travel through Intensive Camps²⁸⁵

²⁸⁵ Another version of this chapter has been accepted by the *Journal of Korean Studies*, and will appear in Volume 18, No. 1 (2013). The anonymous reviewers and journal editor Clark Sorensen provided very useful feedback.

1. Introduction

The fieldwork on which this chapter is based was conducted with two preservation associations that use intensive camps as a format to teach their art: the mask dance drama Goseong Ogwangdae, and Imshil Pilbong Nongak, a type of *pungmul*—drumming and dancing historically performed as part of group work, regional celebrations and used in ceremonies to ritually purify the village. As performance and teaching performance is financially insufficient to support most participants, keeping a group of well-trained active performers is a constant concern. In less popular or geographically remote arts, the preservation associations may be barely larger than the number of performers needed for a single performance. For example, Goseong Ogwangdae's preservation association has twenty-nine members, while more than twenty-five are required for a full-length performance. In this chapter I explore how the camps fit into the ever-present need for each preservation association to foster a pool of available performers committed to preserving the art form.

Transmission is conducted by both of these organizations through the format of intensive week-long classes held during summer and winter vacation.²⁸⁶ I expected to encounter students at these camps who were interested in becoming part of the preservation associations for Goseong Ogwangdae and Imshil Pilbong Nongak. Additionally, I assumed the preservation association leaders must have some sort of plan to recruit the most promising dancers or musicians and invite them to continue practice after the intensive ended. This assumption was based on my experience at Bongsan Talchum, but to my surprise it was only true at Imshil

²⁸⁶ In Korea the summer and winter vacation are almost equivalent lengths for college students. The school year begins in March, there is a break in July and August and again in January and February (at the pre-college level the winter vacation is much shorter).

Pilbong Nongak and, even there, was not the first concern. Reframing my research, I sought to answer two primary questions. First, if the camps are not held to find new performers, why would preservation associations hold these intensive courses? And second, if students do not intend to become members of these groups, why would they participate? Other scholars have written wonderful accounts focusing on the best and most committed learners, those likely to join the preservation association in the future. Here I wanted to understand those who have a different reason for attending camp.

2. Background

As I briefly outlined in the introduction to Part Two of the dissertation, there are three major methods of transmission for the group arts: (1) rehearsing with preservation associations directly; (2) regular classes (commonly two hours a class, once or twice a week) run by representatives of the preservation association; and (3) intensive live-in courses offered by a few of the preservation associations during summer and winter vacations. My understanding of these three methods was gained through participating in all three methods and through reading accounts of practice with the Gangnyeong Talchum preservation association in the works of folklorist Yang Jongsung (2003: 77-80), participation in regular classes and intensive classes in Iri Nongak and Imshil Pilbong Nongak by ethnomusicologist Nathan Hesselink (2006: 121-151), and intensive camps as explored by ethnomusicologist Donna Kwon (2005: 204-279).

In Joseon Dynasty Korea there were no school classes in Bongsan Talchum (not even in the town of Bongsan). Classroom-style learning of traditional arts was restricted to education for

court performers or the *gwonbeom* schools that trained *gisaeng*.²⁸⁷ As Imshil Pilbong Nongak's Yang Jinseong explained, traditionally he would learn from his father and his son from him:

Yang:²⁸⁸ In the past we learned naturally in an environment of watching and following along, but now the circumstances have changed and I think it [aesthetic knowledge] has to be handed down through [formal] education.

Today, arts transmission cannot be picked up incidentally as part of life in Goseong or Pilbong, but must be actively taught. Unlike Bongsan Talchum, the arts focused on in this paper are located in rural areas of South Gyeongsang Province and North Jeolla Province. Although groups located far from major population centers could and sometimes do teach only a small number of locally based people, these two invite participation in intensive classes.

3. Training for Goseong Ogwangdae and Imshil Pilbong Nongak

In this section I describe the training environment in brief for Goseong Ogwangdae, a mask dance group and the drumming and dancing group Imshil Pilbong Nongak based on fieldwork conducted in summer 2009. My understanding, however, reflects three additional weeks of intensive classes at each location in winter and summer of 2010 and 2011.

a. Goseong Ogwangdae

In 1964 the government included Goseong Ogwangdae into the CPPL as Intangible Cultural Asset number 7.²⁸⁹ Goseong Ogwangdae is a lively and fast-paced drama with only five acts,

²⁸⁷ The *gisaeng* are roughly equivalent to the Japanese geisha.

²⁸⁸ The interview with Yang Jinseong, National Human Treasure and Director of Imshil Pilbong Nongak, was conducted at Seoul Noli Madang on 7/13/08.

²⁸⁹ The numbers assigned to each Intangible Cultural Asset are assigned in order of certification within the system.

where movement takes precedent over verbal text.²⁹⁰ The small town of Goseong shows pride in their mask dance drama, even utilizing it as an emblem of regional branding, with local projects including a Mask Dance Museum located just 500 meters from the Goseong Ogwangdae complex.²⁹¹ The transmission center itself is relatively simple; it consists of two buildings, with an office, dormitory rooms, a practice room, a large hall for group practice or performance, and a large kitchen without running water. As described in Chapter Five, the intensive class spends the first two days teaching, polishing and reviewing basic motions, after which the students are divided into the five major roles. After learning the solo dances of a character such as *Won Yangban*, a performance group is chosen and students learn the minor parts and stage blocking on the fifth day of the class. On the final (sixth) day the students perform for the teachers and local townspeople.

Goseong Ogwangdae ran five sessions in summer 2009; some sessions were projected to have 50-60 participants. I signed up for the first week of the 2009 summer session, during which there were only two schools with a total of seventeen participants enrolled. On Sunday June 28th,

²⁹⁰ The five acts in Goseong Ogwangdae are (1) *Mundung Buk Chum* (Drum dance of *Mundung* the leper), (2) *Ogwangdae Noli* (play of the clever servant *Malddugi* and five upper-class gentlemen), (3) *Bibi Yangban Gwajang* (play of mystical creature *Bibi* who bedevils an upper-class gentleman), (4) *Seungmu Gwajang* (play of a monk and two young ladies) and (5) *Jemilju Gwajang* (play of a grandmother, her husband and his young concubine). Although the dialogue in Act 2 (and to some extent Act 3) can be used for analysis of traditional attitudes towards the upper class yangban (as well as the liberating effect of the carnival environment in the manner explained by Mikhail Bakhtin 1984) and Act 5 demonstrates the traditional tension between wife and concubine, two acts are entirely non-verbal. It is worth noting that due to periods of inactivity and the ever-changing nature of orally transmitted narratives placing too much emphasis on *specific* wording in Korean mask dance drama dialogues is of limited benefit. The dialogue in Act 2 and 3 is also quite short compared to the dialogue in most other mask dance dramas. Goseong Ogwangdae is not "less" for the shorter dialogue and non-verbal scenes; there is no guarantee of the historical accuracy of dialogue in the mask dance dramas. They were all oral narratives that were generally first written down decades after regular performances ended.

²⁹¹ A new improved complex was under construction in 2011. This new building would include training halls, offices, a dormitory floor, a kitchen with running water and bathrooms with hot showers.

I met eleven of them, students of the Chuncheon University of Education, at a bus station in Seoul.²⁹² The other students, from Shilla University, we met after we arrived at the transmission center. The office of Goseong Ogwangdae had facilitated my temporary membership in the Chuncheon University student club for the weeklong intensive.²⁹³ The students were mostly women in their first two years of university. Like other Korean college students they loved popular culture and in summer 2009 delighted in singing the new group SHINee's hit "Juliet." The education university trained its students to be elementary teachers, whereas the students from Shilla University, majoring in Food and Nutrition Science, wanted to become nutritionists, hotel chefs or restaurant owners. In sessions in 2010 and 2011 I met groups of nursing majors, business and accounting majors and a performance troupe gaining traditional theatre skills through learning the mask dance drama.

The first night, all seventeen of us settled in and got to know each other by sharing a quick meal and then snacks and *makgeolli*, a fermented milky traditional drink made from rice. On Monday June 29th, my journal entry reads

Introductions, speeches, and songs were followed by a long talk about mask dance by the National Human Treasure of the group, Yi Yunseok. All the other participants have at least a fair knowledge of the basic movements of the dance, an approximately eight minute long routine. Having never seen the routine, a series of key motions from the different characters in the drama, I positioned myself in the circle of dancers behind a woman from the local Goseong community who was taking advantage of the classes to get extra study in. We danced under *isuja* Ha Manho. After class ended the rest of the group continued

²⁹² I have used full names of registered members of preservation associations, who are public figures, and only the given names without surname for the students I only interviewed in 2009 as at the time of interview I only asked their permission for the use of their given names.

²⁹³ If I attended on my own I would have had to bring pots, pans and food and cook three meals a day on my own and I still would have slept and shared the group shower with the women from the two universities. Temporary membership made everything easier.

to practice.

It had not occurred to me that the participants were already learning Goseong Ogwangdae and in fact many had already performed the drama at or near their university. At the intensive the students aimed to improve the skills they had learned through upperclassmen or remembered from previous courses.²⁹⁴

Later in the week I sat and talked with Yi Jaehun, a *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*²⁹⁵ for the group, about his motivation to teach students in these intensive classes. He told me he participated just for his own personal enjoyment and wished for more opportunities to teach the art. It was clear, he felt, that teaching the school club students was a step in the right direction:

Yi:²⁹⁶ The *dongari* [school club] students can never really learn all the acts, they try year after year, but if the university had classes with texts that taught the deep meaning...!²⁹⁷

Yi, like many other senior performers, wanted to teach on a deeper level and was frustrated with an attitude towards learning that prioritized the physical mechanics of embodiment at the expense of learning the intentionality that underpinned the movements.

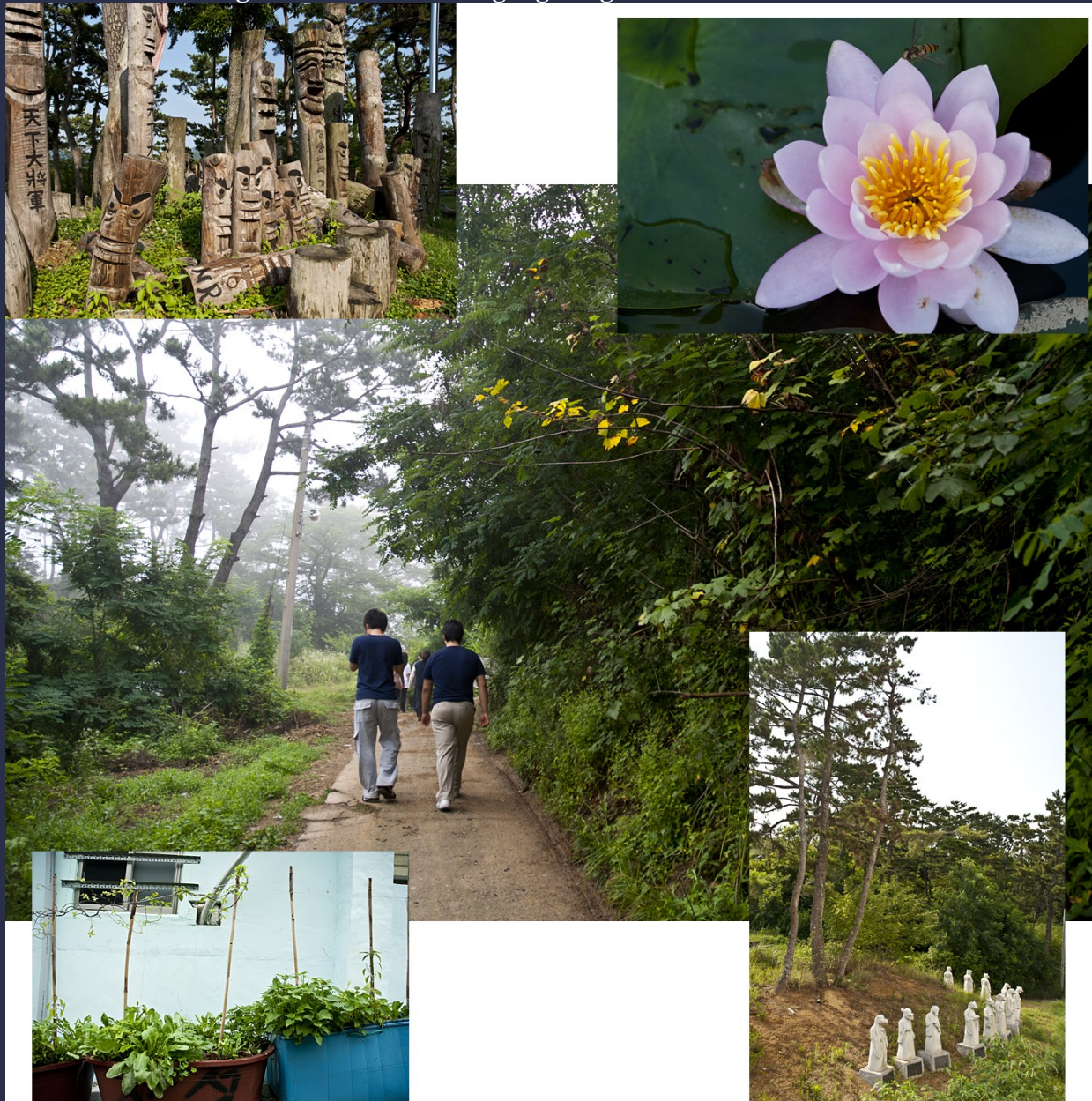
²⁹⁴ To learn more about the club environment for learning performing arts I recommend the Ph.D. dissertation of Park Shin-gil (2000).

²⁹⁵ Roughly speaking groups have one or two National Human Treasures, below them are *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* a rank usually held by about five senior teaching members in a group- in mid 2011 the mask dance group had five and the drumming group had three *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*.

²⁹⁶ Interview conducted on July 2, 2009 at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center.

²⁹⁷ One university offers the type of courses Yi Jaehun approves of: Korean National University of the Arts (K-Arts), as discussed in Chapter Five.

Image 8.1: At the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center



Every morning the students from Chuncheon University took a brisk walk for 30-40 minutes followed by calisthenics and either cleaning or cooking duties. The *jangseung* poles and statues frame the Goseong Mask Museum.



(Top left) Yi Yunseok speaks to the students at the start of a lesson. (Top right) The transmission center treated everyone to barbeque and watermelon; here Kim Dongsu (*isuja*) oversees the grill. (Middle) All the students from the first summer session in 2009. (Bottom) Hwang Jong'uk (left, *isuja*) models correct motions for students rehearsing Act 2.



Goseong Ogwangdae's history, including transmission history and past awards, are displayed everywhere in the center; posters from past performances line the hallways. From my collection of mask photos—Bibi (green), Hongbaek Yangban (white and red), Keuneomi (with red hair piece) and Cheongjae Yangban (blue).





(Top left) Shilla University participants, (top right) getting dressed, (middle left) Act 4, (middle right) the teachers drummed for the performance—Kim Changeun (*isuja*) playing *buk* in the foreground.



(Bottom left) the transmission center, (bottom right) Yi Jaehun (*jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*) playing *janggu*.

In class, we began by repeating the basic motions, a standard teaching methodology in many Korean folk arts. As we created movement habits through repetition the instructor would

stop and focus our attention on a specific sequence or movement he felt needed more work. We would rehearse the tricky section with demonstration by the instructor several times then return to practicing the motions sequentially. National Human Treasure Yi Yunseok explained key motions in great detail, but there was no discussion of the overall meaning of the basic motion set. Thankfully there was never any singling out of specific students to point out errors (or praise correctness). Each participant pushed to be better, and approached instructors (particularly junior instructors) and their more able club fellows for extra tips during breaks. This enthusiastic participation, without instructor pressure, was a key facet of the learning environment at both camps; students learned for themselves (and their club's future performance). Compared with the high stress educational environment in Korean academic classes, no matter how much sweat rolled down our bodies, the camps were for fun.

Starting on Wednesday, July 1st we were divided into the five main roles, each to be taught by a single instructor. *Isuja* Ha Hyeon'gap, an editor and writer for the local newspaper, taught my group the dance of the old monk. He proceeded through the solo, teaching us in sequences of motions often four rhythmic cycles long. As soon as we could remember the new sequence we would practice the entire solo from the beginning. Throughout our three days of lessons with him he was precise and self-assured and answered my many questions. I appreciated that he tried to give mini-lectures on the scene and its deeper meanings. Yet the three college students only asked questions related to body mechanics, proving the point Yi Jaehun had made about the lack of deeper understanding of the art form. I imagined I saw hints of frustration from Ha that we danced somewhat mechanically, proceeding from one movement to the next without the unstopping flow that is one characteristic of the motions in Goseong Ogwangdae. Ha might

have been frustrated that the best dancer would not perform on the last day, but club leaders made the decision about who would perform which roles. The clubs were most concerned with the continuation of the club, and teaching a first-year student to perform the role would, according to Haerim, leader of the Chuncheon University club, make these first-year students feel themselves an essential part of the group and provide a within-the-club teacher for the following year's new recruits. Baldly stated, the clubs were more concerned with democratic opportunity to learn and perform than the quality of the final performance. This emphasis preserves the original community building function of such dances more than a modern insistence on technical excellence.²⁹⁸ It is also interesting to note that the clubs had no concern for male or female roles. Most participants were women, but that did not mean that the few male students were assigned the key male speaking roles.

²⁹⁸ It also flies in the face of more formalized instruction for professionals, such as the teaching practices for *Jindo Ssikkim'gut* described by Park Mikyung (2003: 362-364).

Image 8.2: Act 5, *Jemilju Gwajang*



(Top) Yi Jaehun (*jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*)'s detailed diagrammatic explanation of Act 5 for the students. (Bottom) Late in the evening the night before the performance the students in Act 5 run through the scene in the small practice room.

b. Imshil Pilbong Nongak

At Imshil Pilbong Nongak there was a similar attitude towards both teaching and learning. The students willingly dove into the difficult and fast-paced classes.

Yumi:²⁹⁹ We get up early, and dance with the *sogo*, eat, clean, then go directly to class, the schedule is so crowded and we have to be diligent, but despite the constant activities, it feels relaxing. [Describing learning *seoljanggu*, the solo dance with the hourglass drum] it was so hard I was crying, but after I learned it I realized it would be a treasured memory for the rest of my life.

Seungmin:³⁰⁰ When I come here, I don't worry about anything else. This is my comfortable retreat.

Eunjeong:³⁰¹ Of course it's difficult for my body. But I really want to do it well, and that's why I've come here, if I'm tired, or even nodding off, I still practice. Right now there isn't any part of my body that doesn't hurt.

Jongmin:³⁰² I can't explain it in words. When I get here at the start of a camp I'm very happy. During the semester I continue to anticipate going to the camp, and when that time finally arrives I almost can't believe it has come at last. My feeling about coming here is that strong. I could easily say that learning *uri* [our, Korean] culture is fascinating, but that's not exactly what I am feeling. That would just be a pretext, I'm not learning this just because it's our ancient culture but because of the human relations, these most interesting other students and instructors that I can spend time with.

I arrived at that retreat on a humid July afternoon noisy with the humming of cicadas when my friend Wolduk dropped me off at the transmission center for Imshil Pilbong Nongak. Ten years earlier I had first met Wolduk while dancing on a cold mountainside in the small village in the midst of this same group's annual celebration of Daeboreum, first full moon of the lunar new year. The facilities and training environment at Imshil Pilbong Nongak (Intangible Cultural

²⁹⁹ Yumi was a five-time participant, interviewed 07/09/09 at the transmission center in Pilbong.

³⁰⁰ Seungmin was an eight-time participant, interviewed 07/10/09 at the transmission center in Pilbong.

³⁰¹ Eunjeong, a ten-time participant, interviewed 01/13/11 at the transmission center in Pilbong.

³⁰² Jongmin, a nine-time participant, interviewed on 8/20/10 at the transmission center in Pilbong.

Asset number 11-ma³⁰³) were much more developed than those of Goseong Ogwangdae. Usually a large, long building houses the majority of the student participants.³⁰⁴ Multiple buildings spotted the transmission center campus; we spent our time in the dorm, cafeteria, and two out of three training buildings, with indoor assemblies in a stage-equipped hall and outdoor practice in several *madang* performance spaces. The atmosphere at the Imshil Pilbong Nongak intensive was different from that in Goseong, partly because of the greater number of participants and partly because students choose to be members of beginning or advanced groups.³⁰⁵ This facilitated interaction with members of other clubs, and friendships grew during the course. Those who attended without a club have historically drifted at the margins, but a group of previous individual attendees had made a club for those drifters and I was fortunate enough to be pulled in.³⁰⁶ This new group was called Gaejeonyeon, short for Gaein Jeonsu Yeonhap (Individual Training Group).

Daily practice was intense, with a one-hour 7:00 a.m. *sogo* (small hand-drum manipulated by dance-specialists) rehearsal followed by breakfast and then drumming practice until after noon. Of the forty or so beginners, nine played *ggwaengwari*, the small metal gong,

³⁰³ The category of *nongak*, or farmers drumming and dancing music, is subdivided into several types of *nongak* from various regions of Korea. Imshil Pilbong Nongak is "ma" following after ga, na and da.

³⁰⁴ In the four weeks I attended classes at the transmission center there were 100, 80, 23 and 90 other participants, the time that only 23 students participated we slept in a different building, one floor above where we all drummed together. This conserved energy in the piercingly cold winter.

³⁰⁵ Sometimes an intermediate option is available and in weeks with very small numbers everyone is together. There are also classes in *sangmo* available for about four weeks per vacation.

³⁰⁶ I continued to time my attendance at training camps in 2010 and 2011 around their schedules and in 2011 I performed with Gaejeonyeon in Seoul.

while the rest played the *janggu* hourglass drum.³⁰⁷ The beginners' room was a noisy place; the *ggwaenggwari* was loud, high and clamoring—even when played with the resonance dampened by touches to the backside of the gong. The wood and hide *janggu*, an hourglass drum played on both heads with different sticks, had a softer sound. Every hour or two our instructor, Kim Dongmin, a newly minted *isuja* in his late twenties, would teach a rhythmic pattern, model it correctly and work with us to perfect it, first slowly and then at an increasing tempo. The room became at times cacophonous, particularly as the speed of play became too fast for some players and before they gave up trying to follow along. After Kim Dongmin thought he had fixed many of our errors he would lead us in a long period of continuous drumming practice, before going on to the next rhythmic pattern. The advanced group studied in the same fashion, although they occasionally learned under Yang Jinseong and usually studied with Choi Ho-in, one of the most senior *isuja*. After lunch we continued practice, and after dinner Kim Dongmin (but not Yang and Choi) continued to work with students who came to ask for special help, particularly those learning the *seoljanggu* dance. Students not training with Kim Dongmin practiced with their club members until close to 10 p.m. when the nightly drinking of *makgeolli* commenced.³⁰⁸

Although each day unfolded much like the day before, there were high points to the week, special events such as a game afternoon where we split up the clubs and made four new teams

³⁰⁷ A true beginner on the *janggu* (I had played the barrel drum or *buk* and danced with the *sogo* with a group from 1999 to 2002, but had never learned the hourglass drum), I was placed with the beginners group. My further experiences at the transmission center focused on *sangmo*. I only spent one other week playing *janggu*, that week all the students practiced together because there were only 23 of us. My observations here are based primarily on the beginner experience I had in 2009.

³⁰⁸ For a more detailed ethnomusicological explanation of the teaching and learning process for *pungmul* I recommend reading Nathan Hesselink's 2006 book *P'ungmul*, particularly pages 121-151.

that competed against each other.³⁰⁹ For me, the highlight was Friday when the entire group of participants performed together.³¹⁰ Many students told me that they preferred Saturday when representatives from each club played while the remainder of the students danced, without instruments, in a pulsing high-energy mass.

³⁰⁹ For example one game involved a team turning mats to X side up, while the other team turned the mats to O side up in a writhing mass of grasping bodies on the floor until the whistle blew and the total mats for X/O were counted. In another game a queen was protected by a team sitting with their arms wrapped around their knees. Scooting on our bums we tried to knock over the members of the other team and get to their queen. If arms unwrapped or a player was knocked off their bum, they were "out."

³¹⁰ In winter sessions Friday does not include a whole-group performance.

Image 8.3 At the Imshil Pilbong Nongak Transmission Center





(Top left) Gwon Eunjeong playing *ggwaenggwari*. (Top right) The schedule is so exhausting that even 15-minute breaks were a chance to nap. (Bottom) The students in the beginning classroom—*ggwaenggwari* players standing in the back, *jangu* players seated in the front.



4. Motivation

a. Benefit to the Preservation Association: Audience and Advocates

At Goseong Ogwangdae Yi Yunseok, National Human Treasure and leader of the group, assured me that their classes had nothing to do with eventual recruitment.³¹¹ Hwang Jong'uk,³¹² a

³¹¹ Interview conducted with Human Treasure Yi Yunseok on 7/02/09 at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center.

Goseong Ogwangdae *isuja* and the director of the office, explained that Goseong Ogwangdae has been holding these camps for forty years, starting only shortly after the art was certified as part of the CPPL in 1964. However, Hwang acknowledged that they needed to find a new method, either to teach or to attract students. He explained that in the past there had been many more students, some involved with the pro-democracy demonstrations and particularly interested in learning the scene that satirized the *yangban*, the upper class of pre-modern Korean society. However, there were still students signing up for the classes; but they could not become members of the preservation association. Imshil Pilbong Nongak has also seen variations in the number of students. Yang Jinseong's Ph.D. dissertation (2008) explains in some detail how the numbers of participating clubs has increased and decreased, although in a downturn now Yang's data indicates that participation continued to stay strong through the 1990s and into the early 2000s.

National Human Treasure Yang Jinseong, the leader of Imshil Pilbong Nongak, told me that only a few preservation association members had at one time been attendees of the intensive camps, yet faced with a list from the Cultural Heritage Administration of all current *isuja* Yang identified 21 of 53 as people who had at one time been paying camp attendees.³¹³ Seventeen weeks of classes occupy the transmission center each year, with some weeks reaching 300 attendees. The students self-select whether or not to continue training and improving their skills over the course of many weeks and several years. As the preservation association becomes familiar with these repeat attendees an informal recruiting process is initiated predicated on

³¹² Interview conducted with Hwang Jong'uk on July 3rd, 2009 at the Goseong Ogwangdae transmission center in Goseong.

³¹³ From an interview conducted with Yang Jinseong on August 8th, 2011 at Imshil Pilbong Nongak's facilities.

student desire and preservation association need for additional members. Yang told me confidently that the "greatest function of a preservation association was to teach the art," and that the future of the art was assured just through "sincere" teaching, whether or not students became members of the group.

In contrast, to the high-level performers at Goseong Ogwangdae such as Yi Yunseok, it is impossible for someone who is not from/settled in Goseong or the immediate area to become a member of the preservation association. The mask dance drama group has held to the principle that Goseong locality is one of the most important characteristics of preservation association membership, even though the group has few members and no regular performer under the age of thirty.

Ahn:³¹⁴ When Goseong Ogwangdae originated it was here, and many of the teachers still think of it as tied to Goseong, so right now only Goseong people can join. But I think I can feel that this barrier is starting to move. There are already so many people from other areas that come here to learn... the teachers are starting to change their thinking about who can be a member. I think that of course people from other regions can be members [in the future].

At Imshil Pilbong Nongak, on the other hand, if a student is recruited he or she understands that relocating, at least part-time, is necessary in order to deepen their involvement with the drumming and dancing art and become registered students and later *isuja*. The connection of the arts to place is understood differently by these two groups. For the Goseong Ogwangdae preservation association the mask dance drama is rooted in concepts of shared enjoyment and embodiment of the mask dance drama "text" as a marker of community membership in Goseong. Despite difficulty recruiting enough new participants from the town, the historic connection of

³¹⁴ Interview conducted with *isuja* Ahn Daechon on 1/28/11 at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center.

the community and the mask dance drama remains strong. Imshil Pilbong Nongak, however, is located on the outskirts of a nearly-extinct agricultural village where only a few households continue to grow rice and chili peppers. The preservation association of Imshil Pilbong Nongak provides some economic support for the farming village while simultaneously symbolically preserving the independent identity of the village—not allowing Pilbong to be subsumed within the nearby crossroads town of Gangjin.

The camps are run on a non-capitalist model; the first priority is to transmit the art form, and the groups do not necessarily make a profit.³¹⁵ Asking Yi Yunseok if running the camps was difficult he answered "operating the camps is hard because we cannot meet the costs of operation from the [student] fees."³¹⁶ However he softened this statement with his thanks that so many people were interested in the art and his happiness to teach them. Beyond personal satisfaction of involvement with the arts and the long-term possibility of recruiting new performers (for Imshil Pilbong Nongak), what benefit do the two groups gain from these classes?

I argue that the two groups benefit in three distinct ways. The first immediate benefit from holding the camps is that the camps provide several weeks of opportunity for the performers to improve and refine their own performance and understanding of the art through teaching. Teaching the art helps the performers to improve their own skills, and the camps compensate the instructors, allowing them a temporary boost in their annual income. Based on years of experience holding the camps the groups have established an effective and satisfying

³¹⁵ In weeks with higher enrollment at Imshil Pilbong Nongak the group is making money for the week, but the group maintains a full-time year-round staff of 14 and over a dozen buildings. It is even more difficult for Goseong Ogwangdae to profit from the classes due to the need for approximately seven instructors (one for each of the five key roles, and two to teach the basic motions) no matter how few people attend the camp.

³¹⁶ From an interview conducted with Yi Yunseok on January 28th, 2011 at Goseong Ogwangdae's facilities.

course with only small variations (due to available instructors) between weeks. Consequently both Goseong Ogwangdae and Imshil Pilbong Nongak offer well-planned courses without the rough edges that can be experienced in newly established training programs.

Second, the courses develop a highly educated audience. Yi Yunseok described the participants as the *shikgu* or family of the mask dance group; certainly a bond is created between the participants and the art. Repeat students of both camps revealed to me that when the preservation association performed near their university all the members of their club would go to the show.

Geumhong:³¹⁷ It's really exciting to be in the audience after you've learned the mask dance, especially watching parts and scenes you've rehearsed. Every time I see the teachers perform I can better capture the *mat*, the flavor of Goseong Ogwangdae.

In April 2011 when Yi Yunseok performed solo at KOUS Hall ten out of my sixteen roommates at winter camp attended. This corresponds well with what ethnomusicologist Paek Inok observed in a *minyong* (folk song) class. Paek explained that the classes result in "performer enthusiastic fans or audiences, who tend to follow their teacher's public appearances" (2007: 86).³¹⁸ Many of the repeat participants with Imshil Pilbong Nongak explained that they also came to festivals and ceremonies organized by the group and sometimes helped out as volunteers. The festival, held each year in late summer and the ceremony held at *Daeboreum* fifteen days after the lunar new year were able to produce an even more spectacular show and enormous release of audience and performer energy through the attendance of these closely involved amateur performers/former students. I recognized large portions of the audience at the 2009 Heung Sori Festival, the last

³¹⁷ Geumhong was interviewed at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center on 6/27/09.

³¹⁸ Keith Howard also discusses the background of audience members in the essay "Kugak Fusion and the Politics of Korean Musical Consumption" (2011).

weekend in August, as well as the 2011 Dano celebration held in lieu of the cancelled 2011 *Daeboreum*. 2010 and 2011 public appearances of the group in Seoul were similar to a giant reunion, with the most advanced repeat students (such as the core members of Gaejeonyeon) participating in the performance.

Third, the camps create advocates: a population whose members care about the arts more generally. In the future, as these participants spread out in society they will interact with others whom they can draw into the traditional arts. They will be the far-flung mouthpieces of the traditional arts, particularly the ones they know best through enjoyable intensive experiences like these camps. By providing young Koreans with basic training in these traditional art forms, preservation associations contribute to the future protection of intangible cultural heritage. They do this through teaching a large number of students, and robust enrollment is facilitated by pricing of the courses below market value.³¹⁹ Some students even learn for free. Taegang, a fellow Gaejeonyeon member, came to the camp and then did not want to leave. He participated in four sessions in a row; never expecting to stay at the transmission center for so long, he ran out of money. Instead of sending Taegang packing, they gave him extra chores and duties, and stopped charging him even the paltry 50,000 won (50 USD) fee per seven-day session.³²⁰

For the students, the connection between cultural identity and their participation in camps was clear. Ethnomusicologist Park Shingil even states that "asserting Korean-ness" is the "core" dictating the construction and activities of *pungmul* groups (2000: 7). Through hosting these

³¹⁹ In order to improve the teaching environment and potentially teach larger groups per session Goseong Ogwangdae constructed a new transmission center with support from the town of Goseong, it will house the first series of intensive classes in summer 2012.

³²⁰ 50,000 is the cost for a student (including lessons and dormitory), the cost for a regular member of society is 70,000 won. There is also a fee of 3,500 for each meal.

camps Goseong Ogwangdae and Imshil Pilbong Nongak positioned their groups to occupy a central guiding and teaching function not just of how to perform the art but of how to be a modern Korean who *is* in touch with tradition. At the camps students expressed their concern about the future of Korean arts and often explained that they had become involved in their club out of a desire to get closer to, or learn about Korean tradition.

Haeji:³²¹ If it wasn't for things like this, even though I'm Korean I wouldn't know about Korean traditions, because there just aren't many opportunities to learn. [Here] I can even put on a mask and dance.

Seungmin, a participant in Imshil Pilbong Nongak's camp, told me that, "if no one learns [traditional arts] our important culture will go away." This same student, studying to become a physical education teacher, also hoped to build and live in a traditional style *hanok* house, and he enjoyed making traditional items, including the sticks he drummed with. He planned to help bring his future students closer to traditional culture, as did the Chuncheon University of Education students at Goseong Ogwangdae's camp.

Heritage Tourism

The camps can be understood not just as sites of transmission of *pungmul* or mask dance drama skills, but as representations to remind the participants of the significance of these types of arts in the Korean past. Anthropologist Marilyn Ivy (1995) has discussed how in Japan participation in traditional arts, even attending a festival, can be a way to reconnect with a lost past. The students at these camps are bringing Korean tradition back into their own lives—learning dance steps and drum rhythms becomes "rememoration" and "memorialization" (Ivy 1995: 13). Such activities

³²¹ Interview with Haeji conducted at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center 6/28/09.

are then another type of participatory heritage tourism, motivated by much of the same impulse that leads people to participate in cultural lecture tours (Oppenheim 2011) or hands-on Confucian heritage re-enactment experiences (Moon OP 2011). Tourism scholar Hyung-yu Park theorizes the socio-cultural and psychological significance of even something as simple as a stroll through Changdeok Palace in Seoul, in which she sees ethnic and national identity reconstruction and re-conceptualization (2009: 164). Park asserts that heritage tourism can reassure individuals of their attachment to their nation in a subtle way (2009: 181). The students at both camps often articulated their interest in learning the arts due to a desire to know more about "our" culture.

b. Building *Communitas* and Experiencing Liminality

Above, I have explained why the groups would want to hold these training sessions, especially when they are in remote areas that cannot get walk-in students like the arts based in large cities. In this section, I elaborate on the reasons why modern Korean students seek to participate in the camps. Most students, before joining their club, do not have much interest in or knowledge about traditional performing arts. They are consciously aware of the arts as tied to Korean identity, but do not internalize this until after commencing club activities. I asked students why they had chosen to participate; Haeji answered "Our club is about learning our traditions... to really know it you have to try, so I came here to try." During the period of participation something changes that brings the students a new perspective on the traditional arts. Ch'oe Kil-sŏng, in an analysis of shamanic ceremonies, determined that it took audiences a period of exposure to be able to both understand and assimilate into a shamanic ceremony (1989: 220-221, 223). The camps

speed up and compress the time of exposure and the result is that an understanding of the practice of traditional arts becomes inscribed in the bodies of the participants (Hahn 2007). In Donna Kwon's Ph.D. dissertation, she describes "the high degree of embodied participation and cultural familiarity" created by participation in the intensive programs at Imshil Pilbong Nongak (2005: 204). As students gain the vocabulary related to their class, they have gained membership in the sub-section of Koreans capable of participating in traditional arts. Such participation includes the ability to insert the *chu-imsae* (cries of encouragement) at the rhythmically appropriate place in many folk arts (cf. CE Park 2003, 2000), or the confidence to enter the performance space and dance during *pungmul* performance or at the conclusion of mask dance dramas, group games and rites.

The camps are a strong community building experience. Club membership is cemented through participation in the camps; as the individual members breathe in unity as they move/drum, the limitations of individuality are overcome. Uncomfortable facilities and physical exhaustion create further opportunities to think as one. In this way the camps strongly resemble the training for new Japanese bank employees described by Thomas Rohlen (1996) or the ethics training experienced by Dorinne Kondo (1990). In fact it has been theorized that *pungmul* is a "cultural and social behavior" even more than it is a type of music (Park SG 2000: 8). Kwon explains that the intense and isolated environment of the camps is "especially conducive to the cultivation and embodiment of certain alternative Korean subjectivities" (2005: 207). The transmission centers in both cases worked to break down the barriers between the different clubs. Groups for impromptu tests and performances at Goseong Ogwangdae were formed by counting off, or dividing the front of the room from the back, since students from different clubs will end

up on both sides of the cut. National Human Treasure Yi Yunseok emphasized breathing as one, as he taught us that the performance would only work if we were operating as a single unit. While teaching the basic motions he emphasized that we were a single organism by doing things to the closest student that we all had to react to; if he hit that student we all had to respond with "ow," if he pushed the student we all had to move backwards. At Imshil Pilbong Nongak the idea of matching the breathing of the group was mentioned repeatedly. As Kim Dongmin taught the group he even emphasized where to inhale during a rhythmic cycle.

Koreans often search in the performance environment for a state of communal heightened consciousness called *shinmyeong*. *Shinmyeong*, defined in the works of Kim Yeolgyu as an "explosion of delightful emotion" combined with the verb "release," *shinmyeongpuli*, has been compared in the works of performance scholar Cho Tong-il to catharsis (1997, 2005, 2006). It is a state of ecstatic near-abandon that is arrived at in a group, but provides catharsis for each individual who attains the *shinmyeong* state. Expressing *shinmyeong*, letting loose with abandon, characterizes much of Korean folk cultural participative performance, including mask dance dramas such as Goseong Ogwangdae and drumming and dancing music like Imshil Pilbong Nongak. A Korean traditional performance in many folk genres can be considered unsuccessful if the performers have not generated *shinmyeong*. Therefore it was little surprise that we were encouraged to release *shinmyeong* through our performance in a short pre-performance speech by Choi Ho'in at Imshil Pilbong Nongak, and that after the Goseong Ogwangdae performance we were congratulated by National Human Treasure Yi Yunseok on our display of *shinmyeong*.

Shinmyeong, brought to life through audience/performer interaction, is part of what noted anthropologist Victor Turner (1969) called *spontaneous communitas*. Turner's *communitas* is "a

mode of relationship between individuals" who confront each other in "norm-governed relationships" (1969: 131-132). *Spontaneous communitas*, unlike *normative communitas*, arises between people within a social grouping, often in liminal seclusion—such as the seclusion of an intensive camp (Turner 1969: 137-138). I observed a generation of *communitas* over the course of several days of focused activity. Ch'oe Kil-sŏng concludes that "ritual processes which lead to episodes of ecstatic disorder are widely used in social relations in Korea" (1989: 230). While this may be an overstatement when applied to Korean society at large, the ecstatic disorder of the games and performances during the camps contained elements of ritual and the ecstatic release of energy was mentioned repeatedly by students as a high point of their experience. *Communitas* "creates the conditions within which new social relationships can be created" (Sorensen 1995: 347), or as Park Shingil explains, the "standard for judging the quality of a *pungmul* performance is whether or not the performance has successfully enhanced the group spirit, encouraged active participation and has strengthened the feeling of solidarity for the [group of players]" (2000: 12).

Communitas can grow and strengthen in the liminal space created by the removal from everyday life. Liminality, a transitional period of being neither one nor another (described by Arnold Van Gennep in his seminal text *The Rites of Passage*) occurs for participants as they move from one category to another (child to adult, single to married). In tourism literature experiences removed from everyday life have been described as a sacred journey (Graburn 1983). It is in the manner of a journey, more than a life passage, that these Korean students experience liminality as part of the intensive courses corresponds to a movement from everyday reality to a liminal period and then back to reality again when the course is over, without a societal or personal milestone. If the camp successfully produces *communitas* in the liminal camp

environment and maintains it well for the course of the week, the students will go home feeling completely satisfied and want to return or replicate the experience through more interaction with the traditional performing arts.

The complicity of nearly every member is required to catalyze the group and create *communitas*. This effort manifests as the participants cooperate for group enjoyment, experiencing communal life. The camps offer a rare opportunity for participants to remove themselves from modern Korean society. In Kelly Foreman's 2008 book *The Gei of Geisha*, she describes the relationship between the geisha and patron who play music together as an experience of time-travel. The two recreate an instance that could be of the past. Edward Bruner, discussing New Salem, calls certain visitors "time tourists to the past" because they are not interested in New Salem for Lincoln, but for the understanding of a pre-modern way of life (2005:11). The students can feel it, too:

Eunjeong:³²² I always feel that here this is really a different world. Whenever I have to go back to Seoul I feel despondent, but also as though I am going back to the real world.

In an interview with Nathan Hesselink, former National Human Treasure for Imshil Pilbong Nongak Pak Hyŏngnae explained,

I've been teaching students for nearly 25 years now. During that time, students from famous universities such as Seoul National, Korea, Yonsei, and Sungkyunkwan have come here to study. They weren't drawn here because of our technical ability, but rather because of our connection to the old style village *pungmul* (1998: 312-313).

The search for an imagined past, a time when things are perceived to be in some way preferable to today, or as a break from everyday reality, is a recreational alternative preferred by many people in America including the Civil War re-enactors and participants in Renaissance Fairs. In

³²² Eunjeong, a ten-time participant, interviewed 01/13/11 at the transmission center in Pilbong.

Korea the participation by young, usually college-aged, Koreans in intensive camps that train them in a single traditional performance genre serves the same function. The two preservation associations provided the environment for this liminal time-travel to occur, but the students had to be invested in making the camp experience into something beyond everyday life. The participants, through the camps, were able to bond with each other in multiple ways.

At both training camps, some of the things that I thought the students would find the most troublesome and frustrating were brought up in my interviews as positive aspects of their experience. The students in Goseong emphasized how much fun it was to go through the hardships such as freezing cold showers, our group's sometimes incompetent cooking, mosquito attacks nightly, and the exhausting cycle of rising at 6:30 a.m. to exercise before an entire day of sweat-inducing classes with practice extending until 10:00 pm or after. For them it was an adventure, a chance to go somewhere with only their peers (and me) to make their own mistakes and endure their own hardships. Mujin likened it to what her grandparents must have experienced. Other students offered enlightening comments:

Min-gyeong:³²³ Learning mask dance is really a unique experience, it was hard, but it was that fun, too. It was uncomfortable, the bathroom, the cold showers, but... after I leave what will be left in my mind is just how much fun I had.

Yumi:³²⁴ Even if I have to follow traditional rules of etiquette, compared to my fast-paced life in crowded Seoul, here I feel light-hearted.

During the course of the long days there was no opportunity to access the internet.³²⁵ No

³²³ Interview with Min-gyeong conducted at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center on 6/28/09.

³²⁴ Interview with five-time participant Yumi conducted at the Imshil Pilbong Nongak Transmission Center on 7/09/09.

³²⁵ This has become less true as smartphones grow more popular in Korea, but still the internet capability of the phones was most often used to watch online videos of previous performances with a group of others gathered around the tiny screen discussing what they were seeing.

one could leave the transmission center, and cell phones were only allowed during snatched private moments, usually around evening mealtime or after practice had ended for the day. Although students had cell phones, few used them even during these time periods. The signal was weak but most of all we had left ordinary reality and wanted to preserve the feeling that nothing important was happening outside the transmission center; that our individual bodies were just parts of a larger dancing/drumming organism.

Duipuli

To facilitate this separation from regular life at the end of the evening (every evening), there was an after-hours social event, or *duipuli*. The tone set by Haerim's leadership of the education university team did not facilitate nightly drinking to a point of drunken behavioral change. There was, however, extensive and in some cases all-night drinking of *makgeolli* at the Imshil Pilbong Nongak drumming camp. Frequently I would regroup with friends during the 7 a.m. *sogo* class and obtain reports of drinking parties extending until three or five in the morning. The last night more than a third of the participants stayed up the entire night, high on the energy created by the final performance.

Makgeolli, favored by the rural working poor, was one more indication of removal from their regular college-student life where the ever-present and cheap *soju* or hipper but more expensive beer was preferred. Students grew closer to each other as they passed around cups of the milky liquid and moved from group to group, offering to pour drinks for new friends. As Ch'oe Kil-sŏng explains, in the West drinking facilitates socializing, but in Korea other people are needed to facilitate drinking (1989: 229). Drinking was a part of the process of creating our

new community. According to Ch'oe the excessive drinking style is due to the emphasis on a "sacred state outside one's own consciousness" (1989: 229). Therefore drinking is a "cultural act" (Ch'oe KS 1989: 229); not only was *makgeolli* the drink of the nightly parties, it was also ritually offered during the *gosa* or opening ceremony ritually blessing the masks and participants before the performance at Goseong Ogwangdae and given as a mid-performance tonic to drummers at the final Imshil Pilbong Nongak performance.

"Way-of-Being in the Madang"

The two courses were an unforgettable experience, as they quickly and transformatively "encouraged the internalization of a communal way-of-being" as Donna Kwon explains in her dissertation (2005: 205). I enjoy mask dance, and by the end of the Goseong Ogwangdae camp my mask dance movements were as smooth and fluent as those of the other students. However, due to the success of the group construction of *communitas* at Imshil Pilbong Nongak's training camp, despite my lack of even moderate success on the *janggu* drum, the camp was surprisingly more enjoyable. At the Imshil Pilbong Nongak transmission center we forged stronger bonds due to the attitudes of club leaders and the environment fostered by the preservation association. Donna Kwon also found that Imshil Pilbong Nongak's training was the most successful of those she observed due to development of a close, enjoyable community environment (2005: 215).

The *shinmyeong* peaks in the liminal period of the Goseong Ogwangdae training camp were not as pronounced nor as frequent as the peaks in the Imshil Pilbong Nongak course. For Goseong Ogwangdae the stand-out moments were the test on Tuesday to see if everyone had memorized the basic motions; a BBQ and group meal on Friday with meat, watermelon and side

dishes provided by the preservation association; and the Saturday performance, which all our teachers and a group of locals attended. Only the emotional high produced by the Tuesday test compared with Imshil Pilbong Nongak's nightly parties with drunken singing of folksongs, the afternoon all 100 participants played games, our trip to splash in the river, the Friday performance for every participant or the Saturday performance of our representative members and large group party into the night.

5. Conclusion

To the participants, normally caught in fast-paced modern Korea, these immersive training camps function as a crucial way to learn how to create and foster an experience of traditional performance. Anthropologist Michelle Bigenho theorizes four different types of authenticity; amongst them is "experiential authenticity," the certainty that something is authentic because it feels that way. This type of authenticity encompasses the "entire sensory experience of music performances [and] establishes relations between people and physical places" (Bigenho 2002: 17). The camp participants expressed their encounter with experiential authenticity, telling me they were left with a deeper understanding of what it meant to be Korean, that they felt a connection to their roots.

The Korean students joyfully release the collected stresses of their lives through the dynamic of group rehearsal and performance. Unplugging from the Internet and setting down their cell phones in exchange for drums and masks is almost a radical act in Korea, one of the world's most technologically advanced nations. As the week wore on they learned to cooperate for group enjoyment (Kwon 2005), just as scholars of mask dance dramas describe players

getting together to prepare for a seasonal celebration during the Joseon Dynasty (cf. Yi DH 1981, Lee MW 1983, Jeon KW 2005 and 2008). The camp environment created *spontaneous communitas* and the opportunity to time-travel with the other participants to an imagined and enjoyable past where every day was either the day before the festival, or the festival itself. The camp experience allowed me to inhabit the same liminal space as the students, a space marked by peaks of *shinmyeong* excitement, through which everyone created intense memories and forged a strong connection to the performing arts.

This connection will provide a payoff for the preservation associations that have invested in holding training camps. Imshil Pilbong Nongak will easily recruit highly motivated new performers from the ranks of the camp participants. Both of the arts fulfill their duty to transmit the traditional knowledge that they are protecting. The instructors will see a temporary cash infusion from the classes while also having an opportunity to deepen their own understanding through teaching the art. When both groups travel around Korea for performances there will be people who are familiar with and supportive of the arts ready to attend the show due to their happy memories of past participation in camps. Finally, the Korean youngsters participating in these camps may become advocates for the arts in whichever sector of society they eventually find themselves.

In Korea, performatively (and *makgeolli*) fueled *communitas* has created a core group supportive of the traditional arts in society, a seed that may bear marvelous fruit in years to come. Are such courses, which require a large infrastructure investment in training facilities, a model that should be followed to preserve traditional performing arts in other regions of the world? Would the Korean training camp model be successful in other cultures? I believe that although

the presence of the energetic and charismatic instructors at these two locations is surely a factor in their success, there is no reason why this model of arts learning could not successfully translate to other countries. Yet, as my research shows, these courses are successful for reasons beyond purely recruitment of performers; just because someone has an enjoyable time learning an art form does not mean they will abandon a more conventional path through society and become full-time performing artists.

Part Three

In Front of the Mask

Transmission through Performance

Transmission through performance is an opportunity to bring any audience member into a deeper engagement with the art. Each performance has the potential to inspire an audience member to choose to attend more performances and become an active supporter of the arts, or even learn an art. In the next two chapters—part three of the dissertation—I begin to tackle this topic. In Chapter Nine, I discuss audiences—what sort of audience members exist, and how we can think of their process of engagement with the traditional performing arts. In Chapter Ten, I address the issue of communication to the audience through print materials (e.g. fliers, programs, posters) and the explanations of the Masters of Ceremonies (emcees).

The way a performance is transmitted has a lot to do with the place, space, or location in which it is performed and the type of individuals who are in the audience. There are a variety of locations where performance activities occur in Korea, including historic sites, villages (where people still live), folk villages (for tourists), public sites, private sites, and cultural centers such as museums, festivals, theatres, schools and senior centers. Performances can be indoors, but often, particularly for folk genres, performances are held outdoors. Audiences may pay to enter the site, and at other times the audience pays to enter the performance itself, but in many cases the performances are free, removing a potential barrier to exposure to the arts.

These performances are almost always "presentational," but traditionally they were also "participatory" and some remain that way today (Turino 2008: 26). As I explain in Chapter Nine, many Korean audience members have not just adopted the "polite" manners of a Western audience; they have *become* an audience of foreigners, stripped of their own role in their native cultural traditions. This is crucially important because if the audience does not know what they

are missing, no one will object as Korean traditions are stripped down and sanitized. The audience that does not understand this traditional context needs to be taught how to understand and interact with the performance, something that is possible through appropriate framing of the performance in fliers and programs and by the emcees, as I explain in more depth in Chapter Ten.

Chapter Nine

The Audience for Traditional Korean Performing Arts

I. Introduction

The performing arts cannot exist separately from the social and cultural context in which they are created—a participatory audience was once a necessary ingredient. Today the artists are more separate from the world, yet paradoxically they are asked to simultaneously lead an audience to new cultural innovation and respond to societal changes. Yet Korean society is more removed from traditional culture today than at any time in history. In Korea the media discusses the aging population, but no one broaches the subject of how the inevitable death of the generation that lived through the Korean War also means a rapid drain in the population that still understands the context of Korean traditional performance. Within the next twenty years the Korean traditional performances will lose their most appreciative audience.

The devastation of the Korean War and the relentless push to modernize have stripped the country of most visual reminders of traditional society. Changing demographics, economics and education have excised traditional ways of living and learning. Under the increasing influence of Western classical and popular music, Koreans rushed to learn piano, while more and more young people turned away from the arts rooted in the Korean past. After the passage of the Cultural Property Protection Law, and particularly with the surge of interest in traditional performing arts by politically active college students into the 1980s, those genres experienced a cultural revival. However this renewed interest has long since ended. Although at one time there were multiple clubs (*dongari*) to study Korean traditional arts on college campuses, many of these have ceased meeting.³²⁶

³²⁶ Although I have not found a reliable source of statistics on this, the clubs that practice mask dance dramas are in severe decline according to all the mask dance drama groups; however, *pungmul* practice groups continue to be relatively robust. An anecdote to support this assertion: in 2009 when I attended Goseong Ogwangdae's camp I was with students from Chuncheon University of Education. In 2011 I met three of these same students at Imshil Pilbong

Government statistics confirm that attendance at performances of Western classical music and ballet far outstrips the meager audience at performances of traditional mask dance dramas, as shown in tables 9.1 and 9.2 (below). Many of the performances in the traditional genres are free; even so, the audience is dominated by students carrying out assignments they resent, the performers' friends, and the elderly, who remain more connected to Korean traditions than younger generations.³²⁷

Table 9.1: Five Years of the Annual Number of Domestic Performances by Type

	2001		2002		2003		2004		2005	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
<i>Gugak</i>	2076	20.5	2301	21.6	2535	23.5	2718	25.3	2685	22.1
Dance	1370	13.6	1400	13.1	1450	13.5	1588	14.8	2234	18.4
Western Music ³²⁸	4957	49.1	4855	45.5	4834	44.8	4082	38.1	4444	36.7
Drama ³²⁹	1702	16.8	2104	19.8	1960	18.2	2336	21.8	2761	22.8
Total	10105	100	10660	100	10779	100	10724	100	12124	100

Source: Ministry of Culture and Tourism's Report "Traditional Theatre Industry and Globalization: Planning Manpower Training." Released in June, 2007.

As can be seen in Table 9.1 the traditional performances (the *gugak* performances) are in the region of 20.5 to 25.3 percent of all performances. Western music remains the most common type of performance.

Nongak's winter camp, and they told me their group had ceased mask dance drama participation as the members really were only interested in *pungmul* and did not have the time to learn Goseong Ogwangdae as well. There used to be multiple clubs that practiced Songpa Sandae Noli. There remains only one, they have little contact with the preservation association and most of their participants are former club members now past thirty.

³²⁷ Although audience surveys are administered by many venues, and questions of audience demographics are always asked, survey participation is voluntary and Korean older-adults almost always turn down the chance. None of the three theatres I work with have released demographic data for their shows. In my own future research I intend to continue audience counting (including age estimates) until I feel confident that my results are not specific to one show, genre, or location.

³²⁸ This figure includes Western-style popular music.

³²⁹ Here drama does not mean mask dance drama.

Table 9.2: Frequency of Free Performances in 2004³³⁰

	Total Performances		Free Performances		Tickets Required	
	Audience	%	Audience	%	Audience	%
Drama	4,703,425	40.3	2,375,095	51	2,324,330	49
<i>Gugak</i>	1,882,770	16.1	1,699,272	90.3	183,498	9.9
Western Music	2,998,644	25.7	2,281,038	74	717,606	24
Dance	1,243,487	10.7	911,598	73	331,889	27
Mixed Genre	839,115	7.2	628,572	75	210,543	25
Total	11,667,411	100				

Source: Ministry of Culture and Tourism's Report "Traditional Theatre Industry and Globalization: Planning Manpower Training." Released in June, 2007.

Since my first experience watching *pungmul* in 1996 I have seen countless performances of traditional genres. Each of these performances is an opportunity to transmit information about the traditional performing arts to the audience, which in turn fosters interest in learning about their traditional roots. Yet interest in Korean traditions and transmission of traditional performing arts knowledge is only possible if performers can effectively recruit and communicate with their audience. An effective presentation makes a difference to the future of these performing arts genres. This chapter explores the types of audiences in Korea and discusses how a better understanding of audiences could improve communication between venues and performers, and, on the other side, the audience.

2. Understanding and the Traditional Arts

a. Why educating an audience is important

Many Koreans have never seen a live performance of traditional music or dance, although performers are busy presenting almost every weekend during the pleasant spring and fall. This is

³³⁰ I have definitely seen a decline in the number of free shows for the groups I follow; however, I do not know if this is also true for other arts.

important because exposure to the arts is often a key step in becoming a performer. In my interviews I determined that there were two main paths to becoming performers: first, a family connection to the performing arts; and second, a memorable experience as an audience member.

Interviews sustained this understanding. For example:

- Saeji:** How did you choose your major?
Kim:³³¹ When I was in third grade of elementary school I went to a wedding and there was a congratulatory performance; a woman played *janggu* and I received a very deep impression, so I asked my mom to find me a class. There was a *hagwon* (private music studio) in my neighborhood, and I attended classes there until I started middle school. In middle school we had a club, so it became part of my personal life, my hobby. Then when I went to high school I learned step by step from hobby to beyond that point and I majored in *pungmul*.
- Shim:**³³² By chance I went to see a performance, not of *samulnori* but of *daebuk* [large barrel drums]. When I heard the sound of the *buk* without even being aware of it my body started moving and after I went home for a few days I could think of nothing else. For that reason I decided to try it. I wanted to hear my own drum's beats. That was when I was ten.

The experience of seeing these shows was important enough to Kim Giyeong and Shim Jaeyun that a decade later they were majoring in *pungmul* at K-Arts. This emphasizes the importance of performance as an act of transmission. Performances are not just for special audience members (such as Cultural Properties Committee members) or for the artist to demonstrate his own training and talent, but are for the ordinary Korean an experience of coming face to face with traditional performance. Musicologist Paul Henry Lang wrote that "in the end it is always the listener's response and imagination that give meaning to musical symbols" (1997: 239). However, if the audience is not given the opportunity to *see* a performance and the tools to *respond* to the performance, they will cease their exploration of traditional performance at the first show they

³³¹ Kim Giyeong is a K-Arts sophomore, interviewed 1/25/2011 at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center.

³³² Shim Jaeyun is a K-Arts junior, interviewed 1/26/2011 at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center.

ever see.

In addition to the importance of performance to inspire the study of the arts, attending a show is also an encounter with Korean heritage. Tourism scholar Park Hyung-yu has theorized that a visit to Seoul's Changdeok Palace communicates the symbolic significance of heritage, the importance of national solidarity and cultural continuity (2009). Observing a performance of Korean traditional arts can have the same effect on the audience. If the audience member feels a profound connection to his or her heritage a song, dance or drama can leave an impression far beyond evaluation that it was exciting, good or boring. Creating a feeling of connection between the audience member and their heritage brought to life in front of them is crucial to creating public support for the performing arts.

b. "Good" Audiences, Korean Style

Audience Response

In modern day Korea audiences need to be trained in order to respond in a manner that was once natural in the context of Korean folk performance. As we sit in a dark hall and react within a proscribed set of possibilities, the static theatre environment and the training in different types of audience behavior leeches away the once-ingrained habits of performance reception.

Ethnomusicologist Nathan Hesselink explains that "the significance of the move from the fields and communal meeting spaces to the stage cannot be overstated, signaling as it did a profound change in performance and reception aesthetics" (2012: 42). Audiences today often have little or no idea how to behave as they watch Korean traditional performances; they have been socialized to be quiet and well-mannered in the style appropriate for Western classical music or theatre.

An audience member educated in Korean traditional performance will not only generally understand the underpinnings of Korean performance and the recurring themes and common tropes, but will also understand how the audience is expected to react. Performances in the *madang* were always somewhat participatory, and audience members were familiar with the stories, dances, songs, or rites. They might be asked to participate in the production on the spot, or would spontaneously enter the performance space and dance with the masked, costumed characters. The audience would also talk back to characters and encourage solo performances throughout the show. As Korea modernized the expectations of the audiences changed. Im Kwontaek's movie *Seopyeonje* vividly depicts the difficulties faced by performers who tried to continue performing as they did in Korea's past. The main characters sing *pansori* in urbanizing towns and are drowned out by recorded music or performers using amplified sounds.³³³ The audience was pulled away from *pansori*, which, while familiar, was hardly exciting, and furthermore required time and patience to enjoy.

An educated audience can greatly improve the performance because cheers of enjoyment are infectious to the rest of the audience while encouraging the performers to put forth even greater effort. There are individual and collective behaviors that are important in experiencing the performance. The use of *chu-imsae* is a key indicator that there are insiders in the audience.³³⁴ The *chu-imsae*, crying out encouragement at the end of a rhythmic cycle (when a dancer would have completed a movement, or a singer a line) depend on the context, the length

³³³ Ironically *Seopyeonje* was also Korea's first domestic blockbuster; when it was released in 1993 the domestic film industry was widely believed to be as endangered as *pansori*. *Seopyeonje* and the issues it raised in Korean society are discussed in Cho Dong-il (2006: 259-271).

³³⁴ These calls are something like the yee-haw of audience members at an American hoe-down, or the *grito* of Mexican mariachi music.

of the pause and the audience member. *Chu-imsae* can be as simple as a loud nasal exhalation, but "*eolshigu*," "*jo-ta*," and "*chal-handa*" give direct feedback (for example, this last means "well done!").

Chan E. Park notes that "in the context of *pansori* reception, the process of learning starts with unlearning the sanitized manners of a polite spectator" (2000: 280). Audiences, unsure how to appreciate traditional performance, find the *chu-imsae* or loud cries of encouragement "more excessive exhibitionism warranting disapproval than legitimate response" (Park CE 2000: 283). Park claims that researchers and academics do not realize or want to admit how much the use of *chu-imsae* has dropped off or lost its traditional flavor as the audience submits to the performer, instead of being part of the performance (2000: 276). In her articles and book on *pansori* Chan E. Park repeatedly refers to the audience's contribution through *chu-imsae*, detailing how *pansori* performers find the properly executed exclamations a source of energy that will allow a performance to rise above what would be possible in the stereotypically hushed environment of Western musical appreciation (Park CE 2000: 275).

One of the clearest illustrations of exuberant audience employment of *chu-imsae* that I observed during my fieldwork was when attending a new student performance at the Korean National University of the Arts in April of 2011. The vocal majors, including *pansori*, *gayageum* *byeongchang*, and *minyo*, were nineteen- or twenty-year-old freshmen singing in turn just after a solemn court music piece. A solid phalanx of upperclassmen from the same major was seated to the right of the stage, and the hall was packed with students, faculty and parents; the students and faculty, at least, were familiar with how to use *chu-imsae*. The audience, silent during the court music, suddenly became boisterous. Their calls of "*eolshigu*!" not only supported the performers,

but also brought the entire hall to life. The collective enjoyment was thrilling for everyone on stage and off and made up for any (imperceptible to me) problems with the performance of the inexperienced young singers.

The Blurred Line between Performer and Audience Member

Ethnomusicologist Park Shingil has asserted that *pungmul* is "a social activity which requires full audience participation and the blurring of the line between the group performing and the group watching" (2000: 11). Similarly, Nathan Hesselink highlights the "openness" of the traditional outdoor performance environment, where there is a "lack of formal barriers" and "accessibility of the performers" (2001: 60). If an audience is deemed relatively knowledgeable a singer may invite the audience to sing the chorus to some songs, and clapping along is often welcome.

In *pungmul* or almost any type of folk performance traditionally performed in the *madang* public spaces, in addition to use of *chu-imsae*, there are also two other important types of participation. One is simply participating in the beginning *gosa*. *Gosa* is a short ceremony where offerings to gods, spirits, ancestors or all three are given before the performance formally begins (see Image 9.3, below). After the performers have said a prayer and a representative from the performers has bowed at the altar, audience members are often invited to approach the altar as well. They take off their shoes, step onto a small mat, ritually bow, donate (generally 10,000 *won*), on the *gosa* table (in the mouth or nostrils of the dead pig is the first preference) and perhaps drink some *makgeolli*.

Image 9.3: *Gosa*



Common elements of a *gosa* table include a pig's head, fruit, pressed rice cake made with black bean, dried fish, candles and *makgeolli*. (Top) *Gosa* at the Dano'gut held by Imshil Pilbong Nongak in June, 2011. (Bottom) *Gosa* before a performance by Songpa Sandae Noli's Annual Full-length Performance, May 2011.

The other important type of participation is knowing how (and when) to enter the performance space and dance. Only knowledgeable audience members know *when* to join in: slipping between the drummers circling the performance space to dance in the center with the *japsaek* characters such as "old grandmother," "hunter," "monk" and "young bride." They are not

afraid of missing the cue when it is time to become an observer instead of a participant, and leave the *madang* to the (costumed) performers. If a novice participant enters the performance space (usually led by a performer or a more confident friend), their awkward attempts at moving with the unfamiliar rhythms are in sharp contrast to those of someone experienced with the art forms. The standard dance motion is called *eoggaechum* or shoulder dance; it combines a loose waving of the arms with steps timed with the rhythm. Generally older Koreans are familiar with and well able to participate in this simple dance. Young people have had limited experience with embodiment of Korean tradition and if they attempt to participate, their raised arms look like they are imitating windshield wipers. In addition there is a new type of participation, only recently arisen, called *ddara baeugi* (literally learn by following along). *Ddara baeugi* is particularly common at large festivals and outdoor events. This activity can occur either before or after the show, although it is usually the latter.



c. Towards a Typology of Audience Members Watching Korean Performing Arts

In her excellent 2005 dissertation, ethnomusicologist Donna Kwon discusses the unique atmosphere created during annual events such as Imshil Pilbong Nongak's celebration of Daeboreum. The atmosphere she refers to is striking because it is also influenced profoundly by the way in which audiences participate in modern Korean performances. Reflecting Kwon's descriptions of audience participation and based on my own experiences attending and participating in performances, as well as serving as an emcee for Korean traditional performances in Los Angeles, I present a discussion of audience participation in Korean traditional performance, focusing on four overlapping types of audience members: participant or expert audience members; paying audience members; cultural experience audience members; and accidental audience members. I do not intend for these to be mutually exclusive or prescriptive categories: rather it is my intention to clarify the role that audiences play in sustaining these traditions.

Participant or expert audience members understand the performance deeply and are able to participate comfortably. These audience members often seem to be a living, breathing part of the performance. The participant audience member is common in remote locations when a performance is not highly publicized. For example, ethnomusicologist Nathan Hesselink has characterized audiences at rural or semirural performances of Iri Nongak as "predominantly attended by community members made up of personal friends and relatives, creating a homey, tight-knit atmosphere" (2001: 59). The participant audience member can also be someone with a history of learning the art or similar performances who comes to a potentially remote location

specifically for the performance and has a conscious understanding of themselves as participating in tradition.

To further illustrate how participant audience members interact during a performance, consider Imshil Pilbong Nongak's 1999 Daeboreum celebration. The first time I attended an Imshil Pilbong Nongak event was in 1998 in the southern city of Namwon, where Imshil Pilbong Nongak's transmission center was temporarily located. In 1999, seeking to recapture what had felt amazingly, transformatively raw and authentic, I ended up at the Daeboreum held the first year that the Pilbong group resumed holding their celebrations in their rural village in Imshil County (see Image 9.5). As the large and energetic crowd pulsed with excitement I climbed to the roof of a home and took photos of the *pungmul* musicians crowded into the yard of one of the village homes. With *makgeolli* coursing through my veins while the drums intermingled with my heartbeat, I passionately called out the chorus of the folk song *Jindo Arirang*, along with nearly every other person in attendance. This participant audience was not only made up of rural villagers; surprisingly, many of the knowledgeable participants were college-aged young people. I have since learned of (and participated in) intensive camps that train these students and now know the knowledgeable youth participants were alumni of this camp. Surrounded by other participant audience members, the *shinmyeong*, the intense feeling of collective breathing in ecstatic harmony, was exhilarating.

Image 9.5: Participant Audience



Imshil Pilbong Nongak Daeboreum celebration, 1999. Note the frozen rice paddy outside the wall of the rural house.

This type of audience member can also emerge in the urban context, such as the audience of young singers at the K-Arts show described earlier. Certain shows will attract a large number of performers (within the larger rubric of Korean traditional performance) and people with a strong traditional performance background. These expert audience members may be a little more analytical and critical of the performances they are watching than the enthusiastic participating fans at the rural Daeboreum celebration, but they are equally able to respond appropriately.

Insider knowledge is required of participant audience members. Sometimes a knowledgeable friend can guide one through participation, such as when bowing and offering for the *gosa*, but calling out *chu-imsae* at the right point is difficult. Memorization of song lyrics or

dance steps is sometimes needed. For example, at the Bongsan Talchum annual full-length performance in 2006, at the conclusion of the performance, the entire audience was invited to dance the *gibon* or basic motions on the stage. Deep in the night at Imshil Pilbong Nongak celebrations (Dano, Daeboreum, the summer Heung Sori Festival) the performers start handing off drums to eager audience members who are not part of the preservation association, until at the end of the night the line between audience and performer is only preserved by noting whether a *buk* player wears jeans or the *minbok*-based costume of the troupe.³³⁵ Even urban shows on stages often try to incorporate a few minutes of group dance at the end of a performance. At this time audience members (particularly children and non-Koreans)³³⁶ love to dance together for a few minutes, soaking in the energy of the performance.

³³⁵ Such a period of audience drumming late at night at the Imshil Pilbong Nongak Transmission Center can last for thirty minutes or considerably longer, depending on mood, energy level, weather, and other similar factors.

³³⁶ Children and non-Koreans are often pulled onto the stage by others (parents or performers). Adult Koreans unfamiliar with the genre will not co-operate even if you pull on them.

Image 9.6: The Audience Melds with the Performers





Photos from the Dano Celebration of Imshil Pilbong Nongak in 2011

Paying audience members are willing to pay to see/hear the traditional performing arts. Tickets for traditional performances generally range from 10 up to 75 dollars, although subsidized shows are sometimes only 5 dollars, particularly for student tickets. The paying audience includes many of the same people as in the expert audience (although high-level experts often receive free tickets), but it also includes friends of the performers, supporters of tradition and people who enjoy attending cultural activities in general—particularly performances recognized as being "good" due to famous performers and/or media attention.

The purchasing of tickets is a way of supporting tradition and its practitioners, but the consumer act also entitles the audience to be more critical of a performance. The paying audiences are almost always indoors and facing towards a stage. Although I appreciate that framing the performance in this way puts more emphasis on the performance as *worth* paying for,

this type of venue "promotes and valorizes Western concert-hall values" (Hesselink 2001: 64). The more sedate and Westernized paying audience member is quieter and less participatory than the enthusiastic fans who are participant audience members, yet they do understand the performance as valuable. Folklorist Im Jaehae has raised the issue of value versus price in intangible cultural heritage (2009: 24). Im asserts that people are able to understand the value of tangible cultural heritage objects because there is an appraised price, while they cannot easily grasp the value attached to intangible cultural heritage. He concludes that this is a socio-economic issue that needs to be reframed as a socio-cultural issue (ibid.: 30).

Yi Donghyeon, manager of Pungryu Theatre, where many traditional performances now require (deeply subsidized) tickets, clearly expected that the Pungryu Theatre audiences were insiders, actively engaged with traditional performing arts.³³⁷ He resisted the idea that they needed more basic or extended explanations, and suggested that a series of shows to introduce Korean traditional arts to the relatively uninitiated would be held in the summer time. Later I determined that these shows would be targeted at a youth audience. Yi Donghyeon is right that many Pungryu Theatre audiences are highly knowledgeable. Every time I sat down in an audience I always asked the people nearest me what their connection was to the show. Once at KOUS I was excited when someone said they did not know any of the performers, but then he said he was a friend of the artistic director of the theatre, Jin Okseop. When I attended a *pansori* performance by National Human Treasure Song Sunseop at Pungryu Theatre on June 14th, 2011, the woman to my left was a student of Song's, and she seemed to know half the audience. At other shows I met other performers' friends and students. It was rare to meet people who did not

³³⁷ Interview with Yi Donghyeon conducted at Pungryu Theatre on 5/20/2011, with follow-up interviews in June and July.

have a direct connection to someone on the stage, but when I attended a lecture series by Jin Okseop, artistic director of KOUS, I was able to talk with some of the attendees, generally affluent-looking people (mainly women) who identified themselves as cultural connoisseurs. They told me they "regretted not knowing more about our culture" and "wanted to understand the performances I watch better."

Some audience members are there for the *cultural experience*, with the explicit goal of experiencing traditional culture (often in the guise of exposing their children or foreign friends to it). These audiences prefer an experience that is free or low price, and often attend heavily subsidized shows or festivals (with tickets under 10 dollars). These audiences are not confident enough that they will enjoy the performance to spend much on tickets. They expressed a feeling of obligation or pride in supporting a regional event or concern that their children know little about Korean traditions. Cultural experience audience members are typical at events such as the Andong International Mask Dance Festival.

Image 9.7: *Ddara Baeugi*



Songpa Sandae Noli likes to lead the audience in *ddara baeugi*. The top photos are from a festival in Jinju, the photos on the next page are from a festival in Andong.



Finally there are *accidental audience members*. These people who wandered by, heard or saw something going on, and had time to stop. The type of events that an accidental audience stumbles upon are almost always free to the audience and are held on weekends in outdoor public places, e.g. Seoul Noli Madang and Gwanghwamun Square.³³⁸ Such free events are almost always funded by the government, and they are often group arts, particularly loud group arts because performances such as a solo artist on *daegeum* (transverse bamboo flute) are not dynamic enough to catch the audience's eyes or ears.

³³⁸ Seoul Noli Madang is the home of *Songpa Sandae Noli*. It is located next to a small lake, in a park that is next to an amusement park. There is no fee for entry and a large amount of foot traffic, as well as many high-rise apartments nearby. Gwanghwamun Square (which is rectangular) is located in front of Gyeongbok Palace's Gwanghwamun Gate. It is a large, open, uncovered stone-flagged area at the center of historic Seoul located between the American Embassy and some of the largest government ministries.

Image 9.8: Audiences



Members of the next group of competitors mixed with an audience watching a *pungmul* competition in Gangneung. The large annual festival is free, a source of regional pride for locals and a tourist attraction for domestic tourists from more populated provinces of Korea who may want to experience rural traditional culture.



At the start of a full-length performance (more than three hours long) there is a large audience, even with eager young people. As time goes by, they trickle away. All these photos are from the same performance.



The audience at the annual full-length performance of Songpa Sandae Noli 5/15/2011. The show in southern Seoul was free, outside, with foot traffic nearby that could be attracted by the sounds of the show.



An audience at a festival in the rural town of Jinju, 5/29/2011.

Individual Audience Members

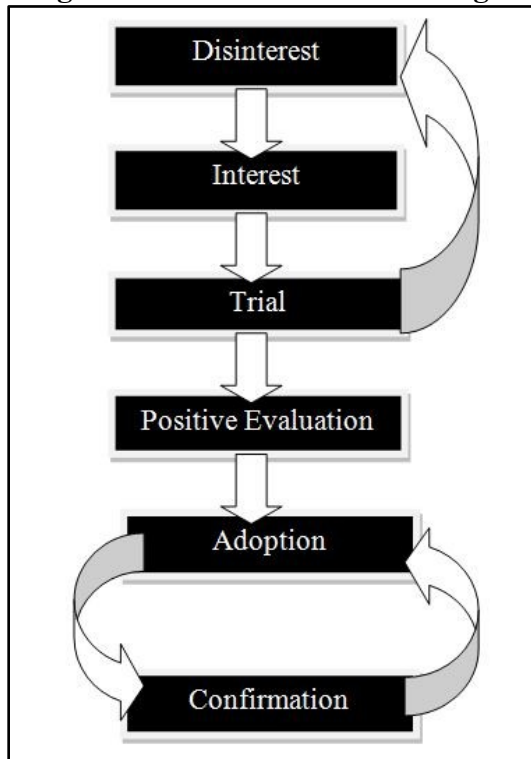
I tried to determine the general demographics of audiences, but this proved to be quite difficult as the oldest audience members were kind but often refused to fill out surveys (this could be because of the size of the type, or even literacy issues). However, the photos above, taken at locations with many cultural experience or accidental audience members (although as always there were a few participants, experts, and paying audience members, too), can give an idea about the demographics of audiences at festivals in smaller cities (Gangneung, Andong and Jinju). Although KOUS, Pungryu Theatre, and the National Gugak Center all collect audience surveys, these are always on a voluntary basis, and only a small portion of the audience fills

them out. In general when a show is more expensive the audience age falls within a narrower range; free shows attract more elderly people and children. I have rarely seen anyone under fifteen at KOUS, although at Pungryu Theatre (where student tickets are usually 5,000 won) there are sometimes children. In further research I hope to work to more explicitly understand how individual audience members interpret their experience with traditional performance.

d. Know Your Audience

An alternative way to think about audiences, as proposed by marketing specialist Alan Andreasen, is to view the audience as experiencing a "Performing Arts Adoption Process" (1987: 6-8). He explains that each individual's level of interest in the performing arts is based on two measurements: interest and attendance (ibid.: 5-6). Andreasen's process shows how audiences undergo six stages: disinterest, interest, trial, positive evaluation, adoption and confirmation. If a trial attendance yields a positive evaluation, they attend again. If they decide that such performance attendance should be a regular integrated part of their lives, they have reached the stage of adoption. After adoption each performance is an opportunity for confirmation of their adoption of the lifestyle of a performance-attende. If they cease attending, they can always return to interest and trial again in the future.

Image 9.9: Andreassen's Performing Arts Adoption Process



Source: Alan Andreassen's "Expanding the Audience for the Performing Arts," a report commissioned by the (US) National Endowment for the Arts in 1987.

Andreassen's model is interesting and useful, as it can explain the process each audience member goes through. Yet it needs to be supplemented by my audience typology, because not all audiences at the confirmation stage are the same. The cultural experience audience may be at the stage of trial or positive evaluation and the accidental audience, generally, if they stop for more than a minute or two, are at the stage of trial. A crucial factor in causing anyone at the trial stage to move on to the positive evaluation stage has to do with what type of audience they are surrounded by. Experiencing traditional performance surrounded by an enthusiastic participant audience, a well-dressed paying audience, or parents uncertainly identifying instruments for their children in a cultural experience audience are all very different. In fact this is one way in which shows specifically labeled as a cultural experience are a disservice, as they do not attract experts

and participants.

A factor that is rarely discussed is that of the quality of the performance offered to the audience—this also can play a major role in the decision by an audience member at the trial stage to adopt the identity of an arts patron. Jin Okseop, artistic director of the KOUS performing arts hall, addressed this issue:

Jin:³³⁹ I think it is really hard to be a traditional performer because there are too many performances. Traditional performance is not in great demand, but still a large number of performances are staged. Those performers do not *perform*, I think, they *present* what they have learned in front of people. Performances are sometimes free, or just for friends and family; other times you need to buy a ticket. This situation can be described as "bad money drives out good money." Bad quality performances drive audiences away from good performance. Those who saw a boring, bad performance may probably not want to see another traditional performance ever again. They can miss a really good performance. Performances should be fun, exciting. Just demonstrating to people what one has learned is not a real stage performance. A stage performance is different from what you can do at home or at church. When you perform in a public place like a theater, I believe, you should offer something worth seeing to the audience.

This is just one of the factors that can explain the anemic audience for Korean traditional performing arts—a lack of selectivity in choosing what is staged, and artists who may not be fully ready for public performance.

I believe another important factor is that venues and emcees do not know their audiences well, nor do they take every opportunity to entice audience members into a closer relationship with the arts. According to Andreasen, "People do not become deeply involved in the performing arts overnight: they gradually become arts attenders" (Andreasen 1987: 4). Attending a performing arts function is very different from attending a movie in a theatre. At the movie the audience does not need to engage with the on-screen action (although engagement with on-

³³⁹ Interview with Jin Okseop conducted at KOUS on 05/18/11.

screen characters is normal in some communities). The movie is expected to deliver all the information the audience needs to understand and appreciate the entertainment, and audience members may remain passive. Failure to properly communicate with the audience or prospective audience for traditional performances begins with a lack of understanding of who the (potential) audience is. Andreasen's process shows that in order to effectively market an event, it is first necessary to determine the point on the continuum occupied by the target audience; after this is determined then the venue can strategize how to move the audience to the next stage.

3. Getting the Audience to the Venue

In a large city like Seoul there are a great number of theatre and performance spaces, but to provide some focus I have chosen to concentrate on the permanent structures of the National Gugak Center (*Geukrip Gugakwon*), Pungryu Theatre (*Pungryu Geukjang*) and KOUS (pronounced *ko-u-seu* or also *Han'gukui Munhwai jip*).³⁴⁰ These three venues schedule only performances that fall within the greater rubric of Korean tradition. The National Gugak Center is the largest of these, with three theatres (two indoors, one out). The National Gugak Center has four ensembles: the court music ensemble, folk music ensemble, dance ensemble, and fusion ensemble. They have several regular performance series utilizing their resident performers as well as periodic special events; the Center also curates shows and rents theatre space. All the

³⁴⁰ Many of the cultural halls in Korea have similar names. KOUS is now called KOUS (as the three syllable word *ko-u-seu*) by almost everyone I have ever talked to; the Korean name translates as Korea Culture House; but another performance location for traditional performances in northern Seoul is called Korea House (*han'gukui jip*), leading to much confusion when discussing performance locations; it is almost always necessary to explain the nearest subway station before both parties are satisfied they are discussing the same location. One reason I chose these three is because of the vast numbers of performances I have seen in these venues including every program or pamphlet from those three venues shared in this and the next chapter.

shows at the National Gugak Center fall within the larger framework of traditional music, if one liberally includes fusion within the traditional arts. Pungryu Theatre is located on the ground floor of the nine-story Intangible Cultural Properties Transmission Center (*Jungyo Muhyeong Munhwajae Jeonsu Hoigwan*), the hall is quite small (140 seats) and almost all the performances are CPPL-protected arts and artists.³⁴¹ Finally, 236-seat KOUS has a single hall in an independent building. As at Pungryu Theatre the performances (other than building rentals) at KOUS are of traditional arts; however, the artistic director of KOUS, Jin Okseop, enjoys discovering and staging relatively unknown rural performers who may not have been certified either nationally or regionally.

a. Attracting an Audience

Circulating Systems of Exchange

The concentration in audiences of people known to the performers (or the emcee) is astoundingly high for two main reasons. First, students are culturally obligated to attend their teachers' performances. Second, the community for traditional performing arts is small and tightly knit: in one year of intense research including frequent performance attendance I grew to know which face would show up for every dance performance, who was always there for vocal music, who would show up for shamanic performances, who seemed to come to everything put on at KOUS, and so on, because I saw them in audience after audience. I observed many people who would greet each other warmly in the lobby but sit separately; obviously they had not planned to attend

³⁴¹ When the artists are not within the CPPL system which covers culture of national import, they are certified regionally, for example by the City of Busan or by Gyeonggi Province.

together. When Go Seokjin held his "Good Pan" shows the audience included his Goseong Ogwangdae fellows, the students of Goseong Ogwangdae at Bongcheon Noli Madang, people he knew through touring with legendary singer Jang Sa-ik (including Jang himself), and others who work with him at Seoul Yeseuldan (Seoul Performing Arts Company), as well as faculty and fellow alumni of both schools he attended for university. The overlap and connections between these groups of people, who are all associated with traditional arts in one way or another, is dense.

Ethnomusicologist Keith Howard explains that "circular networks of exchange have evolved" in regard to attendance at performances (2011: 198). Yet studies of music consumption and audience reception, as Howard explains, are ignored, since universities and other sources "provide subsidies for composition and sponsor performance venues" (2011: 199). In an interview with the principal male dancer from the National Dance Company of Korea, Yi Jeongyun, he presented almost exactly the same critique. While Yi explained that he often went to see other people dance if he had a free evening, he also explained that this system made it impossible for the best performers to rise to the top. As members of a certain dance association or professors at a certain university, lesser talents would continue to get opportunities and people would continue to feel obligated to attend their shows, regardless of whether their work was substantially inferior to that of others.³⁴²

Groups and Performers

Perhaps relying on these circulating systems of exchange, the artists and *bojonhoi* expend little

³⁴² Interviewed at the National Theatre of Korea on 5/16/11.

energy worrying about attendance or publicity. The Korean traditional performing arts protected under the CPPL do not need to place as much effort on marketing or networking as most other performers or organizations because they are given a budget for their *bojonhoi* and their highly ranked performers are also given a stipend. In addition, performance opportunities come to them automatically through the programs arranged by the Cultural Heritage Administration, the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism, and various regional and national festivals. Their only concession to marketing at all is to forward their information to host venues and prepare a standard re-usable pamphlet.

It often seems as though Korean artists think the only thing they need to do is perform, and that merely by being part of the CPPL system they should be acknowledged as worth viewing. They *know* that they are the top artists in their particular art, and they have the official title to prove it. When the audience is small these artists bemoan the lack of interest in traditional arts, yet despite repeatedly asking interviewees how to foster engagement with the arts by the younger generation few practical solutions were suggested. Most artists expect the government to fix the problem, often through insisting on changes to education.³⁴³ After decades spent trying to raise interest in the traditional arts, some artists are somewhat bitter. Others keep offering classes and perform to their utmost. Although the performers receive performance fees, the fees are not large and are never linked to attendance. Therefore performers in the group arts do not concern themselves with attracting the audience for the performances of their *group*.³⁴⁴ Most performers told me they never invite their friends or family to an event, with the possible

³⁴³ The education for traditional music is abysmal; see Jang Ki-beom (2008), "Layers of Thought on Korean Music, Music Education and the Value of Music and Arts in the Context of Education and Human Development."

³⁴⁴ This is in marked contrast to the attitude of the same performers if they are part of groups outside the CPPL system that necessarily must find a way to at least break even.

exception of the yearly full-length show.

b. Funding and Staging the Arts

The venues and festival organizers are more concerned with attendance than the artists are, but they also are funded by the Korean Cultural Heritage Foundation, the Cultural Heritage Administration, and the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism (for many festivals). This leaves them less reliant on a capitalist market model of success. This is important when comparing how they promote shows, or the degree to which they are concerned about attendance compared to arts venues in other regions. In the United States the rate of failure for nonprofit arts organizations has been shown to be extremely high, over 20% annually (Bowen et al. 1994). In Korea the venues assist in carrying out the government's mission of protecting intangible culture through holding performances, but these theatres are resolutely non-profit.³⁴⁵ When I asked Yi Donghyeon, the manager of regular performances in the Pungryu Theatre, what happened with the money they collect from ticket sales, he explained that they were preparing to hold an event giving back to the audience with gifts and fun activities.

Yi's attitude speaks to the lack of concern for collecting money from the shows; however, as you can see in the Jin Okseop interview excerpt above, Jin was concerned with filling the house because he had to justify the choices he made as an artistic director of the hall. Christine Lai and Jessie Poon found arts organizations in the United States were competing for funding

³⁴⁵ In Western countries as well most arts organizations are non-profit. In a rather dated article, economist Henry Hansmann explains that most arts organizations rely on donative financing, which he sees as a form of voluntary price discrimination (in that the costs of a production are the same regardless of the audience size, so donors are showing that they are willing to pay a larger percentage of the cost of the production). As Hansmann explains, "if ticket prices are set close to marginal cost, admissions receipts will fail to cover total costs" (1981: 343). In addition, many arts organizations are subsidized by governments. Korea is not unique in this.

sources and for the attention and attendance of patrons (2009: 163). The National Gugak Center, Pungryu Theatre and KOUS are not competing for funding, although they do compete for the limited traditional-performance-attending audience.³⁴⁶ General Korean audiences are unfamiliar with the traditional arts and are unlikely to attend performances without being attracted by successful marketing or being taken to the performance by someone else. Certainly the various sites for traditional performance could do more to attract and keep a regular audience.

Subscription or Patron Programs

While many arts programs and theatres around the world have instituted subscription programs with great success, no such programs exist for the three venues I focus on here. Research by Mark Johnson and Ellen Garbarino in the United States found that subscribers are so dedicated to the organization that they often double as volunteers, and the existence of a subscriber base also shows community support that can translate into successful grant applications by arts organizations (2001). Generally a subscriber buys a ticket package (at a discount for advance purchase with the chance to secure preferred seats) and is asked for donations at regular intervals. There are organizations in Korea with subscription programs—these are generally organizations with more reliance on ticket sales for funding such as the LG Arts Center. Much more common than subscriber programs in Korea are patron programs. Performance organizations and venues such as the Seoul Philharmonic Orchestra, the Korea National Ballet, Sejong Performing Arts Center and the National Gugak Center have patron programs where a yearly membership gives

³⁴⁶ This is one reason why Pungryu Theatre holds the lion's share of their performance series on consecutive Fridays and KOUS tends to use Wednesdays. In this way the two venues are not competing for an audience.

the patron (depending on supporter level) discounts and sometimes offers such as "buy two tickets, get one free." But KOUS and Pungryu Theatre have only a *hoiwon* (member) program. This is a misnomer as KOUS and Pungryu Theatre *hoiwon* merely supply their phone number and receive text messages about upcoming shows—there is no other benefit or responsibility.

The Korean patron programs promote attendance in the way illustrated by the photo below (Image 9.10). On the front page (right hand side of the photo) below the date and name of the theatre in the fine print, second to the bottom line, reads, "Discount information: Sejong Center for the Performing Arts patrons (premium 30% discount, gold and lower 20% discount); Interpark ticket company members 10% discount; retarded, national merit citizens and students 30% discount."

located close to a subway stop, and the ten-minute walk (uphill from the Green Line) to the theatre was, in Kim's mind, a barrier particularly for the elderly aficionados of traditional performance. The National Gugak Center is even farther from the subway (uphill fifteen minutes from the Orange Line), although there are dedicated buses running from the subway directly to the center. Beyond the immediate location of these two theatres, however, is the larger issue of the absence of live performance in huge swaths of Korea.

How can new audiences be developed if people in smaller cities rarely have a chance to attend a show? Although locally based groups (e.g. Jindo Dashiraegi on Jindo Island) perform outside the large cities, and performers who are not part of CPPL-registered arts (e.g. The Gwangdae) work hard to find opportunities everywhere, there are limited locations that have a budget to invite performers from the larger cities. There are regional Gugak centers in Busan, Jeonju and Namwon; each has a calendar of performance events throughout the year. Regional festivals and celebrations (e.g. Andong Mask Dance Festival, Gangneung Danoje) also invite performers, but in general performance viewing options outside the Seoul Metropolitan region are limited.

4. Conclusion

Finally, some administrative decisions have been made that impinge on performances: if decisions were made in consultation with the artists these problems could be avoided. The roof covering Seoul Noli Madang is excellent for keeping the rain out, but causes horrible sound quality. The difficulty hearing anything other than a muddled echo has left many audience members with a bad impression of what could have been an exciting performance. At outdoor

performances of the National Gugak Center I have been offered small blankets to keep warm, but not all venues are this prepared. After an outdoor evening performance of Bongsan Talchum on April 23rd, 2011, the performer of the starring role of Chuibali, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* and *bojonhoi* leader Jang Yongil told me: "We do our best, it doesn't matter if the weather is freezing or there are only a few people in the audience." He was right on both counts: when the performance began at 7:00 pm there had been approximately thirty-five people spread out on the hundred or so chairs the park employees had set out, but as the wind picked up the audience disappeared until only a handful of friends and relatives watched the final act. There is no point in offering performances if the conditions of the performance are going to drive away the audience.

There are many ways that a solid understanding of the audience—where they are in their arts adoption process or what type of audience members they are—will allow the venues and the performers to improve the manner in which the arts are presented. Teaching the skills the audience needs to respond to the performance is also important, not just for the performers, but also for the audience to enjoy their experience. Additional research to understand the Korean audience could help the traditional performers reach the viewers in a more profound way and that could lead to more fans and future students.

Chapter Ten:

Educating the Audience: Program Notes and Emcee Quotes

1. Introduction

Observing Songpa Sandae Noli in the days or weeks leading up to a performance, I found that the performers regarded some performances with a relaxed attitude, akin to public full-dress rehearsals, while they prepared meticulously for other performances. Reasons why these groups would take one performance more seriously than another included attendance of members of the Cultural Properties Committee,³⁴⁸ attendance of professional performers from other traditional performance groups, particularly if the other art was somewhat similar to their own art, and an expectation that the audience would include people educated in/knowledgeable about the traditional arts.

While this is based primarily on my own experiences with Songpa Sandae Noli, no one directly stated a difference in importance for various shows. I have inferred this based on indications such as expression of nervousness about an upcoming performance, extra preparation (cleaning, organizing) of equipment and costumes, how often performers would mention the expected attendance of others (Cultural Properties Committee members of the performers from another art), or the tone of voice in which they might comment on a detail of an upcoming show. Yet the understanding that any show could potentially recruit a new performer or convince an audience member to pursue an interest in traditional arts was not expressed.

Each opportunity to communicate with the audience is precious, beginning with how a performance is promoted through posters and fliers, the sort of information and communicative power in those documents, as well as in pamphlets or programs and the emcee's introductions to

³⁴⁸ The Cultural Properties Committee or the *Munhwajae Wiwonhoi* members judge whether groups or individuals in the performing arts are carrying out their duties well, approve advancements and so on. They report to the Cultural Heritage Administration but are not themselves government employees.

the art from the stage. If any of these are not taken seriously or even omitted, then an opportunity to communicate with the audience has been lost. In this chapter I explore a variety of means that groups and venues use to communicate with their respective audiences.

Intermission: Interview with Jin Okseop

About Jin Okseop:³⁴⁹

Jin: My name is Jin Okseop, I'm 48 and I'm a director for traditional arts. I arrange and facilitate performances—I am employed as the artistic director of KOUS [a theater for the traditional arts in a high-rent district of Seoul]. Truthfully, as an individual that is only one part of what I do—I am also a dance critic. I concentrate on dancers, their steps, what it means for a dancer to bring traditional dance to present on the stage—and not just dance, but also *gut* [shamanic ritual] and *pungmul*—the way that traditional performers continue to enact tradition as it was in the past. The power of unchanged, authentic tradition. I am someone who is involved in all of that.

Saeji: How did you begin?

Jin: I was involved with drama and because I needed to be able to dance I went to get some dance training. At that time there weren't any special schools for dance training, unless one wanted to enter university. However, I was able to find a place to learn mask dance drama. Therefore I began to learn mask dance drama, and I was impressed—there was literary ideas in the dialogue and beauty in the movements. Because I liked mask dance drama I kept learning, which brought me to be interested in the music, then other types of dance, song, instrumental music... You know Korean students they go to college and their most important study isn't their major subject, it's English and the TOEFL exam—but I never studied English even a little.

Saeji: How old were you when you started mask dance drama?

Jin: I was nineteen. It was right before I started college. I first learned Bongsan Talchum, but I didn't learn with someone from the *bojonhoi*, I learned with someone who was not certified as a National Human Treasure but did the *real* Bongsan Talchum, Kim Yugyeong, who passed away at 95-years-old in 1996. I found Kim Yugyeong and learned dance. My hometown is Damyang in South Jeolla Province. There are a lot of famous traditional singers from that area, and when I was a little child my grandmother would do farm work and sing—I grew up close to tradition like that. There aren't any performers in my family, though.

³⁴⁹ Interview with Jin Okseop conducted at KOUS on 05/18/11.

About KOUS:

Saeji: How do you choose performers for KOUS?

Jin: For KOUS, which is a small theater, I choose young people who can carry on tradition in the future. I intend to choose young people with whom I can make a better future for this field. For a performance held in a bigger theater, I prefer working with experienced people whom I may not be able to see again, because staging major performances is related to my personal reputation. I choose most people myself. There are many contests in the traditional arts. I do not trust such contests, where the winner is pre-chosen. For casting at KOUS, some people have suggested that we should form a kind of casting committee. I just tell them they should trust my professional judgment, and put me in charge of the job, that they should not bother me about it. If a casting committee is formed, people on the committee will usually favor their own protégé. Things become very unflattering. Thus, I make the decisions alone, although I consider recommendations. [At the end of the interview I made a recommendation, but Jin Okseop told me that performer needs a few more years of development]. I try to evaluate potential performers regardless of her or his educational background, or who taught her or him. It is by no means an easy thing to do. There have been a few times when I had to admit that I chose the wrong person, but I still hope I gave them a good opportunity to improve. Anyway, I try hard to choose a skilled performer. It is a good thing to be granted a privilege to choose people but at the same time, it is a painful burden. If a person whom I chose does a terrible job in dancing or singing, I cannot bear it.

Saeji: Is there a really big difference between different performers?

Jin: Of course there is, but I try not to let anyone see that I think so. It's something that I really know well, because when we have the rehearsal I am able to see who is better. Once in a while someone will do poorly in rehearsal but be great in front of the audience, but in general I am really disappointed if I am showing the audience something that isn't as good as it should be.

2. Contextualizing the Performance: Communicating with the Audience

Posters, fliers, pamphlets, programs, and the words of the Masters of Ceremony (emcee) all communicate with the audience to contextualize the performance. They can place it within tradition, label it as heritage, extol historical connections, provide instruction in how to best appreciate the performance, and much more.

Barriers to Audience Comprehension

Many Koreans may only see one traditional performance in their life. Words go in and out of use,

and what was once an allusion to a recent event becomes a reference to a forgotten detail of history. In *pansori* singing even the narration is difficult for Koreans to understand because it is "mostly fixed in the 19th century dialects of Jeolla, dabbled with aphorisms and phrases from ancient texts" (Park CE 2000: 274). An observer of many shamanic ceremonies may see a deep meaning evoked in a dance based on a shamanic ceremony, and feel an emotional response that someone who has never been to a shamanic ceremony would not feel. In the past Korean mask dance dramas contained extremely explicit sexual references. Performers have explained to me that they feel uncomfortable even teaching new members or trainees such dialogue. Certainly the most sexual content is almost never performed today.³⁵⁰ Yet excising the sexual dialogue and content removes elements of humor and can cause strange ellipses in the plot line of a scene.

In addition audience members can feel uncomfortable when they do not know how to evaluate a performance. Most audience members cannot judge if a piece of court music has been performed well or not. The aesthetics reflected in traditional music can be so unfamiliar that many Koreans simply do not know how to approach the content. Dances such as *taepyeongmu* are incredibly difficult to learn, with complexity hidden behind a seemingly limited choreographic vocabulary. The lack of ability to engage directly with the art form is disconcerting and can lead to a poor experience and negative evaluation of the traditional performing arts.

³⁵⁰ To illustrate the racy language in the mask dance dramas, here are two passages in a scene from Eunyul Talchum. Third Yangban: Your lady will call you. When she does, you know what to do to please her. She is in heat, so you must answer her politely, and inquire about her upper and lower parts. Kissing her lips would also be of service. Judging from your big nose, I am sure you have a big penis. Malddugi: (*several lines later and speaking to the lady referred to above*) Ma'am, you love what I do so much that your yin and yang are vibrating in harmony. All three hundred sixty ducts are tingling deliciously. Your thing down below is receiving a message, and keeps nodding in approval. Oh, what ecstasy this is!

Scholars interested in audiences have developed reception analysis, exploring audience interpretations and discussing how audiences can "resist and subvert the dominant or hegemonic meanings offered by mass media" (McQuail 1997: 19). Although Korean traditional performances are not presented by mass media with a totalizing and dominant power in society, the arts are curated—programs, posters, pamphlets and the emcees associated with the shows communicate messages and agendas that are a composite representation of the viewpoints of performers, venues, funding sources, the government and individual emcees. Audiences must parse the information offered to them to decide if they want to attend, to aid them in understanding what is presented, and finally to assist them in perceiving layers of meaning.

With limited performance time available thorough introductions to an art form or one part of a performance are often missing. Yet the frequent absence of those explanations is a barrier to the understanding and enjoyment of those who are less familiar with the traditional arts. According to ethnomusicologist Hilary Finchum-Sung, the "assumption is that domestic Korean audiences understand the cultural significance of the musical genres when, in reality, most Koreans have very little understanding of traditional Korean music" (2009: 51). Those who have a limited understanding are generally cultural experience or even accidental audience members.³⁵¹ These audience members are confused about the types of performance, the relationship between different performance genres, the names of instruments and all the other vocabulary commonly used by those in the arts field but relatively unknown elsewhere.³⁵² For

³⁵¹ Here I am using the audience member typology proposed in Chapter Nine.

³⁵² This was repeatedly demonstrated for me in the awkward mid-point in my journey into scholarship of performance. As Koreans asked me what I do and what I research I would tell them, only to be met with blank looks. I originally took this to mean that there was a problem with my Korean. I learned over time that even when discussing with highly educated Koreans I had to ask if they understood what the CPPL is, or how it works, and

example, the term "intangible cultural property" is used in programs and by emcees constantly, but most people do not have a clear idea of what it means.

In order to determine the level of audience knowledge I conducted a survey of 81 people who were watching mask dance performances at the 2010 Andong International Mask Dance Festival. I asked them to order "National Human Treasure," "*jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*," and "*isuja*" and of the respondents (only 46 of 81 answered this question)³⁵³ 21 believed that the *isuja* was ranked higher, while 25 correctly identified *isuja* as being lower in rank than *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. This clearly demonstrates that even words commonly used within the performing arts community are confusing to the audience.³⁵⁴ In the same survey I checked general knowledge with the question "What are the most common *pungmul* instruments? There are four standard instruments and depending on the group and region other instruments are also used." The most appropriate answer is *janggu*, *jing*, *ggwaenggwari*,³⁵⁵ and *buk*, and naturally including instruments such as the *sogo*, *taepyeongso* or the *nabal* would be perfect.

include a few sentences of explanation just in case they were afraid to tell a foreigner they did not know.

³⁵³ My experience teaching Korean middle school and university informs my opinion that Koreans would rather not answer than answer wrong. Most of the 46 people who answered the question must have thought they knew the correct answer; they were not simply guessing. Some completed surveys with unanswered questions included notes to me such as "I'm sorry I don't know more."

³⁵⁴ To be fair to the audience the Korean term "*jogyo*" means assistant teacher. Not knowing what an "*isuja*" is, but merely noting that one member is a "*jogyo*" people can logically think an *isuja* is ranked higher. They would need exposure to the performing arts world to know that this is not the case.

³⁵⁵ Many respondents were stumped by the spelling of *ggwaenggwari* (it is quite difficult to spell).

Table 10.1: Instruments Used in *Pungmul*

Answer	<i>Janggu, jing, ggwaenggwari, and buk (sometimes sogo, taepyeongso etc. as well)</i>	Three or fewer correct instruments, no mistakes.	Included instruments never used in <i>pungmul</i> music	No answer	Total
Number	26	7	15	33	81
Percent	32%	8%	19%	41%	100%

To expect an audience to understand complex details of performance when 19% of them think that string instruments such as *haegeum* and *ajaeng* are used in *pungmul*, a type of drumming music, is clearly expecting too much. Asking more complex questions—the type of questions that would stump some of my fellows in the performing arts classes—I found that the audience members rarely even tried to answer.³⁵⁶

a. Framing the Performance through Promotional Materials and Programs

Dance scholar Susan Foster has theorized that an audience member begins to interpret a dance (or other performance) based on the "frame" of the dance (1986: 59-60). This frame can begin with the first materials related to the performance that the audience member sees, such as the posters, fliers or other advertisements discussed above. Foster asserts that all bits of information, including language used to describe the performance, the location and the ticket price give the audience member information to expect a certain type of performance—in Korea a regular performance attendee certainly has expectations about the different ways in which shows are framed at different performance locations. In Seoul traditional performances at the National Gugak Center, Pungryu Theatre, KOUS, Korea House, Gwanghwamun Plaza, Deoksu Palace, Seoul Noli Madang and other locales are all quite distinct.

³⁵⁶ When they brought their completed surveys to me I gave them a sheet with the answers and extended explanations for the difficult questions—I could not resist the chance to teach.

The appearance of printed materials used to frame performances in Korea varies widely. These materials can attract an audience and are key elements for encouraging attendance and lending background contextualization to the performance. Bookmarks, post cards, posters, pamphlets and extensive programs (sometimes sold at shows) are created with a wide range in quality and detail. As I explain below, eight shows may be advertised by a single sheet of 8½ x 11 paper as in the *Palil* series, or a single show can have a program more than eight pages long, like the Bongsan Talchum program. Programs can be sold as keepsakes, or for more utilitarian purposes; the program for a *pansori* performance series in spring 2011 was 102 pages of the text of the script for all five *pansori* epics. It was meant to be kept as a reference text and at 5,000 won (5 USD) was affordable for anyone with the interest.

Although the *bojonhoi* are constrained by the CPPL to present the "authentic" original form, they are influenced by the visually oriented world around them. As some venues, like KOUS, emphasize exceptionally eye-catching graphics, other venues and groups are forced to keep up. An analysis of the visual framing of the performance can be a useful tool to understand how the images and overall appearance of posters, pamphlets and other advertising material inform the audience about particular performance related events. However, there are very few precedents for ethnomusicological or performance-focused works that deal with the relationship of the visual to performance (Finchum-Sung 2009: 41).

In the field of performance there are often two different parties interested in the visual presentation of the art: the performers and the venue. These can work against each other if the two have strongly contradictory feelings about visual representation. The performers tend to limit their concern about presentation to sending photos, biographical details and paragraphs

describing their arts. Although in the past venues accepted photos sent by performers and created the advertising copy, many of these photos were chosen without the input of a graphic designer. These framing elements were hampered in their effectiveness through problems with composition and clarity. In 2011 the venues are addressing these issues through commissioning a photographer (the approach used by KOUS) and by being more assertive about needing better photos from groups; this has caused some groups to seek out new sets of visual images.³⁵⁷ In construction of posters, pamphlets and programs more attention is being paid to wording, placement and details such as typography. This has extended to using calligraphers to write titles or names of performers in a distinctive way instead of using a computer font.³⁵⁸

b. Educating the Audience through Text

In most cases there are posters, pamphlets and programs associated with each performance or series of performances. Three questions arise about the information presented therein: First, will the audience read it? Second, what sort of information is distributed? Third, how clear, interesting or accurate is the writing? No matter how well prepared the text in a program may be, not everyone reads it. Roald Maliangkay, in his discussion of the presentation of Korean musical traditions to foreign audiences, points out that many people are not willing to read information during a performance—it may be dark or it might not be the manner in which they prefer to enjoy their evening out (2008: 58). No matter how well the text is prepared and laid out in a program, some audience members prefer to obtain their information from an emcee. Others are

³⁵⁷ As a performance photographer, I have frequently been asked by groups to shoot their performances, or to share photos I have taken in the past.

³⁵⁸ The well-known singer Jang Sa-ik has penned calligraphy for KOUS posters, such as the poster image for *Chum* featured in Chapter Six.

not concerned with learning about the context of the performance and prefer to just watch or listen and come to their own conclusions.

There are many performances where no program books or pamphlets are provided for the audience; the only printed material associated with the performance is often a flier or pamphlet that doubles as an advertising tool. Such materials may cover several performers on the same day, or even a series of performances on a single 8 ½ x 11 paper. While fliers, pamphlets and program booklets are becoming visually more appealing, the information in them may not be appropriately targeted at their knowledge level. As one Western ethnomusicologist notes,

Most Koreans now living have had their musical taste formed initially by exposure to Western-style or Western-influenced music, both classical and popular, and even those who have made a career in *gugak* have often done so after previous training in Western music, making the change for reasons that were as much political as aesthetic (Killick 2002: 804).

Because the great majority of Koreans are not familiar with their own musical heritage (or the dance and drama that can accompany this music) performers and venues walk a fine line between over-informing the audience (spending more on promotion) and intriguing the audience enough to entice them to attend the show. In observations of Japanese traditional performance Barbara Thornbury found that programs are "filled with information on the content, history, and original geographic setting of each presentation as if it were the function of the words themselves to fill in for whatever may be lacking in terms of festival context" (1994: 216). Thornbury's critique of how printed documents cannot substitute for seeing the performances situated in the cultural frame, such as a festival, in which they were originally presented is true for Korea as well. In Korea some of the performers and groups overload the audience with written information. Yet young Koreans who lack the cultural codes to understand a performance cannot

understand an all-night village celebration surrounded by community through watching a one-hour performance and reading text.

Many groups print a standard flier outlining their art and use it over and over again, for years. In most groups the office managers work on the text with oversight by the group leaders. In many cases a file is resurrected again and again for repeated performances. I asked performers in several interviews what their opinion was about giving out pamphlets or fliers.

Saeji: Do you think it's important to give out a pamphlet every time you have a performance?

Hwang:³⁵⁹ If we have them, we'll give them out. There are times when we do and when we don't. If we don't have a good emcee available then a pamphlet becomes even more important. Sometimes we have a special one [pamphlet] for a show but we also have our standard one. For our annual full-length performance we always make a special program, and when we have special support for a show we make a special program to reflect that support.

Kim:³⁶⁰ We always bring a pamphlet for every performance except when the performance venue is preparing a pamphlet, if we've given them all our files and information, then we don't need to bring our own.

During my association with Songpa Sandae Noli they used identical copy from 2005 until the fall of 2010 when the occasion of their first international performance at the World Expo 2010 Shanghai prompted them to correct their English and even add a choppy Chinese translation.³⁶¹ The Korean copy, however, did not change as they improved the English translation and added the Chinese. Their standard pamphlet does not include details such as the date of the performance or the roles and names of performers, which enables them to use the same text repeatedly, without worrying about changes within the group. As with all the Korean group arts,

³⁵⁹ From an interview with Hwang Jong'uk conducted at the Goseong Ogwangdae Transmission Center 01/25/11.

³⁶⁰ From an interview with Kim Yeongsuk conducted on a bus returning from a performance, 11/20/10.

³⁶¹ I translated the English for the group. The Chinese was so choppy that the translator left words, randomly, in English in the midst of the document.

the group's name is important, not the name of each individual artist. Through not changing the program a group preserves their funds for other purposes, and as Hwang Jong'uk explained in the interview excerpt, special programs can be printed for special performances. The word and language choice in the promotional materials has much to do with the clarity of the presentation (and the degree of interest it can drum up in an audience).

Word and Language Choice in Promotional Materials

The *Palil* dance series (see Image 10.2 below) covered eight consecutive Wednesdays between March 30th and May 18th, 2011. Each of the eight (*pal* 八) performances featured eight dancers dancing (*il* 侑) one by one on the stage. The series name, *Palil*, refers to a specific ritual dance that is part of the ancestral worship at Jongmyo Shrine—the dance was performed by sixty-four dancers in eight rows of eight. The advertising copy for this show and the only printed material available for attendees to take into the performance hall was a single sheet of thick paper, printed in color with the details of KOUS staff, dates and times of the show [A] and a color photo of each performer in their costume with their name and the name of the dance they would be performing [B].

八佾

풍운을 여는 춤의 여드레

2011. 3.30(수)~5.18(수) 매주 수요일 오후8시 한국문화의집

八佾 8열 8행의 춤, 논어의 <팔일>에 기록되어 인구에 회자되는 춤이 되었다. 이 옛말을 춤의 장치를 상징하는 깃들이 모인 새 판의 이름으로 삼는다.

주최 한국문화재보호재단 후원 문화재청 협찬 신선살롱장 기획·연출 진옥심 음악감독 정몽만 조연출 박경진 조감독 이종현 강진석 음향감독 김성언 사진 안용훈 이진원 디자인 디자인필, 김장규, 김주혜 홍보: 진정, 박소연 김-래 입장권 VIP석 2인 5천원 R석 2인인 S석·마니아(M)석 1만 5천원 A석 1만원 예매처 한국문화의집 www.kous.or.kr 공연문의 02-3011-1720

A



3.30 : 채상복 승무 — 김미수 소고춤 — 강은영 진도북춤 — 최태선 한량무 — 이문이 살풀이 — 양성옥 태평무 — 고재현 입춤 — 윤종욱 도살풀이



4.6 양대승 진도북춤 — 김명자 살풀이 — 북미경 태평무 — 노수은 진쇠춤 — 이현숙 승무 — 김경란 교방굿거리 — 이영진 한량무 — 이미주 춘앵전



4.13 홍은주 진도북춤 — 장성희 살풀이 — 김동현 살장고춤 — 최병재 승무 — 권영심 입춤 — 박윤정 북개춤 — 이종규 한량무 — 이명자 태평무



4.20 이철진 승무 — 임은주 소고춤 — 양길순 도살풀이춤 — 황지인 입춤 — 김선정 살풀이 — 문근성 설장구 — 강실숙 태평무 — 이윤석 덧베기춤

B



4.27 김진수 목중춤 — 김미숙 태평무 — 이지은 장고춤 — 류영수 살풀이 — 정란 입춤 — 김운선 도살풀이 — 이민아 승무 — 최종실 소고춤



5.4 권명화 승무 — 김창임 태평무 — 애인롱 설장고 — 김기화 진도북춤 — 김경희 입춤 — 유경희 소고춤 — 오현주 살풀이 — 심숙경 무신향



5.11 김영숙 춘앵전 — 박성아 태평무 — 이지선 소고춤 — 서갑선 도살풀이 — 정철기 부포춤 — 성애순 승무 — 이봉준 한량무 — 최선 살풀이



5.18 유순자 부포춤 — 박영수 살풀이 — 백은희 소고춤 — 이항미 도살풀이 — 최원선 진도북춤 — 김성태 승무 — 최보경 태평무 — 문화철 한량무

류(流)와 파(派)의 완강한 경계를 허물고 만나 이룬 우리 시대 춤의 반열, '팔일(八佾)'



2009 팔일



2010 팔일

‘팔일(八佾)’, 8열 8행의 춤, 《논어(論語)》의 ‘팔일(八佾)편’에 기록되어 인구에 회자되는 춤 이름이 되었다. 이 옛 말을 춤의 정착을 장담하는 근들이 모인 세 판의 이름으로 삼는다. 이는 춘부가 나락 섬이나 저다주고 들여놓았을 낡은 《논어》에서 ‘팔(八)과 일(佾) 두 자를 골랐다. 문자 안에 당장이라도 활개를 벌리며 솟구칠 만한 팔팔(八八)함이 도사린다. 춤이라면 이처럼 심금을 뒤흔들만한 기개가 있어야 할 터이다. 낡은 회 ‘사람(人)’과 ‘달(月)’, 춤에 뜻을 두었기에 달밤에 홀로 딱마하고 있는 양이니, 또한 예사롭지 않다. 춤이 가득한 두 자를 내걸어 춤의 여드레 ‘팔일(八佾)’의 불꽃을 약속한다.

기획, 연출 진옥섭

그간 초야에 문헌 명인들을 찾아왔다. 그 반열의 명무를 무대에 올려 《남무, 춤추는 차용(아비들)》, 《여우, 허공에 그리는 세살》, 《전주(후무)》를 완성했고, 발품으로 찾은 명인의 이야기(춤)를 담은 ‘노름이치’를 출간해 베스트셀러가 되었다. 2008년 한국문화의힘 예술감독으로 임명되어 《필무전》, 《필일》 등을 올려며 춤의 새 판을 열고 있다.



C
D

Since this visually complex and colorful flier advertised the entire series, it was both economical for KOUS and a souvenir to remind attendees that there were more shows coming in the following weeks. Avoiding special promotion of any single week or performer, the flier included more information on why the series was named *Palil* than about Korean dance [C]. There is also a paragraph to introduce Jin Okseop, the artistic director [D]:

Palil is a dance of eight columns and eight lines which became famous when it appeared in the *Palil* chapter of the Confucian Analects. We at KOUS have given this old name to a new performance by promising artists. The words *pal* and *il* on their own possess a surge of energy and power. It is essential that dances should have this spirit that can stir one's emotions. The character *il* (倚) is composed of the characters for people (人) and moon (月), evoking the image of a dancer practicing heartfelt dance in the moonlight.

The information provided to the potential audience member who encounters this flier, or attendee who walks into the hall with this as their only information is primarily visual. If the striking (but small) photographs of the dancer and the name of the dance are not enough for the audience to know what they will be seeing, they will not be convinced to come to one of the shows based on this advertisement. If they have come to KOUS to see this show it is presumed that this amount of information is enough. Attendance data confirms the audience presence (see Table 10.3).

Table 10.3: Attendance for *Palil* 2011

Date	Attendance*	Ticket income
3/30/11	255 /236	4,145,000
4/6/11	271	4,125,000
4/13/11	269	4,240,000
4/20/11	281	4,315,000
4/27/11	225	3,490,000
5/4/11	287	4,455,000
5/11/11	269	4,120,000
5/18/11	291	4,425,000

Source: KOUS collected attendance and income data for each show

* There are 236 fixed seats, plus cushions placed before the front row and a few folding chairs can be added the back. In other words some shows had a significant number of audience members standing.

Intermission: Interview with Jin Okseop³⁶²

About Advertising and Promotion:

Saeji: How do you prepare the photos for your advertisements? Are you using a professional photographer?

Jin: We're really spending a lot in order to get a lot of people to come to KOUS. We have to bring all the artists for the photos, and they spend a lot of money, too. On their transportation, on dry-cleaning because dry-cleaning one [traditional dance costume] might cost 40,000 [40 USD]. My reasoning is very simple: if we want to sell tickets, we have to make a poster—if we make one like this and hang it up, people who know [traditional performance] and people who don't will keep looking at it [it is visually captivating]. A lot of people attribute our performances success to the way the posters represent the performances.

Saeji: Who prepares the text in the posters?

Jin: I write all of it. I'm good at writing—I'm an author with a best-seller.

Saeji: When you make your advertisements, do you make them for people who don't really know about dance? Or for people who know dance well?

Jin: I think that Koreans are pretty much exposed to the images associated with our tradition. Thus, Koreans are, to some degree, familiar with them. Dancing is understanding dance. I think it is enough [for ordinary people] just to know that there are various dances. I think that's enough to attract an audience. I do not explain what *seungmu* [monk's dance] is to the audience. They can understand what *seungmu* is by seeing people dance. If someone really wants to learn more, after they watch it they can learn more. Speaking about *seungmu*, before or after the performance, would not help. It just spoils the mood, the spirit, of the audience. I think a few words about the performance do not help people watch and enjoy it. Providing information is important but what is more important is to make people think that this is going to be fun. You can find a thick pamphlet at some theaters. I think those are not economical. I use only this one piece of paper [holding the *Palil* flier] for 8 weeks; but for this one sheet of paper, I spent a lot of money. In order to feature the best picture of people for this pamphlet, I contacted each one and took their photos one by one. And the comments that appear on this pamphlet should be accurate and have a clear meaning. I will write a book about all the people who have performed for the past three years. By writing a book I would like to leave something those dancers can be remembered by. I would like to make a book which contains information about the performers and also records their endeavors. A book is more economical than just making a pamphlet which would easily get thrown away. Some people might find it unreasonable and even oppose what I spend on making just this one page—but good photos are expensive. I believe that one piece of paper can persuade a large number of

³⁶² A continuation of the interview from earlier in this chapter.

people [to come]. For a performance in a small theater, most of the audience are friends or relatives of the performers but what I do for a big theater targets the general public. I spend a lot of time advertising and promoting such big performances. I want to make a good poster for performance. So I read the Analects of Confucius very thoroughly in order to find this idea of *Palil*. This is the most famous term for dance in the world. *Palil* appears in the Analects of Confucius, and thus *Palil* is well-known to Asians. *Palil* is more famous than Swan Lake.

Saeji: Where do you hang your posters?

Jin: At the Intangible Cultural Properties Transmission Center in Samseongdong [a neighborhood], and places like that—Jongno 3-ga [another neighborhood] at the shops for *gugak* supplies... I don't really spend much outside the cost of printing. I don't spend any other money on it with some advertising campaign—I just go straight to the newspaper reporters—we're just a small theatre. It's really difficult, Koreans don't even like to make reservations—not like the Japanese who will make a reservation one month or three months in advance! Koreans wake up in the morning and they still don't know if they are going.

Saeji: But it seems like you often sell out.

Jin: Well, that is because most of the audience are my friends, but I think in this way it can be gaining popularity. We need a strategy on a theater level. Nevertheless, now, apart from my friends, many ordinary people are coming to see it. I feel really excited and cannot help smiling when there are many people to see my performance, the performances that I organize or stage. Having an audience is really important for a performer. And the atmosphere [in the hall] is really important for a performance. When a theater is full, an artist on the stage can perform better than usual.

Saeji: Why do you give the audience members posters? [There are posters the size of standard movie posters made with all the information on Jin's flier's on one side, and these are given out after the show.]

Jin: There are a lot of people who want to take them. If they take them and they put them up, they'll remember the name *Palil* next year, too. It will make my shows more memorable.



Image 10.4: Oh Jeonghae's *Sarangbang Pungryu* at Pungryu Theatre

'다시 볼 수 없는 공연,
다시 올 수 없는 시간'

대본도 연출도 없다.
조출한 다담, 그리고 명인만 있다.

평상에 둘러앉아 그자에 담소를 나누다가 흥에 겨우면
소리를 하고 춤을 추고 악기를 연주하면 된다.

우리시대 최고의 명인들 그들에게 내재한 풍류를
꺼내지 못한다면, 이번 공연은 완벽하게 실패할 수 있다.
하지만 편은 벌어졌다.
그 관에서 마음 내키는 대로 휘젓고 놀기를 바랄 뿐이다.

“이 무대에 정해진 것은 없다.
그저 명인들의 흥과 풍류를 즐기는
관객만 있을 뿐이다.”

풍류음악 | 김청만 중요무형문화재 제5호 판소리고급 전수교육조교

오시는길

국민은행 ■ 강남구청 1번출구 ■ 봉은사
■ 민속극장 '풍류' (중요무형문화재전수회관)
■ 선릉역 8번 출구 ■ 코엑스

교통안내
지하철
2호선, 분당선 선릉역 8번 출구에서 도보 7분
7호선 강남구청역 1번 출구에서 도보 10분

버스
일반버스 472, 4412, 3219
마을버스 강남 07

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R석 일반 10,000원 | 초중고생, 만 65세이상 5,000원
S석 일반 5,000원 | 관람등급 | 초등학교생 이상

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공연전시팀 | 02)3011-2178-9 | www.chf.or.kr

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사랑방 풍류

오정해의
사랑방 풍류

소리 한 자락, 춤 한 사유에 취하던 명인의 신명

4. 25(일)~29(목) 오후 8시
민속극장 '풍류' [중요무형문화재전수회관]
4월 25일 이은관, 이매주, 문재숙
4월 26/27일 안숙선, 정재만, 정철호
4월 28/29일 강정숙, 장영숙, 이상랑

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E
F
A



Image 10.4, above, is a tri-fold flier 8 ½ x 11 in size. The front page [A] features a photo of Oh Jeonghae, the name of the series and the description "*Sori han jarak, chum han saui chuihadeon myeonginui shinmyeong*" [A song, a dance, an exhilarating show by preeminent masters] as well as the dates, time and location of the performance and the names of the performers. The three inside pages [B, C and D] are devoted to each of the three performances in the series. Each evening featured three performers. Next to their photo the text includes their name, the name of their art (including the registration number in the CPPL system), their rank and one phrase to describe their current occupation. For example: "Ahn Sukseon; Important

Intangible Cultural Asset 23: *Gayageum Sanjo mit Byeongchang*³⁶³ National Human Treasure: Currently a professor at the Korean National University of the Arts." Each of the three line-ups of performers also has a phrase and a sentence to describe the theme of the performance. The back page of the flier [E] is devoted to several sentences and sentence fragments extolling the performances that the attendee can see at Pungryu Theatre:

A unique performance that can only be seen once. An unscripted performance and a conversation over tea with master performers. We can sit together on the Korean bench, have a chat and when we get in the mood, we can sing, dance and play an instrument. If you are not able to find joy in the masters of our age, our performance will be an absolute failure. There is no fixed rule on this stage, only that we hope the audience will enjoy the fun and excitement of our master performers.

Questioning my non-native speaker evaluation of the feeling evoked by the advertising copy, I asked a well-educated Korean friend what she thought of the wording, and she said that it felt "tempting" and "exciting." The description of *Palil*, on the other hand, she characterized as "hoity-toity" due to the "anachronistic" and "flowery" writing style.³⁶⁴ The center back page [F] includes a map to the performance hall and details about public transportation, ticket prices and the contact information for Pungryu Theatre and the Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation, the organization that manages the theatre.

³⁶³ The full name of the art is *gayageum sanjo mit byeongchang* but it is almost universally referred to as *gayageum byeongchang*.

³⁶⁴ Private correspondence with Hyun Jisoo, 5/10/11.

Table 10.5: Attendance at Oh Jeonghae's *Sarangbang Pungryu* at Pungryu Theatre

Date	Attendance*	Ticket Income	Date	Attendance	Ticket Income
4/12/10	113/140	3,953,000	4/25/11	168	3,990,000
4/13/10	90		4/26/11	119	
4/14/10	74		4/27/11	117	
4/15/10	76		4/28/11	141	
4/16/10	105		4/29/11	153	
4/17/10	115		-	-	

Source: Pungryu Theatre keeps attendance and ticket sale information for the shows.

* There are 140 fixed seats in the hall. Occasionally folding chairs are set up in the back and cushions can be added to the front.

What is immediately apparent when comparing Table 10.3 and 10.5 is that the larger KOUS hall frequently sold out, while Pungryu Theatre had more difficulty selling out, despite the famous emcee and highly ranked artists from the CPPL system. The ticket income from a single show in the *Palil* series also exceeded the income for the entire Oh Jeonghae series. Clearly the language and the type of information presented is not the key indicator of audience attendance. However, it is my viewpoint that it clearly dictates the *type* of audience member that attends the shows.

Comparing the language in the two programs with the language in the program from the National Gugak Center (below, image 10.6), the language clearly is aimed at different potential audience members.

Due to the performance focus on folk theatre I chose the *Yeohi Nanjangteuda* flier from the National Gugak Center to analyze. The *Yeohi Nanjangteuda* event uses a smaller format (about $\frac{3}{4}$ the size of a normal $8\frac{1}{2} \times 11$ paper), but is packed with information. The outside front page has the name of the two day performance series using flashy bright yellow and neon pink with bold *hanja* (Korean Chinese characters) for *yeohi* (folk theatre) dominating the visual field. In smaller letters at the bottom of the page [A] the date, time, location, contact information for

the National Gugak Center, the names of the four groups performing, the sponsoring organization (the National Gugak Center) and two patron organizations (Gugak Broadcasting and KTV [Korean Political Broadcasting]) are listed. Inside [C] is an outline of the scheduled performances—a variety including mask dance drama, *pungmul* 's modern cousin *samulnori*, and various acts from *Namsadang* such as acrobatics and dish spinning. This is next to [B] three paragraphs of text. The first Korean paragraph and the English paragraph are identical but the middle paragraph is not translated. What stands out about the language in the *Yeohi Nanjangteuda* flier is accessibility. The word choice and sentence structure is quite straightforward, and sentences such as "*Yaoi gwangjangeseo on gajoki hamgge jeulgyeoyo*" (Come with your family and enjoy [the show] in the outdoor plaza) also communicate openness. The National Gugak Center's language creates an impression that anyone who wants to enjoy tradition is welcome—even the title of the show communicates an opportunity to have a blast with traditional culture. The outdoor location, free entry and direct invitation to parents who want to introduce their kids to tradition cumulatively create an impression that the National Gugak Center show is open to people who do not regularly attend traditional performances.

Image 10.6: Yeonhi Nanjangteuda at the National Gugak Center

연희, 난장트다
Korean Traditional Folk Theatrics-
Excitement Unveiled

본 공연은 누구나 무료로 함께하실 수 있습니다.
날씨 등으로 별맞이터 공연이 어려울 시에는 예약당에서 진행되며 먼저 오신 순서대로 입장하게 됩니다.
This performance is open to all visiting the National Gugak Center. Admission is free.
In the event of rainfall, the performance will be held in an indoor venue.

야외광장에서, 온가족이 함께 즐겨요
An Event for the Whole Family

5:00 pm-야외광장
Outdoor square

- [나도 광대] 줄타기, 버나 체험
Experience tight rope dancing and dish spinning.
- 전통타악기와 민속놀이 체험
Perform traditional instruments and play folk games.
- 먹거리장터
Food Fair

예술의 전당
Seoul Art Center

국립국악원
Sadang Station 사당역

양재역 Yangjae Station

남부터미널
Nambu Bus Terminal

남부터미널역 Nambu Terminal Station

아리랑TV
Arirang TV

반포대교
Banpo Bridge

버스: 초록버스 5413 / 파랑버스 142, 406 / 좌측버스 1500-2
지하철: 2호선 서초역(3번출구) > 초록버스 5413, 서초 11, 12
 빙백역(1번출구) > 서초 07, 15, 17
 강남역(4번출구) > 서초 11
3호선 남부터미널역(5번출구) > 초록버스 4429
 양재역(1번출구) > 파랑버스 406
 양재역(2번출구) > 서초 17
4호선 사당역(1번출구) > 서초 17
7호선 내방역(3번출구) > 서초 07, 15 파랑버스 142, 406

D

연희
演戲
난장트다

Korean Traditional Folk Theatrics-Excitement Unveiled

2010. 9. 22수 안가윗날 ~ 23목 저녁6시
국립국악원 별맞이터
6 P.M. September 22nd-23rd, 2010,
Byeolmajiteo(Outdoor Stage), National Gugak Center

출연 국립국악원 민속악단 연희부,
양주법신대놀이보존회, 남사당놀이보존회, 발탈보존회 외
주최 국립국악원 후원 국악방송 KTV 한국청탁방송
문의 02-580-3300-3 www.gugak.go.kr

A




B **C**

The three examples I have presented so far were crafted by the performance venues. Next I will describe a program created by a group of performers (10.7, below). Although the 2011 annual full-length performance for Bongsan Talchum was free, the twelve-page program book (including covers) was sold for 2,000 won (2 USD). Each page has multiple photographs in varying sizes. The first page is devoted to a welcome by the National Human Treasure, Kim Aeseon; one page explains the history and meaning of Bongsan Talchum, followed by four pages that explain the seven acts in both English and Korean, two pages featuring the headshots of each


performer, one page with the details of who performs which role, and one page that lists the notable past performances of the group. The front cover has the name of the performance and group, the date, location, contact information and the sponsorship information for the show (the Cultural Heritage Administration, the Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation and Gugak Broadcasting). The back cover explains the goals of the *bojonhoi* and explains when and where the Bongsan Talchum community class is held.

Image 10.7: Bongsan Talchum 2011 Annual Full-length Performance Program

B O N G S A N



김애선
민간문화재, 풍산탈춤보존회장



좋은 공연을 보면 그때는 친구를 만난 것처럼 마음이 정답습니다. 그래서 오늘 이 공연도 여러분의 정다운 친구가 되고자 합니다.

5월은 누구나 좋아하는 계절입니다. 때문에 세인들은 계절의 아랑어라고 표현하니 봅니다. 계절에 어항답게 5월은 유난히도 행사가 많은 달, 그러나 어찌모로 비쁘신 즈음에도 이 저의 정답하신 관객 여러분께 따뜻한 감사의 마음을 전합니다.

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어느 해 복된 땅에서 꿈 많은 어린이가 어버지를 따라 춤을 시작하여 이제는 세월이 흘러 할머니가 되었습니다.

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박야호로 21세기, 혼외를 문화의 생기가 일컫는가 하면 혼외의 사기라고도 합니다.

그러나 우리의 전통문화, 그리고 우리의 민속은 저마다의 가슴에 항상 담겨 있기에 영원토록 변치 않을 것입니다.

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제 64 회 정기 공연


B O N G S A N

제6관 사자춤

이날 복종과 화합의 노랑스님 모두가 승려의 신분술 제계하고 세상 재래에 전념하니 부처님이 노하여 벌을 주려고 사자를 보낸다.

목중들이 놀라 모두 도망을 친다. 그중 하나가 남아서 마부의 역할을 한다.

목중들이 회개하여 잘못을 빌고 용서를 청한다. 사자는 이를 용서하고 화해의 춤을 춘다.




Act 5 - The Lion Dance

A lion is sent by the Buddhist to punish the degenerate old monk and the eight monks as well. One of the monks pleads with the lion for forgiveness, swearing that the monks will never commit such worldly acts again. They are forgiven and the monk and lion dance together.

제6관 영남춤


이기에 등장하는 양반은 전통성 있는 양반이 아닌 양반 계급을 은으로 사서 얻은 양반이다. 부처한 사람이면서 우치한 양반의 흉내를 내는 모양을 풍자한 내용이다.

양반들 사회에서 벌어지는 온갖 비리와 불리한 양반들의 부패한 생활상을 풍자하여 등장하여 재하와 풍자를 그립한다.




Act 6 - The Noblemen and their Servant

This scene depicts three brothers of the aristocratic class and their servant named Maltugi, who continuously makes fun of them with audacious remarks and with double entendre. He arranges a pig pen as the lodging place for his masters, but they are so ignorant that they don't even know what a pig pen looks like.









B O N G S A N

예능보유자















김애선







전수교육조교


이수자














심판역




김성익

문화유산현장

문화유산은 우리 겨레의 삶의 예지와 습관이 깃들여 있는 소중한 보배이자 인류 문화의 자산이다. 유형·무형의 문화재와 함께 무형의 문화재는 모두 민족 문화의 정수이며 그 기반이다. 더욱이 우리의 문화유산은 오랜 역사 속에서 많은 재난을 견디어 오늘에 이르고 있다. 그러므로 문화유산을 알고 찾고 가꾸는 일은 곧 나라 사랑의 근본이 되며 겨레 사랑의 바탕이 된다. 따라서 온 국민은 유적과 그 주위환경이 파괴·훼손되지 않도록 노력하여야 한다. 문화유산은 한번 손상되면 다시는 원상대로 돌이킬 수 없으므로 선조들이 우리에게 물려준 그대로 우리도 후손에게 온전하게 물려줄 것을 다짐하면서 문화유산 현장을 제정한다.

1. 문화 유산은 원래의 모습대로 보존되어야 한다.
2. 문화유산은 주의환경과 함께 무분별한 개발로부터 보호되어야 한다.
3. 문화유산은 그 가치를 재화로 따질 수 없는 것이므로 결코 파괴·도굴되거나 불법으로 거래되어서는 안된다.
4. 문화유산은 보존의 중요성은 가정·학교·사회교육을 통해 널리 일깨워져야 한다.
5. 모든 국민은 자랑스러운 문화유산을 바탕으로 친린한 민족 문화를 계승·발전시켜야 한다.




풍산탈춤 강습회 안내

시간 _ 매주 월/목요일 19:00~21:00

장소 _ 서울무형문화재 전수관

문의 _ 02-566-6356



풍산탈춤보존회

[중요형문화재 제 17호] 135-090 서울시 강남구 삼성동 112-2 서울중요무형문화재전수회관
TEL_02-566-6356 FAX_02-566-7818
www.bongsantal.com

This program, even just the four pages shown above, is quite rich analytically. The introductory address by National Human Treasure Kim Aeseon is written in somewhat poetic, elegant but

approachable language. Kim states that "Pungryu Theatre is an excellent place [for our show because] an aroma of tradition has saturated it." In this sentence she uses the term *myeongdang* for place. A *myeongdang* was a well-situated grave according to Feng Shui principles, now the word has come to mean a place that is perfect for a specific purpose. She makes references that are Bongsan Talchum specific, such as asking the audience to think of Pungryu Theatre as Yihwajeong. Yihwajeong was a pond renowned for its beauty in China; it is also referred to in the mask dance drama as a place to go and enjoy or play. In traditional society mentioning Yihwajeong was considered a logical erudite reference, whereas in modern society young people are not familiar with Yihwajeong unless it is through activities such as learning Bongsan Talchum. I imagine an audience member who only knows about Yihwajeong because of Bongsan Talchum seeing that term in the greeting and parsing their own "insider" or "educated" status. I included the example pages explaining scenes and introducing performers because these are standard items in an extended program for a CPPL-registered art. Explanations of each act almost always appear in such programs, although an introduction to each performer in the preservation association is standard in some preservation associations and unused by others. The back page of the program, however, is quite unusual and interesting.

The back page begins with the "Charters of Cultural Heritage." Naturally these charters discuss how important it is to preserve and appreciate cultural heritage and it claims that intangible and tangible cultural properties are the essence of a people's culture. Next it states "*Munhwa yusaneul algo chatgo gagguneun ileum got nara sarangeui geunboni doimyeo gyeore sarangeui batangi doinda*" (Learning and cherishing one's cultural heritage is the equivalent of loving one's country and one's people). One of the words used here, *geore*, is often used to

indicate Koreans as a homogenous people in reunification discourse (remember, Bongsan Talchum is from what is now the DPRK). The entire text of the charter conveys a sentiment of cultural heritage as being something grand that transcends the boundary of nation states and is deeply connected to a common Korean origin. The charter articulates the need to protect cultural heritage in order to pass it on to future generations. However, the placement of the charter in the program—and indeed above an invitation to participate in classes—is quite striking. The juxtaposition of invitation and charter instructs everyone to preserve heritage while hinting that learning Bongsan Talchum is one way to fulfill this responsibility.

What can we learn from looking at the programs? The most important information is that the type of program is determined by the organizational mission and culture of the group responsible for creation of the program. There are significant variations among the programs designed by different sources, and these four are quite representative.

The KOUS-type program relies on visuals to hook an audience—the material was designed for the insider audience who knows what the performance will be as soon as they see the photo; these paying or expert audience members attend based on which performer is pictured or a desire to see a specific dance. This is very obvious when more than half the audience must wait after the show to greet and congratulate one or another of the performers.

Pungryu Theatre's program was designed to appeal to the audience without going into depth; the theatre sits on the fence unable to commit to either being targeted at those looking for a cultural experience or those looking for these specific performers. The performers featured are all highly ranked in the CPPL system. Curiously KOUS never lists such information in their fliers and Jin Okseop does not mention it on stage. I asked Jin why not when I went to interview

him.

Jin:³⁶⁵

I don't want people to pre-judge performers. What is important is how well a performer is doing his job right now on this stage, regardless of whether she or he is a National Human Treasure, [*jeonsu gyoyuk*] *jogyo* or *isuja*. I just want performers to dance well. I don't care much for designating someone *isuja* or National Human Treasure. I think the cultural policy system is a good thing, but I don't think a person who benefits from their designation in the system is necessarily a good artist. Some of the *isuja* or National Human Treasure are really good performers but there are so many *isuja* or National Human Treasure who are bad at what they are doing. For me, that title is insignificant, and what kind of university this person is graduated from is also unimportant. What I want from this person is dancing a great dance as a dancer. If the person dances well, she or he can receive a lot of applause, if not, no applause. What is important is performing well at the stage at that moment. What is more important is who is performing. This is how I manage my theatre and you should have a confidence in me and come to see me [and the artists I bring]. It may not sound humble but art is not about being humble or modest. Projecting a performance is to commodify its producer and director.

Jin Okseop's attitude, totally unlike that seen in almost all the traditional performance circles, was refreshing. Jin wants his audience to watch the dancer, not an embodiment of the title "National Human Treasure." Throughout our discussions he made it clear that performance quality and pleasing the audience was a top priority—surely this is reflected in KOUS's success as a theatre. While Pungryu Theatre uses the high rank of their performers as a selling point to encourage attendance, Jin Okseop does not. The performances like Oh Jeonghae's *Sarangbang Pungryu* that feature only highly ranked performers are wonderful opportunities to see them on stage, yet with such a long resume of past performances their friends, family, students and fans have had many opportunities to see them already. In the *Palil* series Jin Okseop usually pairs two well-known performers with six still-emerging performers in order to offer a performance that is

³⁶⁵ Interview with Jin Okseop conducted in his office at KOUS on 5/18/11.

relatively new or fresh.³⁶⁶ In other words, although the *Sarangbang Pungryu* series at Pungryu Theatre included phrases evoking a fresh feeling, the audience may not have been entirely convinced since the performers were very often seen.

The National Gugak Center developed materials are designed for the audience who has no real background in the arts and an educating mission is clear in the text. This matches with the many classes they offer, year-round series of introductory shows and the stated mission of the organization. The emphasis on inclusion is obvious in the use of English, the extensive explanation of how to get to the National Gugak Center, and the many different mentions of how it will be fun for the entire family.

Finally, the Bongsan Talchum program is typical of a performing group: they cover the bases with every full-length program containing almost the same elements—introductory remarks, history, detailed information on the performance, photos of the performers and notable past performances. Although most audience members do not need explanations of the scenes, the page that details who was performing which role was open in the laps of many audience members during the show. In the lobby afterwards some eager fans of the performing art asked for autographs on the program which then doubled as a keepsake from the show.

c. Messages in the Framing of Performance

Above I have discussed what I consider to be typical examples of framing a performance in promotional materials and programs. Next I will discuss three other issues in the visual framing

³⁶⁶ There were, so far as I know, only two performers in their thirties in the 2011 *Palil* series and none younger than that. Each week of *Palil* included at least three performers who were in their sixties or even older, and all the performers executed the established art, not fusion or a new interpretation.

of performances.

Auto-Exoticization to Attract an Audience

Image 10.8 (below) is of two pages in a tri-fold program prepared on stiff semi-gloss paper for another of Korea's mask dance dramas, Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeon'geuk. On the cover it features a photo of the *yangban* (upper class) character from the drama sitting with two white foreign women; they are obviously enjoying Korean culture. The approach of showing audiences, particularly foreign audiences, appreciating Korean performance has long been used by various performer(s), venues and festivals.³⁶⁷ There is a perception that if foreigners are enjoying Korean culture, perhaps Koreans will return to Korean traditional culture to see what the foreigners found so interesting.³⁶⁸ Rooted in the ongoing struggle for legitimization that began when Korean culture was so dramatically repressed during the Japanese Occupation, the foreign gaze is a lens through which to re-understand Korean tradition. Dance theorist Marta Savigliano (1995) would call this a process of auto-exoticization, where the Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeon'geuk preservation association has exoticized their own performance in order to attract a certain type of gaze.

³⁶⁷ In the introduction I included photos of myself being used in this way.

³⁶⁸ This is proven by the hundreds of times I have been interviewed by print and TV media at traditional performances as the media completely ignores the much larger percentage of Korean attendees at the same show. Media outlets frequently use the viewing and learning activities of foreigners around which to build a story on traditional culture. I have discussed this issue, which frustrates me, with media, Korean academics and many performers. Ultimately I have allowed myself to be used for photo opportunities just like the one on the cover of this flier in order to help the Korean traditional arts.

Image 10.8: Informational Flier for Gangneung Danoje's Gwanno Gamyeon'geuk

**강릉단오제
관노가면극**

IV. 공연내용

1과장 : 장자마리의 개시
 탈놀이 시작과 함께 제일 먼저 포대자 무와 같은 포가면을 전신에 쓴 2명의 장자마리가 연희개시를 한다. 요란하게 먼지를 일으키며 불룩한 배를 내밀면서 놀이마당을 넓히기 위해 빙빙 돌아다니고 관중을 희롱하기도 하고 선사람을 앉히기도 하며 모의 성적인 행위의 춤도 춘다.
 옷의 표면에는 말치나 나리등 해초와 곡식을 매달고 속에는 둥근 대나무를 넣어 배가 불룩하게 나온다. 장자마리는 희극적인 시작을 유도하며 마당을 정리하고 해학적인 춤을 춘다.

2과장 : 양반광대·소매각시 사랑
 양반광대와 소매각시는 장자마리가 마당을 정리한 후 양쪽에서 등장한다. 양반광대는 뽀족한 고깔을 쓰고 긴수염을 쓰다듬으며 짐참고 위엄있게 등장하여 소매각시에게 다가가 구애를 한다.
 소매각시는 양전한 탈을 쓰고 노랑저고리 분홍치마를 입고 수줍은 모습으로 춤을 춘다. 양반광대의 구애에 처음엔 거부하다가 양반광대와 서로 뜻이 맞아 어깨를 끼고 장내를 돌아다니며 사랑을 나눈다.

3과장 : 시시딱딱이 휘방
 시시딱딱이는 무서운 형상의 탈을 쓰고 양쪽에서 호방한 걸음을 추며 뛰어나온다. 양반광대와 소매각시의 사랑에 질투를하며 휘방을 놓기로 모의하고 때로는 밀고 잡아당기며 휘방하다가 둘의 사이를 갈라놓는다.
 시시딱딱이는 무서운 벽사가면을 쓰고 작은걸을 휘두르며 춤을춘다. 시시딱딱이가 양반광대와 소매각시의 사이를 갈라 한쪽에서는 양반광대를 놀리고 다른 한편에서는 소매각시를 희롱하며 함께 춤추기를 원하나 완강히 거부한다. 결국 소매각시는 시시딱딱이와 억지춤을 추고 이를 본 양반광대는 크게 노하며 애태운다.

주최 : 강릉단오제위원회
 후원 : 강릉시
 문의 : (033)643-1301 / www.danoje.or.kr

Below the photo and the name of the group is a mostly transparent black and white photograph of a performance in front of a *hanok* (traditional Korean building). The three inside panels are heavy in text, large enough to read in good light, but not large enough for nighttime, in a theatre, or those with poor eyesight. The type is divided by clearly marked subject headings and interspersed with visually cluttered photographs. The desire to educate the viewer is clear in

the straightforward wording. The large quantity of print even in such a short flier and the small size of the photographs may, in fact, be compensating for the fact that the art is entirely non-verbal. This is the performers' opportunity to communicate in words, and they are taking it.

Use of Professional, High Quality, Expensive Advertising Materials

Second is the example of attracting an audience by using a large portion of the available budget to create visually stunning advertising materials. Commissioned professional photos have been used to create a recognizable profile for venues, particularly KOUS. KOUS's Jin Okseop understands that one of the most important tasks of any arts organization is to be readily identifiable by the public (Lai and Poon 2011: 171). This was reflected in his interview when he explained that "A lot of people attribute our performances' success to the way the posters represent the performances" and explains that the audience should be confident in him and expresses that part of marketing his performances is commodifying himself as a director. A profile for an arts organization is necessary for effective advertising; an organization known for providing a well-curated product can gain audience trust and patrons. KOUS was the first venue to concentrate on strong visual promotional materials, and is now well known in Seoul traditional performance circles for traditional dance; partially due to their habit of commissioning dramatic and eye-catching graphic design work to advertise their shows.

Image 10.9: Postcard for the series *Chumchuneun Baramgot, Sangsoi*

Image 10.9: Postcard for the series *Chumchuneun Baramgot, Sangsoi*

춤추는 바람꽃, sangsoi



sangsoi

바람 든 부포 변쩍 섯가락.
허허! 꽃그늘에 달이 뜨네.

나금추 11.24.수

羅錫秋, 1938년 생. 전북무형문화재 7-1호 부안농악보유자
여성농악의 관을 연 상쇠. 열다섯 어느 날 일방울의 소리와 임춘영의 국극에 빠져들
어 둘째 광주국악원에 나가 소리를 배웠다. 떠도는 약장사 폐에 동승해 남원에 가 농
악단에서 징을 칠고 마침내 여류 상쇠가 되어 시칠을 풍미한 여성농악단의 선두에
섰다. 트럭에 말뚝과 광목을 싣고 황토먼지 자욱한 남도 길을 가던 마지막 유랑단체
여성농악. 미세는 포장극장을 박수갈채로 채워 넣던 그 이름 나금추. 83년 한국명무
전에 부포춤으로 나서 흥판까지 휘어잡았다. 절수를 넘겨도 몸속에 감겨든 깊은 골
이었다. 그길 번치나는 오재집곳. 보릿고개 언덕 위에 피던 부포꽃 눈부시고 그 아래
춤 깊은 쇠발림 잇가락 치말하다.

류명철 12.8.수

柳明喆, 1942년 생. 전북무형문화재 7-3호 남원농악 보유자
남원곳 상대의 상쇠. 조부 유선장은 독립군을 길성에 남원진위대를 습격한 마을의 상
쇠. 부친 류한준은 폐를 이끔고 전국을 풍미한 상쇠. 자신은 흠여져 있는 가문의 가락을
찾아다니던 소년 상쇠였다. 강태문을 찾아 부포춤을 익혔고, 김수동을 찾아 섯가락을
익혀 윗눈음·아랫눈음을 다 갖췄다. 그리고 곡성의 기창
수를 찾아 판굿을 익혔으니 삼동(三動)이 일치된 좌도풍물
최고의 상쇠가 되었다. 판에 나시면 물결 부딪혀 흐름 '격
(격)'이 있다. 뿌리 깊은 풍물 가문의 용승깊은 소맷속을 타고
나 손끝에서는 영산다드레기 울고 한뼘 전뼘 위에서서
북화음이 눈부시니, 굿이 핀다는 그 결정적 장면이다.

유순자 12.22.수

柳順子, 1955년 생. 미자정 우도농악의 기능자
유랑의 마지막 상쇠. 목이 좋아 들의 들노래. 잔치집의 옥자배기를 흥내 내다 소리를
배웠고, 열다섯에 구례에 들어온 호남여성농악단을 따라나섰다. 소맷속이 좋아 쇠를
잡았고, 봄이 오면 구례의 곡우제를 시작으로 가을 전주 개천예술제까지 갑분 여름
없이 옥자를 떠돌았다. 70년 후반 남도를 떠돌던 '도라끼'가 밤을 무렵 곡예사를 만
나 첫사랑을 맺었고, 향리에 은둔했다 그러나 남종지주, 인이 박힌 예술을 숨길 수 없
어 다시 나섰다. 떠돌이 완상할 군더더기 없는 가락. 그 위에 눈부신 깃을 이슬뿜이
하는 부포꽃. 더운밤을 향해 가던 절실한 걸음은 지린 풍물곳, 박달처럼 성스럽다.

호남무도, 나금추 11.24.수

호남무도, 류명철 12.8.수

호남무도, 유순자 12.22.수

천군안아를다스린 실풍노도의 세월, 그 령력한 무공(舞功)에 대한 헌사 sangsoi

2010.11.24.수, 12.8.수, 12.22.수 오후 8시 한국문화의집 KOUS

기획·연출 조우신 무대감독 박경진 조광감독 이동현 음악감독 김성민 사진 현영은 촬영그래피 장사위 디자인 디자/필 강혜진 홍보·인형 출정환 김·배
주최 한국문화재보존재단 후원 문화재청 입장권 전석 10,000원 예매·문의 한국문화의집 코우스(KOUS) 02-3011-1720-1 www.kous.or.kr

Image 10.9 shows the back and front of a professionally designed postcard prepared by KOUS. The front of the card shows the name of the series in large, showy type (black and red on a white glossy background), above a photo of the three featured performers. Each of the performers is photographed posed against a black background and in their performance attire but in a relaxed (non-performing) mode. They are smiling at the camera and the somewhat similar costumes of all three provide visual continuity. Each is holding a performance hat with large bob of ostrich feathers (*bupo*) and a *ggwaenggwari* (small gong), and all three have a black headcloth and white *sangmoggot* (shaped like a white peony the size of a loose fist and tied around the head by a

502

white strap). Below the photo is listed their art, their name and the day they will perform. The back of the card, with a background image of a *ggwaenggwari* (also known as a *soi*), has three photos of the performers in dramatic performance mode next to background information about them. The entire card is visually eye-catching. KOUS spent 4,440,800 (roughly 4,400 dollars) on the three performances. This included 300,000 (300 dollars) for the photographs for the advertising and 1,977,800 (nearly 2,000) for printing the posters and postcards (which used the same design). In other words, the money spent just on photography and printing represents a large part of the cost of staging the performance. The three headliners and their groups received less money than if cut-rate advertising had been employed, yet without the excellent advertising copy would there be a full house at the shows?

Appealing Across Audience Boundaries

The last example demonstrates how framing a performance can create a sense that the performance will be fresh or out of the ordinary, reaching out to new audiences. Image 10.9 (below) is another flier, printed on flimsy semi-gloss paper for a performance supported by KBS (Korean Broadcasting Service, one of the main TV stations), featuring two solo performers and one group along with a photo of the emcee for the evening, Won Il.³⁶⁹ This flier demonstrates another trend in visuals for advertising: an attempt to appeal across audience boundaries. The photos show Won Il in a pose suitable for a relaxed but scholarly artist-emcee, his calm expression is offset by the members of the group Arisu, posed in colorful *hanbok* clothing, but winking and clowning for the camera. Singer Kim Yong-u looks handsome and rebellious in

³⁶⁹ Won Il is a professor of Korean music composition at K-Arts, an *isuja* for *piri jeongak* and *daechwita* (marching music), and the front man for the fusion group *Baramgot*.

Western clothing. The irreverent posing of the Arisu members and the choice of clothing for a singer of a court genre leads the viewer to expect an unusual concert; it is also compatible with the title of the show (literally "folk songs wearing new clothes"). The bottom image is of the famous Ahn Sukseon (also pictured in the *Sarangbang Pungryu* pamphlet), her arms are spread wide and she is singing with a smile on her face, looking welcoming and friendly. Each of the photos has a different color backdrop, and the backdrops are filled with monochrome lattice patterns such as those on Buddhist temple windows and doors. Even more eye-catching, the colored section for each performer has a non-parallel border, with each photo placed where the two borders are farthest apart. At the bottom, black type on a plain white background gives performance details with the largest type for the name of the show, date, time and place. Framing the event in the way that this flier does encourages both older and younger people to attend a traditional performance. The potential audience is familiar with Ahn's name, even if they cannot remember hearing her voice and the happy, good-looking (and somewhat informal) young people in the other images lead to an expectation that the show will be approachable and interesting.

Image 10.10: Flier for the performance *Minyo, Sae Oseul Ipda*

KBS 국악원원단 제196회 정기연주회
The 196th Performance of Concert by the KBS Traditional Music Ensemble

원 일

아리수

김용우

안숙선

민요, 새 옷을 입다

백대용 작곡_ 남도아리랑
이정면 편곡_ 사랑가, 개야개야 짓지마라,
아리랑 나라 비나리
조원행 편곡_ 양류가, 삼거리 이야기, 북조리타령
박한규 편곡_ 민요 4색 타령
이준호 편곡_ 육자배기, 흥타령, 삼산은 반락

5.19(목) 저녁 8시 | KBS홀
지휘: 원일 출연: 안숙선, 김용우, 아리수

KBS 한국방송
S석, 25,000원 / A석, 20,000원 / B석, 10,000원 *단체관객: 단체관객 4인 이상에서 공연 시작 15일전까지 구입 - 인터파크 www.interpark.com (1544-1555)
*공연 당일 현장 예매소 구입 - 공연시작 1시간 전부터 구입 *관객의 편의를 위하여 공연장 주차, 입장 관리는 간헐적으로 있음 *공연문의: 02-701-2244 KBS국악원원단 홈페이지
이름다운 클래식과 함께 KBS 1FM 93.1MHz | http://kbsm.kbs.co.kr

These three examples demonstrate how differently performances can be framed just by visuals presented to audiences before they even begin to watch the show (or even make the decision to go). Performances are also actively framed by the emcees that introduce performers and performances to the audience.

Intermission: Interview with Hwang Jong'uk



Image 10.11: Hwang Jong'uk
(Left) Hwang Jong'uk participating in a ceremony at Gyeongbok Palace in Seoul. (Below) In the transmission center in Goseong.



Hwang Jong'uk is one of those gruff but warm-hearted Korean men who epitomize the charms of the Gyeongsang Provinces. He is on the move all day long, rarely stopping to take a breath until late in the evening when his phone stops ringing, but no matter what time of the day or what is going on, he is ready with a whole-body laugh. He speaks in a thick Gyeongsang dialect that frequently confuses Seoulites, to his obvious delight. He has spent his entire adult life deeply involved with and concerned about Korean tradition.³⁷⁰

Hwang: In our country when there is a performance of folk arts—mask dance drama, *nongak*, shamanic ceremony, *pansori* – things like that, the venue often doesn't bother to secure a professional emcee for the shows. However each location is different. For example, when Goseong Ogwangdae goes to perform at the Andong Mask Dance Festival, there is always some emcee who explains about Goseong

³⁷⁰ Hwang Jong'uk is an *isuja* for Goseong Ogwangdae. This interview was conducted on 1/25/2011 at the Goseong Ogwangdae transmission center.

Ogwangdae. There are titles [on the TV screens next to the stage] and narration. On the other hand, when we are invited to perform in Tongyeong there isn't any emcee, just an announcer who says "the next performance is by Goseong Ogwangdae," "in this scene the action is this and that"—just the shallowest explanation with most information missing. If we go to perform at the National Gugak Center, at a university, for a special type of performance, there will be an emcee; usually someone from a museum or a university, to match the audience, if they don't do that it's a missed opportunity.

Saeji: Do you think it's necessary to have an emcee?

Hwang: There are performances that don't need any explanation. In America do you explain the meaning of pop or jazz before a show? No you don't. The target audience and the location need to be taken into account. If the circumstances call for an emcee, then by all means, use one.

Saeji: Do you think it's harder for young people to understand the meaning of the performance?

Hwang: It doesn't matter if a performance is Goseong Ogwangdae or *daegeum sanjo* or *pansori*; it's possible to just listen to it. All performance is like that. You can just listen to Beethoven or jazz. However there will be people who do not take away from that performance what I know is there. These days young people are very close to popular culture, and don't know anything about the meanings in traditional arts. So much has changed in the wake of the Japanese Occupation. Since liberation sixty years have passed, and the changes in Korean society have been cataclysmic. Culture that was as naturally a part of society as breathing in the past, that was embedded in people's blood, for children of the 1960s, 1980s, it's something only observed. People today have to overcome a whole new cultural code [to understand traditional arts].

It's hard to explain [Korean lack of knowledge of Korean tradition], but this is how it is—I'm 44 and when I was in middle and high school there wasn't such a thing as a club to play *janggu*. Of course there wasn't an opportunity to play *janggu* or *buk* when I was in elementary school. No one wanted to learn, and no one wanted to teach it. When I was attending elementary, middle and high school – the first time I ever saw Goseong Ogwangdae I was already in my last year of high school. I was 19 before I ever saw it! With the passage of time now we call that traditional arts, and it's a subject to educate people in. Now everyone in Goseong knows that they have their own mask dance drama.

Saeji: For Goseong Ogwangdae, who would be a good emcee?

Hwang: If we perform abroad, of course an emcee who can explain all about Goseong Ogwangdae's meaning—that's what we really wish for. In general there are three things that make a good emcee; first someone who has come to Goseong to learn the mask dance drama seriously, second someone who does folk theatre and third, someone who really appreciates Goseong Ogwangdae. If someone is all three of those, they can explain not just our mask dance drama but how it relates to others. Of course if they've actually learned Goseong Ogwangdae and know its philosophy and beauty that's the best of all. Jin Okseop is a great emcee for

Goseong Ogwangdae because even though he isn't one of our members he really loves Goseong Ogwangdae and has learned it extensively. And he really speaks well. He's a better emcee for us even than one of our own members. Someone like him emcees one hundred shows a year—it is unfortunate there aren't more people like him.

3. Educating the Audience: The Role of the Emcee

There are a variety of ways in which cultural knowledge can be transmitted once an audience member has arrived at a performance. The most common is purely by presenting the performance itself, with little or no additional information. At many performances of Songpa Sandae Noli I have heard introductions that with some variation say only "Songpa Sandae Noli is the 49th Korean Intangible Cultural Property and was once performed in the riverside port market of Songpa long before the district became part of Seoul." The rationale is that if an audience member finds the performance compelling then he or she can approach the performers afterwards, or track down more information on the internet (even though Songpa Sandae Noli does not have a website).

At other shows an emcee will provide a more extensive explanation including a history of the art, introductory summaries of scenes or song content, and clues about how to appreciate the presentation. The emcee has an opportunity to grab the audiences' attention as they wait for the performance—a moment when the audience is most receptive to education. Emcees who understand the needs of their audience might raise the mood through practicing *chu-imsae* with the audience. Emcees, including Yi Byeong-ok frequently teach the audience where to insert a cry of "*eolsu*" into a single *jangdan* (rhythmic pattern). The problem, however, is that there are few performances that do not include several different *jangdan*, and the audience quickly becomes confused. At the very least, however, the emcee has *reminded* the audience about *chu-*

imsae and this sort of information can eliminate (some) barriers to understanding and enjoyment of the performance by attendees who are less familiar with the Korean traditional arts. In addition to rectifying a lack of knowledge, the emcee can speak to those who have some knowledge to unify understanding. Political scientist Mark Mattern, observing emcees at Native American powwows in the Midwestern United States, found

The emcee frequently explains ... Much of this is directed at non-Indians and members of other tribes, but it is also intended to remind tribal members of the meaning of their practices. Some emcees accomplish this through appeals to collective memory, exhorting listeners to "remember" (1996: 186).

Emcees in the powwow are key actors in the presentation of native tradition. Anthropologist Daniel Gelo calls the emcee a "voice of authority" and an "entertainer" (1999: 41), observing that:

The emcee exhorts the participants to reverence or abandon as the hour requires, explains the history and meaning of customs, recognizes people in the dance circle and crowd, and fills time with jokes and commentary. These functions are all fundamental to the success of a powwow. Emcees are critically evaluated by powwow-goers through word of mouth, and the best ones are in continuous demand (Gelo 1999: 42).

This description resonates with much of what I have observed in the Korean context—however, unlike in the powwow, the existence of an emcee is a recent development. The role of the emcee at the powwow has gradually evolved from a tradition of powerful public speaking with influences including Wild West shows, carnival barkers and fundamentalist preachers (Gelo 1999: 42-44) into a facilitator who now includes more educational information. However in the pre-modern era these same performances did not use any sort of facilitator or emcee and the transitional period (the equivalent of the era of Wild West shows) corresponded with a severe reduction in performance. In my interview with Songpa Sandae Noli *isuja* and full time

professional Yi Yeonsun³⁷¹ she explained that the people who make decisions about what to include in a pamphlet or what to say to the audience are the oldest group members, the members most in touch with traditional society. It simply does not occur to them how often the audience needs additional information and contextualization to appreciate a performance. Furthermore she clarified that respect for precedent and established tradition in the performing arts community means that decisions made by performers even fifty years ago when the arts were first certified often continue unquestioned.

Scholars on Korean performance including Hilary Finchum-Sung, Nathan Hesselink (2001), Roald Maliangkay (2008) and Chan E. Park (2001) have critiqued the presentation of Korean traditional performing arts, where an emcee (or just an announcer) gives bare bones information about the performing art using terms with which many audience members are not familiar. A foreign audience member who does not know Korean may in fact be at no disadvantage compared to a Korean audience member since most shows have little announcing and the information they impart is not necessarily useful for understanding the performance, beyond identification of the genre and the qualifications of the performer(s). If the performance begins with no cultural or content related contextualization, the audience member without background knowledge of Korean traditional performing arts may find the unfamiliar rhythms, instruments and aesthetics difficult to appreciate. Performers and people who frequently emcee shows have to move past picking their friends and acquaintances out of the crowd and engagingly speak to even the novice attendee. Such a delicate balance is hard to achieve, but in my observation Professor Yi Byeong-ok is one of the most effective emcees. Professor Yi's

³⁷¹ Interviewed in a coffee shop near Shindang subway station in Seoul, 10/12/10. Yi teaches several drumming classes in addition to her performances with *Songpa Sandae Noli*.

demeanor is key; his manner can be interpreted as sharing an inside joke, or as enthusiasm as he introduces the arts with just the right amount of background information. Yi is not afraid to engage the audience to tell him the answers to relatively basic questions about instruments and arts, allowing those who already know to show their knowledge and those who do not to see the obvious engagement with the arts on the part of their fellow audience members while they learn. Yi is effective because the audience never feels as though he is patronizing them even as he supplies basic information. Others hit a more advanced note.

To illuminate how emcees usually carry out their duties I provide a brief analysis of two emcees on two different evenings. Artistic Director of KOUS, Jin Okseop, emceed at KOUS on December 22nd, 2010. This performance was of a women's *pungmul* group (or *yeoseong nongakdan*) led by Yu Sunja.³⁷² During the course of Jin Okseop's emceeing he described Yu Sunja through the use of poetic expressions and metaphors to praise her performance and achievement. Judging from raucous applause and loud verbal exclamations one of the highlights of the evening was the *sangmo* (spinning ribbon hat) performance by lead *sangmo* artist Yi Okgeum. Jin Okseop introduced her by saying "I will introduce you to Ms. Yi Okgeum, who already passed sixty. She may not be the best (최고/ 最高) but she is the oldest (최고령/ 最古령)!" Here Jin Okseop is punning the homonym *choigo*, which, depending on the Chinese character, is either "oldest" or "best." Over the course of the evening Jin Okseop succeeded in emceeing in a way that is alternately funny, personable and informative. His educational details, although not deep enough for an academic or performance professional, and perhaps a bit challenging for a newcomer to traditional performance, were perfect for an audience that was in

³⁷² This is one of the three performances advertised on the postcard in Image 10.9.

attendance to see a famous *pungmul* group rarely staged in Seoul. The audience left in high spirits after an exciting performance and with Jin Okseop's praise ringing in their ears: "I believe that the best theater is one filled by the audience. I would like to thank you all for making this theater the best one."

At the performance of Yi Maebang on December 26th, 2010, the evening was emceed by Yang Jongsung.³⁷³ Yang is Yi Maebang's student for *seungmu* (monk's dance); he is also senior curator at the National Folk Museum of Korea. During the ten-act performance Yang Jongsung appeared on stage six times and spoke calmly, glasses perched on his nose and papers clutched in his hand, in a tone like a professor addressing an audience of undeclared undergraduates. Yang described each of the performances with brief background contextualizing information, almost the same information that appeared in the twenty-page photograph-heavy program. The focus was all on Yi Maebang, as even when announcing Yang calmly stated,

I will read honorable teacher Yi Maebang's comments on traditional dance as they appear in the pamphlet. He said "I dance for all my life but it is still difficult, very difficult for me to dance." We should appreciate how difficult it is to preserve traditional arts but we have to preserve and develop them for they are our precious heritage.

Yang did not insert his own personality into the emceeding, but with his professorial air and salt-and-pepper hair he hit a dignified note that helped to mark the solemn occasion of the "last" performance of one of the most famous Korean dancers of all time.³⁷⁴

Jin Okseop, although he began graduate school, bills himself as a self-taught independent

³⁷³ The cover of the program for this performance is shown in Chapter Six, where Yi Maebang is cited as an example of a very old performer still on the stage.

³⁷⁴ It remains to be seen if Yi Maebang will perform again. Yi is nearly 100 years old, and his dance quality at this December show was considerably compromised by his frailty.

intellectual, while Yang Jongsung is an academic with an American M.A. and Ph.D. (in folklore). Both are highly knowledgeable experts on Korean traditional culture who have near-constant opportunities to introduce Korean performances. They have evolved a sense of what needs to be said, and are asked to emcee with the expectation that they will emcee in either the casual and eloquent style of Jin Okseop or the dignified and educational manner of Yang Jongsung. However, it is still common for performances to be introduced by non-experts reading from hastily penned notes or without comprehension repeating the words in a program.³⁷⁵

I asked multiple performers their opinion on emceeing, and the opinions I heard in response ranged widely.

Gang:³⁷⁶ Explanation is needed. In the past [performers] could just do as they liked or the circumstances called for, just go out and dance and deliver the dialogue because it was informal open-air theatre. But today you can't do that. The audience cannot understand, so the circumstances have changed to make an explanation indispensable.

Tahn:³⁷⁷ An emcee is needed both at the beginning and end of any performance to keep the audience from getting confused. If there is no other emcee then one of our members will greet the audience and explain our performance's content out of consideration for the audience.

³⁷⁵ For example, at the *Daehan Talchum* Festival in October, 2010 MBC (a television station) shared the budget for the festival. On Saturday another of the sponsors had secured an emcee, Jin Okseop. On Sunday MBC arranged an emcee from their budget; the emcee they sent was a minor "personality" but did not know the first thing about the mask dance dramas. Instead of bothering to learn, he stood on the stage reading from the program. When introducing the group *Suyeong Yayu* he looked confused and stumbled over the words he was reading. Then he looked up at the audience and quipped, "Honestly, I don't even know what that means."

³⁷⁶ Interviewed in the Songpa Sandae Noli office on 2/27/2011. Gang, a talented musician, works as an accompanist for other performers and teaches students. He is an *isuja* for Songpa Sandae Noli.

³⁷⁷ Tahn Jongwon is an *isuja* for Songpa Sandae Noli. He was interviewed on a bus going to a performance in Namwon on 11/20/2010.

Imshil Pilbong Nongak *isuja* Yi Jonghui³⁷⁸ felt that although an emcee was not needed for *pungmul* and a pamphlet would be enough, "for other performances an explanation is definitely important because people don't know much [about traditional arts]." Not all the performers I talked with felt the same way. Bongsan Talchum *isuja* and K-Arts graduate Son Byeongman said that "even without explanation the performance is fine." However, later in the conversation he explained that, "honestly, people who don't know anything about this type of performance don't come to watch it. An emcee isn't needed if the information is all in a pamphlet." Many performers felt an emcee should be limited to before and after a show only, if they felt an emcee was needed at all because they felt the emcee could break the mood and interrupt an attempt to build to *shinmyeong* through the performance if they appeared on stage mid-show. The performers were mostly positive about mid-show emceeing in the case of a show bringing together several different performers or groups, but when an entire performance was for one group they preferred emceeing only at the beginning and the end.

Information the Audience Needs

What type of information should an emcee or program communicate? Many would agree that contextualizing information about the performance and history of the group is important. However, I feel that the audience should also be informed about changes in traditions, in order to combat the notion of tradition as only being part of an (imagined) past, and bring the arts into the present where the audience can engage with them. Roald Maliangkay, in discussing Korean traditional performances staged for foreign audiences, emphasizes the importance of giving the

³⁷⁸ Interviewed on 02/22/11 at Imshil Pilbong Nongak Seoul Transmission Center.

audience an understanding of "the compromises made to stage the art such as time compression and gender representation and scale" (2008: 56). This is not just an issue for performances overseas or for non-Koreans, but also, in the era of proscenium stages and expectations of 45-or 60-or 90-minute shows, important within Korea itself. Many compromises are made that *should* be explained to the audience, and yet they generally are not. For example, audiences have no way to know that mask dance dramas are staged with (much of) the graphic sexual content removed, and if they are shown a stage full of dancers performing *Seungmu* they may not know that this is considered a solo dance. Maliangkay explains, "background information ... is the difference between a one-sided, silent film-like representation of the art and a form of intercultural communication" (2008: 56). Considering the lack of understanding of tradition, even if Koreans are presenting Korean tradition to other Koreans, this could be a type of intercultural communication. Maliangkay's argument is that when a performance is presented as an "intangible cultural property" it is actually more important to explain to the audience *why* it was chosen for government preservation than simply to say that it was chosen. Most performances leave the reason for preservation as self-evident; yet my research clearly shows that what I have called cultural experience audience members are still unclear about basic facts of the preservation system.

What do the audiences think? At the annual full-length performance of Songpa Sandae Noli on May 15th, 2011 I distributed 40 surveys to the audience and received 31 in return (77.5% return rate).³⁷⁹ On that particular day an announcer supplied by Songpa District with almost no knowledge of Songpa Sandae Noli had given a three-minute introduction, spending half the time

³⁷⁹ A translation of this survey is appendix 10.2 at the end of this chapter.

explaining other upcoming shows. He did not say anything else until he invited another round of applause at the end of the three and a half hour performance. In my survey, respondents were asked if an emcee was needed for the performance. The audience responded 58% in favor of an emcee while 39% stated that an emcee was not needed. The comments, however, included "I cannot understand the dialogue when I hear it" (woman, 50s), "most people don't know much about traditional plays so today's explanation was insufficient" (man, 60s), "it's good that there is a pamphlet that clearly explains the performance" (man, 50s) and "honestly the announcer was really insufficient. If someone could clearly explain everyone could enjoyably meet our traditional culture" (man, 40s). Others blamed the masks or the sound system for difficulty understanding. Only four people stated that the emceeing on that day had been satisfactory.

4. New Ways to Reach New Audiences

Gu Lingsen and Wang Tingxin (2008) discuss the importance of innovation to transmission in an article detailing efforts to safeguard *Kunqu* opera in Jiangsu Province, China. Gu and Wang advocate not only large and elaborate performances as crucial to continuation of the operas, but also smaller and less formal shows that allow the performers to present works in new ways, "stimulating creativity and innovation" (2008: 199). They are comfortable with creation of new works drawing on tradition as long as the authors and performers of such "respect the main ideas contained in the original versions" (2008: 120). The attitude of the *Kunqu* Opera Academy is that the "performance of adapted operas and the pursuance of traditional sequences go hand-in-hand" (2008: 121). In this section I will discuss some of the Korean attempts to revive tradition through approaching the arts and the audiences in new ways.

a. Presenting the Arts in New Ways

On April 13th, 2011 my husband and I attended a concert at the National Gugak Center. This show, called *Cheongsongyeon Rekchyeo Konseoteu* [Youth Lecture Concert], had caught my eye in the newspaper, as it claimed to be presenting Korean traditional music in a "new" way. The show, offered for free in the National Gugak Center's small hall, Umyeondang, was so well attended that people were sitting in the aisles. The emcee, dressed in a "scientific" white smock coat, black suit pants and shiny black shoes with a giant poofy white Einstein wig and black framed glasses, incorporated unexpected magical sleight of hand into his routine as he pontificated (in a highly affected voice) about traditional music and introduced each of the instruments. His jokes, mannerisms and magical tricks were a success; the audience was smiling and laughing along with him. I wondered where the audience had come from. Had others also seen the show mentioned in the newspaper? Were they attracted by the free entry? Why had the National Gugak Center decided to run such an unconventional format and then what had prompted them to also include newly composed pieces of instrumental music? Why was a Korean audience being introduced to traditional music through the medium of a European intellectual and fusion music?

During twelve months of fieldwork I encountered other attempts by other organizations to reach the audience in new ways. The concert series called Oh Jeonghae's *Sarangbang Pungryu* (described earlier in this chapter) featured Ms. Oh facilitating a conversation between three artists for the benefit of the audience. The five-day series had three sets of performers; eight of the nine were National Human Treasures, while one was the second-ranked *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*.

When introduced as such a man in the audience directly behind my ear corrected Ms. Oh by insisting that the performer be called "Human Treasure Designate." On the two nights that I attended the series Ms. Oh sat behind the performers during the performance, instead of more conventionally leaving the stage. Her mannerisms may have been intended to cue the audience in proper appreciation. Each night she brought all three to the stage and served them tea, while facilitating a discussion of the arts as a way to allow the audience to grow closer to the artists and understand their arts at a deeper level. Through a respectful series of interview questions while sitting on a low Korean bench with a table to hold the tea pots and cups, the artists were given a chance to express themselves verbally and the audience fell a little bit more in love with Jeong Myeongsuk (*salpuri* National Human Treasure) as we saw her shy deferential manners before she was encouraged to dance to the soaring sound of the transverse bamboo flute, or *daegeum*, of Yi Saenggang (National Human Treasure for *daegeum sanjo*).³⁸⁰ Audience members may have been surprised to learn from Jeong Jaeman that *salpuri*, when performed in a more masculine style, was part of the lineage of the *jaein* (ritual accompanists for shamans, often the male members in the family of the shaman). Yet Jeong's explanation instantly clarified why his *salpuri* looked so different from that of Yi Maebang and his many disciples.

Cultural Education Programs

Another attempt to reach new audiences focuses on knowledge about culture. With the increasing leisure time of the modern world, various arts organizations have worked to connect

³⁸⁰ When a National Human Treasure performs the accompanists are usually not also National Human Treasures—someone like Yi Saenggang does not normally share the spotlight. However, the unscripted collaboration between major performers was one of the attractive points of this series.

with the *dapsa* tourism market, a phenomenon by which Koreans take short weekend trips to encounter their culture; these trips involve visiting various locations in the countryside or small towns, accompanied by a professor or other knowledgeable person who gives short lectures on various topics connected with what the participants are seeing.³⁸¹ In a similar vein, in the early spring of 2011 I attended a lecture series held for four consecutive Mondays titled *Jin Okseopeui Chum Iyagi* (Jin Okseop's Tales of Dance). The participants in the class each paid 50,000 won (slightly under fifty US dollars) to listen to the Artistic Director of KOUS talk about dance. Informally interviewing participants as they arrived for weekly classes, I learned that most of them were motivated by a desire to know more about their own culture. Of the 118 registered students, more than 70% were women, and I estimate that the average age was in the later 50s.³⁸² Amongst the students were a smattering of professionals from the dance and culture world interested in hearing what Jin had to say, or perhaps in currying favor. Several graduate students from Jin's class at the Korean National University of the Arts attended as well, but the majority of the students dressed and carried themselves as women of above average income and education. The same women would probably have signed up to participate in a "mimicry" of a Confucian lineage ceremony in Andong (Moon OP 2011: 90) and were probably considering if they should go on one of the experiential overnight *dapsa* trips that were running over the next few months, two of them with Jin Okseop as the lecturer. Such trips also attract participants who are older and have more leisure time, as is obvious from the four photographs in Image 10.12 below.

³⁸¹ Robert Oppenheim talks about *dapsa* tourism in "Crafting the Consumability of Place: *Dapsa* and *Paenang Yeohaeng* as Travel Goods" (201), in the same volume Okpyo Moon's chapter "Guests of Lineage Houses: Tourist Commoditization of Confucian Cultural Heritage in Korea" addresses other ways in which Koreans have taken to learning about their own culture.

³⁸² The first night 87 audience members out of 118 were women, just over 70%.

Image 10.12: Advertising *Dapsa* Trips

9.23~9.25 (2박3일)	자연문화유산답사II	- 전통주공 및 자연유산 답사 - 양양, 해남, 원주, 보령도 - 자연유산 및 문화유산	이광현 (상지영서대학 교수)
10.22~10.23 (1박2일)	해류페스티벌	- 부산 동래해물 - 통영해물 영인과의 만남 - 영도해물 - 영도해물 수상, 포아블이브페스티벌	전옥연 (한국문화의집 예술감독)

<상기일정은 편지사정에 따라 변경 될 수 있습니다.>

신청방법

- 홈페이지(www.kous.or.kr), 전화 (선착순)
- 참가비 : 1박2일 (11만원) 2박3일(7월 : 45만원, 9월 : 30만원)
- 문의 : (Tel) ☎ 02-3011-1703 , 1788 (fax) ☎ 02-567-6979 (e-mail) parks11n@chf.or.kr



This image was captured from the website of kous.or.kr on 1/24/2012.

*Cheonha Jeil Tal's Chushyeoyo*³⁸³

As an example of presenting the arts in new ways, I will now describe in detail a performance by Cheonha Jeil Tal, a group made up of three *isuja* from three different groups who are collectively expressing tradition in a re-imagined format. Cheonha Jeil Tal is a group of three mask dancers whose production *Chushyeoyo* won the grand prize in the 2010 Traditional Theatre Sangseol Festival hosted by the National Gugak (traditional music) Center. This mask dance drama, the second piece by the group, demonstrated the commitment of the performers to the path they had

³⁸³ The following is part of a performance review originally published in the *Asian Theatre Journal* (Saeji 2012).

chosen. I was so struck by the performance when I watched it at the National Gugak Center that I watched it again when it was presented at the Korean National University of the Arts.

Cheonha Jeil Tal's mask dancers, all in their thirties, come from three different preservation associations, although members of different associations almost never cooperatively perform CPPL-certified arts. All three were *isuja*, which meant that they had at least ten to fifteen years of regular participation in their respective preservation association's activities, but that they were probably still generally denied a chance to perform the most important roles. Son Byeongman is a member of Bongsan Talchum. Heo Changyeol performs Goseong Ogwangdae, and Yi Juwon works with Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli. The three mask dance dramas use distinctly different movement sets, and the stories depicted, though thematically overlapped, are also dissimilar.

As the performance by Cheonha Jeil Tal commenced, the three entered the stage wearing white *minbok*, the traditional clothes of the lower classes, which are also the inner layer of traditional costumes for almost all folk arts. They each wore masks depicting characters from each of their three arts, and they carried a large rice pot, a chest, and a basket, respectively. After setting down their burdens they took turns dancing in the style and character of their mask, but with a unique monologue designed to make it clear exactly who they were for audience members less familiar with traditional arts. For example, the character of Mundung (Leper) explained, "I'm Mundung, from Goseong, and I suffer from Hansen's disease (leprosy)." After each of the three solos, all three stripped off their *minbok* and were left in matching boxer shorts for an amusing moment. They then pulled on clothes and costumes that had been stored in the containers they had carried onto the stage, symbolically stripping off the traditional and remaking themselves in

a new image.

What followed was a new mask dance drama that culled dance vocabulary and the style of presentation from their traditional mask dance origins, yet the story, accompanying music, masks, and costumes were new creations. Traditional Korean mask dance dramas are accompanied by one of two types of music: drumming in the rural style of *pungmul* music, where drummers remain standing behind or next to the action for the entire show, or *samhyeonyukgak*, a musical ensemble traditionally made up of two musicians on the small oboe (*piri*) and one each on the transverse bamboo flute (*daegeum*), the two-string fiddle (*haegeum*), the hourglass drum (*janggu*), and the barrel drum (*buk*). Yet in the production of *Chushyeoyo*, four musicians sang and played multiple instruments during the show, and, most notably, they also produced sound effects to move the story forward, a technique that is underutilized in traditional mask dance dramas.

The most effective and creative of these was their use of the Korean folk song "Arirang," which was sung in three variants relating to three parts of Korea, to communicate the journey the characters were making around the country. Each musician was multi-instrumental, and all provided vocals to the show as well as musical accompaniment. The *gayageum* (twelve-string zither), an instrument never traditionally used to accompany mask dance dramas, provided a continuous undercurrent of sound throughout much of the piece. The use of the *gayageum* in this context was another example of how the performers had stayed linked to traditions but reassembled them to suit their purposes.

In traditional Korean performance audience interaction is extremely important, and in the production of *Chushyeoyo* I saw the group had worked to facilitate this interaction. The stage

show was produced for an audience on three sides, much like in a traditional village square. The audience was given pillows to sit on, and barley tea and blankets to keep warm at the outdoor show. Although some of the audience may have been irritated by it, the house was illuminated at the evening indoor show at the university, allowing the players to see the audience and feed off their energy, a key element of traditional performance in Korea. The audience was also encouraged to participate by producing *chu-imsae* (exclamations of encouragement), by applause, and by clapping along with the performers. The performers also interacted directly with the audience, even occasionally bringing them onto the stage.

Image 10.13: *Chushyeoyo*



(Above) The blind man (note the lack of eyes) and the dog. (Left) The cripple.

Chushyeoyo recombined elements from many traditional Korean stories to create a new story that is believably traditional in every way. The basic plot (after the initial traditional dance solos) goes like this: A kindly blind man meets a mischievous dog and they become great friends. A selfish crippled man kills the dog and takes his skin, then tricks the blind man into carrying him around Korea in exchange for his "help" finding the dog. At last the dog returns as a spirit and blesses the faithful blind man with the ability to see. In this story I can see echoes of the classic narrative song *pansori* epic *Shimcheongga* (Song of Shimcheong), in which the dutiful daughter Shimcheong's travails and sacrifice result in a magical "opening of the eyes" of her blind father. The long journey is also present in such traditional stories as that of *Bari Gongju* (Princess Bari, who journeys to the underworld to bring back the water of life to save her father). In the *pansori* epic *Heungboga* (Song of Heungbo) the swallow with a broken wing is carefully nursed back to health, bringing wealth to the poor but sincere Heungbo and his wife. When Heungbo's stingy brother tries to recreate these results, his own greed leads to a classic moralistic ending.

Another classical element in *Chushyeoyo* can be found in the sense of humor exhibited throughout the play. *Chushyeoyo* is a bittersweet comedy, a tale of true friendship and loyalty. The earthy jokes and slapstick never stop coming. The blind character stumbles around the stage, and, after determining that no one was anywhere around, just like countless characters in traditional mask dance dramas, he relieves himself. At the outdoor performance at the National Gugak Center, the audience member in the path of the invisible stream did not flinch away as customary, but rather he extended a paper cup to "catch" the urine and, deadpan, quaffed it after the character finished relieving himself. Another notable comedic moment was when the Blind

Man investigates the dog, trying to figure out just what sort of creature he has encountered. He discovers a tail—"it has a tail!"—then, feeling around the other side of the body, "oh, there is a tail over here, too!" as he patted the front of the actor in mask and furry dog suit.

The audience laughed, hollered encouragement and directions at the characters, and clapped excitedly through the entire play, clearly finding it a successful performance. In retrospect the connection between the very traditional beginning of the mask dance drama and the later story is tenuous at best. For the framing element to work properly there should have been some return or reference to this part of the drama near the end of the show. Importantly, however, the performance used modern Korean, unlike the antiquated idioms, now-obscure references, and regional dialects that are required for the performance of traditional mask dance dramas preserved under the CPPL according to the *wonhyeong* or original form designated at the time of certification.

This facilitated the enjoyment of the audience, who never felt left out or lost. It incorporated music more actively than in traditional performances through using music and musical effects to advance the story, and yet it created, through the carefully crafted story, the feeling of a traditional performance rather than the often frustrating jumble of appropriations from Western theatrical traditions given the outward appearance of Korean traditions but essentially more about an agenda than a satisfying performance.

b. Visual Presentation and Korean Tradition

Although performance is (almost) always meant to appeal visually, the modern era has seen many changes in how Korean performance is presented, and most of these changes impact the

visual presentation. These include placing participatory folk arts on stages and the generally more controlled and aesthetically designed environments of performance in the modern world. In her research on contemporary music for traditional instruments, Hilary Finchum-Sung has come to the conclusion that "popular culture in contemporary Korea is actually helping to shape the development of traditional music performance" (2009:42). Finchum-Sung sees this in fusion and cross-over performances in particular. Extending Finchum-Sung's points I see three ways in which the visuals of popular culture have impacted traditional culture more broadly. First, pop culture in Korea is impacting the visual framing of traditional culture in Korea, partially because of the "exotic" traditional elements that appear in historical movies and television dramas. Second, although these traditional elements are not so fascinating to Korean viewers, foreign tourism related to the *hallyu* phenomenon³⁸⁴ demands presentation of traditional culture for an audience accustomed to the high quality production values they saw in historical TV dramas.³⁸⁵ These same *hallyu* audiences are accustomed to the popular culture dominated by a culture of "idols." Idol groups are highly controlled and precisely manufactured, to the extent that a group from a powerful and well connected Korean entertainment management company such as SM Entertainment can have a hundred thousand members in their official fan group before a single song or music video has been released. How can a musical group have fans before it has ever

³⁸⁴ *Hallyu* is a term for the sudden popularity of Korean popular culture outside Korea such as the obsession with Korean TV dramas in Japan, the fascination with Korean singers in Thailand, the large box office returns for Korean movies in China. This "Korean Wave," as it is sometimes called, shows no clear sign of abating, although there have been periods of greater and lesser impact.

³⁸⁵ This is part of what Finchum-Sung sees the production of *Miso* by Chungdong Theatre wrestling with in a performance that she ultimately finds has compromised itself in order to meet a visual goal (2009). Several other authors including Keith Howard (2006) have credited high production values for the take off of *hallyu* and other Korean cultural products.

been heard? Through visual information, of course.³⁸⁶

This could be read as evidence that sounds are subordinate to visual images in contemporary society. Certainly in the K-pop music market the musical tracks are released to digital retailers before the first video is released, but even for major groups the sales do not skyrocket until a video has been released to YouTube. Mini-albums or singles driven by one or two videos bring in the most money; most groups release few full-length CDs. The release of the musical track functions as part of the marketing strategy building up to the release of the video—a medium that once relied solely on sound has become, at least partially, a visual medium. Korean society is flooded with excellent evocative imagery, here we see that the venues for traditional performance and traditional (not fusion) performers have taken steps to keep up visually.

The attempts to create top-quality visuals are hampered by the budgets of traditional artists; yet Finchum-Sung has seen remarkable success by cross-over groups such as Yen (2009: 43-45), a group that challenges traditional presentation of Korean performance genres and incorporates video into their performances. Yen's members, however, are traditionally trained musicians who perform independently of the CPPL-based traditional performance system. This is in contrast to groups that are offshoots of *bojonhoi*, preservation associations, trying to find a

³⁸⁶ When a company such as SM Entertainment announces a new group, they hype up the group and then as the release date comes closer begin to flood the news with story after story. Such stories always include a slow release of photos and brief biographies of each member, often culminating in unveiling the group leader. The photos will be released over a series of days and will have a clear theme. News stories will feature photos of these stars-to-be palling around with stars from the same company who have already become popular, with comments about how the new star gets advice or training tips from the older star, or how the older star is impressed by the talent of the newer star. They may even be guests on a TV game show, particularly if they have a claim to fame such as an older sibling in the business, or a small part in a TV show from before they entered idol star training. As the date of the release of the first video comes closer, teaser videos will be released. These include ample screen time for the name of the group, the name of the star-to-be and the release date of the full-length video.

way to make it as full-time artists in today's world.

Groups such as Cheonha Jeil Tal, whose performance is described above, demonstrate how innovation can be used within tradition.³⁸⁷ Although that group has members from several *bojonhoi*, in the last few years groups with close links to specific *bojonhoi* have also emerged. The Gwangdae is such a group; initially formed in October 2006 with six members of Goseong Ogwangdae as key performers, they continue to perform today with three *isuja* from Goseong Ogwangdae.³⁸⁸ Having observed three different works by The Gwangdae I find them visually, musically and philosophically interesting. But Pantaseutik (Fantastic), a group made up of members of Imshil Pilbong Nongak's *bojonhoi*, produces shows that cannot stand alone—their performance must be paired with the preservation association's performance to be successful. I feel this is because the group has focused too exclusively on visual improvements while neglecting the aural dimension. The group has made an effort to supply compelling visuals: men in flashy tight neo-traditional *hanbok* play a wide-variety of drums for maximum visual effect. They are foregrounded by women in clinging *hanbok* dancing in a sexualized and flirtatious way as they beat drums with a lack of proficiency that makes it clear they are on stage only because they are beautiful. Props such as fabric fans large enough to hide a performer and the inclusion of a dramatic violinist and pounding keyboardist complete the picture. The musical goals are secondary to the visuals. Pantaseutik, which was begun to supplement the performances of *Imshil Pilbong Nongak* by allowing tradition and modernity to alternate on the same stage, has now submitted to the dominance of the visual by exaggerating the visual aspects of the

³⁸⁷ Scholars such as Mary Nooter Roberts are working to overcome embedded ideas about tradition and innovation: in Roberts' words "tradition is always now" (2012).

performance. This is in stark contrast to the historic attitude of the Korean CPPL-listed intangible cultural properties (*jungyo muhyeong munhwajae*) that their responsibility is merely to present the archetypal form of their art.³⁸⁹

Image 10.14: The Gwangdae and Pantaseutik



(Above) The Gwangdae performers spin *beona* – a type of traditional juggling from the *Namsadang* skill-set.
(Above right) The performers modern social consciousness results in a story line where the squid (businessmen), are trapped by greed (the *beona* are giant gold coins) and alcoholism, and hooked on religion.

³⁸⁹ On 8/07/11 Yang Jinseong of Imshil Pilbong Nongak explained to me that the group was primarily just an effort by the young full-time professional performers in the group to secure wider performance opportunities. He applauded their efforts as those of young artists, declining to comment on their aesthetic success.



The Gwangdae perform *Hollim Nakshi* in Gwanghwamun Square. (Top) *Yangban* horsehair hats on the musicians (as musicians normally wear for mask dance dramas) updated with flowers and leather-like coats. The "squid" masks of the performers, below.



The performers of Pantaseutik in performance at the Imshil Pilbong Nongak Transmission Center. (Right) *Isuja* Song Hajung, (center right) *isuja* Kim Dongmin and *isuja* Yi Jaejeong (my former *jangu* and former *sangmo* teachers).



c. How to market to this audience

According to Yi Donghyeon, manager of the regular series of performances and lighting director at Pungryu Theatre, the attitude towards marketing is changing significantly.³⁹⁰ He assured me that the staff of the Korean Cultural Heritage Foundation was concerned with promotion and wanted to place more emphasis on it, but added that they were running into a difference of opinion from "people above." The marketing activities of Pungryu Theatre and KOUS are almost identical, mostly because they are directly run by the same parent organization, the Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation. There are small differences: Yi Donghyeon explained that the Korea Cultural Heritage Foundation was preparing to have a Facebook page announcing their shows, which was put into effect in June 2011 (see Image 10.15).

³⁹⁰ I interviewed Yi Donghyeon on 5/20/11 at Pungryu Theatre, with follow up interviews in June and July.

Image 10.15: Pungryu Theatre on Facebook



The Facebook page for Pungryu Theatre on 4/14/12 The profile photo shows the inside of the intimate theatre.

At present all shows funded through the Cultural Heritage Foundation are put on the calendar in the monthly magazine "Monthly Intangible Cultural Property" (*Wolgan Munhwajae*).³⁹¹ In addition, they prepare fliers, usually advertising a series of themed evenings, which might double as the performance pamphlet; these are distributed to other performing arts organizations and if there are posters, these may be hung in stores that serve traditional arts. In the case of the *pansori* series from June 13th to 17th, 2011 they also prepared life size cutouts of the artists (to pose with for photographs) outside the hall and a giant banner. Jin Okseop, the

³⁹¹ In addition to the shows at KOUS and Pungryu Theatre there are also shows at the palaces, particularly the massive changing of the guard ceremonies at Gyeongbok Palace, shows at Korea House (primarily geared towards well-heeled tourists), and other less frequent performances.

artistic director at KOUS, also uses his own media contacts and cachet with various reporters to publicize the shows at KOUS.³⁹² He explained that before the prevalence of email he had spent entire days running from one newspaper office to another:

Jin:³⁹³ I would bring ready-made articles and plead with them to run the story. Then on the day I hoped for the article to come out I would almost be afraid to open the paper, because the difference the article could make was that huge.

Jin Okseop's biggest extravaganza for the first half of 2011 was a performance called *Chum* (dance) held at the National Gugak Center on June 19th.³⁹⁴ In the days running up to this event I met him twice on the street. The first time he fluidly pulled a flier for the show from a bag stuffed with copies of the same flier; the second time he was carrying posters, having just hung more posters at Pungryu Theatre before an evening concert there.

Jin Okseop's efforts have shown promise—if you are willing to hoof it around the city with a bag full of fliers, your venue may end up sold out. Table 10.16, below shows the attendance at KOUS and Pungryu Theatre.³⁹⁵ I wanted to do two things with this data: I wanted to show all the performances that were occurring, not just pick an unpopular series from one theatre and a popular series from the other theatre; but I also wanted to show the attendance for mask dance dramas, because that is what is most relevant to my dissertation. Therefore, although I show the first 18 performances at KOUS in 2011, I begin with a mask dance drama series near the end of 2010 at Pungryu Theatre. I skip the rest of 2010 and showed the first ten performances

³⁹² Jin expressed variations on his efforts to interact with the media both in lecture on 03/28/11 and in interview on 05/18/11 (both in the KOUS building).

³⁹³ This was stated in the lecture series Jin Okseop's *Tales of Dance* on 03/28/11.

³⁹⁴ Chapter Six discussed this same performance.

³⁹⁵ At the end of the chapter Appendix 10.1 shows the attendance at shows at the National Gugak Center for 2010.

in 2011 (in chronological order), but skip the next seven in order to show the data for another mask dance drama series at Pungryu Theatre in July of 2011.

Table 10.16: Attendance at KOUS and Pungryu Theatre

KOUS				Pungryu Theatre			
Date	Show	Tickets	Cost	Date	Show	Tickets	Cost
3/3/11	<i>Cheoyong'gut</i>	176 (of 236) ³⁹⁶	10,000	10/1/10	Bongsan Talchum	25 (of 140)	5,000
3/9/11	Baek Inyeong's <i>Crazy Sanjo</i>	192	10,000	10/8/10	Bukcheong Saja Noleum	90	5,000
3/16/11	Song Seoyeon	288 (standing and sitting on cushions)	10-20,000	10/15/10	Gangnyeong Talchum	40	5,000
3/23/11	Jeong Eunhae's "Jeokbyeokga"	138	5,000	10/22/10	Tongyeong Ogwangdae	109	5,000
3/30/11	<i>Palil</i> (dance series)	255	10-25,000	4/25/11	Oh Jeonghae's Sarangbang	168 (on cushions and folding chairs)	5-10,000
4/6/11	<i>Palil</i>	271	10-25,000	4/26/11	Oh Jeonghae's Sarangbang	119	5-10,000
4/13/11	<i>Palil</i>	269	10-25,000	4/27/11	Oh Jeonghae's Sarangbang	117	5-10,000
4/20/11	<i>Palil</i>	281	10-25,000	4/28/11	Oh Jeonghae's Sarangbang	141	5-10,000
4/27/11	<i>Palil</i>	225	10-25,000	4/29/11	Oh Jeonghae's Sarangbang	153	5-10,000
5/4/11	<i>Palil</i>	287	10-25,000	5/13/11	<i>Minyo</i> (folk songs)	117	5,000
5/11/11	<i>Palil</i>	269	10-25,000	5/20/11	<i>Minyo</i>	91	5,000
5/18/11	<i>Palil</i>	291	10-25,000	5/27/11	<i>Minyo</i>	253	5,000
5/25/11	<i>Shinawi</i> (instrumental music)	212	10,000	6/3/11	<i>Minyo</i>	163	5,000
6/1/11	<i>Shinawi</i>	268	10,000	6/10/11	<i>Minyo</i> ³⁹⁷	93	5,000
6/8/11	<i>Shinawi</i>	181	10,000	7/8/11	Mask Dance Dramas featuring: <i>Saja</i>	96	5,000
6/15/11	<i>Shinawi</i>	178	10,000	7/15/11	Mask Dance Dramas featuring: <i>Chuibali</i>	74	5,000
6/22	<i>Shinawi</i>	115	10,000	7/22/11	Mask Dance Dramas featuring: <i>Nojang</i>	76	5,000
6/29	<i>Semaru</i>	132	10,000	7/29/11	Mask Dance Dramas featuring: <i>Miyal</i>	73	5,000

Source: Data collected by both theatres and provided in June 2011 (KOUS) and May 2012 (Pungryu Theatre).

The data in Table 10.16 shows clearly that the larger (236-seat) KOUS hall sells out more

³⁹⁶ KOUS and Pungryu numbers include invited guests who used invite tickets instead of buying a ticket. Often there are no guests, while at other shows there can be as many as 50.

³⁹⁷ There are two series after this one and before the mask dance drama series.

often than the smaller (140-seat) Pungryu Theatre. KOUS earns considerably more not only because of the number of seats, but also due to the higher ticket price. The types of shows in each hall are also quite distinct from each other. KOUS under Jin Okseop has less respect for rank, but shows less creativity in offerings and staging choices. Pungryu Theatre is actively emphasizing new approaches to the performing arts. Oh Jeonghae's series was already described earlier in this chapter. For *pansori* each National Human Treasure receives this title for only one of the five *pansori* epics, but Pungryu Theatre staged a series where the National Human Treasures for one of the epic songs, for example *Chunhyangga*, sang *Jeokbyeokga* instead. This was a rare opportunity for the audience. I was also impressed by the unique stage; it included a small moat with live water-loving plants and mosses planted around it and immature orange Japanese *koi* (carp) swimming up and down as the singers belted out the songs. Yet the efforts to find new approaches do not always work. One example of that is the mask dance drama series from July, 2011. For this series the decision was made to only stage the four mask dance dramas originally from what is now the DPRK (North Korea), but to stage them through showing similarity. Each evening featured one of the key characters, and three out of the four mask dance dramas performed that scene. The remainder of the performance focused on only one of the three groups for the evening. For example July 8th focused on *saja chum*, the dance of the lion. The primary group for the evening was Bukcheong Saja Noleum. That group occupied the stage for more than half of the evening, but the lion dance specifically was performed by Bongsan Talchum and Eunyul Talchum as well. The following week Gangnyeong Talchum was featured, but Bongsan Talchum and Eunyul Talchum also showed their versions of Chuibali's scene. Despite trying to find an innovative way to present the mask dance dramas the audience reaction

was excited and enthusiastic on the part of serious students of the arts, but confused and even bored for the other audience members. To them it appeared they were seeing the same show performed again and again with slight differences and in fact a significant proportion of the audience left before the end of each show. Despite the efforts of the theatre to bring some variation into traditional genres constrained by the *wonhyeong*, the audience members are not always entranced by new approaches. While my colleagues are finding hope and seeing Koreans interested in the traditional arts, they are not exploring mask dance dramas. The support for *pungmul* and sung arts like *minyo* and *pansori* remains strong and impressive. This does not mean that all the Korean traditional arts are equal recipients of public interest.

5. Conclusion

As I have outlined, the information presented to the audiences for traditional arts varies widely, as does the style in which it is presented. It seems that the most effective method is that employed by Jin Okseop at KOUS. However, not everyone is completely sold on Jin Okseop's vision for traditional performance. In a summer 2011 conversation with a junior-level performer I raised the subject of KOUS as the dominant location for dance. Her viewpoint was cynically that KOUS Artistic Director Jin Okseop was less concerned with quality of the *Palil* dance series than with maintaining a degree of control over traditional dance in Korea. She believes he has established himself as a sort of gatekeeper to success as a solo dancer. As she saw it, the sheer volume of performances in the *Palil* series reduced the quality of the series itself. It is true that KOUS is the only location that regularly offers entire evenings of dance performance. When the National Gugak Center or Pungryu Theatre offers an opportunity to see dance, the dance is often

part of an evening with a variety of genres. The only time that either venue offers an entire show of dance is when a specific senior dancer with a school full of dancers presents several consecutive works, but this is relatively uncommon. In this way it seems that KOUS is emerging as the go-to location for traditional dance; likewise it seems that the National Gugak Center is emphasizing instrumental music, while Pungryu Theatre has more presentations of drama (mask dance drama, shamanic ceremony, and the dramatic *pansori* epics).

Appendices

Appendix 10.1: All Performances at the National Gugak Center in 2010

Type	Subject	Number of Shows	Percent		Attendance	
					Each	Total
Regular Performances	Saturday Regular	49	21.7	38.5	14135	28257
	Shidae Gonggam Open Stage	33	14.6		9532	
	Sunday Open Gugak Stage	5	2.2		4590	
Sponsored Performances	Sponsored Performances	38	16.8		31100	31100
Representative Brand Performances	"Wangjoeui Ggum Taepyeongso"	11	4.9	13.7	4865	14981
	2010 Hwang Jini	10	4.4		4597	
	"Sejong, Haneuleui Sorireul Deudda"	10	4.4		5519	
Planned Performances	Gugak Concert	7	3.1	11.5	2051	7982
	Children's Concert	7	3.1		2189	
	Palace Performances	6	2.7		966	
	Youth Concert	2	0.9		1111	
	New Media Gugak Performance	2	0.9		535	
	Special Performance for the G20 Seoul Summit	2	0.9		1130	
Foreign Performances	-	16	7.1		7673	7673
Gugak Gukminsokeuro	-	15	6.6		6500	6500
Full-length Performances of Resident Companies	Munmyo Jeryeak by the Court Orchestra and Dance Company	2	0.9	4.4	823	5715
	Fusion Music Company	6	2.7		2692	
	Folk Music Company	2	0.9		2200	
Performances for Holidays	Seollal Performance	1	0.4	1.3	367	1402
	Daeboreum Performance	1	0.4		483	
	Dano Performance	1	0.4		552	
Total	-	226	100%		-	103610

Appendix 10.2: Survey Conducted at Songpa Sandae Noli's 2011 Full-length Show³⁹⁸

The results of this survey will be used by American CedarBough T. Saeji in her University of California, Los Angeles doctoral dissertation. Please answer frankly with your own opinion.

1) Your age

(10s, 20s, 30s, 40s, 50s, 60s, 70s, 80s and up)

2) Your sex

(male, female)

3) Your educational background

(did not graduate from middle school/in middle school, in high school/high school graduate, college graduate/college student, graduate school graduate/graduate student)

4) Your occupation

(student, office worker, housewife, arts or culture related work, teacher, self-employed, farmer, civil servant, specialized work, other)

5) Where do you live?

(Songpa District, Seoul: _____ District, Gyeonggi Province: _____ City, Other: _____ Province _____ City)

6) Why did you come to the show today? (Multiple answers possible)

(Through my whole life I've always been interested in traditional culture, to educate my children, because this is connected to my major in school or my work, to introduce foreigners to Korean culture, I was invited to come, coming to performances in the past I found them enjoyable, this is close my house, to spend enjoyable time, other _____)

7) How often do you see a traditional performance or traditional art exhibit?

(I almost don't, 1-3 times per year, 4-6 times per year, 7-12 times per year, more than 12 times per year, other _____)

8) When did you make the plan to see this performance?

(A few minutes before it started, today, yesterday or a few days ago, when I was invited to go, other _____)

9) This Songpa Sandae Noli full-length performance is very long. About how much of it do you plan to see?

(From the start to the end, more than 2 hours, more than 1 hour, more than 30 minutes, less than 30 minutes)

³⁹⁸ This is a translation of the Korean-language survey.

10) There are 12 acts in Songpa Sandae Noli. Which 2 or 3 do you like the most?
(followed by the names of all the acts)

11) Please tell me why you like those acts.

12) When you watch a performance do you think an MC is needed?
(yes, no)

13) What do you think the role of an MC or a pamphlet is in the performance venue? (Circle the statements you think are true)

(An MC or a pamphlet helps me to understand the performance, if an MC can explain deeply that's great, an MC's explanation can interrupt the natural flow of the performance, a good pamphlet is enough—an MC is not necessary, if an MC is a professional it's good—if not then an MC is not needed, other ____)

14) Do you think the MC for today's show was adequate? If you think it was not adequate, please explain why.

15) Have you watched Songpa Sandae Noli perform before?
(yes, no, I can't remember)

Thank you very much.

Part Four

Packing Up and Going Home

Chapter Eleven

Summary and Conclusions

In an effort to contribute to the growing literature on intangible cultural heritage, this dissertation has presented a detailed account of the transmission of Korean performing arts protected under the Cultural Property Protection Law. As presented in this study, globalization has two major implications for the performing arts, which are constantly changing. First, there is an impulse to control this change in order to protect arts from dying out. Second, individuals (and groups) promote the preservation of performing arts because the traditional arts create and maintain meaning for them. Transmission activities as carried out in Korea show us how memory, heritage and authenticity are constructed, maintained and negotiated through the arts.

1. A Global Culture of Self-Promotion

The Cultural Property Protection Law is part of a global culture of self-promotion. Similar to the way Hawai'i actively forged an identification of Hawai'i with hula and surfing as a way of differentiating it from other gorgeous beach destinations (Desmond 1999), the Korean government has consistently used the traditional arts (particularly undifferentiated images of mask dance dramas and *pungmul* drumming) to represent Korea. After the end of the Japanese Colonial Era (1910-1945) "the recovery of cultural identity as a Korean nation has been considered a significant cultural policy objective" (Yim HS 2003: 75). More recently, cultural identity has been contested in a legitimacy battle between the Republic of Korea (the South) and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (the North) (ibid.: 144-45). In the south mask dance dramas and *pungmul*, both incorporated into popular culture through the *Minjung* Pro-Democracy Movement, remain an unobjectionable choice for images related to promotion of the nation. Despite the waning interest in many traditional genres, mask dance dramas and *pungmul*

are dynamic, colorful and regarded as unquestionably Korean—perfect for branding the nation.

In the modern era the government portrays Korea's intangible cultural heritage policies as part of national branding, as a visionary example of a small country protecting its authentic traditional heritage against the forces of globalization. As a result of these efforts, Korea began to promote itself on certain international stages, such as the United Nations, for its "progressive" cultural policies. The government also uses the arts in touristic promotion through reliance on the distinctive visuals in Korean traditional performance.

No one denies that without Korea's cultural policies many of the traditional arts that we know today would no longer be practiced. In some cases, however, the arts were resurrected at the insistence of scholars. Scholars tracked down the old people who were most knowledgeable about known but no longer performed arts, and in the case of group arts they facilitated the formation of a new troupe. There are many examples of this happening despite a substantial period during which the arts were not performed, including the case of Gangnyeong Talchum described by Yang Jongsung (2004, 2003) and Gasan Ogwangdae described by Yi Hunsang (2010). If scholars, bureaucrats, and cultural policy makers had not taken an interest, many of these arts would not exist. Yet the interest by these parties may also have impinged the sustainability of other arts, causing them to become extinct.³⁹⁹ Certain genres that do not exist today might have survived if the government had not diverted attention away from them, promoting certain groups challenged by the rapid societal changes over others (Howard 2006: 174). It is not my intent to second-guess decisions made decades ago; I would like to mention, however, that the CPPL may have unwittingly eliminated certain forms merely by promoting

³⁹⁹ Here I borrow the sustainability language of Jeff Todd Titon (2009).

other arts, as a counter to the unendingly positive analysis based on the many performances that truly only exist today because of the government's cultural policies.

In this dissertation I have presented the various ways in which Korean performing arts are being preserved by the dedicated community of traditional artists. It is clear that any interference whatsoever prevents us from knowing what would have or could have happened if the situation had been left to evolve naturally. We can affirm that without government support there would be less variety of traditional performance today. Heavy government involvement has exerted a profound impact on the Korean traditional arts—an involvement that was not necessarily always beneficial to those arts. In fact, in most cases cultural policy was entirely dependent on Korean national and international self-promotion. We should not deny that cultural policy is intimately tied to Korea's self-promotion—and that the stakes are high.

2. Recommendations

After nine years of working on this project I would like to offer four general recommendations that I believe would address some of the problems with the administration of cultural policy in Korea. These are (1) to include and seriously consider the artists' voices in decision-making related to the performing arts, (2) to re-envision performative aspects of the cultural policies, (3) to understand and avoid the trap of taxidermization by celebrating changes that honor tradition, and (4) to strengthen the presentation of traditional arts within the school curriculum.

First, a serious consideration of performers' voices is essential to the future of cultural policy in Korea. Just as environmental conservation has evolved to be "holistic and adaptive, supportive rather than controlling, and promote stewardship in collaboration with local experts

who have a direct stake" (Titon 2009: 11), the management of Korea's cultural properties needs to evolve, particularly to understand that those with the largest investment in the arts are the artists themselves. The lifetime of knowledge embodied by these artists should be valued to the same degree as the knowledge presented by academic scholars. This is an issue of cultural rights, with parallels to many other cultural rights issues around the world. These include the fight for control of performances archives in Hawai'i (Stillman 2009, Desmond 1999), struggles over rights and ownership of musics in China (Rees 2009), and the cultural rights discourse surrounding the Romani people in the Ukraine (Helbig 2009). It extends to contests for agency and voice in representing Philippine performances (Trimillos 2009) and indigenous curation in Indonesia (Kreps 2009, 1998) and the United States (Clifford 2004). At present, the CPPL administrative structure preserves a dangerous stratification: the knowledge and opinions of the artists are deemed less important than those of experts who have never performed. Considering the increasingly widespread struggles pertaining to cultural rights I propose that the Cultural Heritage Administration institute a program of artist-consultants, include artists on the Cultural Properties Committee, and implement a formalized communication system that would allow all artists to communicate with the Administration. I believe that once artists begin to have their voices heard and seriously considered, we will see a positive shift in the discussions and decision-making that impact the arts. Artists have, after all, the largest stake in the matter.

As a second general recommendation, I would argue that the CHA should be prepared to re-envision cultural policies for intangible cultural heritage to reflect a more flexible understanding of performing traditions. At present the intangible arts and the tangible statues, vases and palaces are treated as though they can be managed in the same way; they cannot. As

Nathan Hesselink concludes, the success of *samulnori* as a simultaneously traditional and non-traditional performing art which will never be registered for CPPL protection "calls into question the very presence and future significance" of Korea's cultural policies (2012: 133). *Samulnori* will never be included in the CPPL, and likely *changgeuk* will not either, despite a history three times longer than that of *samulnori*, because *samulnori* is thriving without help from the government. It does not *need* protection. Rather than preserving specific arts, unchanged, the CHA needs to consider revising the CPPL with the goal of similarly invigorating other performing arts genres.

Although I would not argue that the usefulness of the CPPL for protection of intangible cultural heritage has come to an end, a re-envisioning of the policy could keep the CPPL relevant. The law treats each art in the same way, but this even-handed treatment is not fair: a comparatively popular art like *pansori* is no longer in need of protection, but receives the same financial support as a relatively obscure art. This system further disadvantages struggling arts while using funds to support arts that are thriving without government funds. Instead of equal treatment, the CHA should consider increasing support for some struggling arts while decreasing support for others. Re-envisioning the system in this way might even allow some arts to "graduate" from the system. By this I mean retaining a listing for the more popular genres as heritage and preserving access to the same subsidized performance series, but otherwise re-directing funds towards arts that are in greater need of support. This might benefit everyone: sooner or later the training wheels need to come off the bike for groups with a greater degree of popular support and large numbers of *jeonsuja* (trainees). Increasing support for groups in the most difficult situations could be achieved through having each preservation association apply

for grants to achieve specific goals: for example, the funds to shuttle high school students to the training center in a rural area with poor public transportation. This would allow for an increased sensitivity to the difference between the various arts and what they need, it would reward groups who were actively seeking to surmount challenges and it would move away from a system that provides the same support to every one of Korea's performance forms, even those that are very successful at attracting students.

My third recommendation is that, to understand and avoid the trap of taxidermization, it is important to develop a consciousness that the promotion of "Koreanness" through these performances is not simply a matter of bringing the past into the present; it is either a re-making, re-memorizing or re-enacting of the past. Amy Ku'uileialoha Stillman calls the performance of traditional repertoire an opportunity to bring the past into coexistence with the living (2009: 92). To some extent, in an effort to successfully preserve an archetypal *wonhyeong*, through repeated practices and performances of (what is intended to be) a perfectly preserved cultural form, we are actually consigning these arts to the past. Our selective effort to preserve a single aspect of the past is not different from reenacting the Civil War battles: they may look like the battles, but it is only a simulacrum. Visiting a folk village, or a replica, despite problems such as compression of history, is not inherently problematic. What is problematic is consigning the practice of tradition to such constructed environments. We need our heritage at our side, as it were, available to draw on in modern life. Is the United States Constitution a living document, or should it be fixed in stone? Government policies seem to force the artists to embody the past for our historical gaze. Instead of expecting these artists to *be* or embody the past, we should be asking them to bring what they know of the past into the present, into what Laurajane Smith (2006) called the

consensual heritage discourse. This means celebrating changes that honor tradition.

Taxidermization of the traditional performing arts is an inevitable consequence of insisting upon presenting the arts just as they were presented in the past. This is impossible! As I have discussed in Chapter Three, any attempt to preserve the arts in a modern world ultimately leads to inevitable changes in the arts. We have almost unconsciously chosen to accept certain changes without objection (pin microphones, 60-minute versions of three-hour mask dance dramas), and despite these major changes, some try to believe in the existence of a perfect *wonhyeong* version of the arts and to trust that it is identical to the way it was performed over 100 years ago. This is a fallacy. Nathan Hesselink states: "at some point in the not-so-distant future it will become painfully obvious that what cultural asset performers are doing today is not what their predecessors had done" (2012: 134). The consequences of these changes impact neither modern Koreans (who are not involved enough with the traditional arts to be concerned about taxidermization), nor Korean identity more generally (the large number of protected arts is already overwhelming—most Koreans would be comfortable identifying with just a few of the most dynamic arts). The consequence of taxidermization of the arts is felt most intensively by the performers themselves, who are trapped between the need for change and the pressure to conform to cultural policies. Everyone and everything surrounding the arts has changed, and by attempting to fix the arts in the past we are simply removing the guts, replacing the eyeballs with glass and pumping in formaldehyde instead of hot blood. As Chan E. Park asks "Are the personnel overseeing the current preservation policy performing taxidermy or rendering a temporary relief measure?" (2003: 20). Taxidermy, unlike temporary relief, is unfortunately permanent.

The only way to get past taxidermization is to honor performing traditions by celebrating meaningful cultural changes. Keith Howard explains that within Korea's cultural policies, "tradition is defined as unmoving, but in reality, this is only the public face of something complex that mixes preservation with promotion" (2006: 173). The unchanging taxidermized art is safe because it has been aestheticized and, in its stillness, the viewer performs what Desmond refers to as "leisurely contemplation of discrete bodily details" (1999: 149-150). The CPPL was originally intended to be a relief measure, and many of the arts have rebounded admirably from the tumultuous changes of the last century. However, continual involvement by the government, particularly insisting on the primacy of the *wonhyeong*, is paternalistic. It also ignores the fact that only government support keeps many of the arts alive today; the goal of the Korean cultural policies should be Park's "temporary relief," not un-ending life support.

Finally, the strengthening of the traditional arts education offered as part of the national curriculum in Korea is important. Other scholars including Hilary Finchum-Sung and Im Miseon are currently addressing this difficult topic. The problem can be encapsulated best by simply remarking that the government has issued directives and textbooks intending to improve the education for traditional music in schools, yet the school teachers are unprepared to teach this new content. Further preparing these teachers, or expanding the number of certified roving traditional arts teachers (such as Bak Yeonshik), is essential to live up to government directives. The textbooks themselves could also surely be improved.

3. Applying Lessons from Korea to Intangible Cultural Heritage Protection Worldwide

In Korea the government is hindering the long-term development and sustainability of the arts as

it insists on re-enactments of performances from a previous era instead of engagement with Korean tradition. The specificity of the impact of cultural policy on transmission is a crucial issue not only for the Korean arts I have examined in this dissertation, but for other significant worldwide efforts to protect intangible cultural heritage. At the beginning of this dissertation I mentioned that United Nations member states that have signed the Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity are obligated to develop measures to protect culture in their own nations. Careful consideration of this important issue is laudable, and the slow progress towards enacting such measures is understandable in a worldwide climate that prioritizes commodification and capitalist production over deeper cultural values. Yet everywhere in the world the last elderly practitioners from the pre-modern era, if not already gone, are rapidly disappearing. Adequate protection policies do need to be enacted, and quickly.

I have identified three main ways in which countries could benefit from the Korean example. First, the most successful way of guaranteeing that artistic practices will be protected, performed, and transmitted is by making it possible for practitioners to be able to support themselves from the arts, in other words, professionalization of the performing arts. In Korea arts like Bongsan Talchum prove the effectiveness of professionalization in the transmission environment. Bongsan Talchum exists within a positive feedback loop: the professionalization of the artists, including extensive rehearsal, teaching, and performance opportunities, results in a high-quality performance that is evaluated positively by the audience. For too long the system in Korea has been easiest to navigate for older serious hobbyists who have already achieved lifestyle stability (marriage and employment in a non-arts field). A system that is easiest for people who are not completely committed to the arts can never be optimal for the arts.

Bureaucrats and scholars comfort themselves by believing that most of these arts were not performed by professionals in the past, and this is true, but in the past the arts were not responsible for representing Korean tradition on a national or even global scale. Nor were the arts "arts" in the modern sense, they were part of life for nearly everyone. They were performed in an environment without the number of live and mediatized performances constantly vying for audience attention around us today. What the Korean case teaches us is that at least a core group of full-time artist-professionals most successfully fosters a sustainable tradition. Although there are drawbacks to professionalization, the positive results outweigh them. Frankly speaking, if a country believes its performing arts traditions are worth saving, the money invested in transmission centers, performance halls and so on is money well spent. The more infrastructure is developed and the more demand created for the artists, the more secure the traditions will be.

Second, the involvement of skilled young people in the arts is yet another method to ensure their transmission. In Korea support for the performing arts has primarily revolved around funds funneled directly to the oldest members of groups, and this has not resulted in a healthy recruitment of young performers. Support for arts education (such as the Korean National University of the Arts) and a system to encourage early career arts professionals is important. Grants for learning partnerships that fund the younger student as well as the older teacher, as well as special performance opportunities and series for younger performers are all crucial. If young people cannot see a future in the arts, their involvement will be limited to exploration before "settling down" to a "serious" occupation.

As I learned from my field research, young people cannot focus only on a single genre if they intend to prepare for a future in the professional realm of the traditional arts. The

professionalized Bongsan Talchum preservation association members, the students at K-Arts and the class members at the Bongsan Talchum evening community class demonstrated that a combination of several related performing arts skills and complementary jobs was the most common way to make a living from the arts: very few people were able to work a single job and still make a living. The Korean system has encouraged specialization for years through a system with strictly demarcated boundaries between different arts, establishing the idea that crossing these boundaries is a form of trespassing. Yet intense specialization is unusual in many pre-modern performance contexts and has made it more difficult to promote a healthy artistic environment. Government-supported programs for teaching the traditional arts should discontinue training students with a narrow performance focus. Intense specialization will not work for preserving traditional performance skills in a changing world. Creating a dancer who can perform but a single genre, and is not prepared for a career other than dance, creates an individual who is fundamentally hobbled—especially if their performance career cannot last them to retirement age. Although this is not true in Korea, in many cultures the participation of elderly artists is discouraged, and in some genres the arts are too physically challenging to perform as bodies become less flexible, agile, or powerful. Unless a national government commits to full time support of a large pool of artists with highly specific training, it would be best to design educational opportunities that reflect the need for a diverse skill set. Artists who can work in a troupe, as soloists and as accompanists can do the most for the future.

A third way in which the Korean case could benefit other countries has to do with the quality of performances and performance spaces. Transmission in the performance environment is an important opportunity that should not be taken lightly. The quality of performances, in

addition to transmission methods, must also be preserved. As such, national governments must strike a sensitive balance between funding too many performances, which floods the market with opportunities for a live encounter with tradition, and funding too few, which creates a hostile environment for traditional artists eager for the stage. This is where artists are most important as consultants. It is in their interest to keep the quality high, and they can more effectively evaluate each other than the government can.

The government supports the artistic groups and performances but subsidizing too many performances without strong curatorial vision leads to a glut of free or almost free performances. In a strongly capitalistic society like Korea, the fact that performances are free fosters a (subconscious) feeling that traditional performances are worth less than other performances: performances have to be framed as worth paying for. Even if tickets are free, the performances need to be hyped and promoted as "important," not confined to small obscure theatres attended by aficionados and friends of the performers. In addition, curation of performance series must be undertaken by professional artistic directors with the ability to evaluate the arts they seek to present: people like Jin Okseop. Although his relentless self-promotion can be tiring, Jin has achieved success through his sensitive curation of traditional performance. Pungryu Theatre, where there is no artistic director taking responsibility for curation, suffers from comparatively anemic public support.

In sum, the Korean case also demonstrates the importance of appropriate framing for performances. There must also be more care devoted to creating optimal fliers and programs, and hiring competent emcees. An understanding of who is in the audience and the information that they need in order to engage with the arts is essential. During my time in Korea I have seen many

opportunities to educate an audience squandered, and I have also seen emcees who did not have the appropriate education or attitude to communicate with the audience in an engaging and educational manner. Performance venues and groups need to take responsibility for all aspects of the performance, including how it is framed to the audience.

4. Future Research

Cultural transmission is a universal process, yet the methods involved move from the universal to the particular, reflecting the heterogeneous perspectives within a pluralistic society. I employed a diffused focus, incorporating three mask dance dramas and a *pungmul* group, all of which fall within the general title *yeonhi*, or folk theatre. Future research could focus more tightly on transmission within a single genre, or even by a single charismatic individual. It could also be redirected towards the solo arts, or the craft artisans who protect techniques for construction of items from traditional life. Alternatively, research could explore the exciting new directions for traditional performance, a topic already being developed by many scholars and the subject of books such as Nathan Hesselink's *SamulNori* (2012) and Andrew Killick's *In Search of Korean Traditional Opera* (2010).

Much can be learned from continued longitudinal studies of the Korean traditional performing arts and the challenges faced by these artists who seek to protect tradition in accordance with legislation in modern Korea. As discussed, there is a generational transition occurring—the artists today have little connection to the pre-modern "authentic" performance environment—and the changed understanding, motivations and degree of professionalization of the contemporary performing artists leave an indelible mark upon the arts. One of the ways in

which I will continue with my commitment to this project consists in following the career paths of selected artists. A previous generation of performance scholars in Korea did not take this approach. More focused on preserving culture before it was lost, they instead rushed to find the oldest possible informants to document their narratives and methods of cultural transmission. I, on the other hand, am more concerned with the inevitable changes, and over the next decades I hope to see more longitudinal studies based on relationships with specific charismatic artists emerge. These studies—my own with mask dance drama groups and those of others focusing on a variety of other arts—should help us to understand and champion humane development processes for traditional artists in the modern world.

Back Matter

Appendices

Appendix 1: International United Nations Protection Regimes

United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO):

- Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works (amended in 1967 to include unpublished work by unknown authors)
- Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage (1972)
- Model Provisions for National Laws on the Protection of Expressions of Folklore Against Illicit Exploitation and Other Prejudicial Actions (1982, UNESCO and WIPO)
- Recommendation on the Safeguarding of Traditional Culture and Folklore (1989)
- Proclamation of Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity (1998)
- Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage (2003)
- Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Diversity of Cultural Expressions (2005)

World Trade Organization (WTO):

- Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS Agreement) (1994)

World Intellectual Property Organization (WIPO):

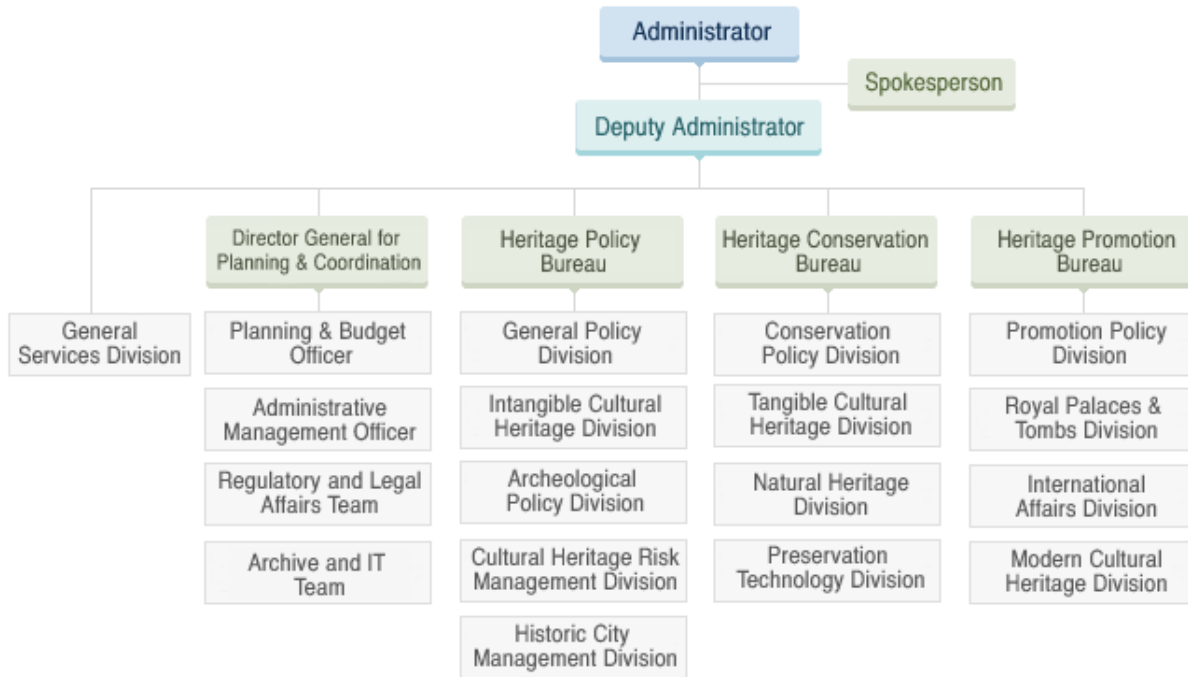
Intergovernmental Committee on Intellectual Property and Genetic Resources, Traditional Knowledge and Folklore

- The Protection of Traditional Knowledge: Draft Objectives and Principles
- The Protection of Traditional Cultural Expressions/Expressions of Folklore: Draft Objectives and Principles
- The Protection of Traditional Knowledge: Revised Outline of Policy Options and Legal Mechanisms
- The Protection of Traditional Cultural Expressions/Expressions of Folklore: Updated Draft Outline of Policy Options and Legal Mechanisms

United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD):

Analysis of Options for Implementing Disclosure of Origin Requirements in Intellectual Property Applications

Appendix 2: Organization of the Cultural Heritage Administration



Source: Website of the Cultural Heritage Administration. No direct link to this page, but this is accessible from www.cha.go.kr.

Appendix 3: Calendar of Events in the Korean Year

Festival	Lunar Date	Significance	Events
Seollal	1/1	Lunar New Year's Day	An ancestral service is offered before the grave of the ancestors (<i>seolcharye</i>), New Year's greetings are exchanged; bows to elders (<i>sebae</i>), traditional games.
Daeboreum	1/15	First full moon	Greeting of the moon (<i>dalmaji</i>), kite-flying, tug-o-war, burning the moon-house bonfire (<i>daljip tae'ugi</i>), spinning cans full of coals, sacrifices offered to the earth god (<i>jisin bapgi</i>), bridge walking (<i>dari balpgi</i>).
Iwol Choharu or Meoseumnal	2/1	Servant's Day	Housecleaning, coming of age ceremony, fishermen's shaman rite (<i>yeongdeungje</i>)
Hanshik	105 days after winter solstice	Beginning of farming season	Eat cold food. Visit to ancestral grave (replant grass on grave), offer rites (<i>hanshik jeolsa</i>).
Chopa'il	4/8	Buddha's birthday	Lotus Lantern ritual (<i>yeondeunghoi</i>)
Dano	5/5	Spring festival	Washing hair with iris water, wrestling matches, swinging, giving fans as gifts.
Haji	Summer solstice	Summer solstice	Prepare for floods, hold rain rites (<i>giuje</i>).
Sambok	6 th & 7 th month	Three hottest days of the year	Try to keep cool through eating special foods (<i>bokjuk</i> , <i>gaejangguk</i> , <i>samgyetang</i>).
Chilseok	7/7	Meeting day of Gyeonu and Jingnyeo, two stars in the Milky Way	The stars represent characters in a folktale. Ancestral rites are performed.
Baekjung	7/15	Buddhist All Souls' Day	Ceremonies for the deceased, cattle festival.
Chuseok	8/15	Harvest festival	Visit to ancestral graves, wrestling, circle dance (<i>Ganggang Sullae</i>), puppet shows, ox fights.
Jungyangjeol	9/9	Migrant sparrows leave	Celebrating autumn with poetry and painting, enjoying nature, memorial service (<i>junggu charye</i>).
Dongji	Winter solstice	Winter solstice	Rites to dispel bad spirits (<i>dongji gosa</i>), eating porridge
Seotdal Geumeum	12/31	New Year's Eve	Staying up all night long with all doors open to receive ancestral spirits

Source: The Encyclopedia of Korean Folklore and Traditional Culture, Volume 1.

* Imshil Pilbong Nongak, Bukcheong Saja Noleum, Dongnae Yaju, Suyeong Yaju, Goseong Ogwangdae, Gasan Ogwangdae, Tongyeong Ogwangdae and Songpa Dari Balpgi are traditionally performed on Daeboreum. Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talmoli was usually held shortly after the Lunar New Year. Gangneung Gwanno Gamyeon'geuk was traditionally performed on Dano.

Glossary of Terms

a-ak 아악	Confucian ritual music
Bongsan Talchum 봉산탈춤	Intangible cultural asset number 17, a mask dance drama.
bojonhoi 보존회	Preservation association. A group in charge of preserving the art, made up of all the registered participants, regardless of rank. Such groups are usually chaired by an energetic but highly ranked performer, such as a <i>jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo</i> who collects information and makes executive decisions in consultation with a few other highly ranked members.
boyuja 보유자	This is the legal term for National Human Treasure, the top expert(s) of a given intangible cultural asset. It is translated as "holder" and this term is used by some English language scholars, but traditionally not used much by Korean artists.
buk 북	The barrel drum.
chu-imsae 추임새	Are words/phrases/sounds of encouragement that are shouted out by the audience at key points during the performance of Korean folk arts.
Chwibali 쥐발이	Is a character in many of the Korean mask dance dramas. He is a drunken playboy who often ends up stealing a woman and having a child with her. For some reason he is often referred to in English as "the Prodigal," a title I believe insufficient to be explanatory.
CPPL	Cultural Property Protection Law, it was passed in 1962.
Daeboreum 대보름	This traditional holiday falls on the first full moon of the lunar new year, the fifteenth of the first month. It was one of the days in the traditional Korean calendar when traditional performances would occur.
daegeum 대금	A transverse bamboo flute with a vibrating membrane (dae means large, so this is the largest, but also the most common of these transverse bamboo flutes).
Dano 다오	A traditional Korean holiday falling on the fifth day of the fifth month on the lunar calendar. It was one of the days in traditional Korean life on which traditional performances would occur.
ddara baeugi 따라배우기	Watch and follow along sessions (literally follow + learn) for teaching performing arts
duipuli 뒤풀이	The party after something has finished such as after a day of rehearsal or after the performance.
gamyeon'guk 가면극	Mask dance drama
Ganggangsullae 강강술래	A circle dance and song from the southwest corner of the southwest province, Jeonnam.
gayageum 가야금	The 12 string Korean zither.
gisaeng 기생	Female entertainers somewhat akin to the Japanese geisha in that they trained in the arts but were sometimes associated with sexual acts.
Goseong Ogwangdae 고성오광대	Intangible Cultural Asset number 7, a mask dance drama.
ggwaenggwari 괘과리	The small gong.
Gyeonggi 경기	Gyeonggi is the province that surrounds Seoul

Gyeongbuk 경북	Gyeongbuk is North Gyeongsang Province, home of Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli. The capital is Daegu.
Gyeongnam 경남	Gyeongnam is South Gyeongsang Province, this is where Goseong Ogwangdae is located. The capital is Busan.
haegeum 해금	A two string fiddle similar to the Chinese <i>erhu</i> .
hagwon 학원	An institution that offers private lessons. <i>Hagwon</i> exist for everything from civil service exam preparation to learning English to studying various musical instruments.
Halmi 할미	Halmi means grandma, and is the name of an old woman character present in several of the mask dance dramas.
hanbok 한복	Korean traditional clothing. Varieties such as gaeryang hanbok, made to update the peasant clothing of the past are becoming more common, but the majority of hanbok reflect the style of the Joseon court.
hansam 한삼	The long white or striped sleeve extensions beyond the cuff of the costume in some mask dance dramas and dances.
Hwanghae 황해	Hwanghae Province is in North Korea, it is the home of Bongsan Talchum, Gangnyeong Talchum and Eunyul Talchum.
Imshil Pilbong Nongak	One of the forms of Korean traditional drumming and dancing protected under the CPPL. Pilbong is a village in Jeonbuk Province.
임실필봉농악	This term was coined by Ye Yonghae, an influential journalist in the 1960s who wrote advocating protection for Korean traditional culture. It literally means human cultural property, I use National Human Treasure instead.
in'ganmunhwajae	
인간문화재	In the system set up by the CPPL, the <i>isuja</i> are the people who have learned long enough to have good knowledge of the art, they are able to perform/create for an audience, but they are technically not supposed to teach yet. They are above <i>jeonsuja</i> and below <i>jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo</i> .
isuja 이수자	
jangdan 장단	rhythmic pattern
janggu 장구	hourglass drum
Jeonbuk 전북	Jeollabukdo (North Jeolla) Province. Jeonju is the capital city. Imshil Pilbong Nongak and Iri Nongak drumming and dancing music are from Jeonbuk.
Jeonnam 전남	Jeollanamdo (South Jeolla) Province. Jeonnam is Korea's southwest corner. Gwangju is the capital city. Namdo Deulnoraе rice planting songs, Ganggangsullae circle songs and Jindo Dashiraegi mask dance drama are from Jeonnam.
jeonsu 전수	Training, teaching, transmission. As a general rule for the traditional arts the term <i>jeonsu</i> is used for training or teaching.
jeonseung 전승	Transmission
jeonsu gyoyuk	The rank below National Human Treasure in the CPPL system- although their name indicates that they are only assistant teachers (<i>jogyo</i>)- people at this level are master teachers and some of them will become National Human Treasures in the future.
jogyo 전수	
교육조교	Although some groups use this term more liberally, <i>jeonsuja</i> means anyone who is a registered student—students who have learned long enough that the <i>bojonhoi</i> has forwarded their registration information to the Cultural Heritage Administration. <i>Jeonsusaeng</i> is used more often to just indicate anyone who is getting training, even if just for a short time and with no serious intentions.
jeonsuja/saeng	
전수자/생	
jing 징	The large gong.
Joseon 조선	The Joseon Dynasty was from 1392-1910. During the Joseon Dynasty the predominant ideology was Reform Confucianism.

madang 마당	The open air performance space traditionally used for most Korean folk arts, often allows the audience to be on all sides of the players. Literally it means yard (inside the wall of your house) or the equivalent of village square.
makgeolli 막걸리	A fermented rice wine (it can also be made from other grains). It's milky and relatively mild, about the strength of beer.
Malddugi 말뚝이	A character from several of the mask dance dramas, Malddugi is a clever (and disrespectful) servant.
mat 맛	Flavor—or that ineffable something when a performance becomes more than a recitation of memorized skill and transitions into something evocative.
minjung 민중	The people, a cultural/political movement striving for democratization
mokjung/meokjung	The dark-faced monk characters from the talchum and sandaenoli mask dance dramas.
목중 (먹중)	Spelled the first way for talchum and the second for sandaenoli.
Munhwajae Boho Beop	Cultural Property Protection Law
문화재보호법	
Munhwajae Chung	The Cultural Heritage Administration
문화재청	
Munhwajae Wiwonhoi	The Cultural Properties Committee which judges the adherence to the CPPL and rank examinations. They may also decertify arts or investigate additional arts for inclusion in the CPPL.
문화재 위원회	
Muhyeong Munhwajae	Intangible Cultural Property
무형문화재	
Namdo Deulnora	Rice planting songs from Jindo Island in Jeonnam.
남도들노래	
ogwangdae 오광대	Mask dance dramas of the south coast.
pansori 판소리	A Korean story-singing form that fits in the folk genres but was performed by professional performers
piri 피리	Small double-reed bamboo oboe
pungmul 풍물	Pungmul, or <i>nongak</i> , is traditional community drumming and dancing music practiced in rural folk Korea. It utilizes the <i>janggu</i> , <i>jjing</i> , <i>gwaenggwari</i> and <i>buk</i> as the main instruments, accompanied often by the <i>taepyeongso</i> oboe and dancers with small handheld <i>sogo</i> drums and <i>sangmo</i> or <i>yeoldubal</i> ribboned hats.
salpuri 살풀이	A solo dance composed to capture elements of the sadness and beauty in shamanic rituals from Jindo island by early dance heavy-weight Han Seongjun.
samulnori	Written with a big S, <i>Samulnori</i> is a group founded in 1978 by Kim Duksoo. <i>Samulnori</i> is played with the four main instruments from the <i>pungmul</i> tradition, <i>janggu</i> , <i>jing</i> , <i>ggwaenggwari</i> and <i>buk</i> , and banged out more complex versions of the traditional drumming music. Written with a small S, <i>samulnori</i> is music in the style of <i>Samulnori</i> . There is more latitude for personal artistic expression than with <i>pungmul</i> .
사물놀이	
sandaenoli	Mask dance dramas from the Gyeonggi Province and Seoul region.
산대놀이	
sangjwa 상좌	The <i>sangjwa</i> are characters in some of the mask dance dramas, they are novice monks and dance without any dialogue.
sanjo 산조	Solo instrumental music, the music is somewhat improvisational "scattered melodies" played on the string or wind instruments and accompanied by a single drummer.
shinmyeong 신명	A feeling of (communal) uplift and exhilaration. It can be almost cathartic.

talchum 탈춤	Mask dance dramas of the Hwanghae Province region. Colloquially but incorrectly used to speak of all Korean mask dance dramas.
talnoli 탈놀이	There are many different terms of mask dance dramas in Korean. I prefer this term, <i>talnoli</i> , which literally means mask + play. The term has the advantage of not being too closely associated with the mask dance dramas in one area of the peninsula.
wonhyeong 원형	The original form, the archetypal form of the art as certified by the Cultural Properties Committee at the time of designation of the art.
yangban 양반	The literati upper class of the Korean Joseon Dynasty and before, the <i>yangban</i> is also a character (or several) in mask dance dramas
yaeneung boyuja 예능보유자	Artistic National Human Treasure (the National Human Treasures for the crafts are called <i>gineung boyuja</i> or technical holder).
yeonhi 연희	Folk theatre- including mask dance dramas but also <i>pungmul</i> , <i>Namsadang</i> , shamanic performance and various other large group events
yusan 유산	Heritage, often used in the arts context as <i>munhwa yusan</i> , or cultural heritage.

Interview List⁴⁰⁰

Non-Performers:

Bak Jintae 박진태, Ph.D. Humanities. Member of the Cultural Properties Committee. 2006.

Bak Hyeonsun 박현순, Ph.D. Korean History. 2010.

Finchum-Sung, Hilary, Ph.D. Ethnomusicology. 2010-2011.

*Im Janghyeok 임장혁, Ph.D. Folklore. 2011.

*Jeon Kyungwook 전경욱, Ph.D. Korean Language and Literature. Member of the Cultural Properties Committee. 2006. 2008. 2010-2011.

Kendall, Laurel, Ph.D. Anthropology. 2006.

Kim Dongno 김동노, Ph.D. Sociology. 2006.

Kim Ikdu 김익두, Ph.D. Korean Literature. 2008.

*Kim Wolduk 김월덕, Ph.D. Folklore. 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010-2011.

Loken-Kim, Christine, Ph.D. Anthropology, 2006.

*Yang Jongsung 양종승, Ph.D. Folklore. Senior Curator at the National Folk Museum of Korea. Member of the Cultural Properties Committee for Gyeonggi Province. 2004, 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010-2011.

Cultural Heritage Administration:

Kim Jiseong 김지성, staff member, Intangible Cultural Properties Division. 2004.

Lim Hyoungjin 임형진, staff member, Intangible Cultural Properties Division. 2004.

*Uhm Seungyong 엄승용, Director Cultural Policy Division. 2010-2011.

Pungryu Theatre:

*Yi Donghyeon 이동현, manager of Pungryu Theatre. 2011.

KOUS:

*Jin Okseop 진옥섭, Artistic Director of KOUS, author. 2010-2011.

⁴⁰⁰ All interviews conducted by the author. Recorded interviews were transcribed into Korean and the author translated selections as needed. Individuals who were repeatedly interviewed are marked with an *. Only individuals with whom at least one sit-down formal interview was conducted are included on this list. Individuals who participated in informal interviews and conversations, but no recorded interview, are mentioned in the text of the chapters only.

Performers:

- Ahn Eunme 안은미, noted modern dance choreographer. 2011 (for the dissertation).
- *Baek Euishil 백의실, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*, Gangnyeong Talchum, 2008, 2011.
- Bak Dongmae 박동매, National Human Treasure, Namdo Deulnora. 2008.
- Bak Jongsuk 박종숙, National Human Treasure, Ganggang Sullae. 2008.
- Bak Yeongsun 박영순, National Human Treasure, Ganggang Sullae. 2008.
- Dong Seonbong 동선봉, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* Bukcheong Saja Noleum. 2008.
- Gang Seongwon 강성원, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo* Bukcheong Saja Noleum. 2008.
- Ji Eunha 지은하, National Human Treasure, Namsadang. 2008.
- Kim Deoksu 김덕수, *Samulnori* founding member, K-Arts professor, performer. 2011.
- Kim Hyeonsuk 김현숙, Jindo Folk Culture Troupe. 2008.
- *Son Yeong'ae 손영애, Hahoi Byeolshin'gut Talnoli *isuja*
- *Song Jihun 송지훈, Bukcheong Saja Noleum *isuja*
- Yi Geunhwaseon 이근화선, Bukcheong Saja Noleum National Human Treasure. 2008, 2011.
- Yi Gijeon 이기전, National Human Treasure, Jongmyo Jerye. 2008.
- Yi Heunggu 이흥구, Hakmu National Human Treasure
- Yi Jeongyun 이정윤, principal dancer of the National Dance Company of Korea. 2011.
- *Yi Sunok 이순옥, Yangju Byeolsandae Preservation Association Director, *isuja*

Bongsan Talchum

- *Bak Sang-un 박상운, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. 2006, 2008, 2010.
- *Choi Changju 최창주, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. 2006, 2008, 2010-2011.
- *Jang Yongil 장용일, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. 2006, 2008, 2009, 2010-2011.
- *Jeong Sundon 정순돈, former office manager. 2005-2006.
- *Jeong Yunshik 정윤식, *isuja*. 2006. 2009. 2011.
- Kim Aeseon 김애선, National Human Treasure. 2006.
- *Kim Eunju 김은주, *isuja*. 2005-2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010-2011.
- Kim Hoseok 김호석, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. 2006, 2010.
- *Son Byeongman 손병만, *isuja*. 2006. 2010-2011.

Bongsan Talchum Evening Class Students

- *Bak Jeonghyeon 박정현, theatre and musical actor. 2010-11.
- *Bak Yeonshik 박연식, *gugak* supplementary school teacher, performer. 2010-2011.
- *Kim Yongcheol 김용철, dancer, choreographer, university instructor. 2011.
- *"Yeonghee" 영희, (mutually agreed upon alias), 2010-2011.
- *Yi Byeong'u 이병우, *madangnoli* performer. 2011.
- *Yun Byeongho 윤병호, performer, student, then office worker. 2010-2011.
- *Yun Wonjung 윤원중, student who successfully applied to K-Arts. 2010-2011.

Goseong Ogwangdae

- *Ahn Daecheon 안대천, *isuja*. 2011.
- *Bae Hwajeong 배화정, office manager. 2009, 2010-2011.
- Choi Yeongho 최영호, *isuja*. 2011.
- Go Seokjin 고석진, *jeonsuja*. 2010-2011.
- Ha Manho 하만호, *isuja*. 2009.
- Ha Hyeon'gap 하현갑 *isuja*. 2009.
- *Heo Changyeol 허창열, *isuja*. 2010-2011.
- *Hwang Jong'uk 황종욱, *isuja*. 2009, 2010- 2011.
- Jeon Gwangyeol 전광열, *isuja*. 2011.
- Kim Dongsu 김동수, *isuja*. 2009.
- Kim Seongbeom 김성범, *isuja*. 2011.
- Yi Howon 이호원, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. 2008.
- *Yi Jaehun 이재훈, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. 2009, 2010, 2011.
- *Yi Yunseok 이윤석, National Human Treasure. 2008-2011.

Goseong Ogwangdae Intensive Class Students

- Chanhee 찬희, 2009.
- Geumhong 금홍, 2009.
- Heo Mujin 허무진, 2009.

Jeong Jaeun 정재은, employee of Noridan. 2011.
Jeong Jinhyeon 정진현, 2009.
*Kim Giyeong 김기영, K-Arts student. 2011.
Kim Gyeongjin 김경진, K-Arts student. 2011.
Kim Haeji 김혜지, 2009.
Kim Min'gi 김민기, K-Arts student. 2011.
Kim Min'gyeong 김민경, 2009.
Minji 민지. 2009.
Ryu Miri 류미리. 2009.
Shim Jaeyun 심재윤, K-Arts student. 2011.
*Song Taehwan 송태환, K-Arts student. 2011.
Yi Boram 이보람, 2009.
Yi Gaeun 이가은, K-Arts student, 2011.
*Yi Haemi 이해미, K-Arts student. 2011.
Yi Shiyeon 이시연, 2009.

Imshil Pilbong Nongak

Gu Cheolhoi 구철회, *isuja (sangmo instructor)*. 2010.
Kim Dongmin 김동민, *isuja (janggu and ggwaenggwari instructor)*. 2009.
*Yang Jinseong 양진성, National Human Treasure. 2008, 2009, 2010-2011.
Yang Sunju 양순주, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. 2008.
*Yi Jaejeong 이재정, *isuja (sangmo instructor)*. 2011.
*Yi Jonghui 이종휘, *isuja (sangmo instructor)*. 2010-2011.
Yim Sohee 임소희, *jeonsuja (janggu, sogo and ggwaenggwari instructor)*. 2011.

Imshil Pilbong Nongak Intensive Class Students

Bak Biho 박비호, 2010-2011.
Bak Miyeon 박미연, 2009.
Choi Eunhee 최은희, 2009.
Choi Jihee 최지희, 2009.

*Choi Yumi 최유미, member of Gaejeonyeon. 2009, 2011.
 Go Gwangseon 고희선, 2009.

*Gwon Eunjeong 권은정, member of Gaejeonnyeon. 2009, 2010-2011.
 Han Jinu 한진우, 2009.

*Hwang Jiyong 황지용, member of Gaejeonyeon. 2011.
 Im Gyeongseon 임경선, 2009.

*Je Jongmin 제종민, member of Gaejeonyeon. 2010-2011.
 Jeong Guhwan 정구환, 2010.
 Ji Seungjun 지승준, 2009.

*Jo Yeongnok 조영록, member of Gaejeonyeon. 2009, 2010-2011.
 Kim Beomjun 김범준, 2011.
 Kim Da-eun 김다은, 2009.
 Kim Gyuhyeong 김규형, 2009.
 Kim Jeonghun 김정훈, 2009.
 Oh Geukjin 오극진, member of Gaejeonyeon. 2011.
 Oh Hyeontaek 오현택, member of Gaejeonyeon, traditional dance major. 2011.
 Shin Yuseon 신유선, 2009.
 Song Haejin 송혜진, 2010.
 Yang Eunseok 양은석, 2009.
 Yi Boram 이보람, 2009.
 Yi Byeongseok 이병석, 2010.
 Yi Dongju 이동주. 2010.
 Yu Hana 유하나. 2010.
 Yi Jeongyeon 이정연. 2009.

*Yi Seungmin 이승민, member of Gaejeonyeon. 2009. 2010-2011.

*Yun Wonno 윤원로, graduate student, member of Gaejeonyeon. 2009, 2010-2011.

Songpa Sandae Noli

Ahn Byeong'in 안병인, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. 2008.

Ahn Dami 안다미, *jeonsuja*. 2011.

*Bak Juhyeon 박주현, *jeonsuja*. 2010-2011.

Eo Wonseok 어원석, *jeonsuja*. 2007. 2010-2011.

Gang Cha'uk 강차욱, *isuja*. 2007, 2011.

*Hahm Seungheon 함승헌, *jeonsuja*. 2006, 2008, 2010-2011.

*Hahm Wanshik 함완식, National Human Treasure. 2005, 2006, 2008, 2010-2011.

Jang Gyushik 장규식, *isuja*. 2006, 2011.

Jeon Cheolgyu 전철규, *isuja*. 2006, 2010.

Jeon Gyeonghee 전경희, *isuja*. 2005, 2010-2011.

Kim Hakseok 김학석, National Human Treasure. 2010.

Kim Myeongha 김명하, *jeonsu gyoyuk jogyo*. 2008, 2010.

*Kim Yeongsuk 김영숙, *isuja* and office manager. 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010-2011.

Seo Byeongmu 서병무, *isuja*. 2006. 2010.

*Tahn Jongwon 탄종원, *isuja*. 2006. 2008. 2010-2011.

Yang Heunggi 양흥기, *isuja*. 2010-2011.

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Yi Yeongshik 이영식, *isuja*. 2006. 2008.

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