

**Female Participation in South Korean  
Traditional Music:  
Late Chosŏn to the Present Day**

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## Abstract

While individual aspects of gender in South Korean traditional music have been previously explored, a general examination of the subject has yet to be undertaken. Through the analysis of fieldwork and previous research, this thesis looks at the gender shift of musicians from predominantly male in the last dynasty to predominantly female today. This shift is considered in relation to the changing function of traditional music from popular entertainment to cultural preservation during Korea's rapid modernisation process.

My fieldwork includes interviews with performers, students, teachers and scholars of traditional music, lessons on stringed, percussion and wind instruments and the observation of concerts and rehearsals in various genres of traditional music. Through this fieldwork, several gender issues became evident. While the majority of traditional musicians are presently female, a significant number of men participate in ritual and aristocratic music and on wind or percussion instruments. Women, on the other hand, greatly outnumber men in newly-created national music, in fusion music, vocal music and on stringed instruments, particularly the *kayagŭm* and *haegŭm*. While a larger gender issue concerning the role of women in preservation can be seen in the greater numbers of women in traditional music, this division within traditional music society reflects the historic split between the male upper-class scholar and the female *kisaeng* artist. The associations between women and the body, nature and the artist exist in contrast to those linking men with the mind, power over nature and the scholar. The consequences of these associations can be seen in the early acceptance of women as singers and dancers with male accompaniment across classes. While the role of traditional music in society has changed through the events of the past century, many aspects of traditional culture can still be seen within Korean musical society.

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# Table of Contents

Abstract	ii
List of Photographs	vi
List of Figures	viii
Introduction	1
0.1. Personal Background	3
0.2. Research Questions and Scope of Research	7
0.3. Literature Review and Theoretical Models	24
0.4. Methodology	30
0.5. Overview of Chapters	37
0.6. A Note on Romanisation	42
Chapter 1: Confucian Culture and Ritual Music	43
1.1. Traditional Practice of Confucian Music	46
1.2. Current Gender Issues	51
Conclusion	58
Chapter 2: Aristocratic Vocal Music and the Role of <i>Kisaeng</i>	61
2.1. <i>Kisaeng</i>	63
2.2. Aristocratic Vocal Music: <i>Kagok</i> , <i>Kasa</i> and <i>Sijo</i>	77
Conclusion	95
Chapter 3: <i>P'ansori</i>	99
3.1. History of <i>P'ansori</i>	101
3.2. <i>P'ansori</i> as Literature	113
3.3. Performance Practice	134
3.4. Musical Qualities	157
Conclusion	167

Chapter 4: Folk Music	172
4.1. Shamanism	176
4.2. <i>Sanjo</i>	181
4.3. <i>P'ungmul</i>	197
4.4. Vocal Music	217
Conclusion	228
Chapter 5: Modern Developments	232
5.1. <i>Ch'angjak Kugak</i> (Newly-created Music)	237
5.2. Fusion	244
5.3. Gendered Associations of Instruments	250
5.4. Representation of Gender in Album Covers and Promotional Materials	259
Conclusion	277
Conclusions	280
Bibliography	286
List of Interviews	299
List of Rehearsals and Performances	302
Discography	305
Glossary of Terms	306

## List of Photographs

1.1. Contemporary performance of <i>Munmyo Cheryeak</i>	43
1.2. Female dancers performing the Royal Ancestral Rites	52
1.3. Royal Ancestral Rite Music showing a number of female <i>haegŭm</i> players in male ritual dress	55
2.1. Male and female singers performing the combined <i>kagok</i> cycle	61
2.2. Japanese advertisements presenting <i>kisaeng</i> to foreigners during the Japanese imperial rule	69
2.3. <i>Kisaeng</i> studying <i>kŏmun'go</i> in <i>kisaeng</i> school during the Japanese imperial rule	71
2.4. Male musicians teaching at <i>kisaeng</i> school	76
2.5. A female <i>kasa</i> singer	81
2.6. Male and female singers perform the combined <i>kagok</i> cycle	84
3.1. A <i>p'ansori</i> performance with the singer and <i>kosu</i> on a straw mat	99
3.2. Placement of the singer and drummer in relation to the audience showing masculine associations	142
3.3. Placement of the singer and drummer in relation to the audience showing feminine associations	144
3.4. Gesturing a strike showing stylistically folk associations	145
3.5. Equality and community with drummer as the singer faces him to drink showing stylistically aristocratic associations	150
3.6. Aristocratic male style represented by the singer crossing the visual plane of the <i>kosu</i> and moving downstage	154
3.7. Aristocratic female style represented by the singer does not cross the visual plane of the <i>kosu</i> and remains upstage	156
3.8. Folk female style represented by singer singing to the <i>kosu</i>	156
4.1. Showing both male and female participation within a folk music setting	172
4.2. A female drummer accompanying mask dance within a folk setting	173
4.3. Female <i>minyŏ</i> singers with mostly male accompaniment	177
4.4. Performance of <i>kayagŭm sanjo</i>	181
4.5. A female <i>kkwaenggwari</i> player in the Cheongbae (Chŏngpae) <i>p'ungmul</i> ensemble	198

4.6. A performance of <i>p'unngmul</i> showing banners and costumed characters	199
4.7. <i>P'unngmul</i> performance showing banners and costumed characters	200
4.8. A drum dance taking place at Korea House	209
4.9. Woman performing shamanic ritual dance	210
4.10. Woman performing a Buddhist cymbal dance	211
4.11. Gender switch in amateur <i>pungmul</i> groups	216
4.12. Female singers self-accompanying on the <i>changgo</i>	217
4.13. A reenactment of a weeding song	219
5.1. The association with Western culture in Oriental Express CD cover	247
5.2. Commonly assumed divisions between male wind and percussion and female string	252
5.3. A small ensemble accompanying a female <i>kagok</i> singer	254
5.4. Cover of Twelve Girls Band album	261
5.5. Album cover showing <i>kisaeng</i> associations	261
5.6. <i>Kisaeng</i> photographs showing posed positions rather than playing	262
5.7. <i>Kisaeng</i> dancers pose in a fixed position	263
5.8. Musicians posing with instruments rather playing	263
5.9. All-male and all-female groups in K-pop	264
5.10. Photo used by the musicians to promote the groups music	265
5.11. Photo from a magazine article showing a focus on the musicians	266
5.12. Oriental Express album covers	266
5.13. Artist's self-representation vs. outside representation	268
5.14. Yi Chungwa, from her CD album <i>Soaring</i> . Ccotbyel, from the cover of her CD album <i>Star Garden</i>	269
5.15. Kang Hyojin, from her CD album <i>Kayagŭm Sanjo</i> . Shin Nalsae, from the cover of her CD album <i>Haegŭm In Melodies</i>	270
5.16. Kim Chŏngnim, from her CD album <i>Sanjo-wa P'unngmul</i> . Kang Hyosŏn, from the cover of her CD album <i>Attraction</i>	271
5.17. Female <i>ch'angjak kugak</i> musicians represented as photographic art	273
5.18. Female <i>ch'angjak kugak</i> musician presenting the avant-garde	274
5.19. Male performer of <i>ch'angjak kugak</i> portrayed in aristocratic dress	275
5.20. Male <i>ch'angjak kugak</i> musician depicted as practicing in studio space	276

## List of Figures

2.1. The <i>kagok</i> repertoire showing the three <i>kagok</i> cycles	86
3.1. <i>Ujo</i> mode	158
3.2. <i>P'yŏngjo</i> mode	160
3.3. <i>Kyemyŏnjo</i> mode	160
3.4. The different characteristics of eastern and western schools of <i>p'ansori</i> .	164



## Introduction

In the autumn of 2005, I arrived in South Korea with an interest in studying traditional music. When deciding on an instrument to study, I received much feedback from friends and colleagues regarding what was considered appropriate for me to play as a woman and a foreigner. I was immediately interested in this gendering of instruments. This issue along with my own preference for instruments with a low and deep resonance, I wanted to study the 6-stringed zither *kōmun'go*. I was told that women did not play this instrument and that I should study the female counterpart, the *kayagŭm*. However, during three and a half years of studying traditional music and undertaking fieldwork, all three of my *kōmun'go* teachers, two in folk music and one in court music, were, in fact, female. Likewise, I observed that significant numbers of males played the *kayagŭm*. It was this initial experience that brought my focus to the role of gender and Korean traditional music. There seemed to be a contradiction between the projected ideas of traditional music and its actual practices. Additionally, this contradicted with historic practice. One cannot help but notice the large majority of male instrumentalists when looking at the older generation of musicians in striking contrast to the female majority in the younger generation.

To explore this topic, a number of questions arose at the inception of my research. As a cultural association apparently exists between sex and choice of instrument, what associations were traditionally held and which are currently maintained? Why have certain gender associations survived? Are these associations observed in practice or just in theory? What does such an association say about traditional musical culture? The association between sex of the musician and choice of instrument has transformed at different rates depending on genre, instrument and class. What factors contributed to the rate of shift in the sex of the musician? How is

gender represented, and how are these representations similar or different throughout the various genres of traditional music and the social classes? What influenced the shift from the traditionally male role of professional musician to the present where most traditional musicians and students of traditional music are female?

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the process of change in South Korean traditional music from the latter part of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1638-1910)<sup>1</sup> to the present day, focusing on the role of the musician in society and representations of sex and gender in traditional music. The term gender will be used to describe the social and cultural constructs ascribed to male or female, which is differentiated from the physical body (sex). Masculinity and femininity refer to the qualities associated with the cultural norms of maleness (aggressive, progressive, public sphere, leadership, dominance) and femaleness (docile, life sustaining, private sphere, submissiveness). This thesis does not, however, engage with gender on a theoretical level, but rather is more concerned with documenting and explaining a shift in the roles of men and women in Korean traditional music over time.

Any research undertaken regarding the Korean peninsula must acknowledge the current divide between North and South. While the pre-1950 history, such as the last dynasty, Japanese rule and Liberation apply to the peninsula as a whole, from the time of the Korean War little is known about traditional music in North Korea. The scope of the research from 1950, therefore, only deals with South Korea. The traditional music selected for my research would be categorised in South Korea as *kugak* (literally, “national music”). This category includes traditional music of the upper and lower classes both in a historical context and in performance at present

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<sup>1</sup> These dates are used as 1638 marks the end of the Manchu Invasions and the beginning of 200 years of peace, which brings the rise of the *Silhak* scholar (“practical learning”); 1910 marks the point when Korea became a colony of Japan.

through the system of preservation. When analysing *ch'angjak kugak*, neo-traditional Korean music, the lines become more blurred. This research will be limited to music performed at least partly on traditional instruments, including fusion music, but will not include Western-style music. As the focus of this study is on the process of change across all of traditional music, by taking a broader view of traditional music culture, I hope to see patterns of change that might otherwise be lost through a more limited scope.

### **0.1. Personal Background**

Important to my research on traditional music from a culture other than my own is my own identity as a researcher and how this has influenced my perspective on traditional Korean music and culture. I am often asked as a classical musician from the American Midwest, “Why Korean music?” To answer that question, I need to return to the beginning of my university studies. During my undergraduate and graduate education in classical voice, I always took additional coursework in musicology and composition. My interest in music from creative, historical and performance viewpoints greatly influences my approach to my research, which looks at music holistically in order to understand the processes of change and preservation. In addition, as a singer, I have chosen the largest number of my musical examples from vocal genres as this is the area of my greatest practical understanding. However, besides singing, I have studied several instruments: the flute, piano, oboe, cello and Indian *tabla*. These studies have helped me to understand the mechanics and physical requirements of wind, string and percussion instruments, which were invaluable to my comprehension of the projected gendered associations among Korean instruments.

In 2005 I found work and moved to South Korea to study traditional music and experience a new culture. At this point, I did not think that Korea would become the focus of my research, but rather was hoping that it would bring new insight into my interest in Western classical and jazz music. However, I quickly became intrigued with the soulful vocal quality of Korean *p'ansori* singing, which I considered similar to the expressive nature of jazz and blues. I also became fascinated with traditional musical culture and representations of gender in music as well as in Korean society as a whole. My first impressions were puzzling and even conflicting at times. For me, the ranking of gender and class was difficult to understand and negotiate in part because it seemed to me that what was told to me and what I experienced were sometimes in conflict. For example, there seemed to be a strong association between each instrument and the sex of the player that could not possibly hold true in practice with the much larger percentage of women than men in traditional music performance.

I began to develop a deeper understanding of the role of traditional music in modern society as I formed friendships with Korean people outside the field of traditional music. My Korean friends were surprised and intrigued that I would want to study traditional Korean music. I quickly realised that very few of them had ever been to a live performance of traditional music; even a friend with a degree in classical piano from a Korean university had never seen the *kŏmun'go* performed in person until I played for her in her home. This led me in the direction of studying the removal of traditional music from popular culture through the events of the twentieth century and the process of preservation that has brought traditional music to the present. I began to discover that the emphasis on preservation and the removal of

traditional music from the male public sphere had moved traditional music towards women.

My own perceptions as a woman, particularly an unmarried woman, a researcher, a Western classically trained musician, a twenty-five-year-old and a Euro-American deeply influenced my own assumptions about gender. First, being a foreign woman in my twenties with a masters degree in music, when I would inquire about traditional music I was often directed to other twenty-something graduate students. My teachers were female graduate students in traditional music, which influenced my perception of the *kōmun'go* and the accessibility of the instrument to women. However, if I had been a male researcher in my thirties or forties, I would have possibly been directed to a forty-something male. As Korean society puts much emphasis on age, there was an element of being the same age as the female students that allowed for a more open friendship. This was significant in my understanding and access to ideas on the shift towards female musicians in the younger generation. My *kōmun'go* teachers, being of the same generation and educational level as myself, were socially permitted to think of me as a friend and spoke freely about musical expression, family and life choices. While these initial experiences took place before I began my Ph.D. studies, they strongly influenced my direction of research.

Undertaking fieldwork included a large amount of participation on my part. I studied instruments, sat in on rehearsals and spent time with musicians at gatherings after concerts and within social settings. I had brought my own cultural perceptions, but my participation created a new role, that of what Carol Babiracki calls the ungendered researcher (2008: 168-169). Within the strict patriarchy where the previous generation of musicians were heavily male, the top level of musicians, composers and academics in traditional music were male. My role as a foreign

researcher allowed me access that a young Korean woman of my age would not typically have been given. Further desexualising was the fact that I was unmarried and my physical height and broad-shouldered size, much more analogous to a male than a female in Korea.

Once I did begin my Ph.D. program and returned to do fieldwork between 2009 and 2010, I had noticed that my access and perception changed. Previously, I had probably been perceived as just another twenty-something English teacher travelling through and sampling Korean culture. Having arrived as a Ph.D. candidate from a prestigious European university under the supervision of a well-respected relatively older male academic, Andrew Killick, my access was quite different. Suddenly I had access to the male heads of national companies, such as Yoo Young Dai (Yu Yōngdae; Artistic Director of the National Changgeuk Company), and prestigious musicians and academics taking me seriously. People became more interested in what I had to say about Korean music and my perception. My interviews with musicians rather than being a story became more conversation-like and I found my research began to change with the way my interviewees responded to and thought about my questions. I found the role of observer very different and much more difficult to perform once I was seen as a legitimate member of the traditional music community.

An additional issue with conducting fieldwork away from the home institution is the disconnect between the time in “the field” and the time of writing. Babiracki aptly said of this:

Our field research is clearly bounded by time, space, “culture,” and language. We experience a very real dislocation when we go to “the field.” We know that our time there is finite, and it will be difficult to return once we leave. Every moment should be spent doing research, attending events, talking to people, and making music, rather than writing. (Bariracki 1997: 122)

My research is influenced by this disconnect between research and writing. Particularly when undertaking work using grounded theory, which is very observation-based, there is a difficulty when returning to the writing process in connecting the words of the musicians themselves with the subsequent theories that I have developed in the writing process (see Methodology section below). I was able to deal such the issues through continued correspondence with some of my informants in Korea.

## **0.2. Research Questions and Scope of Research**

This research has centred on the question: What processes lead to the shift from mostly male to mostly female musicians in traditional music and how has this change influenced the traditional music as it is preserved and developed today? To address these questions, we must first establish the key features of traditional Korean society and musical culture. Part of the complexity of doing analysis of Korean *kugak* is the wide range of genres, social classes and historical events that it spans. The combination of all these factors leads to a weaving of similarities and differences that creates a unique set of representations of identity. To discuss the relevant issues of society and change, we must first address the nature of the society that led to such a wide range of practices being included within the single category of *kugak*.

Through the Neo-Confucian Chosŏn Dynasty, a great social divide existed between members of the different classes. Under the Chosŏn Dynasty, there was a strict social order within a class system: *yangban* (elite members of society divided into civil and military service based on descent and heredity, political influence, economic wealth and Confucian learning), *chungin* (“middle people” who could not sit civil service examinations but could hold lower-ranking positions), *p’yŏngmin*

(farmers, fishermen and merchants) and *ch'ŏnmin* (slaves, servants, professional entertainers, butchers, leatherworkers and shamans) (Deuchler 1992: 12-13; Park Sung Hee 2010: 28-31). The music performed varied greatly in function and style, while the musicians themselves played very different social roles. Within each class, there was a division between music performed for religious ritual and for entertainment. However, the rituals and beliefs themselves varied greatly among the social classes. Within the area of secular music, performances for audiences of different classes also varied greatly in setting, instrumentation, occasion, function and number of musicians. I therefore begin by reviewing key aspects of the Chosŏn Dynasty social structure in which the current repertoire of Korean traditional music took shape.

#### *0.2.1. Confucian Society*

The Chosŏn Dynasty was governed by the Neo-Confucian philosophy (*sŏngnihak*). The Confucianisation of Korea took nearly a century of “intense government indoctrination and propaganda” (Deuchler 1977: 4-5). The process was very slow and implementation was quite varied across the stratified class system. While Korea before the seventeenth century was both patriarchal and influenced by Confucianism, during the seventeenth century the effects of Neo-Confucianism could be seen on family lineage and social division of gender (Peterson 1983: 43). Society was divided into four levels: the lower class (*ch'ŏnmin*), the middle people (*chungin*), the upper class (*yanban*) and the sovereign which represented the divine. One's place in society was determined by family line, gender and birth or marriage order. To preserve the function of this stratified society, each group had to accept its role as both submissive and dominant in accord with Confucian mandate. Through this period women were



increasingly removed from public society and restricted to the home. However, the influence of Neo-Confucianism on the separation of the genders was not equal through all levels of society:

It is only when the household can produce an economic surplus for investment in status-enhancing activity in the public sphere, and when the household's genealogical position in the lineage is prominent enough to merit such investment, that the inside/outside division of labor allows the house head to attain a great deal more power in the public sphere while his wife remains at home. (Sorensen 1983: 77)

The division of the sexes into public and private spheres was a marker of status, and the seclusion of women in the private sphere was not possible for lower-class families that would have required the income of both male and female members of the family.

Like many patriarchal societies, Neo-Confucian Korea was characterised by male domination of the public sphere and female domination of the private sphere. This division can be seen in the terms *uri chip saram*, meaning “our house person”, used sometimes to refer to the wife, versus *pakkat őrün*, meaning “outside adult” and referring to the husband. These terms also define the spaces of the traditional home where the *uri chip saram* would live in the inner home (*anch'ae*) and the *pakkat őrün* would have a room in the outer home (*sarangch'ae*) where he could gather with other men of the family or community.

Before the Chosŏn Dynasty, Korean women were allowed more freedom in the public sphere; however, with the fundamentalist application of Neo-Confucian principles in the fifteenth century, women were banned from such activities as travelling in open palanquins, attending outdoor games and festivals and visiting temples (Lee Bae-Yong 2008: 30; Kim Yung-Chung 1977: 83-84; Deuchler 1992: 260). In addition, when a woman was to appear in public, she was to be “clothed in such a way that no unauthorised eyes could catch a glimpse,” with her face covered

by a veil or a *yŏmmo* (veiled hat) or hidden behind a fan (Deuchler 1992: 261).<sup>2</sup> These cultural meanings can be further substantiated by the *Kyŏngguk taejŏn*, a document that enforced Neo-Confucian philosophy and both restricted the use of the colour red to *yangban* and *kisaeng* and expressed which colours, materials and patterns should be used for each social class (Deuchler 1992: 261). The ruling power of the upper class over the lower class creates a situation in patriarchal society where the lower classes were feminised under the dominant upper classes (Deuchler 1992: 111).<sup>3</sup>

Neo-Confucianism created very strict roles of dominance and submission both within the home and within the public sphere. The family was managed externally by a patriarchal figure and internally by a matriarchal one. While women had limited access to the public sphere, they did have great power and responsibility within the home. The male head of the household spent his time in the public sphere and did not have the knowledge to control the daily economic and practical happenings of the home; therefore, he allocated these responsibilities to his wife (Sorensen 1983: 64, 70-71). The woman's power within the home was taken very seriously and required a strong-willed and virtuous nature. Great social importance was placed on the role of the woman as household leader largely because "domestic peace and prosperity depended on the way of a wife exerting her authority [and] it was the wife's task to keep the customs pure" (Deuchler 1977: 4). This meant that the Confucian ideal of feminine virtue was a contradiction between strong-willed and submissive characteristics. While women had little social power, it was the role of the mother to be responsible for the education of the children through strict discipline in the home,

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<sup>2</sup> The other option would be to come out only after dark in order to be hidden from the male gaze.

<sup>3</sup> Deuchler speaks of this division of society as a "threefold mechanism" where each group was subordinate to the superior group, a reflection of the gendered division of society (Deuchler 1992: 111).

and thus to maintain the social status of the family. These gender roles of men ruling the public sphere and women preserving the family in the private sphere influenced the shifting gender roles of musicians from male to female through the twentieth century as traditional music moved from the public sphere of popular culture to the marginalised object of preservation.

Key in establishing the Neo-Confucian stratification of society was the establishment of a “ruling officialdom” (Kim Yung-Chung 1977: 81). Membership among the elite (known as *yangban*) was difficult and had blurred parameters. Families must have “a clear line of descent, a ‘distinguished ancestor’ (*hyōnjo*)... [of] scholarly reputation from whom ancestry was traced and generally acknowledged, a clear geographic area within which such status was recognised, close marriage ties with other reputable lineages, and a special way of life” (Deuchler 1992: 12). Scholarly reputation was established and maintained through government service examinations (*kwagō*), which were only available to first-born sons of the first wife of first-born sons of *yangban* families. Membership within the lower class (*ch’ōnmin*) was dictated by birth rather than through social achievement and education. Movement between the classes through intermarriage was restricted as a way of preserving the balance of society and ensuring a large enough lower-class support to sustain the stratified society. Membership in the highest levels of society was extremely exclusive and depended on a variety of familial and personal circumstances.

Education and examinations have historically been a very important element of social family standing and restricted to a very small elite. Through restrictions of the examination system by gender, class, lineage, birth order and other issues such as marriage and divorce, Korea enforced a very strict social structure that largely

disallowed movement between the classes. Noble families could lose social status if the younger generation did not continue striving for government examination. Lee Bae-Yong says of this:

In order to maintain social recognition, any upper class family had to have someone within the three generations of the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, and the maternal grandfather, serving in a public post at all times. Therefore, men of noble class had to consistently endeavor to attain academic knowledge and pass the recruitment examination for public officials. (Lee Bae-Yong 2008: 98)

While sons were taught academic subjects to acquire knowledge to use outside the home, daughters were educated in morality based on Confucian virtue. The purpose of the education of women was to enforce the Neo-Confucian social structure both within and outside of the home (Deuchler 1977: 6-7). It was recommended that “model women should be rewarded on the basis of their conduct as well as their studiousness” (Kim Yung-Chung 1977: 155). Therefore, the appearance and demeanour of the student reflected both her virtue and her ability to learn the lessons taught.<sup>4</sup> While the focus of male education was on scholarship, female education focused primarily on virtue in service of the social and familial obligation to preserve family harmony and to maintain the purity of customs (Deuchler 1977: 4). Women acted as preservers of culture and customs for both the family and society, a role reflected in women’s status as preservers of traditional music.

### *0.2.2. Ritual and Religion*

The use of ritual music and the religions practiced varied between the classes and over time. Within the court, ritual music existed to create a peaceful society through balance and order and to offer respect to Confucius and the Royal Ancestors. These

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<sup>4</sup> These issues of female education and the importance of physical appearance will be discussed in section 2.2. and section 3.3.2.

rituals reflected the social hierarchy and enforced the positions of power and submission within Neo-Confucian society. Buddhism was practiced widely throughout the rest of society, although it was also occasionally practiced within the court, often by women (Walraven 1999: 160). Shamanist rites were held by members of the lowest class of society, and would be attended by all members of the village community and often sponsored by the local *yangban* (aristocrat).

In shamanistic rituals, the shaman acted as a medium between the living and the restless spirits of the dead. While Confucianism and Buddhism both acknowledged ancestors and great masters of the past, they did not include the sense of a spirit interacting with the living nor the role of a medium between the two. In Confucianism the highest-ranking person performs the ritual; in Buddhism ritual is performed by members of a religious community (the monks); and in shamanism the practitioner has to have special access to the spiritual world. As the practices are divided between the classes, the hierarchical system of dominance is projected upon the ritual practices. This division can also be seen through the practitioners of ritual, with women excluded from Confucian rituals of the court, and through the large number of female shamans in shamanic ritual. As they are practiced, these rituals reinforce the social stereotypes of men as rational and orderly and women as emotional and chaotic. Gender can also be mapped onto social status through the participation of women in Buddhism and shamanism of the oppressed lower classes while only men participated in Confucian ritual, the official state religion of the male public sphere. The association between Confucian ritual and men and between Buddhism or shamanism and women directly relates to the greater acceptance of women in musical genres derived from the latter practices; Confucian ritual music has

remained largely male despite the overall feminisation of the role of musician in Korean society.

### *0.2.3. Performance Spaces*

The function, performance practices and performance spaces of secular music were equally varied between the classes, and these class divisions had equally significant connections with the gender of the performer. Within the court, music was performed for royal banquets or for private entertainment. In both of these circumstances, the audience and musicians, no matter how public or private, would be held to a strict social order. During these performances, whether accompanying the entrance of the king or playing for large celebrations, court music would be observed by a reverent audience (Chang Sa-hun 1986: 259). The musicians and audience of court music performances would be male; female musicians would perform music on a smaller scale for the women of the court (Chang Sa-hun 1986: 256-257).<sup>5</sup> However, the music performed for the *yangban* upper class would take place in private spaces within the home or in restaurants (Chang Sa-hun 1983: 99). Performers would either be literati members of the *yangban* class, lower class performers patronised by the hosting *yangban* or *kisaeng* (professional female artists), while the audience would consist of upper-class men and *kisaeng* women (ibid.).

The performance of male members of the upper class society, for instance in the vocal genre *sijo*, was an expression of intelligence, refinement and masculinity through the use of poetry and wit (Hahn Man-young 1990: 65; Kendall 1983: 1-3).

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<sup>5</sup> The female performers for the female members of court were accompanied sometimes by men on wind or percussion instruments because these instruments were seen as too difficult or inappropriate for women. Among these male musicians, there was a preference for blind musicians in order to maintain the appropriate seclusion of the female members of the court (Chang Sa-hun 1986: 256-257).

Within many of these aristocratic versions of popular genres, such as *sijo* and *p'ansori*, there is a strong interaction and sense of belonging between performer and audience that takes shape in private, male, upper-class seclusion.<sup>6</sup> Lower-class performances of secular music would take place in both private and public settings.<sup>7</sup> Public settings would include seasonal festivals and travelling performances by itinerant musicians and performers (Hahn Man-young 1978: 28). The public performances would be outdoors and the performer would have to struggle to hold and keep the attention of the large audience and to be heard over the crowd in the open space. While there would be interaction between audience and performer, the audience and performer would not belong to the same community as musicians were in the lowest class of society and would often be itinerant. The other function of secular music in lower-class society was the performance by untrained singers who sang communally, as when doing work (Hahn Man-young 1978: 21). Women normally participated in this type of music.

Because of these differences in the function and performance of music among the different classes of society, the analysis of traditional music as a whole can be quite complex and, at times, seemingly contradictory. For example, the expression of emotionality can be seen as both a masculine and a feminine characteristic. When looking at the aristocratic genre *sijo*, the repertoire written and performed by men deals largely with nature and the refined life of a gentleman, while the *sijo* performed by *kisaeng* women is at times more freely expressive (Kim Yung-Chung 1977: 168; Um Hae-Kyung 2007: 45-46). This would be permissible for *kisaeng* because they already existed outside of the social norms of respectable Confucian womanhood. This contrasts with *p'ansori* in that *sijo* was sung in the first person, speaking in the

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<sup>6</sup> See chapter 2 and 3 for information on the settings of aristocratic music.

<sup>7</sup> See chapter 3 and 4 for information on settings of folk-style *p'ansori* and folk music.

voice of the singer (reflecting the inner space), rather than in a narrative (reflecting public space) such as *p'ansori* (O'Rourke 1993: 11).<sup>8</sup> Therefore, in the case of *sijo* it can be said that expression of emotion is a feminine characteristic. However, when looking at the performance of the narrative storytelling genre *p'ansori*, the inverse seems to be true. Male performers in the aristocratic-influenced style of *p'ansori*, instead of belonging to the lower class of musicians, are members of the private, male society in which they perform, and, therefore, interact more casually and expressively with the audience. When women began to perform *p'ansori* for aristocratic audiences towards the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty, these women would have been *kisaeng*,<sup>9</sup> who would be submissive to the audience because of their low social status as well as their age and gender.<sup>10</sup> In addition, the performance of *p'ansori* requires many years of strict study, and these *kisaeng* performers would be highly trained and educated. Because of this refinement and submissiveness, the aristocratic female performance style can be seen as less interactive and less emotional. However, as women age and change from a sexualised, submissive role to a dominant role of mother and elder, their performance style can become the most emotionally expressive of all performance styles. These complexities due to class, age and social hierarchy make gender analysis of Korean traditional music very difficult to negotiate and delineate.

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<sup>8</sup> Contradicting this are *sasŏl sijo* (narrative *sijo*), which became popular at the end of the last dynasty and contain racy lyrics; however, these rose in popularity around the same time that women were being accepted into *p'ansori*.

<sup>9</sup> While *kisaeng* performed and existed among the aristocratic class, they were not themselves members of the upper class. *Kisaeng* belonged to the lowest class of society and were not able to marry into the upper classes.

<sup>10</sup> Retirement from the profession typically occurred at age thirty for *kisaeng*. They would still perform, but usually in restaurants attended by the lower classes.



#### *0.2.4. Scholarly to Martial Masculinity*

In the court of the last dynasty, the scholar was placed above the soldier in importance and was seen as the cultural standard of masculinity. As Seungsook Moon notes, “In the Chosŏn court, men of the pen enjoyed political dominance over men of the sword. It was a gentleman scholar (*sŏnbi*), not a martial warrior, who represented ‘hegemonic masculinity’ under the Confucian order” (Moon 2005: 47). With the Japanese occupation, the shift towards martial masculinity began, and it was continued through the Korean War to the current system of mandatory conscription and industrialisation (Moon 2005: 91). Through this transition, Korean society was not formed by the theories of the literati, but rather by military action and industrialisation. This shift creates a contradiction within the role of musician in society by moving from ideals of masculine literati and philosophical contemplation towards notions of the secluded and submissive role of women in an industrialising society.

The heretofore agriculturally-based society, in a matter of decades, underwent a complete metamorphosis through the development of booming cities and a process of rapid industrialisation (Cho Jung-kwan 2000: 29). This period was accompanied by a mass migration to urban areas (*ibid.*; Kim Joong-Seop 2003: 38). A large catalyst of the migration was the fulfilment of military service through posts as an “industrial soldier” in heavy and chemical industries (Seungsook Moon 2005: 55). This masculinised the skilled work force and reinforced the male role as family provider, which made it less acceptable for young men to pursue the arts since refined taste and scholarship were no longer seen as the ideal of masculinity (Moon 2005: 84-85). By shifting the association from male scholar towards male industrial soldier, unprofitable intellectual pursuits became the concern of women within a Confucian, patriarchal society where women were dependent on their father, husband and son

through the phases of life (ibid.). Within the second half of the twentieth century, when women have become part of the workforce in the male public sphere, the ability to focus on creative expression rather than productivity is a sign of the upper classes, which began the association between women, education and the arts. In addition, as seen in many modernising societies, the role of preservation of traditional culture is increasingly performed by women while the male members of society move towards modernisation (Davis 2006: 123; Chungmoo Choi 1998: 16 and 25; Shehan 1987: 47).

Korea continues to be a Confucian patriarchal society, which creates the condition where women are both preservers and secondary citizens; women have the liberty to pursue unprofitable pursuits, whereas young men are required to pursue work that will enable them to support a family. Because of this contradiction, men often perform well-respected traditional genres such as *aak* while the ratio of women in fusion music tends to be higher. This tendency can also be seen in the large numbers of men playing percussion instruments, as the same performers are used across multiple genres and receive the highest pay due to demand and flexibility (Yoo Young Dai, interview, September 10, 2009). Because of cultural influences such as the Confucian ideal of scholarly masculinity and the modern capitalist society where women are preservers of tradition, although the role of musician in society has been feminised and the majority of traditional musicians are female, within traditional music institutions scholarship and strict traditional preservation remain predominantly male. Such roles compensate for the shift to martial masculinity by legitimising the position of masculine scholars within a feminised role of musician in post-industrial society.

### *0.2.5. Decline of Traditional Music*

In addition to these overall social issues influencing gender and musical culture, a thick web of cultural layers has rapidly and drastically shaped the Korean Peninsula during the past century and a half. The Japanese imperial rule over Korea, beginning with a protectorate in 1905 and fully established by annexation in 1910, took traditional music away from the public forum of Korean culture. This is not to say that Korean traditional music was not performed at this time, but with the opening of Korea to Japan and, thus, the influences of Western music and culture, traditional music was increasingly seen by the upper classes as outdated, old-fashioned or, in the case of religion, superstitious and primitive.

Traditional music and arts have been in decline since the introduction of Western music at the turn of the twentieth century. Towards the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty, education and the pursuit of knowledge became increasingly emphasised through the idea that “knowledge is power” for the future (Byeon Gye-won 2009: 54). To achieve this goal, many schools were opened, including Western missionary schools and music schools (Byeon Gye-won 2009: 54-60). The introduction of Western music into the “hermit kingdom” became a great force for modernisation and social mobility, as Howard notes: “modernizers saw Korean court music as part of the disenfranchised royal household, and folk traditions as backward and outdated. They turned to Western practice” (Howard 2001a: 952). As Western music became increasingly popular, many of the traditional genres fell out of favour due to their association with the previous dynasty while Christianity marginalised ritual music and folk genres associated with Confucian, shamanic and Buddhist practices (Byeon Gye-won 2009: 16-17).

Modernisation further prompted the rise of the middle class and the development of bourgeois culture, as distinct from the traditional *chungin* class (Cho Jung-kwan 2000: 29). In 1909, the first training in Western classical music became available at the Choyang Club, followed by the opening of the Western classical music department the next year at Ewha Haktang Taehakpu (later Ewha Womans University) (Byeon Gye-won 2009: 60). In time, Western classical music became a sign of modernisation as Western classical musicians attained high social status and supported the cultural ideal of modernity and wealth; traditional musicians, in contrast, were considered very lowly, paid significantly less and often discouraged from pursuing traditional music by their family. During this process of decline in traditional music, the drive for modernity and social mobility meant that fewer men pursued careers in music and more underwent training in business, economics, engineering and science (Sutton 2008: 18; Seth 2000: 19). Traditional music was increasingly being performed by women, such as all-female *p'ungmul* percussion bands and *ch'anggŭk* opera troupes. In this way, too, traditional music was feminised.

#### *0.2.6. Preservation System*

The Cultural Properties Legislation introduced in 1962 mirrored the earlier Japanese system (Bunkazai *hogoho*) in many ways, including the division of categories and the process of preservation; however, in addition to preservation, the Korean Cultural Properties Legislation aimed to “contrive the cultural progress of the people and to contribute to the development of human culture” in order to strengthen Korean cultural identity in the aftermath of Japanese rule, the Korean War and modernisation (Howard 2006a: 228). Significant to the Korean system is that, unlike Japan, Korea decided to include folk music and art into the preservation system from the beginning.

The system of preservation and opening of university traditional music programmes led to the institutionalisation of traditional music. Rather than being subject to popular taste or preference, the system attempted to find an “authentic” tradition and to preserve its performance in a fixed form. The whole picture of traditional music was not preserved, but rather the selected version and lineage of a chosen master or school. The focus of preservation was on the replication of performance rather than on creative practices, performance spaces, or the process of transmission.

This process was instituted in reaction to the situation in Korean society where the average person had more familiarity with Western concert settings than with traditional settings. Music such as *sanjo* and *p’ansori* that was once taught by rote was taught instead through institutionalisation with the use of Western classical notation or audio recording devices. Aristocratic performance spaces shifted away from small, private, male-dominated, salon-type spaces towards Western-style theatre spaces where the audience was removed from the performance and acted like a viewer situated beyond the fourth wall of the stage. Unlike traditional village gatherings, folk music was performed in the same institutional settings, where the performer was removed from the happenings of the event by being presented on a stage separate from the viewing space of the audience.

Besides performance spaces and performer-audience relationships, the length of concerts and style of presentation were altered. While traditional performances of these genres might take several hours or several days, the length of performances was shortened to suit modern audiences familiar with Western-style concerts. Repertoire or genres might be condensed; for example, instead of performing the entire cycle of *kagok* songs, a performer might only present a piece or two lasting for five to ten minutes. Additionally, a single concert might mix genres of different classes and

traditional spaces, such as an abbreviated *sanjo* followed by a *ch'angjak kugak* piece, and then an excerpt from a *chǒngak* court music suite. Since women always participated in folk music, the placement of folk music genres alongside aristocratic genres further legitimised the role of the female musician.

Performance practice is different in that the performer is removed from the audience through the division of stage and audience. There is a formalisation of the performance setting where the audience is required to sit in silence and act as an observer rather than take part in the performance in an interactive and informal way. However, in performances of *kugak* in the concert hall of the National Gugak Center, the house lights are kept up, which weakens the divide between performer and audience. Still, the relationship between audience and performer is altered through the removal of the performer from the space of the audience by placing the performer on a separate, secluded, stage-lit space. This objectification of the performer might more closely reflect the traditional relationship of *kisaeng* or lower-class musicians within an aristocratic space in service of the elite audience; this performance dynamic does not seem to reflect the relationship between literati musicians and members of the aristocratic community. The relationship between audience and performance object might have created a space that was more accepting of female musicians if the created space had reflected a greater connection or sense of equality with the audience.

As many of the traditional genres were studied in *kisaeng kwǒnbǒn*, schools for the training of *kisaeng*, during Japanese rule, several of the appointed carriers of Intangible Cultural Properties were women, for example within *kayagŭm sanjo*, the aristocratic vocal genres (*kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo*) and *p'ansori* (Howard 2006a: 69). These carriers were given a government stipend for financial support, gained recognition as respected authorities and were required to teach students, one of whom

had to be a “master student” (*chǒnsusaeng* or *chǒnsuja*) (Howard 2006a: 9). *Kisaeng* were not respected members of Confucian society and being associated with *kisaeng* was highly stigmatised.<sup>11</sup> *Kisaeng* themselves were members of the lower class and were in many ways objects of the elite male class for which they performed in male private spaces. This role differed greatly from that of professional male musicians who, while also belonging to the lower class, performed within both the private and public spheres as members of the male-dominated society. The objectification of *kisaeng* separated these female musicians from the male professional musicians. Being appointed a carrier of an Intangible Cultural Property gave status and legitimisation to these female musicians who were formerly associated with *kisaeng kwǒnbǒn*. Many of these women distanced themselves from *kisaeng* training and did not associate themselves with their period of study (Howard 2006a: 70).<sup>12</sup> This aided in distancing female traditional musicians from the association with *kisaeng*; thus, while not an immediate change, over time women assumed greater respect as members of the musical community. All of these issues, combined with the Confucian role of women as preservers of culture, aided in the acceptance and eventual domination of women in the performance of traditional music. This thesis will deal with these issues of society and change as they apply to individual genres and classes of society to work towards a comprehensive view of women’s involvement in Korean traditional music.

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<sup>11</sup> See section 2.1.

<sup>12</sup> The *kayagŭm* player Park Kyungso told me that as a student, her teacher told her to keep her body upright and still during performance so as not to look like a *kisaeng* (Park Kyungso, interview, September 7, 2009).

### **0.3. Literature Review and Theoretical Models**

While a systematic, comprehensive analysis of gender in traditional Korean music has yet to be undertaken, relevant literature can be found within four main areas of inquiry: women's studies within Korean studies, women's studies with cultural applications outside of music, women's studies in the field of world music and studies in Korean music. Literature on specific forms of Korean music will be discussed in the relevant chapters, while this general literature review considers a few key theories that have provided a foundation for this project. These pertain to the shift from male to female musicians, the status of women as preservers of traditional culture and the shift from models of scholarly to martial masculinity.

While academic literature in all the relevant areas exists in both Korean and English languages, the English-language resources comprise the majority of my secondary research while my fieldwork comprises the majority of my primary research. This is in part because of the difficulty of reading large volumes of academic literature as a non-native speaker; however, the primary reason is that there appears to be relatively little awareness within Korea of the issues I am investigating except among a group of scholars educated abroad, who have written largely in English. The English-language resources in the areas of traditional Korean music are quite extensive, with many of the popular Korean-language music resources also having been translated into English. I recognise that these English-language materials are not as comprehensive as many of the Korean-language resources and (when published in Korea) are produced primarily by government-supported bodies, thus reflecting the refined image chosen within South Korea to project its culture to the outside world. However, there is also a substantial body of scholarly writing by non-Korean scholars published in Western countries, and due to the breadth of my



research in many genres and classes of traditional music, time constraints prevented me from attempting a comprehensive survey of the Korean-language sources.

My first theoretical area of analysis addresses the shift from male to female musicians, which reflects several aspects of traditional and modern Korean society. My discussion of Confucianism is heavily dependent on the research of Martina Deuchler with her focus on the division of gender in Neo-Confucian society (Deuchler 1977, 1992). Deuchler's work is also important for understanding the process of social transition through government initiatives from the more gender-equal early Chosŏn period to the Neo-Confucian Late Chosŏn period by means of education, socialisation and the lineage system. An explanation of the culture that supported the role of musicians as male members of society is crucial in understanding the process of change and the current situation. Reina Lewis approaches modern social constructs within Korea, such as the male overpowering of natural urges reflecting the ruling elite and the desexualisation of upper-class women (Lewis 1996: 54-55). The work of Deuchler and Lewis shows that gender research in Korea is by no means a new area of study, and this literature is important to my understanding of gender and other social issues that influence music, although these issues have not previously been directly applied to musical culture itself.

Supporting the process of change in the role of musician in society is the concept of *han* and *Minjung* culture and the strong association of these terms with female members of patriarchal society; along with associations with emotionality, these concepts further influenced the shift toward female musicians.<sup>13</sup> This is supported by Werner Sasse's theories on *Minjung* culture, Susan Douglas's theories

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<sup>13</sup> See section 3.2.3. for more information on the association of *Minjung* and *han* with folk culture and women.

on the cultural view of female susceptibility to psychological disturbance and my own observations of the conflict created by gender and media representation (Sasse 1991: 29-43; Douglas 1994: 8). While Sasse's work does not deal directly with the issue of gender, the theory of *Minjung* culture and the association between cultural unification and suffering are influential; these links are important in the formation of Korean identity and cultural unification. In addition to the role of women as preservers of traditional culture, the concept of female emotionality and the role of women as mourners helped shape the status of female musicians. Support for these ideas was found in Neil Nehring's views on female emotionality and male rationality and in Susan Auerbach's research on Greek women in the role of lamenters as an expression of the public emotional voice (Nehring 1997; Auerbach 1987).

The second theoretical area of analysis relates to the role of women in this modernising, nationalistic, post-colonial patriarchy. While under Japanese rule, the outer sphere was dominated by a colonising force; the women, relegated to the inner sphere, were carriers of traditions and preservers of the culture. The role of women as preservers was furthered through the nationalist movement, modernisation and the cultural preservation system. Jean Robinson suggests that these issues regarding the role of women in patriarchy is such that a woman's career is marriage and her sexuality, marked by reproductive roles, belongs to the male public sphere (Robinson 1992: 228, 235). Joanne Sharp furthers this by discussing the male protector of the female nation where women "are not equal to the nation but symbolic of it" (Sharp 1996: 99).

This cultural role of feminine preserver is comparable to those addressed by Patricia Shehan's theories on Balkan women as preservers of tradition (Shehan 1987: 47). The role of women as preservers of traditional musical culture has also been

researched by scholars such as Leith Davis, who assesses women and patriotism within Ireland (Davis 2006). Also important to this role of women in cultural preservation is the work of Janet Billson, whose research with minority and indigenous communities in Canada explores the roles of women as “keepers of tradition” and the way traditional male roles have been changed by the modernisation of the male public sphere (Billson 1995). Perpetuating this role of women as preservers is the distrust of women breaking with tradition or working with the colonising force, as explored by Elaine Kim and Chungmoon Choi in their compilation *Dangerous Women* (Chungmoo Choi 1998: 16, 25). Through the preservation and fossilisation of traditional music, the music moves from a living art performed by male members of society as entertainers for financial employment to an object of preservation entrusted to the female members of society. The issue of preservation and fossilisation, as Davis suggests, creates the idea of a unified and static homogeneous society (Davis 2006: 97-99). Linda Dusman speaks of these preserved performances of existing works as “live reproductions” rather than a creative act (Dusman 2000: 336).

Important to my research are the associations of women, nature and the body versus men, power over nature and the mind. Exploring these associations, Thomas Hale refers to the Jalis of West Africa where women sing while men play instrumental accompaniment (Hale 1994: 71). Similarly, most traditional Korean genres, such as *p’ansori*, shamanic ritual, *minyo*, *sanjo* and the aristocratic vocal genres (*kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo*), reflect this same division of women singing or dancing while men accompany on instruments. Lucy Green explores the connection of women to singing and dancing as a “self-referring cycle from body to femininity” (Green 1997: 53). Men, out of touch with nature and the body, use instruments to control

nature; thus, a woman playing an instrument is “no longer a mere part of the nature that man controls, she steps out, into the world, into the position of controller” (ibid.). Susan McClary approaches this mind/body divide in regard to composition and the paradoxical divide between music as cerebral and nonmaterial (masculine) and music as able to engage the body (feminine) (McClary 1991: 151-152). Linda Alcoff furthers the female associations of the body by contextualising the position within a patriarchal society where knowledge and logic can only exist in the intellectual male sphere (Alcoff 1996: 15). Women that act as creators or composers within this patriarchal system are pulled in two directions where they must attempt “to affirm a range of different creative approaches while criticising existing cultural assumptions that are represented in contemporary language” (McCartney 2000: 317). Additionally significant is the research regarding sex/gender and association of instruments, such as Susan O’Neill, that looks at the musical aptitude and preference for instruments of students (O’Neill 1997).

My final theoretical area is the issue of occupation and the shift from scholarly masculinity to martial masculinity through the events of the twentieth century. The first part of this process concerns colonial theory where in a colonised or occupied patriarchal society, the male members of society are emasculated by the occupying force, which reflects the dominance of men over women in the patriarchal society itself (Davis 2006: 121; Chungmoo Choi 1998: 14). Second is the issue of mandatory conscription under Japanese rule, which began the shifting perception of scholarly masculinity toward the idea of martial masculinity. The continued mandatory conscription after liberation and service as skilled industrial workers continued to alter the association of masculinity and scholarship toward a model linking masculinity with skilled physical labor (Moon 2005: 47 and 55).

My research on traditional Korean music included a large number of Korean-language sources as well as English-language texts. Among the Korean resources I used were studies in the areas of education, the Late Chosŏn Dynasty, and *kisaeng*, which are not extensively discussed in English-language resources. Regarding education, most significant was Kim Puch'a's book on female education from the Chosŏn and colonial eras (Kim Puch'a 2009). There is a seemingly endless amount of writing on the Chosŏn Dynasty and *kisaeng* in the Korean language, so I focused on books that also dealt with the issue of gender, such as Pak Chu's and Kang Myŏn'gwan's analyses of women in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty (Pak Chu 2008; Kang Myŏn'gwan 2009). For my research on *kisaeng* I drew on Sin Hyŏngyu's study of *kisaeng* under Japanese occupation and Kim Yŏngŭi's work on the *kisaeng*'s popularity during modernisation (Sin Hyŏngyu 2007; Kim Yŏngŭi 2006). In English, Joshua Pilzer's work approaches the culture of *kisaeng* and the process of change in the twentieth century (Pilzer 2006).

Within the area of Korean music, the resources used had to be very wide in view of the broad scope of the study. While some deal with larger issues of preservation and traditional music society, others deal with specific genres (Howard 2006a, 2006b; Provine 1983, 1988). Within specific genres, while many resources were used, each area was based on the research of a few primary scholars. My study of court and ritual music focused largely on the work of Robert Provine and Song Hye-jin (Provine 1974, 1992; Song Hye-jin 2000, 2008). Aristocratic music and the role of musicians within society was focused around the work of Coralie Rockwell and Park Sung Hee (Rockwell 1972; Park Sung Hee 2010). In the area of *p'ansori*, my research was based on the writings of Andrew Killick, Marshall Pihl and Chan E. Park (Killick 2008, 2010; Pihl 1994; Chan E. Park 2008). The genres explored within

folk music can be divided into drumming (Mills 2007, Hesselink 2006, 2012; Howard 1989, 1991, 2001b) and sanjo (Hwang Byung-ki 2001; Kim Hee Sun 2009; Lee Chaesuk 2008). While these sources rarely focus on gender or female participation directly, they do provide material useful for my analysis of female participation.

Due to the nature of my approach, which emphasises reinterpretation of the analyses of scholars interpreting traditional culture, a large number of my resources are secondary rather than primary sources. My goal is to address some of the many questions suggested but not fully answered by previous studies in Korean music and gender. The scope of the project emphasises breadth rather than depth, revealing patterns of interconnectivity over time and genre that would otherwise not be noticed. As such a task has not previously been undertaken, my research has to be quite comprehensive in order to show the overall patterns and influences. It is my hope that these investigations might serve to open up a broad field of inquiry in which each genre and class of music can then be examined more exhaustively.

#### **0.4. Methodology**

My methodology combines my own fieldwork with secondary research to situate smaller, focused studies within a new, more comprehensive framework applicable to both the current state of traditional Korean music and the process that has influenced that state. My fieldwork was undertaken between autumn 2009 and spring 2010. The theoretical approach I took was to use grounded theory, which has been defined as the “discovery of theory from data” (Glaser 1967: 1). This approach allows for the observation to happen organically over a large amount of data rather than approaching fieldwork with specific questions that limit the observation of larger connections and practices. Theories were formed from the observation of rehearsals, performances and

lessons, with the noting of instrument choice and sex of the performer, age, style of music performed, physical gestures, use of stage space and interaction with audience and other performers. From interviews, theories were developed by noting reoccurring patterns of education, instrument choice, choice of music and family background, which helped shed light on the shift towards female musicians and the differing rates of shift across instruments and genres. The theories were then refined through the related areas of secondary research from the interdisciplinary studies of Korean music, music and gender, Korean society, Confucianism and comparative ethnomusicology. The research I undertook regarding the work of previous scholars was undertaken largely at the library of the University of Sheffield and the British Library, with research on Korean resources undertaken during my studies in South Korea using the library at Seoul National University.

The ethnographic research, through fieldwork, was divided into three categories: observation of performances and rehearsals, music lessons on different instruments and within different genres and interviews with musicians and scholars. I had three years' experience in Korean traditional music before beginning my Ph.D. studies, but my experience was limited with regard to genre (folk and *ch'angjak kugak*). My first area for the collection of data was the performance of traditional music in institutional settings across all genres. The National Gugak Center and top universities were my primary focus as my research deals with the preservation process, which has been an institutional process. The aims of my observations were to notice specific information: 1) Which genres were most frequently performed? 2) Which instruments were most frequently played? 3) What was the sex of performer(s)? 4) Were there patterns regarding sex and instrument choice? 5) What were the sound qualities of the instrument and composition that might influence its

use by performers of a particular sex? 6) Who was the audience? 7) What was the setting (staged versus communal participation)? 8) How were the performers/audience presented or dressed? 9) What were the ages of the performers/audience? 10) Did the age of the performers affect their choice of instrument or performance practice? 11) Were there any performance aesthetic differences between performers of differing sex?

Observation of concerts is important to understand how gender is represented through performance practice and how the associations are represented differently among the different classes, genres and genders of the performers. Also important to the observation of concerts is interaction with the audience and the behaviour of the audience within the different concert settings and genres. Rehearsals are also important in the formation of ideas of hierarchy among musicians regarding gender and instrumentation; these ideas reflect the shift of certain instruments more easily toward female musicians while others retain a larger number of male performers. The observation of rehearsals also shows the process of preservation and the level of adherence to traditional methods; these issues represent the perception of the genre within society. For example, the more prestigious the genre, the more regulated and systemic its rehearsal practices tend to be.

Significant to this area of research is the preservation system and institutionalisation of traditional music, which made the documentation of concerts extremely difficult. With the formalisation of concerts through institutions such as the National Gugak Center (Kungnip Kugagwŏn), the recording of concerts has become increasingly difficult. Even with the permission of performance directors and performers and the notification of people working the house, my recordings were stopped and interrupted at almost every occasion because of the strict regulations of



the institutions. Often I was told that copies would be provided to me and that I was not permitted to make my own recordings; rarely were these copies later made available, as archives are equally restricted. However, this difficulty in itself speaks to the shift of traditional music within society and how the system of preservation has removed the music from the people and placed it in the realm of high art.

The second area of my fieldwork was the undertaking of traditional music lessons on several instruments. The choice of instrument was based on several issues. I chose instruments in the areas of each group of wind, string and percussion. I had already begun studying the *kōmun'go* in 2005, and I continued through 2010 with a new focus on the strong association of this instrument with men, a quality often attributed to its sound and playing technique. My approach in these lessons was to gain an understanding of the physical sound produced by the instrument as well as its expressive capabilities. Additionally, I took lessons in the three areas of *aak*, *sanjo* and *ch'angjak kugak* on the *kōmun'go* in order to understand the different playing techniques of each and gain a better understanding of the performance practices and compositions within each area.

My experience on wind and percussion instruments was more limited. I had begun studying *tanso* (end-blown flute) in 2005 when I began my *kōmun'go* lessons, but abandoned my studies a year later when I decided to focus on a single instrument.<sup>14</sup> However, once I focused in on my Ph.D. research, I decided that I needed further understanding of wind and stringed instruments to understand why they maintain a larger male participation. Thus, I began studying the *taegŭm* (transverse flute) in 2009 as part of my fieldwork under Chung Jitae. Wind players

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<sup>14</sup> Holding a full-time position at Woosung University, Daejeon, I gave up the *tanso* in order to budget time and money. Between 2006 and 2008, I took three 1-hour lessons weekly with my *kōmun'go* teacher, Kim Min-ji, at the cost of roughly 20% of my income.

study the full range of winds and Chung Jitae has won competitions in both *tanso* and *taegŭm*. In spite of my previous training, I chose to study the *taegŭm* in order to understand the physical requirements of playing the instrument as this is often cited as the reason men typically play this instrument. My lessons were for an hour weekly and focused on *aak* and *sanjo* specifically. In lessons, I asked Chung Jitae to be very specific in breathing technique, sound production, hand positioning and finger technique, which was crucial in my understanding of the physical requirements. I could not speak to this experience for women in traditional Korean society as someone of European descent with a physical structure more comparable with Korean men than women. In addition, my lung capacity is greatly augmented through my primary study in Western operatic singing, which made the lung capacity issue cited as prohibitive for women in wind instruments irrelevant. However, it allowed me to see that these physical requirements are not insurmountable.

The percussion instrument I chose to study was the *changgo* (hourglass drum) under Kim Insoo. These lessons focused on rhythmic cycles from the genres of *p'ungmul*, *samulnori* and *kut* (shamanic ritual). While there are a variety of other percussion instruments that I could have chosen, I chose the *changgo* to better understand the association with men. Drumming is still largely a male genre, particularly within instrumental accompaniment such as in *p'ansori* and *sanjo*. However, women are increasingly seen in *ch'angjak kugak*, *p'ungmul* and *samulnori*. Within these three genres, women are more likely to play the *changgo*. The goal of the lessons was to learn the physical requirements as well as playing techniques and performance practice. I have a strong interest in *p'ungmul* and *samulnori* as these genres are seemingly most accepting to women due to the association of drumming with dance; dance seeming to be the factor that allows for the acceptance of women. To

further this understanding, I have participated with the *samulnori* group Doorei since 2011 on *changgo* and *puk* (barrel drum).<sup>15</sup> While this group is not located in Korea and not part of this fieldwork, the group consists of Korean immigrants. The study has allowed me to further understand the association with dance as can be seen in the performance practice as well as the body-associated language used to describe sound production (breath, dance, cycles).

The third area of my fieldwork was the undertaking of interviews with musicians and scholars to understand their experience with music and the perception of gender issues versus the application of gender practices. There are linguistic considerations when holding interviews amongst interviewees with a different primary language to the interviewer. Before undertaking my fieldwork, I had spent three years in Korea and formally studied the language; however, as with many speakers of second languages, my comprehension and reading were better than my speaking. All except two of the interviews were held without the use of an interpreter in a combination of English and Korean as needed to explain difficult concepts. For these two exceptional interviews, the interviewees had asked for a translator. In these two interviews, Park Kyungso, a *kayagŭm* player with Oriental Express and Ph.D. student from Seoul National University, acted as translator. As she has both extensive experiences in English due to her international performance career and a command of academic music discourse, she was a good choice to assist. For the other interviews, the conversations were recorded so that I could listen repeatedly to sections that caused confusion. This has obvious issues in that a native speaker would have a more nuanced understanding of the interviewee's responses. However, the questions were largely regarding family and educational background or technique, sound production

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<sup>15</sup> This group is located in St. Louis, Missouri, USA, where I have held a teaching position since late 2011.

and expression. These questions were by nature rather simple and conversation-like and there were rarely issues of communication. The use of grounded theory meant that the process was rather conversation-like and did not require the discussion of complex academic theory.

While grounded theory allows for a very textually open interview process, I did have a certain number of general questions and areas of interest when talking to interviewees. I would often begin the conversation by asking about the choice of instrument, genre and process of musical skill acquisition. Through this questioning, I was looking for the interviewee to shed light on the relationship between sex and choice of instrument or genre. This was important in gaining an understanding of the overall shift towards female musicians as well as the retention of male performers in specific instrument groupings and musical genres. As the conversation developed I would ask about emotional expression and the expressive capabilities of the instrument. This was to better understand the gendered associations of the instrument's sound production as well as the importance of emotional expression to the interviewee in their choice of instrument or genre and performance practices. I was also interested in the family background of the musician and whether his or her family was supportive of a career in traditional music. This was necessary in understanding the stigmatisation of traditional musicians within society and whether this had influenced the choice of participation, instrumentation, genre and career of the individual interviewees.

These interviews acted as a primary source through their accounts of the experience of being a traditional musician and reflecting on their acceptance within their families and greater society, their choice of instrument and genre and their educational process and relationship to teachers (e.g. family members, local musicians

or academic institutions). Interviews also focused on questioning academics about their role in musical society. However, this aspect of the interview process often resulted in an apology by the academics to me after an interview as they felt they were unable to help since I was interested in their personal experience and role within musical society rather than their academic knowledge. These interviews also function as secondary sources through the explanation of the representation of gender within the musical genres and instruments themselves. They were partly intended to explore the awareness of gender issues on the part of performers and scholars. This thesis has been shaped by its research methods. For example, this kind of conversational-style interviewing could not be done on a large scale or through the use of questionnaires. The observations of performances and rehearsals required a broad range of genres, which sacrificed depth of observation or repeat observation of more obscure genres. However, these methods allowed for the analysis of broader movements of change throughout the whole of traditional music society.

### **0.5. Overview of Chapters**

Each of the five main chapters focuses on a particular genre or group of genres while using that focus to introduce a distinct set of gender issues. The first content chapter focuses on ritual music of the court, which follows the practices of Confucian ritual. Unlike other genres of traditional music, these rites are performed as closely as possible to performances in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty and, therefore, have not gone through the same gender shifts toward female performers as others have. This chapter also contains an analysis on the influence of Confucianism throughout the whole of traditional Korean society. A product of the shift towards Neo-Confucianism in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty is the even stricter enforcement of Confucian social separation,

particularly the allocation of men to the public sphere and of women to the private sphere. While this is not uncommon within patriarchal societies, the degree of restriction on women in public spaces was particularly extreme in Korea in part because of the strong class associations. Women of the lower classes did not have the means to remain within the home as families required hands for farming and sellers to present the family goods within the marketplace. Seclusion indoors or being fully covered and veiled in public was a distinction of the upper class which leads to the association between withdrawn seclusion and aristocratic femininity. These divisions between upper-class and lower-class female gender representations can be seen through all areas of traditional society and are applied through the analysis in later chapters.

The next chapter considers non-ritual music of the upper classes. While this chapter deals with both instrumental and vocal music, the most significant musical genres within this class of society regarding my interest in gender and representation appear within the vocal genre *kagok* and are supported by a comparison with *kasa* and *sijo*. *Kagok*, requiring the largest amount of training, was performed by *kisaeng* and male musicians patronised by the *yangban* class. The repertoire was standardised and existed in three versions: solo male, solo female and a male and female version where each sings in turn with a final piece sung together in unison. The male solo text seems to be the version from which the other two versions were derived; however, the female version omits a number of pieces from the first half of the male version. The third version alternates between the male and female singer and at times changes the original order of the songs to suit the performers. These variations raise issues of song choice and performer. Why are a number of the pieces from the male solo version left out of the female version and why were these pieces selected for omission? Are these

omitted pieces the same pieces assigned to the male singer in the combined version? For the pieces that are contained in both male and female solo versions, are there differences in notation or in performance practice? A deeper understanding of these issues helps to bring forward aspects of gender and representation within this class of musical society which can then be compared with other genres within the same class and with genres from the other social classes.

The third chapter is different from the first two chapters in that it deals with a single genre, *p'ansori*. Unlike any other genre of traditional music, *p'ansori* existed in all levels of traditional society through the last century of the Chosŏn Dynasty and maintains significant popularity in current traditional music society. As the performance practices and musical culture were quite varied through the different classes of society, an examination of a single genre performed by all classes is important in the analysis of gender and traditional Korean music as a whole. The significant point about *p'ansori* is that the acceptance of female singers took place before the marginalisation, and subsequent feminisation, of traditional music through the events of the twentieth century. While the singers were exclusively male during the formation of the genre, female performers were accepted during its peak in popularity among all classes of performers and audiences. However, the performance practices and choice of repertoire were not standardised among the different classes of performance or between male and female performers. Within these variations of repertoire and performance practice, performance of *p'ansori* is affected by the existence of multiple representations of gender with historic roots. Also important in an analysis of *p'ansori* is the role of *kisaeng* as purveyors and preservers of the genre through the twentieth century.

Chapter four focuses on folk music of the lower classes and the cultural influences of shamanism. Most significant to folk music is the historic difference in female participation. Women have always participated in folk singing (*minyŏ*) on a nonprofessional level for entertainment or employment. Women were and still remain the primary ritualists in shamanism, while male family members participate as accompanying shaman-musicians or performers of music surrounding ritual. This relationship between female ritualist and male shaman-musician can be seen throughout Korean traditional music where women sing and dance while men accompany on instruments. While drumming has not been as accessible to women, as discussed in chapter three on *p'ansori* accompaniment, women have been more easily accepted in *p'ungmul* drumming due to the association of *p'ungmul* with dance. Significant in folk music is the participation of women in *sanjo*, an instrumental genre, from a relatively early stage in the development of *kayagŭm sanjo*. This participation has not been seen across all instrumental versions, so this chapter, in part, explores the connection between women and the *kayagŭm* and the contribution of women in *kayagŭm sanjo*.

The final content chapter focuses on *ch'angjak kugak* (neo-traditional music) and fusion. When approaching any chapter, there was the difficulty of defining the parameters regarding what genres and historical aspects to include and which ones to leave out. This chapter on the current state of traditional music and newly composed Korean music was in many ways the most difficult to define. Is Korean music that which is composed for traditional instruments regardless of the style and influences of the composition? Is the music considered Korean if traditional modes, melodies and rhythmic cycles are employed regardless of the instrumentation? These questions have led to different approaches towards the future of traditional music: *ch'angjak*



*kugak* and fusion. There are strong gender distinctions within these genres regarding participation, representation, composition and performance practice. I examine these gender differences first by looking at fusion and particularly the masculine association of jazz fusion versus the feminine association of pop fusion. Additionally, within these groups there is an obvious divide between women on traditional instruments (male drummers being the important exception) and men on Western instruments such as bass, drum set, guitar and piano. Among female soloists, there is also a striking difference in physical representation on album covers and promotional materials; these differences reflect the traditional role of female musicians (*kisaeng*) as objects of the male aristocratic audience versus the modern representation of female musicians in solitude, creating music for personal enjoyment. Finally, within the area of *ch'angjak kugak*, there is a contrast between the female artist and male scholar that is reflected through album covers and promotional materials. This is immediately obvious in the modern, artistic depictions of women on album covers that transform the women themselves into artistic objects, while male musicians are often pictured in the act of playing in what is typically a studio space (reflecting the scholarly act of the *literati* rather than that of the performer).

The conclusion chapter looks at the implications of gender throughout the whole of the thesis by issue rather than genre. The first issue addressed is the removal of traditional music from the popular culture, and the second is the process of preservation that followed. Within a patriarchal society, there often exists a divide between men who control the public sphere and women who keep the home and family traditions (Marini 1990: 97). The process of modernisation, industrialisation and colonial rule leads to the division between men as innovators moving towards improvement and women as preservers and stabilisers of society. Because of this

social order, there is a distrust of women who do not adhere to these roles and expectations. As traditional music declined in popularity and was removed from the male public sphere, it moved from the male function of innovation toward the female function of preservation. Through the period of decline, there has been a movement of traditional music towards female musicians; from the period of preservation to the present, the number of women has increased, making them the majority of traditional musicians today. The analyses presented throughout the thesis aim to make this process transparent.

#### **0.6. A Note on Romanisation**

There are two systems generally used at present for the romanisation of Korean language.<sup>16</sup> The most commonly used system within Korea is called the Revised Romanisation and is the official romanisation system of the Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Sport. However, while more difficult for the general reader, the older McCune-Reischauer system is more widely used within academic settings outside Korea. Considering the audience of this thesis as primarily academic and non-Korean, I have chosen to use the McCune-Reischauer romanisation system.

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<sup>16</sup> Other Romanisation systems are used, such as the Yale Romanisation system sometimes used in the field of linguistics, but McCune-Reischauer and Revised Romanisation are the two most popular systems.

## Chapter 1: Confucian Culture and Ritual Music

*Cheryeak* is music performed for State Confucian rituals. This type of ancestral ceremony is typical in Northeast Asia as a product of filial piety, a strong virtue of Confucianism (Song Hye-Jin 2008: 13). Within Northeast Asia, these rituals were considered the “most fundamental ceremonies for the running of the country” and were performed within the Korean court since the twelfth century (Song Hye-Jin 2008: 14; Photo 1.1.).

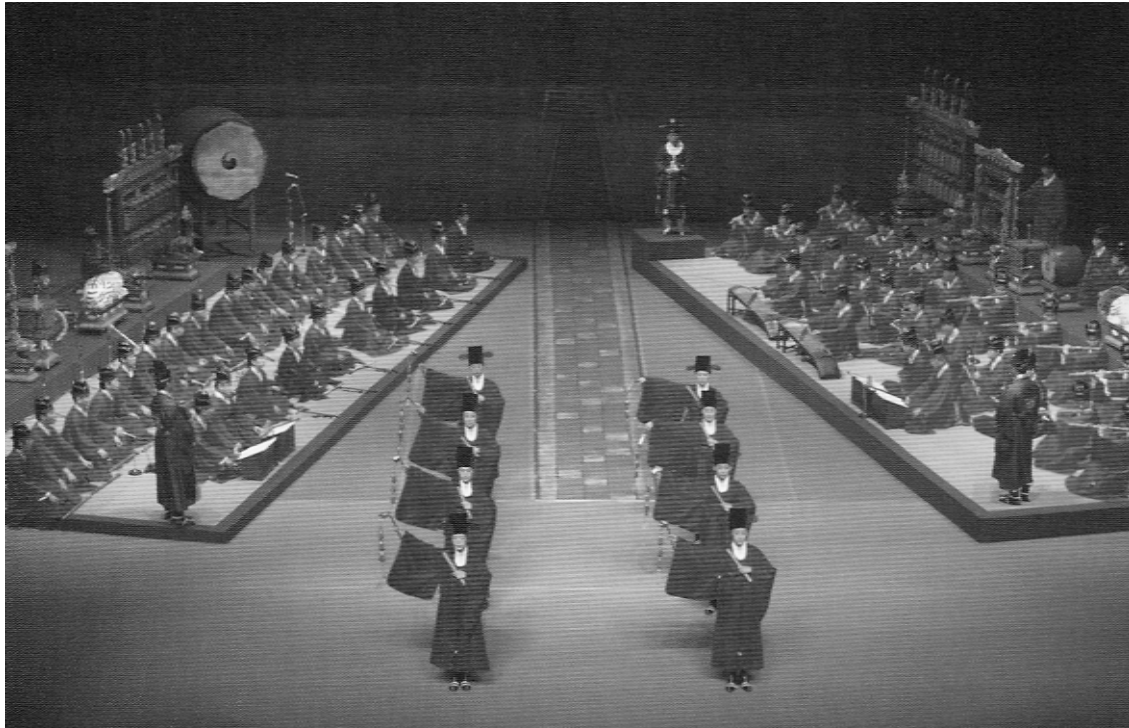


Photo 1.1. Contemporary performance of *Munmyo Cheryeak* at the National Gugak Center (Song Hye-Jin 2008: 23)<sup>17</sup>

While undertaking my fieldwork in 2009 and 2010, I was unable to observe these Confucian rituals as they are only performed twice a year. However, I have seen sections of the music performed at the National Gugak Center as part of the Saturday

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<sup>17</sup> Note that several of the *haegŭm* players are female and most, if not all of the dancers are female while all are dressed in male costume.

Performances of Korean Music and Dance concert series. Both performances, August 2009 and April 2010, were of the Korean-style Royal Ancestral Shrine music, *Chongmyo Cheryeak*. The sections performed both times were *Pot'aep'yŏng* and *Chŏngdaeŏp*; the former praises the civil rule of the previous kings and the latter extols military power. The stage was full, the back was lined with large bells and stone chimes while dancers (*ilmu*) stood downstage left and singers (*akchang*) downstage right. The melody was slow and in unison with each note giving the impression of taking up a whole bar rather than subdividing the metre. Winds and voice sustained long stretches of notes while the bells, chimes and strings emphasised the rhythm; this combination added qualities of high and low to the raspy and airy qualities of the winds. The performance had a different character from other performances in the concert in that the stage and music did not seem to be presented for entertainment, but rather gave the impression of steadiness, continuity and grandeur.

There were several gender issues that struck me in these performances. First, while the majority of traditional musicians currently are female, this genre maintained a large male presence. The few women that appeared on stage played only certain instruments, notably the *kayagŭm* and *haegŭm*. Even more striking is that these were hard to pick out immediately since all performers, including women, were dressed in male costumes. This gave the appearance of completely male participation despite the presence of women on the stage. Within the sound there was a division between sustained and struck sounds that made me curious about what these sounds and instruments represented within the ritual. Finally, there were sections that focused individually on honoring the knowledge of the civil officials as well as the power of the military officials. Contained in this ritual music are issues of gender within Neo-

Confucian society that form significant themes throughout this thesis. The performance is divided into civil and military, into sustained and struck sounds and into *ŭm* and *yang* (corresponding with Chinese *yin* and *yang*). To understand the shift from male to female musicians through the issues of gender and cultural preservation, gender roles in traditional society must be clearly understood. Therefore, I introduce this and the following chapter's focus on aristocratic music and culture with a section describing traditional Confucian culture and the assignment of gender to specific roles in society. The main content of this chapter regarding Confucian ritual music is divided into sections regarding traditional gender issues and a section analysing the gender issues in modern performance practice.

The main themes of Neo-Confucian philosophy in this and the forthcoming chapters are: 1) The shift of traditional music from the male public sphere to the female private sphere develops with the removal of traditional music from popular culture; 2) The role of women as preservers of culture and tradition within the private sphere influences the role of women in traditional music as interest shifts towards a focus on preservation; 3) The emphasis on scholarly masculinity emerges, which can be seen in the larger role of men in music scholarship, composition, technique and music for academic purposes rather than the female-dominated areas of artistry and the performance of *ch'angjak kugak* (newly-created music) and fusion; 4) The gender roles in Neo-Confucian society and expectations on women in public spaces give a framework for understanding performance practice in genres such as *p'ansori* in regard to the origins of specific characteristics of stage space and interactions with host, audience and accompaniment.

### 1.1. Traditional Practice of Confucian Music

There are two forms of Confucian ritual music, *Munmyo Cheryeak* and *Chongmyo Cheryeak*. A ceremonial music form with a Chinese origin, *Munmyo Cheryeak* is comprised of singing, instrumental performance and dance in honor of Confucian scholars of China and Korea (Nam Sang-suk 2009: 15-16). Of Korean origin is the Royal Ancestral Shrine music, *Chongmyo Cheryeak*, which is also comprised of singing, instrumental performance and dance and honors the kings of the Chosŏn Dynasty. The Confucian Shrine Music was re-created in the fifteenth century from a variety of sources on Chinese music while the Royal Ancestral Shrine Music was based on the current music of the fifteenth century under King Sejong. *Munmyo Cheryeak* takes place in the *Taesŏngjŏn*, which houses the memorial tablets of ten great philosophers and the four teachers: Confucius, Anzi, Xunzi and Mengzi (Song Hye-Jin 2008: 45). The name for the Rite to Confucius, *Sŏkchŏndaeje*, is derived from the actions of arranging vegetables (*sŏk*) and presenting gifts (*chŏn*) that are part of the offering presented in the ritual (Song Hye-Jin 2008: 45). While the ritual had not been performed continuously in China, Korea sought to maintain the performance of this ritual since the beginning of the Chosŏn Dynasty. Additionally, this ritual was maintained through the Japanese occupation of Korea due to the historic significance of the ritual to Japanese ritual music.

*Munmyo Cheryeak* is performed twice yearly in the spring and autumn in a ceremony called *Sŏkchŏn* at the Confucian Shrine in Seoul, *Munmyo*. The melodies are clear and distinct due to the syllabic nature of the music and the use of the *p'yŏn'gyŏng* (stone chimes) and *p'yŏnjong* (bell chimes) as the featured melodic instruments in this style. The melody is sustained by a variety of wind instruments with percussion accenting the rhythm. Confucian ritual music from Chinese sources

uses a traditional seven-tone musical scale corresponding to the Western major scale and has a distinctly different sound compared to the Korean-based Royal Ancestral Shrine music which is based on a five-tone scale. The instruments used correspond with the eight natural materials (metal, stone, silk, bamboo, gourd, leather, clay and wood) to give balance.

Confucian ritual music, known as *aak*, originated in the Sung and Ming dynasties through the gifting of instruments from the Chinese court to the Korean court. Korean scholars were aware of the existence of *aak* through Confucian literature and envoys to the Chinese court since about the fourth century, but ritual music did not become part of the Korean ritual practice until the twelfth century. The introduction of *aak* began with the gifting of roughly forty-two kinds of musical instruments numbering nearly 600 in total from Emperor Hwi Jong of the Northern Chinese Song Dynasty court to the Koryŏ court in Korea (Song Hye-Jin 2008: 34, Provine 1992: 92). Along with this gift of instruments, Hwi Jong taught an envoy from the Korean court about *aak* so that it might be performed in the Korean court as requested by King Yejong of Koryŏ (Song Hye-Jin 2008: 34). The rituals were performed similarly, but on a smaller scale, as they would have been performed in the Chinese court at this time; however, with the deterioration of wooden and gourd instruments over time and the Red Turban invasion of 1361, the musical tradition was irreparably broken (Provine 1992: 97).

The establishment of the Chosŏn court in 1392 began a renewal of the Confucian court music. While further gifts of instruments were received from the Chinese court on a much smaller scale, the musical practices were lost since they were no longer performed within the Chinese court (Provine 1992: 97). Rather, Korean court scholars of the early Chosŏn court re-created *aak* from books and

records kept from the previous period on the Dasheng ensemble from 1116 and the Chen Yan Treatise on Music from 1103, which were at times at odds with each other (Provine 1992: 97). However, the only melodies to be recovered were from the 1349 Yuan dynasty record by Lin Yu titled the Collection of Dasheng Music, and thus the recreation of *aak* in the early fifteenth century was taken strictly from books rather than through observations of performances (Provine 1992: 106). The reimplementations of *aak* were solidified by the reign of King Sejong (1418-1450) with the *Koryŏ-sa* (History of the Koryŏ Dynasty), the post facto documentation of the court Annals of the previous three Chosŏn rulers, and within his own Annals that were prepared on a daily basis (Provine 1974: 2). Within the *Sejong Changhon Taewang Sillok* (Sejong Annals) are contained two separate series of chapters on ceremonial music, one from Chinese origins and the other from Korean origins (Provine 1974: 3). The Korean-style ritual music, *Chongmyo Cheryeak*, was performed by the king to the royal ancestors on behalf of the people (Nam Sang-suk 2009: 15-16). The resulting reconstructed music was uniquely Korean and has been preserved and performed rather faithfully since the fifteenth century.

Confucianism stresses the importance of dance and ritual music, both instrumental and vocal, as an “embodiment of ‘perfect beauty’” (Palmer 1984: 50). This expression of beauty became important in the royal court in denoting a successful and stable reign. Therefore, while such practices could have disappeared with time and conflict, the practices instead became a way of legitimising new reigns and establishing peace in times of turmoil. The practice of the ritual reflected the wellbeing of the nation, and “political success was measured through the harmony of ritual and music... [and was therefore] the driving force for re-establishing *aak*



immediately after a military crisis or the foundation of a new dynasty” (Song Hye-Jin 2008: 37). Song Hye-Jin says of this:

Because of the belief that political success was indicated by the harmony of traditional music [rather than music for appreciative purposes], the reorganization of A-ak always followed large disturbances such as a war or a nation’s establishment, to show the stability of the nation. The ceremonial rites of Goryeo after the transfer of the capital during the Mongol invasion and King Gongmin’s efforts amid his settling of national chaos to reorganize the nation’s A-ak by the creation of a dedicated department can be understood along the same thread of connection. (Song Hye-Jin 2000: 78)

Through this use of *aak* rather than music of “appreciative purpose” to express the tranquility of a nation, the music was preserved largely unchanged in a way that other genres of traditional music were not.

Both styles of ritual music require a collection of three types of performers: instrumental musicians, vocal musicians and dancers. All three types of performers in Confucian ritual music would have been male, unlike music for aristocratic entertainment also performed in the court where the instrumentalists would have been male and the dancers or vocalists would have been female (*kisaeng*). This corresponds to the idea that ancestors and their descendants were made of the same matter (Chinese *chi*, Korean *ki*) with first-born sons of first-born sons having the strongest *ki* (Deuchler 1992: 133). Therefore, it made sense that men, who had a direct connection to the ancestral *ki*, would have performed the ritual. Women, on the other hand, according to Neo-Confucianism, were not part of the family lineage. Deuchler says of this: “ultimately of little use to her natal family, a girl was rarely registered in the genealogical records of her descent group (*chokpo*). After marriage, she was entered into her family’s genealogy with her husband’s name . . . as ‘spouse’ (*pae*)” (Deuchler 1992: 263). Since women were neither part of their own family line nor direct descendants of their husband’s family line, women were not carriers of ancestral *ki* or

energy. This is significant to ritual music in that this genre still maintains the largest male participation presently where other genres have more easily accepted female performers.

The performers were divided into two ensembles, one located in the courtyard representing the military officials and the other on the terrace representing the civil officials; these ensembles performed at various stages of the ritual:

[There was] a Terrace Ensemble (*tungga*) positioned on the stone porch of a shrine building, and a Courtyard Ensemble (*hŏn'ga*) at the far end of the courtyard fronting the shrine building. State sacrificial rites in traditional Korea consisted of a number of prescribed sections of ritual actions, most of which were accompanied by music: the Terrace Ensemble performed music in keys corresponding to yin in the ancient Confucian dualism, alternating sections with the Courtyard Ensemble, which performed in yang keys. (Provine 1992: 91)

The balance of *ŭm* (Chinese *yin*) and *yang* was important to the ritual to show balance between heaven and earth, male and female and scholar and warrior. It was believed that this music could “function to cultivate people’s character, to bring heaven and earth into harmony, to unite gods and humans and to balance yin and yang” (Song Hye-Jin 2008: 23). Balance refers to the use of all elements to create social order, but does not mean equality. Both feminine and masculine qualities are needed to balance, yet, in a Confucian, patriarchal society, men hold great social power over women. Even within the male public sphere there is a great hierarchical system where the upper class dominates the lower class and within the upper class, the scholar dominates the warrior. This can be seen in the placement of the two musical ensembles on the terrace and the courtyard.

This ritual music continued to be performed through the Japanese occupation and throughout the twentieth century in part because the Japanese believed these rituals were part of their own history and culture. The rituals were always performed on certain occasions to benefit society and did not suffer the decline through lack of

interest that placed other genres of music into the hands of female members of society as preservers of culture. While this music was not popular and still maintains little general interest, the genre was designated as Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 1 in 1964 (Song Hye-Jin 2008: 7-8). The music is not a form of entertainment and is difficult to understand due to the disconnect from other traditional music and dance (Song Hye-Jin 2008: 8). Therefore, it can be understood that the preservation of this music is purely of nationalistic importance. Nationalism under colonialism often focuses on the protection of the oppressed, and of women as doubly oppressed under colonisation in a patriarchal society (Derné 1999: 243; Chungmoo Choi 1998: 28); therefore, music preserved purely as a form of nationalism, rather than cultural preservation, would be more likely to be considered a role for men as protectors rather than women as preservers.

## **1.2. Current Gender Issues**

The current overall trend in the field of traditional music is the decreasing number of male performers and the increasing emphasis on female performers. This can be seen in the enrolment in university traditional music programmes and at performances of traditional music throughout all genres. However, the shift of gender toward female performers has not been equally proportionate among all genres and instruments. Some genres and instruments have been quicker to accept female performers due to a variety of social factors. Court music and ritual music, according to my observations of traditional music concerts during my fieldwork in 2009 and 2010, seem to have retained a larger number of male performers than other traditional genres of music. Hak Hyōnju, *taegŭm* player, said of his preference for *aak* and *chōngak* over folk music or fusion music:

Well, I like traditional palace [*aak*]. I don't like folk music. Difference between folk and [*aak*]? When I first started *taegŭm*, people told me that folk music isn't real, it is low level, basic. We have to play all of it, but in my mind [folk] is simple. ... [As for] cross-over music, some people play pop songs with Korean traditional music. That's not Korean. (Hak Hyōnju, interview, September 14, 2009)

While I had not heard this reasoning in other interviews, this speaks to the idea of aristocratic or court music being a more legitimate area of music than folk or fusion. This stigma might influence the preferences of male musicians in a field such as music that is increasingly seen as a female field.

The larger number of male performers in court and ritual music could be based on a variety of issues such as instrumentation, the shifting perception of traditional musicians in contemporary society, and the process of musical acquisition. Significantly, in Confucian ritual music, unlike other court music, the addition of female musicians and dancers did not lead to an altering of costume (Photo 1.2.). Rather than wearing *hanbok* as women do in other aristocratic court genres, women perform in male dress. While women now perform this music, there still remains a clear image of this particular music as a completely male genre.



Photo 1.2. Female dancers performing the Royal Ancestral Rites at Chongmyo Shrine (Song Hye- Jin 2008: 21)

One possible reason for the larger number of male musicians in court and ritual music is the larger emphasis on wind and percussion. Within traditional music programmes and among performers of traditional music, the majority of male performers are wind players or percussionists. These are two areas that remain predominantly male in otherwise predominantly female departments. Physical requirements were often cited in my interviews as reasons that men primarily perform court music, especially within the wind section. Court music requires a large number of wind players; therefore, examining the reasons why women are less likely to play wind instruments might shed light on the lesser participation of women in court music. For example, Chung Jitae, *taegŭm* teacher, suggested that the reason women do not play the *taegŭm*, for instance, is that their hands are too small (Chung Jitae, interview, March 31, 2010). While undertaking my own *taegŭm* lessons, I did find the amount of breath and body positioning quite difficult; however, the difficulty of the instrument is intrinsic with students of either sex. Finger positioning is difficult for any player and it takes practice to correctly cover the open holes entirely with the pad of the finger. The issue of hand size did not seem to be as important when playing the *taegŭm* as the flexibility of the fingers to lie correctly over the open holes. I encountered players with hands both larger and smaller than my own that could cover the holes of the *taegŭm* after practice.

The argument about hand size and physical requirements does not hold up when considering that within *aak*, men also dominate on other wind instruments such as *p'iri* and *tanso* that are small and have a small reach between finger holes. Flute players study the full instrumental group, so it is understandable that if a student studied *taegŭm*, then the same student would have studied *tanso* or *sogŭm* (a smaller flute similar to *taegŭm*). *P'iri* players also typically study on multiple instruments

from the reed-instrument family such as the *t'aep'yŏngso* and *saenghwang*. Within *aak* these instruments retain a large male presence; however, when I attended a performance of the 21st Century Association for P'iri Music that consisted of *p'iri* ensembles from six traditional music programmes, many of the instrumentalists were female.<sup>18</sup> Despite the increasing number of female *p'iri* players in *ch'angjak kugak* and fusion, within *aak p'iri* performance has remained heavily male.

While there are female players of *p'iri* and *taegŭm* within multiple traditional music programmes at top universities, such as Seoul National University, Suwon University and Korean National University of the Arts, there is still a prejudice that women cannot become top players of these instruments. When I asked about this issue, people typically commented that women will never be the top players due to their physical limitations. Lim Jin Oh, conductor of the Suwon University Orchestra, said of this: “[All of the] well known *taegŭm* players are men. [Among] well known *taegŭm* players, there are no women. I have women students and they play well, but all of the first-class players are men and second and third class have women. ... *Taegŭm*, *sogŭm* and *tanso* are the same” (Lim Jin Oh, interview, March 22, 2010). The reasons he gave were that the combination of breath and embouchure is too difficult for women, the finger position is a far reach and the instrument is too heavy for women to maintain over the typical two-hour performance (Lim Jin Oh, interview, March 22, 2010). The same stigma does not apply to string instruments such as the *haegŭm*, *kŏmun'go* and *kayagŭm*. These instruments do require a great deal of hand strength and, as I experienced in my own study of the *kŏmun'go* between 2005 and 2008, require a large reach of the hand. Still, there is not the same idea of female

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<sup>18</sup> The concert was held at the National Gugak Center on September 5th, 2009 and consisted of groups from Dankuk University, Seoul National University, Ewha Womans University, Korean National University of the Arts, Chukye University of the Arts, and Hanmyeong University.

mediocrity on string instruments despite the large reach and finger strength and span required in playing; many of the top players are women. This acceptance of women on string instruments might be associated with *kisaeng* performers as there is a long history of *kisaeng* performance of the *kayagŭm*.<sup>19</sup> The association between *kisaeng* and the *kayagŭm* allowed women to be accepted on stringed instruments much more quickly than on wind and percussion. The *kŏmun'go*, considered to have a masculine sound and association, was slower to change and still maintains a number of male students and performers, which is less common for *kayagŭm* and *haegŭm* (Photo 1.3.).



Photo 1.3. Royal Ancestral Rite Music showing a number of female *haegŭm* players in male ritual dress. As typical, female players are on strings, but not percussion or flutes ([http://www.antiquealive.com/Korea\\_Tour/World\\_Heritage\\_Site/Jongmyo\\_Shrine.html](http://www.antiquealive.com/Korea_Tour/World_Heritage_Site/Jongmyo_Shrine.html). Accessed July 5, 2012).

<sup>19</sup> The question as to why female musicians have taken to string instruments more quickly than wind or percussion instruments will be further explored in section 5.4. on modern developments.

The role of musician in society also has a strong influence on the choice of instrument and the sex of the musician. As stated in the previous sections, traditionally all court instrumentalists and dancers used in the Confucian rites were male. From this, some important questions arise: what has changed over the past hundred years that has led to the current situation where the majority of traditional musicians and music students are female, and how has this influenced the choice of instruments for the remaining male students? Likewise, what has led to the retention of male musicians in court and ritual music and caused male musicians to largely abandon other genres?

Within the Neo-Confucian Late Chosŏn Dynasty, the public sphere and the public role of musician was a male role. While upper-class gentlemen did not perform music for employment, the playing and study of music for intellectual pursuit was important to the educated male elite. Within Confucian society, the scholar was considered the most masculine figure (Seungsook Moon 2005: 47). With the Japanese rule in the first half of the twentieth century came the influence of the warrior where young men leading into World War II were subject to mandatory conscription into the Japanese Imperial Army. This was further enforced since military service became compulsory for men in postcolonial Korea and continues to the present. This shift in perception was one that vastly contradicted Korea's Confucian society.

As explored in section 1.1., the skill required for playing such instruments as the *kŏmun'go* was considered a sign of intelligence and refinement. The ability to play the instrument among the literati was highly appreciated. However, the role of musician, as someone that played music as a career and for financial gain, was not a revered position in the court. The contrast between scholar and artist was clearly divided between the literati and vocational musicians. Since Confucian ritual music is



a ceremony rather than a performance, it is possible that a musician in this genre is seen more as a sort of music historian and carrier of the tradition rather than as an artist or creator of musical expression. This might be part of the reason for the larger number of male performers in Confucian ritual music than in other genres of traditional music.

Several factors contribute to the selection of instrument and genre in relation to the gender of the musician. As mentioned above, the reasons given for a larger number of males performing on wind and percussion centre on physical inadequacies and challenges for a female musician, but through my own experience of studying both a wind and a string instrument, I found this reason to be largely unfounded. However, through analysis of traditional and modern culture, several influences became apparent. Important is the idea of the artist of music for entertainment versus the historian of music for Confucian ritual purposes. Contributing to this possible mentality is the change in social mobility along with the continued idea of familial responsibility resting on the sons of a family. This pressure and responsibility can influence not only the genre of music performed, but also the instrument chosen by the musician to study. This might contribute to the number of male performers on percussion, especially due to the role both in ensembles of various genres and in solo accompaniment.

While women do participate, there is a lack of acknowledgement of female presence in ritual music through the cross-dressing of women in traditional male costume. While other genres that were traditionally male have accepted female musicians, the female participants typically wear female costume. In performances of the non-ritual aristocratic suite, *Yǒngsan hoesang*, I observed women dressed in male costume in order to balance the stage while other women wore female *hanbok*

(Regular Saturday Concert Series, September 5, 2009).<sup>20</sup> Additionally, women wear male costume in *p'ungmul* drumming and *samulnori*, possibly in part due to the physical nature of the genre that would not be conducive to the wearing of traditional female *hanbok*. In *aak*, the lack of female costume maintains the continuity of practice and fosters the impression of being a completely male tradition. In a genre where the goal is exact recreation over time, maintaining the continuity of dress is part of maintaining the tradition. However, as the role of traditional musician moves towards a majority of female participants, maintaining purely male membership has not been sustained.

## **Conclusion**

The most significant gender issue in *aak* centres on the larger percentage of men than in other genres. This might be due to the perception of this music as “authentic” and unchanged since the twelfth century; therefore, *aak* retains a large male presence upholding this tradition. Confucian gender roles, such as the performing of ritual by the male head of the family on behalf of the family and by the king on behalf of the country, would militate against the acceptance of women in the performance of Confucian ritual. Further contributing to the slower adoption of female musicians was the use of Confucian ritual by the ruling body to show continuity, stability and tranquillity, which meant that music was performed unchanged between changes of ruler or times of war. Where other genres, such as *p'ansori* and *sanjo*, were marked

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<sup>20</sup> Of the five female performers, three wore female dress while two wore male dress. There were two percussionists, one male and one female, both dressed in male costume. Of the five *haegŭm* players, three were female and two were male; however, the central female *haegŭm* player wore male dress to balance the order. There was both a male and female *ajaeng* player that wore male and female dress, respectively. This gave the impression of larger male participation.

by the process of change through social class and era, the goal of *aak* was to keep “authenticity.”

Due to the continuity of practice, *aak* retains a larger percentage of male musicians because of its association with the literati and scholarly masculinity, just as Hak Hyönju expressed his preference for “real music” over folk (Hak Hyönju, interview, September 14, 2009).<sup>21</sup> While on the whole traditional music and arts have moved towards a majority of female participants, a larger percentage of men have remained in *aak* because of this association between men, upper-class literati and scholarship, and between women, *kisaeng* and artistry. Accordingly, the majority of traditional music scholars are men, and *aak* and *chǒngak* presently have more male musicians than *ch’angjak kugak* and fusion music, which are far more dominated by female musicians. Men might stick to performing more traditional genres, especially ones with such significant historical roots, as a way to legitimise their role as “historian” rather than as “artist,” which latter might be less acceptable in the family and social structure.

With the number of women in traditional music outnumbering men at present, it is not surprising that women participate in *aak*. However, it is significant that there is resistance to women playing wind and percussion instruments. While women have been accepted in Confucian ritual music, they primarily play stringed instruments and dance. Conversely, within traditional music programmes there are very few male students undertaking performance studies in *haegŭm* and *kayagŭm*. The connection between women and stringed instruments will be further explored both in chapter two regarding *kisaeng* and in chapter five regarding the current state of traditional music and the gender associations of specific instruments. Just as significant to the opening

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<sup>21</sup> See section 1.2.

of the strings to female musicians is the maintaining of male musicians on wind and percussion. This association can be seen most strongly with the *taegŭm* in the more traditional genres of *aak*, *chŏngak* and *sanjo* and with the drums *changgo* or *puk* in *p'ansori* and *sanjo* where men almost exclusively provide the rhythmic accompaniment.

*Aak* also provides a contradiction to many other genres regarding the overall role of women and preservation of traditional culture. Neo-Confucian culture gives women the responsibility for the maintenance of culture and the purity of traditions (Deuchler 1977: 4). As traditional music moves from the male public sphere of popular culture to the marginalised female sphere of tradition, the role of musician moves from male to female. This can be seen on a large scale in the greater number of women in traditional music than men. For example, *p'ansori*, a traditionally male genre until the turn of the twentieth century, is now predominantly performed by women. *Aak* is in many ways the most concerned with preservation and, therefore, it might be assumed that due to the cultural role of women as preservers of culture there would be larger female participation than male. While the performance of *aak* has maintained male participation, it is significant that one of the most important scholars within Korea of this area of research, Song Hye-Jin, is female. Unlike *aak*, the movement towards preservation has been a modern addition and the removal from the popular culture a product of the twentieth century. *Aak* was performed only twice yearly within the Royal Shrine and, therefore, was not previously accessible to the majority of people. Additionally, preservation is not a modern addition to the genre, but was rather its goal from the point of restoration in the fifteenth century. These differences, along with the ever-present goals of continuity and exact replication, could influence a stronger male participation.

## Chapter 2: Aristocratic Vocal Music and the Role of *Kisaeng*

As a trained opera singer, the aristocratic vocal genres of *kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo* were of immediate interest to me. The sound was clear, pure and sustained and the contrasting use of head and chest voice was striking compared to my own training, which aimed at bridging these two voices. There was a quality that reminded me of nature and birdsong, and this was supported by the accompanying instruments doubling the melody. The female technique employing the use of the lowered larynx sounded soothing to me, unlike *p'ansori*, which sounded painful to produce. Most of my experiences of aristocratic music have occurred at university department yearly concerts or the National Gugak Center (Photo 2.1.).



Photo 2.1. Male and female singers performing the combined *kagok* cycle. Photo taken at Seoul National University Alumni Concert, March 31, 2010.

This is partially due to the preservation system and the institutionalisation of traditional music, which can be seen as a continuation of the aristocratic social setting. Traditionally, this music would have been performed for entertainment within the court or within the private male spaces of the village or aristocratic home.

Instrumentalists were primarily male until the twentieth century except on the *kayagŭm*, which was also played by *kisaeng* towards the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty. Despite the shift of traditional music as a whole towards female musicians, aristocratic music, called *chŏngak*, has maintained a large male participation much in the way that *aak* has done. Also similar to *aak* is the dressing of women in male costume; however, even more interesting is the appearance of the majority of women in traditional *hanbok* while only a few wear male costumes to visually balance the stage space in perfect symmetry.

Several gender issues became apparent in the performance practice and repertoire of these genres. For *kagok*, there is both a solo male and female repertoire and a combined version, which brought several questions to mind about gender. For instance, in the female version, several pieces are left out: does this mean that these songs are less suitable for a woman? In the combined version, are the same pieces dropped or are they sung by the man? Also in the combined version, does the assignment of particular songs to either the male or female singer say anything about gender? What does the clear difference in vocal technique for male and female singers say about gender expectations? For *kasa* and *sijo* songs, which are not specified for male or female singers, are there nevertheless specific pieces that men or women are more likely to sing? How does the *kisaeng*'s position as an outsider to Neo-Confucian morality affect the music performed by *kisaeng* within aristocratic male spaces?

Many of the issues relating to instrumental performance, such as the cross-dressing of female musicians and the larger number of male musicians in *aak* and *chŏngak*, were addressed in the previous chapter. However, the most significant gender issues in aristocratic music appear in vocal music, specifically *kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo*. Both within this vocal music and the genres *p'ansori* and *sanjo*, gender issues

appear in the role of *kisaeng* as performers, innovators and preservers of traditional music through the twentieth century. Therefore, issues regarding *kisaeng*, their role in the male sphere, their freedom of expression, their roles in both traditional music performance and preservation and their education are considered at the start of this chapter. With this understanding, the vocal genres *kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo* will be discussed regarding the difference in male and female repertoire.

## 2.1. *Kisaeng*

The role of *kisaeng* in the development and preservation of Korean traditional music is significant. As entertainers in the court, *kisaeng* would perform songs and dances within the male-dominated sections of the palace. This later developed into a larger range of vocal and instrumental genres and other services such as medicine and embroidery to serve the women of the palace. In the Chosŏn Dynasty, *kisaeng* became an anomaly under Neo-Confucian philosophy due to their presence in the male public sphere and the similarity of the education given to *kisaeng* and elite gentlemen; however, the practice was continued in part because of the influence of the *kisaeng* themselves among the officials and within the court (Kim Yung-Chung 1977: 139).<sup>22</sup> *Kisaeng*, as female entertainers, were classified into three grades ranging from formal performers to entertainers of less training that engaged in prostitution. Through the Japanese occupation of Korea, the three grades were classified under the same heading; thus, the role of *kisaeng* became more strongly associated with prostitution.

As members of the lowest class of society, *kisaeng* were given freedoms not permitted to other women in traditional society. Women under Chosŏn Neo-

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<sup>22</sup> In the same passage, Kim Yung-Chung suggests that *kisaeng* practice was maintained in part because it was believed that without *kisaeng* there would be a problem of government officials stealing the wives of the lower classes' men.

Confucianism were only educated in morality and were highly restricted within the male public sphere; however, *kisaeng* did not have the same public restrictions and in many ways existed outside of the social structure. The education of *kisaeng* was similar to that of upper-class men and government officials of this time and consisted of the Chinese classics, art, music, dance and, in smaller quantities, medicine and needlework. Because of the social position awarded to *kisaeng* in the elite male sphere, they became in many ways the expressive voice of Korean women. *Kisaeng* used *sijo* and other compositional or improvisational songs and poetry to express their feelings of love, longing and melancholy. As performers, they were not only prized for beauty, but for their skill, wit and intelligence. The expression of intelligence was often manifested in the ability of the *kisaeng* to learn and master the genres according to the changing interest of the upper-class patrons. This characteristic led to the adoption of genres such as *kagok*, *kasa*, *sijo*, *p'ansori*, *sanjo* and *kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang* and their growing popularity with *kisaeng* performers into the turn of the twentieth century.

The historic events of the past century have influenced the current music culture in both the role of musician within society and the influence of gender in the instrument and genre chosen by a musician. The strong association of women with stringed instruments and men with wind instruments can in part be explained by the educational system of the *kisaeng*. Through these issues of education, cultural development, societal roles and performance practice, this section will explore how the role of *kisaeng* in traditional society helped to enforce the association of women in traditional music with the performance of certain instruments and genres.



### 2.1.1. Definition and Function of *Kisaeng* in Upper-class Society

The origin of the *kisaeng* practice is said to be with *yŏrak*, a practice where female entertainers would perform songs and dances upon the king's arrival at or departure from court in the Koryŏ Dynasty (918–1392) (Chang Sa-hun 1986: 259). Women of the court would enjoy watching the entertainment through bamboo blinds, as they were not to be a part of the male public sphere of the court (Chang Sa-hun 1986: 259). Because of this division of space for male and female members of the court, the issue of segregated performance practice arose, as did that of services for the female members of the court. Some *kisaeng* were trained in medicine, calligraphy and needlework as well as in performance of songs and dances. This was because the *kisaeng* were only in part entertainment for the male members in the courts and for the male-dominated public sphere outside of the palace.

*Kisaeng* were members of the lowest level of society, the *ch'ŏnmin*, along with butchers, slaves, shamans and travelling entertainers (Kim Young-Chung 1977: 139). The position of *kisaeng* was mostly hereditary with the daughters of *kisaeng* automatically placed on the registry of *kisaeng*; in addition, other lowborn families would often sell or send their daughters to *kisaeng* schools out of financial necessity (Lee Bae-Yong 2008: 74). Young girls often began training in their early teens and would have to retire to other jobs at the age of thirty; however, retirement did not mean freedom from the public office since their names remained on the roster of servants and entertainers unless they had been freed by a payment of money (Lee Bae-Yong 2008: 74). This payment of money would occasionally occur when a member of the noble class would take the *kisaeng* as his concubine. Certain levels of *kisaeng* were permitted to marry, and in these cases the woman became the primary

income earner of the family and existed in the male public sphere, much like members of male society.

There were three different kinds of *kisaeng* towards the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty: *il p'ae* (first grade), *i p'ae* (second grade) and *sam p'ae* (third grade). The first grade of *kisaeng*, *il p'ae*, were trained in music, dance, art and medicine; they were assigned to a government office and would often perform within the court, where they were restricted to the female quarters (Howard 2001: 985). This level of *kisaeng* would also perform at upper-class functions and state feasts and were allowed to invite private guests into their homes; however, they were forced to retire at the age of thirty when they would have to give their daughter or niece to replace themselves (Lee Bae-Yong 2008: 74; Kim Young-Chung 1977: 140). *Kisaeng* of the second grade, *i p'ae*, belonged to local associations and would perform music, dancing and art like the first-grade *kisaeng*, but would also practice prostitution as part of the service of entertainment (Kim Young-Chung 1977: 140). Once retired from the position of first grade, a *kisaeng* could become second grade, where she would join her local association and perform largely in private entertainment houses (Howard 2001: 985). The third grade of *kisaeng* were forbidden to perform the traditional songs and dances of the first grade *kisaeng* and primarily provided entertainment as prostitutes (ibid.). Toward the end of the nineteenth century and with the emergence of Japanese imperial rule over Korea, the distinction between the grades of *kisaeng* was removed and all were given the same title of *kisaeng* as entertainers of men. Part of this association between entertainer and prostitute was due to the role of young *kisaeng* as entertainment for the upper class, military and visiting foreign envoys, which “gradually identified [*kisaeng*] as men’s playthings, or prostitutes, rather than artists or technicians” (Lee Bae-Yong 2008: 73).

*Kisaeng* held a position in Korean Confucian society that was quite different from other women. In a way, they existed between male and female as they were part of the male public sphere, but still maintained a subservient position. While they were members of the lowest class of society, they still were never without food or clothing and were permitted to wear the colors and fabrics of noble women and silver and gold jewelry (Kim Young-Chung 1977: 140). In addition, these women were often the primary income earners for the families they supported and were not confined to the home as upper-class women were required to be in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty. *Kisaeng* existed at an almost equal status with men regarding access to public events and freedom of expression. Proper Confucian women were admonished to adhere to the roles in society which they were taught, which meant that while the “ideal Confucian woman repressed her feelings, the *kisaeng* of the Yi [Chosŏn] dynasty expressed the essential character of the Korean women [and] their world was free of hypocrisy and disguise” (Kim Young-Chung 1977: 140). Because of this interaction with the public sphere and freedom to express their inner emotions and longings, *kisaeng* were often the heroines in tales and novels. However close the interaction with male society, with their formal training mirroring that of a nobleman or official, the continued attempts to rid noble society of *kisaeng* shows that they were seen as playing an improper and subversive role in Confucian society (McCann 1983: 6). In part because of this submissive yet subversive position, the test of a good *kisaeng* was often her ability to seduce a proper Confucian man to the point of ruin or corruption. For example, *Paebijang-jŏn* is folktale where, in spite of warning, a gentleman falls in love with a famous *kisaeng* and is ultimately left in ruins.

This freedom allowed for *kisaeng* can be seen in their emotional expression in the male sphere that other women subject to Neo-Confucian morality would not

have been allowed. While musicians in traditional Korean society were male, the *kisaeng*, sharing the public sphere with men, received an education similar to the men of the upper classes. Lee Bae-Yong says of the *kisaeng*'s training:

Young gisaeng trainees had harsh education beginning at 15. They studied music and dancing, and some talented ones were taught calligraphy as well. The annals of King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) said that education of gisaeng at public offices took place twice a year, from February to April and from August to October, every other day. Dancing and playing the Chinese lute were compulsory subjects for all ginyeo [*kisaeng*]. They had to choose another instrument for elective course. (Lee Bae-Yong 2008: 74-75)

Because of this freedom and the extensive education system for *kisaeng*, many of the accounts of life and love were recorded by *kisaeng* through poems or letters. While having more freedom than other women in society, *kisaeng* were still subject to the desires of their patron and would learn and perform what was in strongest demand. Therefore, as genres such as *p'ansori* and *sanjo* became popular among aristocratic audiences, *kisaeng* would begin to study and perform these genres. In this way, many of the first female performers of traditionally male genres were *kisaeng*. As traditional music was removed from the popular culture with the Japanese occupation and introduction of Western classical music, *kisaeng* acted as preservers of many genres of traditional music for their new patrons, a development linked to the interest of the ruling Japanese and foreign tourists (Photo 2.2.).



Photo 2.2. Japanese advertisements presenting *kisaeng* to foreigners during the Japanese imperial rule (Yi Kyöng-min 2005: 198; Kungnip Minsok Pangmulgwan 2009: 101).

### 2.1.2. Music Performed by *Kisaeng*

The education of *kisaeng* in official schools mirrored the education of upper-class males, which emphasised Chinese classics, calligraphy, art and music (McCann 1983: 6). However, unlike the male upper-class scholars who pursued music as a personal practice and expression of virtue and intelligence, the entertainment interests of their audience most likely dictated the music performed by *kisaeng*. In addition, the topics expressed by men focused on Confucian morality and nature; *kisaeng* were more emotionally expressive (Kim Yung-Chung 1977: 168; Um Hae-Kyung 2007: 45-46). Certain genres made this more possible, such as *sijo*, which had more flexibility than the more aristocratic *kagok* (Kim Yung-Chung 1977: 166). As seen in the previous section, *kisaeng* had more freedom of expression than other women of the same era. This expression of emotion can especially be seen in *sijo*; it required only rhythmic accompaniment on a *changgo* or even rhythms hit on one's legs; it could be

performed without much vocal training and was enjoyed by both upper and lower classes (Um Hae-kyung 2007: 43). In addition, the repertoire was not as fixed as more formal forms such as *kagok*, which were more aristocratic in nature and required more vocal training and technique to master. The simple form of three lines of fourteen to sixteen syllables meant that *sijo* became a popular improvisation for both literati and *kisaeng* and for the upper class throughout the countryside (Kim Young-Chung 1977: 166).

While most women of the time were considered virtuous for their ability to perfectly emulate the Confucian ideal, some of the most famous *kisaeng* were known for their dynamic nature and existence outside the Confucian role of women (McCann 1983: 6). Such *kisaeng*, such as the famous sixteenth century *kisaeng* Hwang Chini, became famous for their quick wit, independence and emotional expressiveness, which were often displayed through improvisational songs (McCann 1983: 6). *Sijo*, as a vessel for this expression, covers a wide variety of topics including longing, feelings of love and feelings of melancholy, pain or rejection (Kim Yung-Chung 1977: 168).

Part of the allure of a *kisaeng* was her existence as a kind of feminine contradiction within the male public sphere. These women were not purely to be admired as beautiful objects, but were educated, witty and expressive; intelligence was an important quality for a successful *kisaeng* (Kim Yung-Chung 1977: 142). Because of this quality, *kisaeng* were social contradictions existing alongside men, and their personal power came from their successful balance of feminine beauty and masculine education (Kim Yung-Chung 1977: 140). This is also why improvisational genres such as *sijo* were popular among *kisaeng* and their patrons (Kim Yung-Chung: 166).

*Kisaeng* had an influence on the instruments performed by women. All *kisaeng* in public offices during the Chosŏn Dynasty were required to study the Chinese lute, called the *pip'a* in Korea (Lee Bae-Yong 2008: 74-75). The students were required to study a primary instrument of their choosing; the most popular was the *kayagŭm*, also a plucked stringed instrument (Chang Sa-Hun 1983: 86). One advantage of performing on a stringed instrument was that the performer could easily sing along while playing, which can be seen with *kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang* in the early twentieth century (Um Hae-Kyung 2001b: 908). Because there were other stringed instruments to choose from, it seems to me that plucked strings may have been popular at first because the *kayagŭm*, *pip'a*, or the hammered *yanggŭm* could allow for a quieter and more refined vocal technique than the *kŏmun'go*, which employs the use of a bamboo stick to strike, pluck and strum the strings, or the *ajaeng*, which is bowed. Later, the *ajaeng* and especially the *kŏmun'go* additionally became a popular choice for young *kisaeng* to study during the period of Japanese occupation as folk genres such as *sanjo* became increasingly popular with upper-class audiences (Kungnip Minsok Pangmulgwan 2009: 43; Photo 2.3.).



Photo 2.3. *Kisaeng* studying *kŏmun'go* in *kisaeng* school during the Japanese imperial rule (Kungnip Minsok Pangmulgwan 2009: 18)

The association of *kisaeng* with stringed instruments can be seen through the restrictions on musicians and *kisaeng* within the palace. While the practice of *kisaeng* did exist previously, the role of *kisaeng* in the use of medicine and needlework was introduced in the early fifteenth century to tend to the female members of the court (Chang Sa-hun 1986: 286). Before undertaking medical training, the candidates were trained in their home towns in Chinese classics and then in music and dance—in part to show their dedication and ability to learn (ibid.). It was natural for these medical and needlework *kisaeng*, as servants to the women of the court, to use their music and dance talents for entertainment. Due to the strict gender division of the palace, female members of the court would be restricted to designated areas of the palace and would not be permitted to receive male guests, servants or entertainers (Chang Sa-hun 1986: 256-257). One exception to this restriction on men in the women’s quarters was the use of blind male musicians on wind instruments to “provide orchestral concerts or accompaniment to songs and dances in the banquets of the court women” (ibid.). While *kisaeng* were skilled in the use of stringed and percussion instruments (such as *changgo* for the dancing of *changgo ch’um*), it was said to be difficult for females to master wind instruments such as the *p’iri* and *taegŭm*; however, since the presence of sighted male musicians was not permitted, blind wind players were used in order to present orchestral concerts or dance music (*samhyŏn yukkak*) that could not be performed without the use of these wind instruments (ibid.). This generalisation can still be heard as a justification for why men continue to hold to these wind instruments in stronger numbers, which reflects more on the musical culture than the physiological requirements.

With the creation of *sanjo* in the late nineteenth century and the growing acceptance of female singers of *p’ansori*, these two genres became increasingly



popular along with *sijo* in *kisaeng* performances into the twentieth century and through the Japanese occupation (Kim Kee Hyung 2008: 14-15). All three of these genres are performed with one drum and one solo performer either on voice or instrument. While *kisaeng* would have been trained in the performance of the *changgo* and other percussion instruments, there is not much evidence of them performing the drum accompaniment for these genres; they were instead accompanied by male performers or by their male teachers (Kim Kee Hyung 2008: 16).<sup>23</sup> *Sanjo* originated with the *kayagŭm* but was then later developed for other instruments such as the *kŏmun'go*, *taegŭm*, *tanso* and *ajaeng* (Lee Yong-shik 2008: 1). However, it seems that only the *kayagŭm sanjo* was regularly performed by *kisaeng*, and a majority of the remaining *kayagŭm sanjo* were versions developed by female performers. The association of *kisaeng* with string instruments can still be seen in the large number of female musicians particularly on *kayagŭm* and *haegŭm*.

### 2.1.3. The Role of Kisaeng in Preservation of Traditional Music

The restrictions on *kisaeng* and the music they performed have helped shape the current state of traditional music in Korea. Certain instruments were favored and associated with *kisaeng*, which led to the continued association of these instruments with women. In addition, during the Japanese imperial rule of Korea, *kisaeng* were often the holders of traditional genres as the practice and popularity changed. The educational system of *kisaeng* also meant that they were respected performers of traditional music and were accepted as performers of many genres of traditional music. However, certain genres and instruments still maintain a masculine association and were not often performed by *kisaeng*. The exploration of these issues can help to

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<sup>23</sup> See further information on drumming, gender and performance of *p'ansori* by *kisaeng* in section 3.1.

illuminate the current state of traditional music and its gendered associations that still exist.

During Japanese imperial rule, the culture prompted shifts in the association of traditional music toward *kisaeng*. The decline in the performance of traditional Korean music during this time was both due to the influence of Western music on Korea and the idea, socially enforced by the Japanese, that traditional Korean culture was simple and superstitious.<sup>24</sup> The upper-class interest moved away from traditional genres such as *p'ansori* and *minyo* and toward Japanese and Western popular songs and Western classical music, which became a sign of modernity (Howard 2001a: 952). While the Japanese occupation opened Korea to new musical interests, there was also some Japanese interest in Korean arts and music. Because of this, *kisaeng* became part of the Japanese system of *geisha*, and thus became entertainment for the new upper class of Japanese and other foreigners in Korea (Loken-Kim, Christine 1993: 13; Kim Kee Hyung 2008: 14-15). The Japanese government required that *kisaeng* register and be monitored in the same way as prostitutes, with more high-ranking *kisaeng* being forced to participate in sex-work, causing the stigma of selling one's body to appear among the higher ranking *kisaeng* (Pilzer 2006: 298-299). The Japanese, as members of the ruling class, would likely not attend performances of traditional music among common Korean audiences. Therefore, the Japanese interest in Korean music and dance was accommodated within private spaces by *kisaeng* rather than through the observation of public performances. The education system of *geisha* in Japan was implemented within the provincial offices in Korea (Kim Kee Hyung 2008: 14-15). In addition, Japanese *geisha* did come to Korea and perform, sometimes alongside the Korean *kisaeng*, as can be seen from announcements of

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<sup>24</sup> The larger discussion on the decline and stigmatisation of traditional music through the first half of the twentieth century appears in section 5.1.

public performances in newspapers during the Japanese occupation (Kim Yŏngŭi 2006: 73-75). These *kisaeng* were trained in private schools called *kwŏnbŏn* where the different classes of *kisaeng* mixed together and lost class distinction. Pilzer describes the roles of the schools:

The private schools dispatched entertainers to drinking houses, restaurants, banquets, radio stations, recording companies and theaters so that female professional entertainers were involved in the development of two connected entertainment arenas: a public scene of mass media and theater performances and a private room culture geared toward entertaining colonial elites, which was centered in private homes, upscale restaurants and drinking houses. The *gisaeng* were a major force in the growing colonial public culture, as some of the first recorded performers in Korea (beginning in the early 1900s), and in famous stage venues such as the first modern theater, Seoul's Won'gaksa, where they began giving concerts of court songs and dance in the first decade of the new century. In these various ways the *gisaeng* became some of the most powerful figures for disseminating the musical forms of the emergent public culture. (Pilzer 2006: 298)

This association with traditional music and *kisaeng* led to links between women and traditional music; *kisaeng* schools also became largely responsible for the continuation of many genres of traditional Korean music and dance (Kim Kee Hyung 2008: 14-15; Park Sung Hee 2010: 258).<sup>25</sup>

Lacking a popular audience, male musicians would often find work teaching their music at *kisaeng* schools, which influenced the gender roles in traditional music culture at present in Korea (Kungnip Minsok Pangmulgwan 2009: 41; Photo 2.4.).<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> This is not to say that *kisaeng* only studied Korean music and dance. The students were also educated in performance of certain genres of Japanese singing and dancing as well as in some Western genres. For example, *Yŏpsŏ sok ũi kisaeng ilki: Understanding of Gisaeng in Postcards* depicts *kisaeng* in Western dress, playing guitar and studying Japanese instruments such as the *koto* (Kungnip Minsok Pangmulgwan 2009: 65, 81-89).

<sup>26</sup> The role of male teachers in *kisaeng* schools is discussed in section 3.3.3 with regard to the interaction of the female singer and male drummer.



Photo 2.4. Male musicians teaching at *kisaeng* school during the Japanese imperial rule (Yi Kyöng-min 2005: 134)

The role of male teacher and female student seen in the *kisaeng* schools is continued through the current imbalance of male academics and their primarily female students. While the majority of students in university-sponsored traditional music programmes are female, a large number of professors and lecturers, particularly in musicology or composition, remain male.<sup>27</sup> This could be in part due to the shifting toward female musicians that has happened in the past years, which may gradually prompt a decline in the number of male lectures and professors in university settings. The other possibility, one that seemed to be supported by my interviews with male university students, such as Hak Hyöngju and Chung Jitae (Seoul National University and Suwon University respectively), is that male musicians are more likely to work toward an academic career as a primary focus to support a family rather than pursue a purely

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<sup>27</sup> See sections 4.2 and 5.3.

performance-focused career.<sup>28</sup> For example, an undergraduate *taegŭm* player, Hak Hyŏnju, said:

I want to play with an orchestra with a plan B as a conductor or doctor of music. I will probably take some private students, but I want an orchestra job. My parents want me to be a professor in [a] university. I will on to get a masters degree because it is almost required to get a good job. (Hak Hyŏnju, interview, September 14, 2009)

If this is accurate, even though the number of females enrolled increases, the number of male academics will still be maintained. More interesting than the number of male academics in traditional music departments is the specialties of the department in which they tend to reside, such as wind rather than strings and more heavily in composition and theory than in performance. In agreement with the social norms of the Confucian tradition, this adherence is understandable. This process of preservation has a continued influence on the makers of music, the writers of music, and those who teach music within the preservation system. Further exploration of the music performed by *kisaeng* will aid in the understanding of the association of women with the performance of certain instruments and genres of music.

## **2.2. Aristocratic Vocal Music: *Kagok*, *Kasa* and *Sijo***

The aristocratic vocal forms *kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo* were first recorded in literary poems called *sijo*, a traditional fixed-form poem first appearing in record around the sixteenth century (Um Hae-Kyung 2007: 35). Both men and women performed these pieces; they were performed by middle-class or aristocratic men, or by *kisaeng* women (Park Sung Hee 2010: 229, 237). The majority of the singers of these pieces would have musical training either as professional musicians or as part of the educational system for gentlemen or *kisaeng*; however, many of the male performers

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<sup>28</sup> Hak Hyun-joo expressed an interest in music history while Chung Jitae has since graduated and begun to pursue ethnomusicology.

of these aristocratic songs would have been semi-professional rather than full-time musicians (Park Sung Hee 2010: 237). *Kagok* took a great amount of musical training and vocal technique, and therefore was largely associated with *kisaeng* and semi-professional male musicians. While *kisaeng* often performed *kasa* and *sijo* as well, typically in less formal settings, the more relaxed style and lesser demand of vocal technique meant that women and gentlemen of the upper class without formal training would often perform these genres themselves.<sup>29</sup>

*Kagok* was seen as the highest vocal form and was favored by the literati audience increasingly in the eighteenth and into the nineteenth century (Park Sung Hee 2010: 139). In the nineteenth century the tempo is said to have slowed and become more clearly articulated than the eighteenth century versions, which would increase in tempo on higher phrases and were slightly more folk-like (Hahn Man-young 1990: 64). This suggests that the genre became increasingly aristocratic through the nineteenth century where it has remained much the same as performed presently. *Kagok*, as the most formal of the three aristocratic forms, also requires rather large ensembles consisting of *kōmun'go*, *kayagŭm*, *changgo*, *taegŭm* and *yanggŭm*.

*Kasa* and *sijo* are slightly less formal and musically refined than *kagok*. *Sijo* is the most frequently sung of the aristocratic vocal music forms (Park Sung Hee 2010: 150). Its popularity is in part because of the relative simplicity of the music compared to *kasa* and *kagok*, as the text is set more syllabically to the music and this greatly reduces the extended, formal style of *kagok* (Lee Hye-ku 1981: 155). While the poetry is based on the same type of text as the other two forms, the melody is simple and reduces the ornamentation and melismatic embellishments (Park Sung Hee 2010:

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<sup>29</sup> The venues for performance for *yangban* women and for *kisaeng* women would be very different. This will be explored more fully in section 2.2.3.

150). Besides the simple melody, the rhythm is slow and steady, with a vague rather than a strong sense of beat. The form consists of three sections corresponding with the three lines of the poetic form performed in a slow tempo to a standard musical setting with little variation in which all *sijo* poems can be set. The rhythm is standardised, consisting of the first two lines of thirty-four beats each (5+8+8+5+8) and a third line consisting of twenty-six beats (5+8+5+8) (Lee Hye-Ku 1981: 156). Lee Hye-Ku says of this:

The long, drawn-out sounds of the wind blowing through the pine grove could hardly be said to have melody or rhythm; what gave the sense of beauty could only be the dynamics, that is, the changes in power. Like the wind in the pines, *sijo* has no harmony, little rhythm, and a simple melody; the sense of pleasure in hearing *sijo* is aroused by the variations in dynamics. (Lee Hye-Ku 1981: 157)

Because of the simple melody, lack of rhythmic clarity and absence of harmony, dynamics are extremely important in *sijo*.

The use of a standardised musical setting for the songs meant that the *sijo* form became very popular for improvisation among the literati and *kisaeng* in order to show wit, charm and intelligence (Park Sung Hee 2010: 145). While *kisaeng* and women of the *yangban* class along with men sang this form, there are a much smaller number of *sijo* songs for women than men within the current repertoire. Instrumentation of *sijo* also influences popularity. *Sijo* can be accompanied with the *changgo* (the hourglass shaped drum) or even just by the singer beating a rhythm on his or her legs (Park Sung Hee 2010: 150). *P'iri*, *taegŭm* and *haegŭm* can also be used in unison or heterophony with the voice. The informal use of accompaniment meant that *sijo* could be performed impromptu without rehearsal or even a gathering of instruments or musicians. Also, the set melody and rhythm allowed for impromptu performances in that rehearsal and scores would not be needed regardless of the *sijo* being performed. While improvisation was part of the traditional genre, the songs

performed today are of *sijo* from the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and texts are no longer improvised due to the preservation system.

*Kasa* is less popular than *sijo* in part because of the longer, more narrative texts and the required professional vocal training and advanced musical understanding needed for the performance of these pieces (Hahn Man-young 1990: 64-65). The repertoire consists of twelve songs (*sibi kasa*), which can all be traced back to musical scores from the eighteenth century (ibid.). The poems are derived from the literary form of *sijo*, but have irregular phrase lengths, which gives a less clear form than *sijo* or *kagok* (ibid.). However, the texts are more narrative and longer than *kagok* and *sijo*, and unlike these, have a fixed text with each lyric attached to a particular piece of music. The rhythmic structure is harder to generalise than that of *sijo* in that the number of phrases and musical aspects of each piece are not standardised (ibid.). Most pieces are strophic with a refrain at the end of each stanza, but a few are through-composed. The subjects of most of the songs describe an idealised life of an upper-class gentleman in secluded retreat in nature and speak of lakes, rivers, nature and the art of poetry (Um Hae-Kyung 2007: 40-41). Like *sijo*, *kasa* is performed only in the mode *kyemyŏnjo*. *Kasa* can be performed with only the accompaniment of the *changgo*; however, *taegŭm* or *p'iri* are often added. In a formal concert *changgo*, *taegŭm*, *p'iri* and *haegŭm* accompany the singer, who is seated in front with the instrumentalists seated in a semi-circle behind the singer (Photo 2.5.). The instrumental parts are not notated and follow the voice in a practice called *susŏng karak* (Um Hae-Kyung 2007: 39).





Photo 2.5. A female *kasa* singer. Photo taken at Seoul National University Alumni Concert, March 31, 2010.

The technique for the aristocratic style of singing is very different from the folk styles of *p'ansori* or *minyo*. As a singer trained in Western classical voice, I found that the breathing and open position of the throat in *kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo* are in some ways similar to Western classical singing. The diaphragm is utilised and kept in a low position to sustain the breath while the lower abdomen (called the *tanjŏn*) is drawn in to push the air upward in a steady motion (Um Hae-Kyung 2001: 818). The throat is relaxed and a singer is said to sing from the back of his or her throat rather than through the front with an extended chin (So Inhwa 2002: 100-101). The resonant, open throat used in *kagok* has an association with the well-educated and trained upper-class gentlemen (*kagaek*) and female *kisaeng* performers, while *kasa* and *sijo* generally have a slightly more closed throat sound in part because of the more widespread singing of these two genres among singers with less vocal training (Park Sung Hee 2010: 229, 237).

The use of head and chest resonance is quite different from Western classical singing. In these aristocratic genres of vocal music, the contrast between head and

chest voice is used to create a timbre unlike that of Western classical singing, which brings the head voice down lower than needed to create a seamless transition between the two voices. In *kagok*, the performance by female singers often utilises the shift between head and chest voice although it is much less common or not used at all by male singers. The differences between male and female singers in *kasa* and *sijo* are much less pronounced in technique, and both utilise falsetto to create balance between the two voices. This contrast in the relationship between voice and gender can be attributed to the division and specification of the *kagok* repertoire for male and female singers while the other two forms have no such distinction. With the standard *kagok* repertoire being prescribed for male and female singer within a set sequence of songs, the contrasts between the male and female technique are obvious through the side-by-side performance by the two contrasting performers.

The idea of *ŭm* and *yang* is very important in all areas of Korean traditional music (see section 1.1). The feminine *ŭm* and the masculine *yang* are represented not only in this contrast between head and chest voice, but also in emphasis and musical stress, in long and short rhythms and in the push and pull of the rhythm. In these aristocratic genres of traditional vocal music, certain musical qualities are associated with masculine and feminine qualities within each performer to give balance to a musical work (Cho Chae-son 1992: 176). These qualities exist in the music through give and take, push and pull and tension and release. These issues of the difference in vocal technique in relation to *ŭm* and *yang* will be explored in the following sections on aristocratic vocal music.

### 2.2.1. *Kagok*

*Kagok* is a song genre with a three-line verse form based on the poetic form *sijo*,<sup>30</sup> which is then subdivided into five sections with the addition of a prelude (*taeyŏŭm*) and an interlude (*chungyŏŭm*) (So Inhwa 2002: 126-129). The genre gained great popularity in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and was maintained through the performance of *kisaeng* during the Japanese imperial rule of Korea in the first half of the twentieth century (Park Sung Hee 2010: 258).<sup>31</sup> Three cycles of *kagok* songs are performed today: one for solo male voice, one for solo female voice and one for male and female in turn with the final piece being sung in unison by the two singers (So Inhwa 2002: 126-129). The male cycle consists of twenty-four pieces and these songs for a male solo singer are said to be more animated and to use a more natural voice without the use of falsetto (Um Hae-Kyung 2007: 38). The female cycle consists of fifteen pieces and these songs for female solo singer employ more falsetto and are said to be more sentimental in nature, which can explain why ten of the fifteen pieces are in the *kyemyŏnjo* mode while the male cycle is evenly divided between *kyemyŏnjo* and *ujo* (Um Hae-Kyung 2007: 38).<sup>32</sup> As currently practiced, select songs are performed outside of a cycle and cycles are less often performed in their entirety. The performance of *kagok* continues to take place in a formal concert setting with the singer or singers in a seated, cross-legged position in the front centre with an ensemble of *kŏmun'go*, *kayagŭm*, *changgo*, *taegŭm* and *yanggŭm* seated in a semi-circle behind the singers (Photo 2.6.).

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<sup>30</sup> This form should not be confused with the song form also named *sijo*, which also uses the poetry of the literary form called *sijo*, from which the name of the vocal genre was derived.

<sup>31</sup> For more about this time period and *kisaeng* performance, see section 2.2.

<sup>32</sup> For more about the association of *kyemyŏnjo* and feminine sadness, see section 3.4.



Photo 2.6. Male and female singers performing the combined *kagok* cycle. Photo taken at Seoul National University Alumni Concert, March 31, 2010.<sup>33</sup>

Each version of the cycle begins in *ujo* (*u* mode or key) and moves into *kyemyŏnjo* (*kyemyŏn* mode or key) in the second half (Figure 2.1.). Several of the songs begin in *ujo* and change in the middle into *kyemyŏnjo* for a sense of “connection and a kind of artistic deviation” (Um Hae-Kyung 2007: 32-33). All versions have an instrumental tuning piece called a *tasŭrŭm* at the beginning that introduces the *ujo* mode and another *tasŭrŭm* that starts the second half introducing the *kyemyŏnjo* mode. The solo male cycle consists of twenty-four pieces while the solo female version consists of only fifteen pieces. These versions leave much to explore for further research regarding text and translation since my expertise focuses on vocal technique and musical characteristics. The scope of this thesis does not allow for the in-depth research in the poems, but a significant question remains regarding gender in the female versions of *kagok*. With several pieces that are dropped from the male version in the female version and two pieces in the female version that are not in

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<sup>33</sup> This performance is also significant for the gender of its performers. Although *kayagŭm* is usually considered feminine and *kŏmun’go* masculine, this performance uses a male *kayagŭm* player and a female *kŏmun’go* player.

the male, what are the qualities within these texts that make these pieces suitable for women?

Looking at the solo and combined versions side-by-side shows which pieces are specific to either male or female versions and which pieces are performed within both versions (Figure 2.1.). When looking at the returning themes (*todŭri*), it becomes clear from the placement of the vocal range and timbre that the pieces were composed for male voice originally with the female versions being transpositions or changes in mode (Rockwell 1972: 12). Rockwell notes:

From an examination of the todeuri formulae comparing male and female pyong jo “Joong Go” and male and female kemyeon jo “Joong Go,” it can be concluded that the female songs are transformations of the original male songs. (Rockwell 1972: 129)

The female version seems to be derived from the male version, which suggests that *kisaeng* began to sing these pieces as they grew in popularity among their patronage rather than originating these pieces. The combined version further gives the impression of the female versions being a derivation of the male version in that several of the pieces are performed first with the male version immediately followed by the female version, suggesting a sort of theme and variation. Further, the overall structure of the male version preceding the female version and the “masculine” *ujo* preceding the “feminine” *kyemyŏnjo* reflects Confucian norms of male dominance over the submissive female.

	Solo Male Version	Solo Female Version	Male / Female Combined Version
<i>U'jo</i>	1. Ch'osu-daeyöp		1. Ch'osu-daeyöp (M)
	2. Isu-daeyöp	1. Isu-daeyöp	2. Isu-daeyöp (F)
	3. Chunggö	2. Chunggö	3. Chunggö (M)
			4. Chunggö (F)
	4. P'yönggö	3. P'yönggö	5. P'yönggö (M)
			6. P'yönggö (F)
		4. Tugö	8. Tugö (F)
		5. Panyöp (half u'jo / half kyemyönjo)	10. Panyöp (F) (half u'jo / half kyemyönjo)
	6. Samsu-daeyöp		7. Samsu-daeyöp (M)
	7. Soyong		9. Soyong (M)
	8. U-rong		
9. U-rak			
10. Öllak			
11. U-p'yön			
<i>Kyemyönjo</i>	12. Ch'osu-daeyöp		11. Ch'osu-daeyöp (M)
	13. Isu-daeyöp	6. Isu-daeyöp	12. Isu-daeyöp (F)
	14. Chunggö	7. Chunggö	13. Chunggö (M)
			14. Chunggö (F)
	15. P'yönggö	8. P'yönggö	15. P'yönggö (M)
			16. P'yönggö (F)
	16. Tugö	9. Tugö	18. Tugö (F)
	17. Samsu-daeyöp		17. Samsu-daeyöp (M)
	18. Soyong		
	19. Öllong		19. Öllong (M)
	20. P'yöngnong	10. P'yöngnong	20. P'yöngnong (F)
		11. U-rak	24. U-rak (F)
		12. Hwangyarak (half u'jo / half kyemyönjo)	
	21. Kyerak	13. Kyerak	21. Kyerak (M)
			22. Kyerak (F)
		23. Öllak (M)	
		25. P'yöllak (M) (half u'jo / half kyemyönjo)	
22. P'yönsudaeyöp	14. P'yönsudaeyöp	26. P'yönsudaeyöp (F)	
23. Öllp'yön			
24. T'aep'yöngga	15. T'aep'yöngga	27. T'aep'yöngga (Duet)	

Figure 2.1. The *kagok* repertoire showing the three *kagok* cycles: male, female and combined. The combined version is put in order of location in the solo repertoire and marked with the number to show the placement in the cycle (showing whether or not the piece is in the male or female version and where it is out of order to maintain alternation).

Each half of a cycle begins in a slow, sustained tempo and gradually increases in tempo to the end; however, the female version does not increase in tempo to the same extent since the female version greatly differs from the first half of the male version. The female version begins on the second piece, thus skipping the first and slowest piece. While watching a performance of *kagok* with Chung Jitae, a *taegŭm* player specialising in *aak* and *chöngak*, he commented on the ability of the male singer or instrumentalist to hold notes for long lengths of time as being a “manly” quality (Chung Jitae, interview, March 31, 2010). This might be one reason for the

absence of the first piece from the female repertoire as it is considered difficult for women to sustain long notes.

The male version is rather evenly divided between *ujo* and *kyemyŏnjo* whereas the female version has two-thirds of the pieces in *kyemyŏnjo*. This association reflects the connection between *kyemyŏnjo* and women that will be more fully explored in chapter three on *p'ansori*. Also significant with regard to mode is the lack of mixed-mode pieces in the male version whereas the female version has a piece in each half that moves between modes. The combined version does shift from *ujo* to *kyemyŏnjo* in the final male solo piece; however, since this piece leads into the final female piece, this shift acts more as a bridge to the female piece returning to *kyemyŏnjo* while giving the male singer a final masculine expression of *ujo* in his final solo piece. The shifting between modes in the female version might reflect the greater emotional expressiveness enjoyed by *kisaeng* singers within these vocal genres.<sup>34</sup>

The technique for singing *kagok* is slightly different from singing *kasa* or *sijo*. Unlike *kasa* and *sijo* where there is no distinction between the techniques used by male and female singers, *kagok* has rather different techniques for male and female performers. First, the use of falsetto in female singers is not replicated in the male singers. Second, projection of sound through the vocal apparatus is widely different between male and female singers. Finally, the use of vibrato is slow and wide when utilised by male *kagok* singers while female *kagok* singers use a more quick and narrow vibrato. In *kasa* and *sijo*, a single singer uses both a chest voice with a wide vibrato in the low range and falsetto with a narrow vibrato in the high range, similar to northwestern and central folk songs, which make them a kind of folk/classical hybrid (Um Hae-Kyung 2001: 818). These different aspects of vocal production in

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<sup>34</sup> For more detail on emotion, mode and *kisaeng*, see section 3.4.

*kagok* will be examined to gain a better understanding of the possible origins of these differences and the cultural implications of such techniques.

The yodelling effect of moving between head and chest voice is considered feminine and is created by moving between the *sokch'ōng* (inner voice) and the *sesōng* (fine voice) (Um Hae-Kyung 2001: 818). The movement between head and chest voice creates a balance of *ŭm* and *yang* to add a depth of expression and a refined expression of emotion (So Inhwa 2002: 100-101). The emotionality expressed through this balance of *ŭm* and *yang* used by women and not by men is a reflection on the Neo-Confucian society in which the genre developed. The female performers of this genre would largely be well-trained *kisaeng* of the highest grade of social standing.<sup>35</sup> The unique status of *kisaeng* as women existing in the public sphere of the male aristocratic society allowed for a highly refined artistic skill and knowledge typically afforded only to men; their status as non-women meant that *kisaeng* were not subject to the emotional and physical seclusion required of women in Neo-Confucian society.<sup>36</sup> This allowed for a refined expression of emotionality, which created femininity contradictory to the Confucian expression of virtuous women silently enduring pain, a quality associated with *han*.<sup>37</sup> The masculine expression of balance is represented with the male aristocratic balance between social public domain and the secluded appreciation of retreat into nature. This expression of emotional balance represented by using falsetto might not be used by male performers of *kagok*, while it is used by male performers of *kasa* and *sijo*, in part because of the formality maintained in *kagok* and the division between male and female versions.

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<sup>35</sup> See section 2.2.1 for information on the grades of *kisaeng* and the restrictions on the music each grade were permitted to perform.

<sup>36</sup> See section 2.1.

<sup>37</sup> See chapter 3.1.



The way the sound is produced through the vocal apparatus is also rather different for male and female performers of *kagok*. Male singers use chest voice called the *yuksǒng* (natural voice), using pressure on the diaphragm from the abdominal muscles to produce a strong sound (Um Hae-Kyung 2001: 818). However, the throat is not pinched closed as it would be in folk genres such as *p'ansori* or even to a lesser extent in *kasa* and *sijo*. The throat is open and the sound is said to be produced from the back of the throat (ibid.), which I can most closely approximate to mean that the larynx is in a raised position most similar to what Western classical vocal training would consider “belting.” This technique has a lower volume than folk genres such as *p'ansori*, in part due to the performance indoors in chamber spaces in which the genre would have developed.<sup>38</sup> Female singers produce sound in the same way diaphragmatically; however, the function of the larynx is quite different. The larynx is kept in a low position, producing a more lyric sound, which uses the head as a resonating cavity. Keeping the larynx in a lowered position, the singer flips between chest and head voice without concealing the break in the voice, thus creating a yodelling, birdlike sound. Rockwell shows the difference in vocal production by producing a series of melograph models. In this series, twelve *kagok* singers were analysed to see the prominence of high, middle and low harmonic partials (Rockwell 1972: 43-44). These melographs show that male singers have a stronger resonance in the lower partials due to the projection of the voice from the raised larynx through belting, while the female singers produce stronger harmonic partials in the middle and high partials due to the lowered larynx and head resonant vocal production (ibid.).

Another contrast between male and female *kagok* singers is in the use of vibrato. Male singers use a slow vibrato that moves across a wide range of pitch,

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<sup>38</sup> This lower volume of vocal production could be a contributing factor or product of the upper-class association of refinement and majestic natural silence.

while female singers use a quicker and rather narrow vibrato (Um Hae-Kyung 2001: 818). There are several possible causes of this difference in use of vibrato and likewise many cultural implications of this division between male and female vibrato in *kagok* singing. The differentiation between use of slow and quick vibrato is largely due to the difference in class between male singers, who are likely to have been educated gentlemen of the aristocratic class, and female singers, who would be *kisaeng* and, thus, members of the lower classes (Park Sung Hee 2010: 229, 234-237). The quick vibrato, considered feminine, is used by women in *kagok* and is more similar to folk styles such as *p'ansori* (Um Hae-Kyung 2001: 818). Male singers, as members of the aristocratic literati, would be influenced by the lack of vibrato used in Confucian ritual music and ancestral rights.<sup>39</sup> The use of slow, wide vibrato in *kagok*, as in other aristocratic vocal and instrumental genres, represents a calmness and majestic character in strong contrast to the more frantic and emotional quick female vibrato (ibid.; Park Sung Hee 2010: 115-116). These differences in male and female sounds in the aristocratic vocal genres are important in understanding vocal quality and performance practice, as addressed in chapter three on *p'ansori*; recognising the origin of certain characteristics that differ by gender and age of the performer helps to identify the social class in which the practice originated.

### 2.2.2. Gender Issues Past and Present

Within these three genres of aristocratic vocal music, there are several gender issues to be considered regarding past and present performing practice. From the rise of popularity in the eighteenth century to the time of the standardisation of the repertoire in the nineteenth century, *kagok* reflects aristocratic qualities (So Inhwa 2002: 100-

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<sup>39</sup> Only male singers, not female, are used in Confucian ritual songs (*akch'ang*).

101). Through the nineteenth century, when compared to *kasa and sijo*, the vocal technique, tempos and dynamics shifted towards the characteristics of aristocratic vocal music. The first consideration is the *kagok* repertoire's original performers who might have been lower-class male performers patronised by *yangban* audiences. As with other genres, such as *p'ansori*, *kisaeng* adopted the genres that were most likely to gain them patronage and would have started to perform *kagok* with its rise in popularity through the eighteenth century. This can in part be seen through the derivation of the female versions from the male versions (Rockwell 1972: 129).

Within these aristocratic vocal genres, divides persisted both between male and female performers and between *kisaeng* and other female performers (Kim Yung Chung 1977: 166). Regarding the differences between non-professional women who were often associated with the genre of *kasa* and *kisaeng* performers who were associated especially with *kagok* and *sijo*, there are issues of education, performance venue and Neo-Confucian morality. *Kisaeng* existed in a special role between the two genders and were allowed access and a presence in the male-dominated public sphere forbidden to other women in the strict patriarchal society (McCann 1983: 6). This access as “other” allowed *kisaeng* education and freedom of expression and wit that otherwise would only be accessible to upper-class male members of society. These issues had a great influence on the association of certain genres with members of different genders and social classes.

These associations between class, gender and genre are only one consideration in exploring how the genres are presently performed. The system of preservation has gone through several phases, which has resulted in different levels of gender specificity for the three aristocratic vocal genres. *Kasa* and *sijo*, while having certain selections more strongly associated with either gender, are not strictly specified

regarding the performer. However, *kagok* still remains in three versions: solo male version, solo female version and combined male and female version. One contribution to this specificity is the standardisation of the genre, which includes this division in versions from the time of the genre's greatest popularity.

#### 2.2.2.1. *Kagok and the Shift Toward Aristocratic Style*

Through the nineteenth century, as the current repertoire and style were solidified, there was a shifting of *kagok* toward a more aristocratic musical style. While *kisaeng* performers were often patronised and performed for the members of the upper class, the status of musicians remained low. However, *kagok* singers would have had a large amount of training and education not typical of the lower class. It is possible that the performance of the genre by highly trained women from the lower class meant that the performers would have been aware of and influenced by folk music performance practices. While there is no evidence of this genre ever being part of folk music, it is possible that as the genre grew in popularity it became increasingly aristocratic in style to obtain *yangban* patronage. Another possibility could be that *kagok* before its popularisation in the eighteenth century was largely performed by male singers. As seen in other genres, such as *p'ansori*, *kisaeng* would follow the interest of their patrons. If, as stated previously, the female songs were then derived from the male versions, which would have been performed by members of the lower class of musicians rather than the upper-class *yangban*, it is possible that *kagok's* increasingly aristocratic characteristics through the nineteenth century are due to the female *kisaeng* performers.

To say that *kagok's* development as an aristocratic form was due to *kisaeng* does not necessarily mean that the genre would become dominated by this style

change or remain in this style as performed presently; rather, other factors, including the events between the last dynasty and *kagok*'s current performance as a preserved music, account for this stylistic shift. Through the Japanese rule of Korea, the *yangban* class was disbanded and subordinated to the new ruling elite, and this influenced the system of patronage of *kisaeng* and male musicians. As we see in other genres of traditional music, *kisaeng* were often the carriers of traditional music through the period of Japanese rule. It is likely that this preservation process, first through the *kisaeng* institutions and then through university programmes and national preservation programmes, led to the continuation of the more aristocratic style and solidified the shift.

#### 2.2.2.2. Continuation of Gender Specificity in *Kagok*

Interestingly, *kagok*, with songs specific to the gender of the performer, has not seen a shift in the sex of the vocalists. The pieces of music and the assignment to either the male or female in the solo or combined version are thought to be performed much in the same way as in the nineteenth century. As for *kasa* and *sijo*, there are songs that are more likely to be sung by men than by women and vice versa. However, with the shifting toward a greater number of female musicians in traditional music through the twentieth century, vocal genres such as *p'ansori*, *kasa* and *sijo* are not as clearly restricted in the gender of the singer.<sup>40</sup> There are several possible reasons for this difference in gender shift. First, *kagok* has been specified for gender since the time of standardisation of repertoire. Other genres lacking such gender specificity were largely performed by men, such as *p'ansori*. The final consideration is the level of training required for the performance and the influence of this requirement regarding

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<sup>40</sup> This is not to say that women and men are not more likely to perform certain pieces than others. Section 3.3.2. explores the gendered associations of the five stories.

the performers of the music. An analysis of these issues might bring a better understanding of the retention of male singers in *kagok* and the strict gender specificity of the repertoire.

By the nineteenth century, the function of *kagok* seems to have been different from the function of *kasa* and *sijo*. *Kagok* was performed for the *yangban* audience by singers belonging to a different class of society: the *kisaeng* (Park Sung Hee 2010: 234). The genre was performed for entertainment and exceeded what could be performed by those in the audience. According to Turino's classification of performance dynamics, it was presentational rather than participatory (Turino 2008: 26). The function of *kasa* and *sijo*, while still for entertainment, was also as a communication between performer and audience (Park Sung Hee 2010: 145). This is evident in part because of the performance of *kasa* and *sijo* by commoner and aristocratic men without the extensive training of the professional *kagok* singer. The performer belongs in the same group as the audience and the function is not of observation as much as interaction. This dynamic can also be seen using *sijo* as an expression of wit and seduction by *kisaeng* women in interaction with *yangban* men (ibid.). The poetry is from the same source, as seen in the previous sections, but the improvisational nature and less extensive vocal training were due to the interactive function of the songs as a communication between audience and performer. The instrumentation required in the performance of these three genres also varies, with *kagok* requiring a more formal instrumental accompaniment while the other two genres can be performed with only percussion.

The difference in function between *kagok* and *kasa* or *sijo* meant that the role of the performer was more fixed in *kagok*. The nature of *kasa* and *sijo* meant that the singer of the song was not fixed and songs could be performed by singers of differing

social class and gender. As explored above, the choice of song by the singers was influenced greatly by their class and gender. This flexibility within *kasa* and *sijo* meant that the number of male singers has diminished more significantly in these two genres while *kagok* still retains male singers due to the sense of male participation required for the performance of the genre.

## **Conclusion**

*Kisaeng* were subject to patronage, which meant that the music and character projected by the *kisaeng* were reflections of the desires of the patron. Through the Japanese occupation, *kisaeng* did play an indirect role in preservation by performing the traditional Korean music that foreign tourists and Japanese occupiers desired. In the Late Chosŏn Dynasty, *kisaeng* were subject to aristocratic patrons with a preference for intelligence and artistry. Therefore, *kisaeng* did not focus on preservation, but rather adapted music favored by aristocratic patrons. This continued association with feminine artistry can be seen in chapter five regarding the association in *ch'angjak kugak* of women as artists and men as scholars, which would reflect the relationship between *kisaeng* and literati gentlemen within the male public sphere.

Through the development, standardisation and preservation of *kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo*, there are clear differences in function and association. *Kagok*, the most aristocratic in style of the three types, was performed by semi-professional male musicians of the middle and upper class and by *kisaeng* belonging to the lower class (Park Sung Hee 2010: 234-237). *Kasa* and *sijo*, considered less formal and more folk-like, were additionally performed by male and female members of the commoner class (Kim Yung Chung 1977: 166). This might more accurately reflect the division between *p'ansori* and *minyo* where the amount of training required for *p'ansori* meant

that only trained musicians performed this music; professionals and nonprofessionals alike participated in the singing of *minyo* for personal entertainment rather than for performance.

As traditional music declined in popularity during the Japanese occupation and after the Korean War, the *kisaeng* played an important role in preservation. As these *kisaeng* were well-trained, professional performers, it might be possible to see an increase in the aristocratic style of these pieces even as literati and upper-class female performers lost interest in this music. The continued gender specificity in *kagok* could be in part due to the standardisation of the male, female and combined versions in the eighteenth century before the decline of traditional music. With *p'ansori* and *sanjo*, the influence of *kisaeng* is quite different in that *kisaeng* did not perform and participate in this music extensively until the beginning of the twentieth century when it was already entering a period of decline. This process of the acceptance of women before the decline in interest or the issue of preservation arises in traditional music is significant in all three of these aristocratic vocal forms.

*Kisaeng* performed all styles of aristocratic vocal music to please aristocratic patrons; however, *kasa* performed by *kisaeng* was more orally expressive than the *kasa* performed by other women due to the position of *kisaeng* as outsiders to Confucian virtue (Kim Yung-Chung 1997: 166). This restriction on the expression of women within the male public sphere can also be seen in the vocal genre *p'ansori*, as we shall see in the next chapter, through the divide not between *kisaeng* and aristocratic women, but rather between folk and aristocratic styles. Just as *kisaeng* had more freedom of expression as outsiders to Confucian morality, the lower classes had to a lesser extent a greater freedom from Confucian morality due to the inability of the lower class to isolate women from the public sphere as families required all members



of the family to provide income. Women performing in the aristocratic style of *p'ansori* were less emotive and direct with the audience than women performing in the folk style,<sup>41</sup> just as *kisaeng*, themselves members of the lower classes, were more emotive in the performance of *sijo* than aristocratic women in the performance of *kasa*.

A significant feature of aristocratic music is the prominence of women in performance throughout the Chosŏn Dynasty; in other areas, such as folk instrumental music and ritual music, women were not present until the twentieth century. What made this possible was the institutionalisation of *kisaeng* and their status outside of Confucian morality. However, while *kisaeng* were highly educated and had more freedom of expression than other women under Confucian morality, *kisaeng* were still restricted in that they primarily performed vocal music and dance until the twentieth century. Similarly, female shamans, as members of the lowest class, also sang and danced while male family members played instruments.<sup>42</sup> This association of women with singing and men with instrumentation can be seen in many cultures (see for instance Hale 1994: 75). Similarly, male musicians belonging to the lower class performing for the elite did not have the same opportunities for wealth and status as their female counterparts, the *kisaeng*. This divide between female singer and male instrumentalist can be seen as a product of the association between women and nature:

Just as patriarchally defined woman is in tune with her body, so she is in tune with nature. Man, on the other hand, is defined as out of touch with his body and divorced from nature. Indeed nature is seen as a force which man controls, and the development of that control takes place partly through the harnessing of nature in technology. (Green 1997: 53)

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<sup>41</sup> See section 3.3 on aristocratic and folk styles of performance and emotional expression.

<sup>42</sup> See section 4.1.

As women moved towards the playing of instruments, the association between women and nature can be seen through the gendered associations of women and artistry versus men and technical virtuosity, as we shall find in *ch'angjak kugak* and fusion music.<sup>43</sup> McClary discusses this divide as the “mind/spirit split” which fosters the confusion of whether music belongs to the mind or the body and, within a patriarchal society, develops masculine control that is obtained through the restriction and exclusion of female participation (McClary 1991: 151-152). While *kisaeng* were allowed to perform music within the male public sphere, they were restricted to vocal music primarily until the twentieth century, during which the role of musician shifted towards a feminine role in society through decline and preservation.

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<sup>43</sup> See chapter 5 for an expansion of these issues.

## Chapter 3: P'ansori

*P'ansori*, meaning a gathering place (*p'an*) for song (*sori*), is a traditional genre of musical storytelling originally performed exclusively by men and dating back at least to the seventeenth century. *P'ansori* is performed by one singer (*kwangdae*) accompanied by one drummer (*kosu*) on the barrel-shaped drum *puk* (Photo 3.1.).

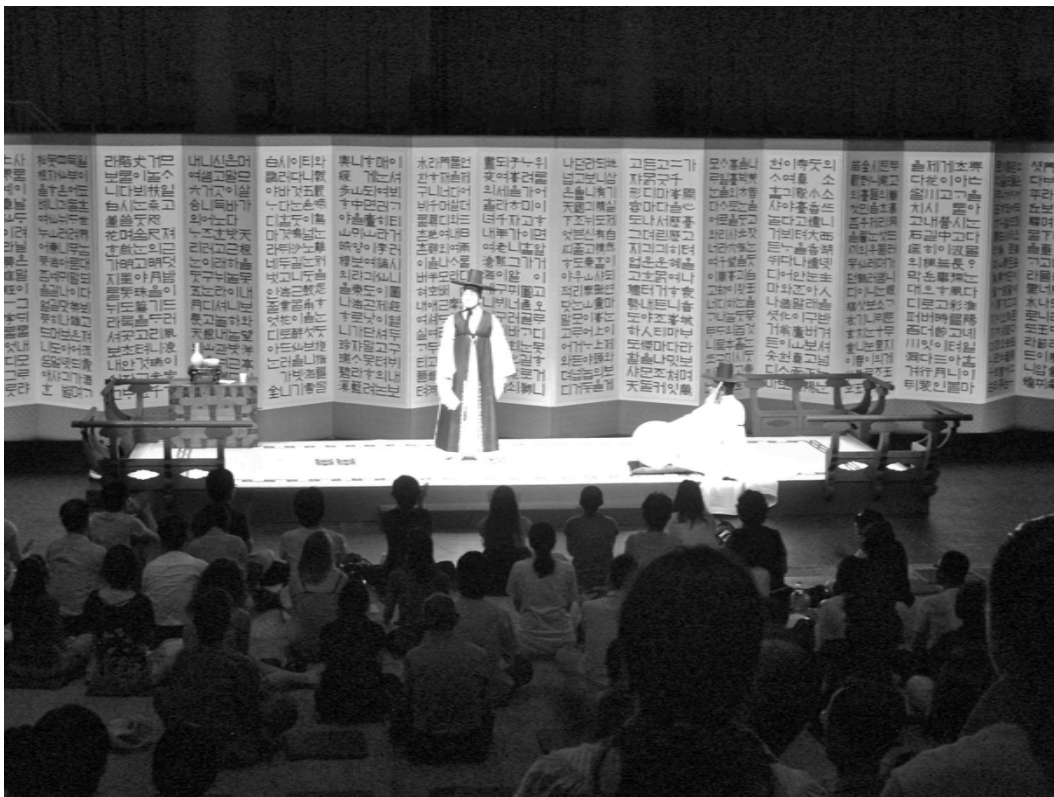


Photo 3.1. A *p'ansori* performance with the singer and *kosu* on a straw mat in front of an audience. Photo taken of singer Yi Yŏngt'ae at the National Changgeuk Company's performance of *Ch'unhyangga* featuring Ahn Suk Sŏn on August 15, 2009.

The singer performs the story in the centre of a large straw mat, mostly in a standing position, with the drummer seated downstage right. The singer, dressed in traditional aristocratic dress, performs the narration with the use of gestures (*palim*), spoken narration or dialogue (*aniri*) and song (*sori*). The drummer, also in traditional aristocratic dress, accompanies the singer by improvising on set rhythmic cycles

called *changdan* and giving vocal calls of encouragement called *ch'uimsae*. *P'ansori* originated in the lower class and gradually grew in popularity with the upper class, which brought changes in performance styles, story lines and the gender of the performer (NCKTPA 2003: 23).

The performance of *p'ansori* depends upon shifting gender roles in both performer and performance practice. As with most genres, *p'ansori* was restricted to male performers, as both singer and drummer, until the late nineteenth century (Kim Kee Hyung 2008: 8); however, since the mid-twentieth century *p'ansori* has been performed primarily by female singers and male drummers. What historical issues contributed to this change in the gender of the singer during the past century? Why has the sex of the singer changed while that of the drummer has not? Besides these larger questions, there are also the issues of gender that arise from the division of class and the growing influence of aristocratic aesthetics on the genre and its performance practices. These issues are significant when trying to understand both the shift towards female singers and the origins of certain aspects of performance practice within the remaining and newly-created *p'ansori* repertoire.

*P'ansori* is unique among traditional genres of Korean music in several ways. First, unlike the aristocratic vocal genres that have retained larger male participation, the singers have shifted from completely male performers traditionally to mostly female presently. The social issues that influenced the shift towards female singers and the products of the shift will be analysed for the light they shed on the gender issues in traditional Korean music. Also unique to *p'ansori*, the genre began in the lower classes and over time developed to be enjoyed by all classes of society as a popular form of entertainment, thus dividing the genre into two contrasting styles historically: aristocratic (western school or *sŏp'yŏnje*) and folk (eastern school or

*tongpy'ŏnje*) (NCKTPA 2003: 23, 58-59).<sup>44</sup> In addition, an analysis of the gender shift in the sex of the performer through the movement from lower class to upper class is exemplary of the overall movement from male to female performers through traditional music as a whole.

### **3.1. History of *P'ansori***

There is some disagreement on the origin of *p'ansori* among scholars. There seems to be an agreement that the stories came from shamanistic origins, but the musical origins seem less clear among scholars (Kwon Oh-Sung, interview, September 9, 2009).<sup>45</sup> For this thesis I will accept the view that the origins of *p'ansori* are shamanic as this seems to be the mostly widely held belief presently. It is generally believed that *p'ansori* developed from groups of itinerant shamans (*mudang*) from the southern regions of the peninsula, specifically the Chŏlla province (Pihl 1994: 8). Female *mudang* performed ritual ceremonies, *kut*, while male members of the family accompanied on various instruments.<sup>46</sup> After these ritual ceremonies, *ch'angu* groups, professional entertainers or clowns that were often husbands or sons of female shamans, would perform various kinds of entertainment for the gathered people. These performances after *kut* by *ch'angu* usually consisted of tight wire acts, juggling, story telling and singing. These acts and stories are thought to be the basis of early *p'ansori* (Pihl 1994: 8, NCKTPA 2004: 16-17). As *p'ansori* developed as a genre and gained popularity it was easily separated from the *ch'angu* groups since it only required one voice and one drum rather than an entire travelling group. As

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<sup>44</sup> These terms are still used in reference to historical performance, but singers are not trained in one specific style. For a more detailed discussion on eastern and western schools see section 3.4.2.

<sup>45</sup> There was a general consensus in my interviews with musicologists on my research trip in the Autumn of 2009, but Kwon Oh-sung was less comfortable making a definitive conclusion on the matter, possibly because of his wide knowledge of Central and East Asian folk music.

<sup>46</sup> See section 4.3.

*kwangdae* (professional *p'ansori* singers) gained individual fame, one could easily separate from the itinerant group and draw crowds without relying on travelling shamanic rituals. This separation from the performing troupe was also possible because *ch'angu* performers were usually not the accompanying musicians of the ritual ceremonies, but rather secondary male members of the shamanic family.

In the early eighteenth century, the *kwangdae* held a very low place in society. Because of this low status and lack of unified regional style there are few records or known details of the masters of this time. However, this period saw the development of the professional *kwangdae* performing *p'ansori* full-time. With the growing interest among the upper classes, *kwangdae* began to seek patronage from the upper-class patrons that would occasionally house performers and their families to secure entertainment services. During this time, *p'ansori* narratives in novel form and accounts of performances recorded by *yangban* were also being documented.<sup>47</sup> These narratives were often written in Chinese characters, as would be typical for aristocratic writings (Pihl 1994: 34-35).<sup>48</sup>

The early narratives of this period are believed to be part of the impromptu plays based on shamanic epics and folk tales. Through the period of growth in the eighteenth century, the repertoire grew to include twelve narratives, of which five remain. Many of the narratives dealt with social issues, including problems with the class system, love stories and other traditional tales well-known to the audience. Although these stories depicted serious societal issues, it is important to note that humor and satire were primary characteristics of *p'ansori*. Even when tragic ideas are

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<sup>47</sup> The 1754 record of performances written by *yangban* Yu Jinhan, penname Manhwa, reflects the growing interest among the upper classes during this period (Kim Kee Hyung 2008).

<sup>48</sup> As the lower class were not educated in the same way as the upper class, all of the recorded tales were of versions favoured by the upper-class patrons.

being expressed, the performer would use humour as part of this expression, a common characteristic referred to as “tragic humour” (Kim Kee Hyung 2008: 6).

The nineteenth century is called the period of prosperity, marked by a growth in the popularity of *p’ansori* and an elevation of the social status of the *kwangdae* (Pihl 1994: 33-35). Through this period, changes were made in the aesthetics of *p’ansori*, giving emphasis more on musical virtuosity than on the narrative, and the styles were solidified into different schools and regions (NCKTPA 2003: 23). *P’ansori* was much more widely enjoyed by the upper classes than in the previous century, but still depended greatly on the lower classes for the transmission from teacher to student; narratives still reflected the point of view of the lower class. However, as *p’ansori* gained popularity among upper-class patrons, the aesthetics of performance shifted. Lower-class performances included a large amount of *pallim* (gesturing), favoured sincerity and directness, and used satire, vulgarity and slander to convey the important aspects of humour which focused directly on the mocking of the upper class; upper-class performances, in contrast, focused more on *sori* (song) than *pallim* (gestures), privileged solemnity and preferred wit to satire (Kim Kee Hyung 2008: 6-7).

Throughout the nineteenth century, the difference between *p’ansori* of the upper and lower classes increased. Whereas previously a singer would have performed for both upper and lower-class audiences and shifted style accordingly, at this time singers began to specialise in one style or the other (Pihl 1994: 66). A division appeared between those *kwangdae* favoured by the upper or lower classes, while the aesthetic characteristics of the narratives and performance styles diverged as well (NCKTPA 2004: 23). Also at this time the popularity of the narrative modes shifted; by the latter part of the nineteenth century a larger proportion of tragedy

rather than humour began to be fashionable (Kim Kee Hyung 2008: 14). Overall there was a shifting toward the aristocratic styles, which favoured elegant and temperate pieces (NCKTPA 2004: 23). Most importantly, in this period *p'ansori* presented the first female performers. The developments leading to the acceptance of female *kwangdae* will be explored in greater depth later in this section. However, it is important to note that the atmosphere of elegance and temperance preferred by the upper classes in part allowed for the introduction of women to this previously male-dominated music of the lower classes.

As these performance styles diversified, we see the development of schools of training (*yup'a*), which evolved into regional schools. These schools cultivated different styles and became associated with both upper and lower-class associations and with certain gendered characteristics of performance practices and techniques (Pihl 1994: 92-93). The eastern school favoured simplicity, used less ornamentation, used more vulgarity and comedy, was quick in tempo, expressed strong emotionality and used syllabic *puch'uimsae* (method of attaching words to rhythm). The western school favoured artfulness, ornamentation, elegance, slower tempo and a refined and controlled emotionality, energetic in character with melismatic *puch'uimsae* (Chan E. Park 2003: 180; NCKTPA 2004: 57-60; Um Hae-Kyung 1992: 185-186).

Therefore, while less sophisticated performances were created and continually sung for the common people, centering on the *aniri* narrative aspects, highly refined *p'ansori* performances were woven for those with a greater appreciation of the depth and breadth of *p'ansori*. (NCKTPA 2004: 23)

The eastern school was of the lower class, used more *pallim* (gestures) and *aniri* (narration), and was seen as a masculine style of performance while the western school was of the upper class, focused primarily on *sori* (song), and was seen as a feminine style of performance (Um Hae-Kyung 1992: 185-186; NCKTPA 2004: 23).



Many Neo-Confucian social factors prohibited women from performing in early *p'ansori*. However, as *p'ansori* gained popularity with the upper classes during the greatest time of growth in the nineteenth century, many of these prohibitive circumstances changed in favour of social acceptance of women in *p'ansori*. The areas of change that will be explored in this section are periods of seclusion and itinerant lifestyles, the movement of *p'ansori* from outdoor performances among the lower classes to indoor performances for the upper classes, and the introduction of microphone technology. These areas in part or in combination led to the accessibility of *p'ansori* to women and to the eventual majority of female *kwangdae* in *p'ansori* of the late twentieth century.

Often, the tales of the emergence of *p'ansori* emphasise a romanticised story of sacrifice and seclusion where the master singer spends years in isolation, singing amid the mountains and waterfalls, to develop the voice (Chan E. Park 2003: 167). It is unclear, however, how large of a role periods of isolation played in the early development of *p'ansori*. Since the period of renewed interest in *p'ansori* in the latter half of the twentieth century, periods of isolation in the mountains for years are often referenced, along with the ideal of training amid nature or near waterfalls (Pihl 1994: 104-105).<sup>49</sup> This has shamanic and Buddhist roots, according to Heather Willoughby, and has the ultimate goal of transcendence (Willoughby 2008: 80).<sup>50</sup> Whether a traditional process or a modern projection on the past, it is likely that these practices of isolation were less acceptable for women in Confucian society than they were for men.

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<sup>49</sup> Not many examples of this lifestyle are told in *Chosŏn ch'anggŭk sa* (History of Korean Singing Drama, 1940) by Chŏng Nosik, which speaks of the lives of many famous *kwangdae*.

<sup>50</sup> In our interview in September 2009, Willoughby extended this idea by comparing the process to that of seeking enlightenment while in isolation that is part of many of the world's religions.

Less controversial among scholars is the practice of having an itinerant period as part of the early training for *p'ansori* singers.<sup>51</sup> This initial stage requires private study with a *p'ansori* master singer (*myōngch'ang*) in which the young singer learns to mirror the teacher's voice and performance style. During this next phase, young performers would spend years travelling and performing to develop their own voice, interpretation, and distinct vocal quality and to gain a name for themselves (Pihl 1994: 104-105; Willoughby 2008: 80). As *p'ansori* is believed to have shamanic origins with travelling groups of itinerant entertainers, it is an understandable practice throughout the development of the genre.

Through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the majority of *p'ansori* performers were of the *ch'ōnmin* class, the lowest class of society (NCKTPA 2004: 16-17). Within itinerant shamanism, entire families travelled together, and thus it was acceptable for women to live itinerant lifestyles within their family confines. As *p'ansori* became more popular throughout all regions of Korea and classes of society, performers travelled outside of the family structure and beyond shamanic travelling troupes. In Confucian society, young men had more freedom to leave the family confines and travel independently than women. It is possible that either this phase of training declined due to the introduction of female singers or the decline itself led to the increasing social acceptability of the training of female singers.

Movement towards the acceptance of female singers began with the growth in popularity of *p'ansori* among the upper classes in the nineteenth century. Traditionally, *p'ansori* was performed for and by the lower classes in outdoor settings, but to adapt to upper-class preferences *p'ansori* came to be performed

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<sup>51</sup> This period of itinerant performing is no longer practiced in the training of *p'ansori* singers.

indoors.<sup>52</sup> It seems apparent that the first phase of this movement from the itinerant life toward the more sedentary life came with the patronage of *kwangdae* by *yangban* that would either invite them to stay within their own home to provide entertainment or provide nearby accommodations for the *kwangdae* to retain their services on a long-term basis (Kim Kee Hyung 2008: 8). During this time, *p'ansori* developed into a highly sophisticated art form to gain the patronage of the aristocratic classes and thus a more stable living environment. As previously stated, The aristocratic listeners desired a performance with a more controlled and refined emotional and dramatic range, while the lower-class performances had a larger emotional and dramatic range; these differences caused a clear separation between the musical styles of *kwangdae* performing for the upper and lower classes (Um Hae-Kyung 1992: 185-186). This quality of refinement and ornamentation is seen to be a feminine quality while the lower-class performance style is considered a more masculine style within the regional schools of performance styles (Park Chan E. 2003: 178).

The growing interest of the upper classes reached the royal courts and musical patrons such as Sin Chaehyo (1812-1884) and the Regent Taewŏn'gun (1820-1898) (Pihl 1994: 35-36). With this growing interest among the upper class and the growing female audiences among *kisaeng* and royal courts, Sin Chaehyo experimented with making adaptations of the *p'ansori* narrative *Ch'unhyangga* (Song of Ch'unhyang) for female and youth audiences. In addition, Sin Chaehyo also trained the first known female *kwangdae*. This performance was presented in July 1867 at the inauguration banquet for the reconstruction of Kyŏnghoeru pavilion at Kyŏngbok Palace; this highly visible performance was attended by royalty, nobility and a large crowd, which gathered in the courtyard to witness this momentous event (Chan E. Park 2003: 71).

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<sup>52</sup> See Pihl 1994: 10-12 for more detail on the movement from outdoor performances to staging indoors.

By the nineteenth century, the upper-class performance location was much more formalised and included feasting with *kisaeng* in attendance. In her book *Voices from the Straw Mat*, Chan E. Park describes a painted ten-panel scene from the Late Chosŏn Dynasty of an upper-class performance of *p'ansori*:

Under the weeping willows several dozen men are gathered in a circle, mostly dressed in white overcoats and black horse-hair hats. The majority stand, while the restless ones roam or chat. At the head of the gathering, mounted on several straw mats, is the seat of honor. Behind a banquet table heaped with rice wine and delicacies, the host leans on a large pillow, smoking a pipe. Four *kisaeng*, courtesan entertainers, the only females allowed at this gathering, squeeze in between him and his guest of honor. The secondary and tertiary guests are seated behind and to the right, as appropriate to their ranks. On a separate straw mat in the center ground are two men performing *p'ansori*. The drummer faces the singer, and the singer faces his host. A small table holding a drinking cup and small plates of delicacies crowds the otherwise bare mat. The singer is the nineteenth-century virtuoso Mo Hŭnggap, as witnessed by the Chinese characters inscribed next to him. (Chan E. Park 2003: 237)

Through this description, we obtain a clear picture of the crowd and atmosphere of an upper-class performance of *p'ansori* in the late nineteenth century. There is an atmosphere of formality, strict seating orders and formal banners with Chinese characters, the written language of the elite, hung around or behind the performers. The *kwangdae* is treated quite well and is given food and drink on the straw mat where he sings with his *kosu* showing their inclusion in the festivities. The *kwangdae* faces the host rather than presenting to the entire crowd surrounding the straw mat, which is quite different from lower-class settings in villages where there would have been no host to the gathering. This performance style, in its similarity to upper class and palace musical genres, changed the role of the *kwangdae* from host of a crowd to the role of the servant submissive to the host of the gathering. This shifting from the role of host to servant is what in part made it possible for *kisaeng* to participate.

Within the upper-class society, the tradition of female performers, or *kisaeng*, was well established. *Kisaeng* performers were regulated regionally and were skilled

in many areas of the arts.<sup>53</sup> It is understandable that as the interest in a genre grew, the *kisaeng* would be forced to learn the desired works to satisfy the audiences at *yangban* homes, restaurants and tea rooms where they were most likely to appear as entertainers. As the patrons of such establishments were members of the aristocratic class, the *kisaeng* would learn tales and sing in the style preferred by their audience; in contrast, the lower-class styles maintained a stronger dominance by male performers and seemed to shift toward female performers later than the upper-class styles.

In these performances of *p'ansori* for the aristocratic audiences, *kisaeng* were the only women permitted to be in attendance (Kim Kee Hyung 2008: 8). As *kisaeng* had artistic talents and scholarly training, among them were *kui-myŏngch'ang*, skilled listeners able to judge good from bad; thus it was a natural transition for *kisaeng* to show an interest in the study of *p'ansori* (ibid.). However, whether their interest was driven by their own ambition or by those regulating *kisaeng* institutions cannot be ascertained. The latter is most likely as *kisaeng* were organised under regional offices and it is unlikely that they retained much individual creative control. The movement toward the performance of *p'ansori* by *kisaeng* would probably not have been a clear line of introduction, but rather most likely developed over time with the adaptation of individual popular songs to please patrons.

Another factor is the small performance space of indoor performances that required less vocal strength and thus “the seriousness and temperate beauty of *p'ansori* were intensified and this style became more musically fashionable...to sing in a variety of ways without shouting out loud; singers thus were able to communicate a song's sentiment in a less sonorous fashion” (ibid.). This movement away from

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<sup>53</sup> See section 2.1. for more information on the education and artistic training of *kisaeng*.

large outdoor spaces favoured the preferred performance style of the aristocratic audiences with ornamentation and a refined, more controlled expression of emotion (ibid.). The vocal prerequisites changed and thus gave a more even playing field to performers of either sex as vocal strength became less of a requirement.

Recording technology had an effect similar to indoor singing on *p'ansori* performance as it created a setting more acceptable for female performers. The first recordings of Korean music were by Columbia Gramophone Company in 1907 with the first *p'ansori* recording, short excerpts by three singers from *Chökyökkka* (The Song of the Battle of Red Cliff), by the Victor Talking Machine Company some time between 1908 and 1911 (Howard 2008: 164). This first *p'ansori* recording was of three *kisaeng* singers rather than one of the great *p'ansori* masters of the time. Recordings of the top masters of *p'ansori* were not released until 1929 (Howard 2008: 164). A large reason for the delay in the recording of master singers was that Columbia Gramophone Company and Victor Talking Machine Company were interested in selling recordings outside of Korea. The raspy singing style (*ch'ang*) of master voices was not as relatable to foreign audiences generally more familiar with a European classical vocal technique. Lighter voices of female singers were preferred and *kisaeng* were the only female singers trained in *p'ansori* at this time.<sup>54</sup> *Kisaeng* would have likely also been trained in the Korean classical singing genres *kagok*, *sijo* and *kasa*, which are more vocally similar to a European classical vocal technique and therefore more familiar to the foreign audiences of Columbia Gramophone and Victor Talking Machine Company.

The role of the *kisaeng* and the way *kisaeng* were viewed by society greatly changed during the Japanese occupation of Korea (1910-1945). Presently, there are

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<sup>54</sup> Section 4.1.

two differing cultural perceptions of *kisaeng*: 1) as a sex worker with some artistic entertainment skills and 2) as entertainers “forbidden from selling their bodies, who only became involved in sex work under Japanese colonialism” (Pilzer 2006: 295). Further complicating this issue is the unclear division into groups of lower class and upper class that can wrongly categorise those that rest in between or those top-grade *kisaeng* that retire, as required at the age of thirty, and practice under one of the other two categories (Howard 2001: 985). This is only one traditional aspect that blurred the lines between *kisaeng* and prostitute that was furthered under the Japanese system.

The Japanese imperial rule had a major influence on the role of *kisaeng* in Korean society, and through regulation and schools made *kisaeng* the primary carriers of many traditional music genres through the colonial period. As stated previously, the *kisaeng* was an important carrier of traditional genres through the colonial period. Although the role of *kisaeng* was absorbed into the sex industry by the 1970s (Pilzer 2006: 296), this association between entertainer and prostitute has stigmatised performers who are still distancing themselves from it.<sup>55</sup> Part of this distancing has occurred through the legitimisation and institutionalisation of traditional music in government programmes and institutions of public education. The decline in traditional music through the mid-twentieth century further shifted the role of musician toward a feminine association. This trend can be seen with the much higher number of women in current performing and student positions, the highest concentration being in genres formerly dominated by *kisaeng* such as vocal music and stringed instruments.

These changes in the role of the *kisaeng* help explain why *p’ansori* performers have shifted from historically male to presently female. As the genre grew in

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<sup>55</sup> The 1970s is ten years after the 1960s revival of traditional music. It is unclear how strongly *kisaeng* and traditional music were linked in this ten-year period.

popularity and gained the patronage of the upper classes, changes in aesthetics, performance venues and the role of the performer contributed to the introduction and acceptance of female *p'ansori* singers. The first issue is the relationship of the audience to the performer wherein a lower-class performer acts as host to the gathering whereas upper-class patrons hosted gatherings for the performance of *p'ansori* in aristocratic settings, causing the role of the performer to change from host to the submissive role of servant. This trend contributed to the acceptance of female singers and was further aided by the performance aesthetics of the upper-class performances, which favoured less gesturing and focused on musical virtuosity.<sup>56</sup> Indoor performance venues within private spaces, introduced as *p'ansori* grew increasingly popular among the upper class, also made it more acceptable for female performers due to the traditional Neo-Confucian confinement of women to the private sphere. Recording technology had a role similar to indoor performance spaces in that women could perform in a private space rather than in male-dominated public spaces. The disembodied voice of a recording also desexualised the performer and allowed a further accentuation of musical virtuosity, a characteristic of the aristocratic style. In addition to venues and aesthetics, women would have been more easily accepted as singers of *p'ansori* than in other genres due to the presence of *kisaeng* in aristocratic singing genres. Additionally, there are several traditions which include male instrumentalists accompanying a female performer such as shamanism, aristocratic vocal music and many dance traditions.

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<sup>56</sup> More gesturing could be seen as a more sexualised performance that accentuates the body. While most of the first performers were *kisaeng*, this was not associated with sex work until late in the Japanese colonial period.



### 3.2. *P'ansori* as Literature

#### 3.2.1. *Gender Dynamics in the Surviving Tales*

Performance of *p'ansori* narratives alternates between *sori*, meaning sung verse, and *aniri*, meaning narration written in prose. *Sori* and *aniri* vary greatly in language with *sori* using Chinese and Korean poetry, proverbs and Sino-Korean words while *aniri* uses colloquial language (Um Hae-Kyung 2001: 901). *Kwangdae* adjust the language and story to suit the audience; thus, the themes in *p'ansori* show the division of *p'ansori* as it moved from lower-class origins towards popularity with the upper class. According to Um Hae-Kyung, there are two thematic areas of *p'ansori* texts; the first area is linked to the principles of Korean Confucian society and the second is connected to the perspective of the lower class satirising the failings of the ruling class (Um Hae-Kyung 2001: 900).

Although there were a total of twelve narrative tales known in the *p'ansori* repertoire during the nineteenth century, only five exist in the present collection of narratives referred to as the *p'ansori obat'ang* (Pihl 1994: 63). The preservation and selection of these five tales was greatly influenced by the upper-class patrons through the writing of texts, which only the upper class seems to have done, and by the desire of the *kwangdae* to obtain the patronage of the upper classes. Um Hae-Kyung says of this:

While the literary refinement of the *p'ansori* texts is indebted to these gentlemen scholars, their preoccupation with Confucian morality and ideology rejected those *p'ansori* pieces with “obscene and inappropriate” themes.... It is therefore not surprising that the main themes of the remaining five *p'ansori* pieces coincide with the five cardinal principles of Confucian ethics. (2008: 26)

The *p'ansori obat'ang* consists of: The Song of Ch'unhyang (*Ch'unhyangga*), The Song of Sim Ch'ŏng (*Simch'ŏngga*), The Song of the Battle of Red Cliff (*Chŏkpyŏkka*), The Song of Hŭngbo (*Hŭngboga*) and The Song of the Underwater

Palace (*Sugungga*). Each one will be discussed in turn to address the gendered aspects of the tales.

The thematic materials, many of which are based on Korean Confucian ideals, are full of examples of the gendered expectations of women in Confucian society. In spite of the seeming invisibility of women in the male public sphere, women “constitute the major protagonists, as exemplified in the *p’ansori* narratives of Simch’ōng and Ch’unhyang where they are either stereotypes of Confucian unconditional loyalty or are noted for their rebellion against traditional expectations” (Chan E. Park 2003: 215). Considering the male beginnings of *p’ansori*, it is interesting to explore the prevalence of women protagonists bringing the invisible perspective of a woman to the male-dominated public sphere. Chan E. Park (2003: 215-216) discusses this incorporation of women into male-gendered territory as a sort of gender crossing where “*p’ansori* has become a voice for women.” Park gives an example of the strength of female characters in *p’ansori* by speaking to examples of personal strength.

They are most unbending and are equipped with far greater moral fortitude than their male counterparts, at least in Chōng Kwōnjin’s voice, capable of dramatically transforming fragrant flowers into sharp blades if provoked. They are able to outsmart elitist males by reminding them of the correct application of social principles. Summoned to his court, Ch’unhyang wards off Magistrate Pyōn with a fiery rebuff, a long way from her earlier demeanor as Mongnyong’s “flower”. (2003: 217)

Examples of the strength of female characters and the moral failure of male characters, such as Sim Hakkyu from *Simch’ōngga* (Song of Sim Ch’ōng), show an elevation of the female spirit. However, the strength of the female character centres on her adherence to her Confucian moral roles. Reward comes from sacrifice, filial piety and loyalty. In spite of showing great moral character, wisdom and strength, ultimate recognition and praise come as self-sacrifice and virtue delineated in

Confucian society. For example, in *Simch'ongga*, Sim Ch'ong sells her own life to sailors for a sacrificial rite in exchange for the bags of rice her blind father has promised the temple to regain his sight. Sim Ch'ong throws herself from the ship in sacrifice and in turn is saved, protected in a lotus, and delivered to the emperor to become empress. Her virtue and subsequent reward were due to her loyalty and sacrifice of herself for her father. Thus, the only way a woman gains favour with the heavens is through these self-sacrificing and subservient acts of filial piety and loyalty. Her final rescue and redemption come through the emperor's men that rescued her from the sea and from her reunion with her father in the final scene.

*Ch'unhyangga* deals with similar issues of loyalty and sacrifice. Ch'unhyang, a daughter of a *kisaeng*, falls in love with Mongnyong, the son of a magistrate. Due to the difference of social class and the stigmatisation of a *kisaeng's* daughter, they are unable to be together. After a secret wedding ceremony, Mongnyong leaves for Seoul with his parents and abandons Ch'unhyang, which further adds to her social stigmatisation. Ch'unhyang is unable to follow Mongnyong to Seoul since in Confucian society, it was "unthinkable for a son of a nobleman to take a concubine prior to passing the state examination and being properly wedded to a girl from a noble family" (Chan E. Park 2008: 135). The new governor pursues Ch'unhyang and imprisons her upon her rejection of his advances. Again, Ch'unhyang's virtue lies in her self-sacrifice following the Confucian idea that a woman cannot serve two men. Her redemption also comes at the hand of a man, Mongnyong, who returns to the city as a government inspector, with a higher standing than the governor, and demands Ch'unhyang's release from prison.

*Hungboga* also deals with the Confucian idea of family honour and the importance of kindness. Nolbo, the older brother of Hungbo, inherits the family land

and properties upon the death of his father, along with the obligation of tending to the family. A selfish man, Nolbo sends Hǔngbo and his family off to wander and they become beggars. As a younger brother, Hǔngbo unquestioningly submits to his older brother's wishes. While the male in a nuclear family takes a dominant position within the private sphere, within the public sphere of Confucian patriarchal society, Hǔngbo plays a submissive role to his older brother and to the higher classes. Further expressing his loyalty and recognition of submission, Hǔngbo follows the orders of a Taoist priest in settling his home on an auspicious piece of land. While on the land, swallows hatch under Hǔngbo's eaves and his family nurses one of the swallows back to health after the bird breaks its leg. During the winter migration, the swallow shares the story of kind Hǔngbo with the swallow king, who sends a magic gourd seed back with the swallow as a gift. These gourds grow and are harvested during *Ch'usǒk*, the harvest thanksgiving celebration, to reveal gold, silk and other riches inside them. Jealous of his younger brother's wealth, Nolbo breaks the legs of twelve swallows and bandages them and thus is given a magic seed of his own. When these gourds are opened, demons, curses and faeces emerge and leave Nolbo impoverished overnight. Rather than rejoicing in the misfortune of the perpetrator of his own earlier misfortune, Hǔngbo takes in Nolbo and his family and they live happily together. This acceptance and forgiveness are as much expressions of his kind nature as they are of his loyalty and submissive position to the oldest son.

*Sugungga* is often performed for an audience of children, as the characters are anthropomorphised animals and the story has a more light-hearted nature. The Dragon King of the Underwater Palace is ill and is told by a Taoist monk, descending from the sky, that the only cure will be the liver of a hare. The turtle, a government official named Byǒljubu, is the only creature brave enough to rise to the surface in search of

the cure. Facing many obstacles upon reaching land, the turtle finally lures the hare down to the Underwater Palace. The turtle might have succeeded, but the hare quickly realises it was a trap. As often occurs in the tradition of folk performances of *p'ansori* replete with satire, the lower-class commoner, the hare, outsmarts the authority figure, the king, by saying that he has left his liver at his mountain home. Fooled by the hare, the Dragon King sends the hare and turtle to the surface to fetch the liver. The hare's proud celebration and insults upon reaching the surface get him captured once again, this time by an eagle, which he quickly outsmarts as well. The turtle receives the cure for his king from the heavens for his loyal nature. While this story does contain satire about the upper-class society, the messages of loyalty, sacrifice and subservience to authority along with the subsequent reward are strongly enforced in this tale much as they are in the previous three tales.

*Chökyöokka*, a story of a battle scene, is considered the most masculine of the surviving five tales and is said to be more suitable for the male voice where “sonorous and strong timbres – sounding as if barking a command – are required” (NCKTPA 2003: 82). The tale takes place on a battlefield in the late Han dynasty at a time when China was divided among warlords (Chan E. Park 2008: 138). Yu Bi, a minor official, retains land in the southwest during Cho Cho's rampage of Northern China, and wins the support of the wise strategist, Chegal Yang, who lost his previous battle to Cho Cho, a warlord intent on the unification of China under his rule. This minor battle is won before Chegal Yang invites Son Gwön, from the southeast, to fight alongside him in anticipation of Cho Cho's campaign southward. The prelude to the battle shows the divide between Cho Cho's drunken and homesick soldiers, showing mental weakness, and the prayerful and noble camp of Yu Bi under the guidance of Chegal Yang. The heavens take the side of Yu Bi by sending south-easterly winds, causing

Cho Cho's brutal defeat. Chegal Yang's soldiers capture Cho Cho in retreat, but Cho Cho is set free by a noble warrior. The issues of morality that impact Cho Cho's defeat are in part based on Cho Cho's low social standing as an adopted son of a eunuch and the vulgar behaviour seen the night before the battle. Yu Bi is rewarded by the heavens in recognition of his noble standing and Chegal Yang's virtuous and noble behaviour. The story is an example of the kind of literary texts taken from Chinese stories with the growing popularity of *p'ansori* among the upper-class audiences.

The gender issues in each of the stories are largely tied into binaries of dominant and submissive, upper class and lower class, moral and immoral and masculine and feminine roles. With *Ch'unhyangga*, *Simch'ongga* and *Hŭngboga*, there is reward in the loyalty and sacrifice of the submissive family member (wife, daughter and younger brother respectively) to the dominant family member (husband, father and oldest brother respectively). The final reward is complete with the forgiveness of the immoral family member by the wronged but now elevated family member. Similarly, *Chŏkpyŏkka* ends with the forgiveness of the warlord Cho Cho as perpetrator of the battle. Also significant to *Chŏkpyŏkka* is the triumph of the virtuous over the immoral, an element also reflected in the previous stories. Finally, there is the issue of social class that arises in the stories, where the virtuous are rewarded with higher social standing, sometimes royal rank. Even in the outsmarting of the upper class by the lower class that is represented in *Sugungga*, there is a representation of the virtue of the nobility, the turtle and the moral inferiority of the commoner, the hare. The same division can be seen in *Chŏkpyŏkka* with the triumph of the virtuous and noble-blooded Yu Bi over the lowborn Cho Cho. While these stories themselves might not have survived to be a complete collection of Confucian lessons, the stories

that have survived certainly do reflect the society and the divisions between dominant versus submissive and masculine versus feminine. The following section will explore the issues regarding the survival of the remaining five tales, how this collection reflects on history and society, and how this record was shaped by the male and female performers of *p'ansori*.

### 3.2.2. Development of Current Repertoire in Relation to Female Performers

There is no single occurrence that can account for the decrease in number of the *p'ansori* repertoire from twelve to five; however, Pihl speaks to the likelihood that the surviving narratives were preserved due to their appeal to the upper classes (Pihl 1994: 66). The themes of the current repertoire of five pieces seem either to have led to the acceptance of female *kwangdae* or to be due to the addition of female *kwangdae* in upper-class performances of *p'ansori*. The narratives still performed contain themes like “filial piety, loyalty, comradeship – that were helpful in garnering acceptance for *p'ansori* among the elite” (Pihl 1994: 66). The upper-class movement of *p'ansori* and its opening to female participants was not merely due to indoor staging and the addition of microphone technology. The stories favoured by upper-class audiences were ones considered more appropriate for female singers, due to content or language, than those stories of satire favoured by the lower classes. By exploring the effect of *p'ansori*'s popularity with the upper classes and how this led to an environment more conducive to female *kwangdae*, a clearer picture will emerge on the selection of the remaining repertoire.

The two most popular *p'ansori* tales are *Ch'unhyangga* and *Simch'ongga*. *Ch'unhyangga* is particularly popular both presently and historically. In fact, nine of the sixteen *p'ansori* and *ch'anggŭk* performances that I attended during my field

research trips in autumn 2009 and spring 2010 were performances of *Ch'unhyangga*.<sup>57</sup> The story follows the suffering and subsequent glorification of a young woman who sacrifices herself to honor her husband. While this is not the current social expectation, it does reflect the projected historical national bond of *han* or suffering.<sup>58</sup> Due to the strong association of *han* currently with *p'ansori*, *Ch'unhyangga* and *Simch'ongga* are also favoured by female performers due in large part to the narrative's perspective of a suffering woman. For instance, while Ch'unhyang's husband is away in Seoul, the narrative of the story stays with her and follows her suffering in great detail. The popularity of these two tales based on their association with *han* can be seen in the two most popular arias from *Ch'unhyangga* (Scattered Hair like Mugwort) and *Simch'ongga* (Sim Ch'ong throws herself into the sea), which both take place in the most intense moments of suffering before their redemption.

Within the surviving five narratives, certain narratives are thought to suit the male voice better than the female. For example the National Gugak Center 2004 book on *p'ansori* speaks to the suitability of *Ch'okpyokka* (The Song of the Battle of Red Cliff) to the male voice due to the violent nature and battle scenes which requires a strong timbre (NCKTPA 2004: 84). This narrative speaks from the perspective of a male warrior in drunken anticipation of battle. While conducting field research, this tale was constantly pointed out as not appropriate for women to perform although women often do perform it. This female presence is in part due to the larger number of women performing *p'ansori* presently; however, the acceptance of female singers

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<sup>57</sup> Of the eighteen performances, four were of *ch'angjak p'ansori*, nine were *Ch'unhyangga*, three were of *Simch'ongga*, one performance of *Ch'okpyokka*, one of *Hungboga*, and none were of *Sugungga*. Between 1985 and 2002, the National Changgeuk Company had 151 *wangch'ang* (one singer on full tale) *p'ansori* performances. 25.8% were *Sugungga*, 23.2% *Hungboga*, 20.5% *Simch'ongga*, 16.6% *Ch'unhyangga* and 13.9% *Ch'okpyokka*.

<sup>58</sup> Section 2.2.



in this piece might also be attributed to the tale's aristocratic origins and the feminine character of the aristocratic style of *p'ansori*.

Other narratives are seen as more suitable for female *kwangdae*, such as *Hŭngboga*; despite the focus around the lives of two men, since this tale deals with issues of morality it is considered more suitable for female performers.<sup>59</sup> The main characters, the brothers Nolbo and Hŭngbo, follow different paths toward life where virtue brings great fortune and evil brings demise. These moral outcomes seem suitable to females, both as performer and audience, since Hŭngbo is obedient and loyal to his older brother, sacrificing himself in spite of Nolbo's poor character, much like female characters in other tales. While some stories are critical or satirise the upper classes, *Hŭngboga*, like *Ch'unhyangga* and *Simch'ŏngga*, represents the virtue and reward in unquestioningly submitting to authority and social order. These issues of morality overlap with ideal feminine virtue and, therefore, are acceptable for females to perform, whereas issues like battle are thought to be dealt with strictly by male participants of society.

The final story, *Sugungga*, is a story that can easily relate to a large range of age and class among the audience. In addition, unlike other tales that deal with love, war and money, this story is of pure impossibility and fantasy. However, I have not seen this *p'ansori* performed either in whole or even in excerpt form, which is most likely circumstantial. The reason that other tales may be more widely performed in excerpt form is due to the popularity of individual pieces, whereas this tale does not contain the same stand-alone pieces that can be as easily extracted as they can be from the other tales. Additionally, this tale deals with issues of class and social order that

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<sup>59</sup> While upper-class men were educated primarily in scholarship, upper-class women were educated primarily in morality. Therefore, tales of morality were commonly associated with women.

are projected by the hare, representing the commoner, outsmarting the turtle, representing the nobleman. As will be explored in section 3.2.3., the strong association and historical projection of *han* onto *p'ansori* works against this tale. While there is struggle and tension, the story largely focuses on satire. Another possible reason that *Sugungga* and *Hŭngboga* are performed less in excerpt form is that they are generally shorter and more easily performed in entirety than the other three tales.

Whether the stories were chosen because of the addition of female singers or whether the popularity of these stories led to the further acceptance of female singers is not clear; however, it seems that the most popular stories are the tales that can be sung from the perspective of the female character and that embody the feeling of suffering that has been projected on the genre. While the other stories take place from the male perspective, *Chŏkpyŏkka* and *Hŭngboga* are still relatable to audiences through the main themes of courage, suffering and perseverance. These five tales have survived when sifted through the events of the past century through several factors that favoured an aristocratic version of texts. The texts that were written and preserved were aristocratic due to the large social divide between classes and education in the Late Chosŏn period. During Japanese imperial rule, *p'ansori* declined in popularity among the lower classes and was continued through *kisaeng* performers serving elite patrons. Finally, the stories that have become the most popular have strong emphases on pain and suffering, which is part of how modern Korean society views the genre.

### 3.2.3. Association of Han with Women and the Korean National Culture

A discussion on *p'ansori* and gender would be incomplete without a discussion on *han*. Werner Sasse defines *han* roughly as “grudge (grievance, regret, resentment, spite, rancour or unsatisfied desire)” starting as “indignation, righteous indignation, or the feeling of unresolved resentment against unjustifiable suffering of an individual”; with time, *han* “began to be seen as the collective feeling of every Korean evoked through a history of suppression by outside forces and the continuing strong foreign influence supported by the political rulers” (Sasse 1991: 30-33). This idea is important when considering the association of *han* with women and the shifting of *p'ansori* singers from completely male to mostly female over the span of a century.

According to Sasse, *han* as a national trait was a concept that developed roughly around the 1960s along with the *Minjung* Cultural Movement (*Minjung* referring to unspecified ordinary people; Sasse 1991: 30). He argues that the movement is “strongest when connected to Christianity” with the underprivileged being the *Minjung* and the suffering of Jesus Christ being the expression of *han* (Sasse 1991: 32-34). Through this analysis of the movement we see a kind of virtue in suffering and a glorification of the lower classes and outcasts due to the realisation that “those living in misery rather than the intellectual and political elite were the kind of people with whom Jesus had associated – not the righteous but the sinners” (Sasse 1991: 34). If *han* is this state of suffering, oppression and resignation “basic to every non-ruling-class Korean,” then in a Confucian society, where women are significant only in their subservience to men, women have the strongest connection to *han* (Sasse 1991: 35).

Through this cultural movement, the glorification of lower-class oppression, the virtue of suffering, and the notion of women’s larger claim to *han* comes the

question of the larger number of female performers in *p'ansori*. This leads to the consideration of whether the idea of *han* has been so strongly projected onto *p'ansori* because of the increase of female performers, whether female performers came to *p'ansori* because of their deeper association with *han*, or whether the feminine claim to *han* made female performers preferable within an audience that give virtue to *han* due to the *Minjung* Cultural Movement. Pihl speaks of the desire of the audience for catharsis through the “suffering and lamentations” of the protagonist (Pihl 1994: 6). This glorification of *han* can be seen in the popularity of two of the tales, *Ch'unhyangga* and *Simch'ongga*. Both female heroines suffer great *han* and their only choice is to endure silently and sacrifice themselves, thus expressing the quality of resignation and acceptance of suffering intrinsic to *han*.

*Han* is not only evident in the popularity of stories, but is also evident in the vocal and performance aesthetics and the acquisition of the voice of *p'ansori*. As a singer ages and loses vocal facilities, according to a listener with a Western musical background, there is no decline in ability to sing *p'ansori* but rather wisdom and life experience add to the aesthetics of the performance.<sup>60</sup> The prized vocal aesthetics favour a rough or raspy voice with a pinched throat. Of course, this aesthetic could have grown out of the need of the voice to carry over large spaces and groups of people gathering. However, I spoke in great detail about this with *p'ansori* scholar Heather Willoughby on my research trip in the autumn of 2009 and we agreed that if the issue were purely of projection, then this raspiness would have decreased with the addition of microphone technology or smaller performance spaces; the continued use of the raspy tone quality suggests an aesthetic function (Heather Willoughby,

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<sup>60</sup> See section 3.4.

interview, September 29, 2009).<sup>61</sup> Of course, this aesthetic could have been continued in spite of microphone technology purely because of the traditional use. It is also possible that this use of the raspy quality has increased with the *Minjung* Cultural Movement and its emphasis on the virtue of suffering. It is not true, however, that more roughness in the vocal sound is necessarily better as it can be the quality of a weak or immature voice. It seems that the preferred rough quality is that of a recovered voice, suggesting the virtue in enduring suffering, surviving through sacrifice, and gaining wisdom from suffering rather than just being subject to such.

Regarding the acquisition of voice, there is a clear projection of *han* on the lives of previous masters. Both Heather Willoughby and Chan E. Park discuss in their works on *p'ansori* the practice of isolation and removal from the comforts of modern life in order for the singer to obtain *sori*, or voice (Willoughby 2008: 80, Chan E. Park 2003: 167). To this day singers will take time in isolation in the mountains as a way of sacrificing for art that is currently projected on past master singers.<sup>62</sup> For example, Heather Willoughby spoke of how the singer and teacher Chae Su-Jeong goes yearly to sing in the mountains either alone or accompanied by a few students (Willoughby, interview, September 29, 2009). It seems more likely that this need for sacrifice to acquire the proper voice is projected on the past because of the aesthetic of *han*. It is thought that singers can perform a tale more completely or with more understanding of the pain and suffering in *p'ansori* if they have themselves endured pain and suffering. This can be seen through the film *Sŏp'yŏnje* (1993), wherein the singer's adopted father purposely blinds her to make sure that she feels the true suffering needed to acquire a proper voice (Willoughby 2000: 21). The father finally confesses

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<sup>61</sup> There are other examples of the aesthetic use of raspiness on several instruments and within other genres of traditional music. An example of this is the bowed zither *ajaeng*.

<sup>62</sup> Here I say "projected" because in *Chosŏn ch'anggŭk sa* (History of Korean singing drama) by Chŏng Nosik, written in 1940, there is no evidence of this practice at that time.

to intentionally inflicting blindness on his adopted daughter, Sŏngwŏha, after she has mastered the expression of grief and the sound. In his confession there is a sense of forgiveness and resignation to the gift of suffering he was forced to inflict on the one he loved in order for her to become a master, thus becoming his *han* as well as her own. Similarly, *p'ansori* singer Lee Ji-Eun wrote in the programme notes for a performance of *Hŭngboga* of her inability to perform emotion as a young singer and that after suffering great loss and great love she could more fully relate to and perform the *p'ansori* tale (Willoughby, interview, September 29, 2009). The next phase of this research would be to do a more detailed ethnographic study of performers' ideas of *han* and the importance of *han* in performance. In the interviews that I held as part of this thesis, performers did not speak of *han* and asking questions directly would have been leading.

This desire for *han* in the present aesthetic of *p'ansori* and consequent projection on the past seems strongly to be a product of the *Minjung* Cultural Movement and the idea of the *han*-dominated life of women in a male-dominated society. If *han* can more strongly be claimed by women and a raspy quality is one of the expressions of *han*, then can it be said that women use a more raspy vocal quality? Is there an aesthetic difference in the vocal qualities of male and female performers? While a raspy vocal quality is an expression of *han* in the post-1960s cultural association, the raspy quality had already been part of the vocal quality. So although the vocal quality did not begin with the changing association of *han*, it has grown to be associated with the experience and endurance that have been intertwined with the current idea of *han*. The notion that female performers might have a larger claim to *han* and would therefore employ more use of a raspy vocal quality cannot be clearly substantiated. Although the association of *han* and vocal quality has been made since

the 1960s, the genre of *p'ansori* has been in the process of preservation and therefore not as free to change as one might think would have happened if the genre had been in a stage of evolution.

*Han* is significant in the analysis of gender in *p'ansori* due to the post-colonial meaning and modern association with national identity in combination with the movement from male to female singers. With the association between pain and suffering and social oppression, combined with the glorification of the outcast through the *Minjung* Cultural Movement, these aspects are accentuated within and projected more strongly upon traditional *p'ansori*. The virtue of suffering in the *Minjung* Cultural Movement is what I contend in part contributed to the current prevalence of female singers. If oppression and resignation were seen as virtuous, then women in a patriarchal Confucian society would have a larger claim and association.<sup>63</sup> This would have a cyclical effect of allowing for the acceptance of female performers and then further imbuing them with the qualities of *han*.

#### 3.2.4. Feminist Themes in Newly Composed *P'ansori*

According to the artistic director of the National Changgeuk Company, Yoo Young Dai, newly composed *p'ansori* is divided into four significant movements (Yoo Young Dai, interview, April 17, 2010). These are not in themselves stylistic periods, but rather significant points in which the performance and function of *p'ansori* changed. The periods between the points of change are times of decline or reflections of the continuation of the previous performance practice. The first movement occurred during the Japanese occupation of Korea and is classified as largely anti-Japanese and

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<sup>63</sup> To say that the oppressed in society were more easily accepted in *p'ansori* due to the *Minjung* Cultural Movement raises the question of whether folk performance would become more favoured. This might have been the case, but preservation and institutionalisation did not allow for a natural evolution within popular culture.

patriotic. The second movement of newly composed *p'ansori* was from the mid 1970s to the mid 1980s and was characterised by protests against the military government. The third movement was between 1995 and 2002, during which pieces typically took about twenty minutes to perform and were based on very lighthearted and humorous topics. The fourth movement began about 2008 and saw the return to longer performances of over an hour on a range of humorous, tragic and historical topics. Through these points of change there have been changes in texts, performance styles and the performers themselves. By looking at each point, an overall picture can be painted of *p'ansori* in the present and future and the role of *ch'angjak p'ansori* within the genre of *p'ansori*.

One of the presumed first pieces of newly-created *p'ansori* or *ch'angjak p'ansori*, *Ch'oe Pyŏng-du T'aryŏng* (The Song of Ch'oe Pyŏng-du), is believed to have been performed in 1904 by singer Kim Ch'ang-hwan; the story, based on political corruption and the suffering of the lower classes, thus began the strong political and social tradition in *ch'angjak p'ansori* (Um Hae-Kyung 2008: 26). During the Japanese occupation between 1910 and 1945, newly-created *p'ansori* became increasingly popular and developed primarily into patriotic *p'ansori* (*yŏlsaga*) evolving in different social classes and for different audiences (Um Hae-Kyung 2008: 27).<sup>64</sup> Patriotic *p'ansori* was developed primarily by professionally trained *p'ansori* singers and *ch'anggŭk* performers (a kind of staged *p'ansori*) and follows the traditional practices of the genre rather closely. This category can be seen as western school, or the aristocratic style, and generally is performed and created by older performers with more training who are well versed in the five traditional *p'ansori* tales. In the 1940s, there were several famous *p'ansori* tales about anti-Japanese

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<sup>64</sup>Um Hae-Kyung speaks of a third category, a sociopolitical *p'ansori*, but this is omitted here and discussed as part of the next movement as it is not seen until the 1970s.



patriotism, a set of which is remembered as the “five patriot stories.” All of these stories are about Korean people that openly acted or revolted against the Japanese occupation. Often the stories are energetic and hopeful in the first half with the movement against the Japanese occupation, and often more tragic in the second half with the frequent failure and imprisonment of the patriots.

The second movement beginning in the 1970s sees the addition of sociopolitical and religious *p’ansori*. Similar to the patriotic *p’ansori* during the Japanese occupation, religious *p’ansori* was developed and performed by professional performers and closely followed the performance practices of traditional *p’ansori* (Um Hae-Kyung 2008: 28). These first religious *ch’angjak p’ansori* tales were by written by Chu T’ae-ik and sung by Pak Tong-jin (1916-2003); since they were based on Christianity, they were referred to as “Bible *p’ansori*” (*sōnggyōng p’ansori*) (Um Hae-Kyung 2008: 28). The first performance was of The Tale of Jesus (*Yesu-jōn*); it mirrors the *Minjung* Cultural Movement and furthers the association with *p’ansori* and virtuousness in the suffering of the oppressed.<sup>65</sup>

Sociopolitical *ch’angjak p’ansori*, in contrast to the first movement and religious *ch’angjak p’ansori*, is performed by younger singers in the process of training or nonprofessional singers and uses a combination of both traditional *p’ansori* and contemporary ideas (Um Hae-Kyung 2008: 29). Sociopolitical *p’ansori* has become increasingly popular among urban middle class students and was first performed in 1974 when Im Chin-t’aek sang the controversial political writings of Kim Chi-ha. With his drummer Yi Kyo-ho, he gave underground performances of newly-created *p’ansori* at universities, colleges and even factories, which came to symbolise the nationalist movement and resistance to the dictatorial regimes of

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<sup>65</sup> For mor information on *Minjung* culture and the association with Christianity, see Section 3.2.3.

Presidents Pak Chŏng-hŭi and Chŏn Tu-hwan (Um Hae-Kyung 2008: 29). One famous *p'ansori* from this collaboration is *Owŏl Kwangju* (Kwangju in May), which dealt with the 1980 Kwangju Revolution. Also from this collaboration came the tale *Sori Naeryo* (Lower Your Voice) which told the satirical story of a man who was imprisoned, tortured and lynched for shouting the single word “no” in public. Im Chin-t'aek is significant for this movement in that he is not a great singer, but rather a great artist in storytelling. Because of his artistry, rather than his musical skill, he gained great recognition among the traditional audience of *p'ansori*.<sup>66</sup>

Also during this time period we see a larger effort in the preservation of *p'ansori* as a traditional art and a cultural asset.<sup>67</sup> With the Japanese occupation and diminution of state-sponsored musicians, *p'ansori* was marginalised and removed from the popular voice. With the introduction of the preservation system, there arose a need to define the parameters of the genre. Within this structure appeared a return to the division of *p'ansori*, much like before Japanese occupation, between aristocratic and folk styles. The traditional *p'ansori* of preservation is more closely linked with the aristocratic style with an emphasis on technique and tradition, while the folk technique is reflected in the new style of popular *p'ansori* with an emphasis on storytelling and text. The divide continues to the present with institutionalised *p'ansori* focusing on technique, tradition and vocal production, and much of the newly composed popular *p'ansori* focusing on text and storytelling.

While these previous stages of popular *p'ansori* did focus more on storytelling than musical technique, the performers of the second period were still well-trained

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<sup>66</sup> Yoo Young Dai said to me in our interview that Im Ch'in-taek confessed to him that although he was accepted and applauded by audiences all over Korea, he was not accepted when he performed in Chŏlla Province, where *p'ansori* is believed to have originated, due to his poor technical skills (Yoo Young Dai, Interview, April 17, 2010).

<sup>67</sup> See the Introduction chapter section on Research Questions for information on the preservation system.

performers. This would change in the third movement, between 1995 and 2002, with the *ttorang-kwangdae*, or beginner singers. The performances were significantly shorter and were usually around twenty to forty minutes in length. The performers were younger than in the previous periods and were often students of *p'ansori* or singers with some training. The stories were much more comic and used a more simplified singing style. Also significant to this movement, especially regarding the role of female performers as the preservers of tradition, is the prominence of female performers in this new style of *p'ansori*. While there have been female performers through the whole of the twentieth century, female performers had more strictly held to traditional *p'ansori* singing.

The stories of this period are often humorous, comment on social situations and deal with the new technology of the twentieth century. Korea had gone through significant technological advancements in the late twentieth century, and the social commentaries on modern life were easily accessible to audiences. One newly composed *p'ansori* that was successful at this time was based on the computer game Star Craft set to the famous traditional *p'ansori Chŏkpyŏkka*. The battleground of the story viewed through the narrator's perspective was replaced with the gamer looking at the battleground taking place on the computer screen. While the stories were light-hearted and comical, there was still an undercurrent of social commentary. One example of this was in Yi Cha-ram's *p'ansori* titled "The Song of Planet Kuji," or *Kuji-ga* (wordplay on reversing the word "chigu," meaning Earth), where women dominated and men were subordinate (Um Hae-Kyung 2008: 52). Through humour, the performer critiques the gender imbalances in the current society. Other stories, such as "Super Mazinger Daughter-in-Law," also comment on the social burden placed on women within Korean society. These *p'ansori* tales held little interest

among traditional *p'ansori* fans, but proved to be very popular among society as a larger whole due to the humour and relevance of the stories.

The fourth movement of newly composed *p'ansori* began in roughly 2008 and continues to the present (Yoo Young Dai, interview, April 17, 2010). The tales being composed currently are longer than in the third movement, lasting sometimes an hour or more. The topics, while still containing elements of humour, generally deal with more significant social and historical subject matter. One example of this type is Park Sung-hwan's *Tae Koguryo* (Koguryo the Great) based on the Korean victory over Sui. The performers of this current period are largely students, young graduates and young professionals with an academic focus on *p'ansori*. Performers have joined troupes that will perform a combination of *p'ansori* and the staged form of *p'ansori* called *ch'anggŭk*.

Most interestingly to me, while the majority of students and professional *p'ansori* singers are female, these groups, such as Badaksori which I met over my research trip in the spring of 2010, are for the most part divided equally between male and female singers. This brings to mind two possible explanations for the larger proportion of male singers in newly composed *p'ansori*. The first possibility is that male students are growing in numbers. As most performers of newly composed *p'ansori* are students or young performers, their presence in traditional *p'ansori* will grow as this new wave of male performers advances in the study of the genre. The second possibility is that male performers are more drawn to newly-created *p'ansori* rather than to traditional *p'ansori*. As the gender imbalance is still growing in the direction of a larger female studentship, the assumption must be the latter.

There are several reasons why male performers might be more drawn to newly composed *p'ansori* than traditional *p'ansori*. One possibility is that newly composed

*p'ansori* is seen as more masculine and traditional *p'ansori* as more feminine. This could be due to the link of aristocratic *p'ansori*, continued through institutionalised *p'ansori*, and a feminine performance style in contrast to the link of folk *p'ansori*, continued through popular *p'ansori*, and a masculine performance style. Lending itself to the feminisation of traditional *p'ansori* is the social expectation of men to be the provider of the family. To become a highly skilled performer, the singer must devote much time to studying and practicing. Due to mandatory conscription for men and pressure to earn a wage that can support a family, few male performers have the same opportunities to focus on study and practice as female students. Among the members of the newly composed *p'ansori* troupes, all the men that I spoke with worked or studied in other areas due to the inability to earn a decent wage in *p'ansori* singing.

Many historical processes have left their mark on *p'ansori*. First are the early historical phases of shamanic origins, the growing interest among the upper class and the period of prosperity. The interest of the upper class led to growing differences between upper and lower-class performance styles and the development of schools. The shift towards female singers through the twentieth century due the decline of interest in traditional music reflected the upper-class aesthetics and performances spaces and also recording technology. The role of *kisaeng* in the preservation of *p'ansori* through the Japanese occupation aided in the association between women and *p'ansori*. Finally, the division between preservation and innovation is represented by the division into traditional *p'ansori* and *ch'angjak p'ansori*. The literature and themes of the tales reflect the traditional views of masculinity and femininity by showing the development and refinement of the traditional twelve tales to the current repertoire of five that both affected and were affected by the introduction of female

singers. The five remaining tales reflect the preferences of the upper class in that all documentation would have been by the elite. Additionally, the tales reflect the Neo-Confucian society of the Late Chosŏn Dynasty and the virtues of self-sacrifice, loyalty and maintaining social order. The process of preservation has caused a division between the continuation of the aristocratic *p'ansori* through the preserved traditional *p'ansori* and the continuation of folk *p'ansori* through *ch'angjak p'ansori*.

### 3.3. Performance Practice

Throughout my fieldwork observing both traditional *p'ansori* and *ch'angjak p'ansori*, many issues arose regarding performance practice and gender. First, from this traditional genre came the theatrical version, *ch'anggŭk*, which, unlike traditional East Asian theatre forms, uses both male and female performers. This presentation of both genders raised questions for me regarding both the origin of this genre and the impact on it created by the acceptance of women by *p'ansori* at the end of the twentieth century. Second, while observing performances and rehearsals of *ch'anggŭk* and *p'ansori*, I became aware of the physical beauty of performers and how physical beauty and presentation were often emphasised in rehearsals and casting. Most interesting to me was the difference in performance practice and how these performers were described and self-described as either masculine or feminine, folk or aristocratic. Finally, as I watched performances and observed the relationship between singer and drummer, I began to note that I had not seen a female *kosu* in the performance of traditional *p'ansori* despite the fact that women often self-accompany in the studio, accompany rehearsals and lessons when teaching and accompany in turn during performances of *ch'angjak p'ansori* when separate musicians are not used. These gender issues are both a product of the process of preservation and a reflection

of the traditional social issues in the development of *p'ansori* within the Neo-Confucian last dynasty.

### 3.3.1. *Self-eliminating vs. Narrative Performance: Theatrical Genres*

Certain narratives might seem to be better suited to female singers, such as *Ch'unhyangga* and *Simchǒngga*, due to the large amount of the narrative that takes place from the perspective of the female main character. However, it is important to note that the age and the gender of the performer are not necessarily a consideration for the performer. In *p'ansori* the character is not fully realised and the performer leads the audience to the character much as a shaman is the realisation of the spirit (Pihl 1994: 11). Since narrative virtuosity overrules the gender or age specificity of the character, it can be equally possible for a female performer to perform masculine roles as convincingly as a man. Unlike actualised, self-eliminating roles where the character plays a single role and presents himself or herself as that single character and therefore has to physically appear as the character, in *p'ansori* the audience accepts the character without a physical identification beyond gestures and characterisations. This acceptance of the singer as storyteller could be part of the reason why women appeared as performers, albeit as a novelty, in *p'ansori* as early as the late nineteenth century.

Also contributing to the ease of repertoire adaptation to female singers was the lack of vocal designation of the pieces. Unlike Western operatic repertoire written for specific voice types (e.g. soprano, mezzo-soprano, contralto, countertenor, tenor, baritone and bass with a large distinction of quality within each category), *p'ansori* is written in a specific set of modes rather than a key. The performance of each narrative is pitched to fit the range of the performer rather than choosing the performer that fits

the range of the composition. In a self-eliminating staged performance of a Western classical opera, pieces are not moved from one designation to the next in part because the texture and timbre of the vocal designation is part of the expression of the piece. Therefore, a piece composed for the darker and richer tones of a dramatic mezzo-soprano would lose some of its character if performed in a higher key by a coloratura soprano. Additionally, in *p'ansori* performance, the performers are expected to change the timbre and texture of their voices with the placement in their range by using vocal quality to express the personality features of the characters. This would make the repertoire originally performed by men quite easily adaptable to the female voice as the performer created the character rather than embodied the character.

The acceptance of women into the genre of *p'ansori* did not necessarily ensure that women were as easily assimilated into the theatrical version, *ch'anggŭk*. While it is true that there were women capable of performing *p'ansori* who could have been incorporated into the new genre of *ch'anggŭk*, there is no evidence of women in *ch'anggŭk* until 1915 although the genre was established at least by 1908 (Killick 2010: 68). As *p'ansori* performers were accustomed to singing from the perspective of both male and female characters, the addition of female singers would not have been a mandatory condition. The performance of cross-gender acting was already done throughout Asia by all- male casts (Killick 2010: 108).

*Ch'anggŭk* is a staged theatrical performance first appearing in the early twentieth century with stories and music based on *p'ansori*. Although the genre used materials from *p'ansori*, it was also strongly influenced by Japanese, Western and, to a lesser degree, Chinese theatre (Killick 2010: 53-55). Pihl gives a possible explanation for the absence of theatre in Korea before this period: "Unlike China and Japan, however, Korea had neither great urban centres with a monied mercantile class



that would support professional theatre nor sufficient sources of aristocratic protection and patronage in the countryside to nurture a class of itinerant entertainers” (Pihl 1994: 21). While the influence of Chinese opera on *ch’anggŭk* is often accepted along with the suppression of the genre by the Japanese occupation, Killick argues that the development of theatre in Korea at this time is very similar to other colonial societies in Asia (Killick 2010: 48-50). Colonisation in Southeast Asia by Western powers and in Korea by the Westernised Japan caused two important factors in the development of theatre within the colonised countries: first, a merchant class was created with leisure time and disposable income, and second, the introduction of outside theatre occurred that would serve as models to be aspired to as modern and cosmopolitan (Killick 2010: 54).

The Hyŏmnyulsa theatre, built around 1903, held performances with ticketed admission to the general public that consisted of court-employed *kisaeng* and hired professional *p’ansori* and folk performers (Killick 2010: 57).<sup>68</sup> It was suggested in earlier research that the first performance at the theatre included both male and female performers, who sang in turn in various roles (Pihl 1994; Pak Hwang 1976); however, this account based on oral history cannot be confirmed with newspapers and concert announcements of the time. Whether they involved mixed casts or not, early performances with different *p’ansori* singers performing different characters are believed to be the origin of *ch’anggŭk* (Killick 2008: 102). *Ch’anggŭk* struggled in the early Japanese occupation period as progressive Koreans looked to new forms of Western theatre and films; traditional-minded Koreans still enjoyed *p’ansori*, but *ch’anggŭk* became popular in the 1930s as a response to nationalism and the

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<sup>68</sup> This was originally built as the Hŭidae Theatre for the celebration of King Kojong’s fortieth anniversary of accession in 1902 and was used for commercial profit after delays and subsequent altering of the celebration plans (Killick 2010: 108)

formation of a national identity (Killick 2008: 104). *Ch'anggŭk* grew even more popular in the 1940s and by the 1950s found great popularity in the form of all-female troupes performing *yŏsŏng kukkŭk*, or “women’s national drama” (Killick 2008: 112). This theatrical form held great interest amongst audiences in large part due to the cross-dressing of women portraying male characters (Killick 2008: 113). In 1962, the National Changgeuk Company was founded with the mission of the preservation, standardisation and popularisation of traditional *ch'anggŭk* through the performance of both traditional *p'ansori* and new works (National Changgeuk Company Mission Statement).

*P'ansori* and *ch'anggŭk* often reflect significant social issues and views, as seen in section 3.2. A performance I attended in the spring of 2010 reflects how *ch'anggŭk* is being adjusted to reflect the current gender relations in Korea and the efforts toward modernisation and equality. *Chunhyang 2010*, performed by the National Changgeuk Company at the National Theater of Korea, made several small changes in the traditional story to reflect a more current *Ch'unhyang*. First, while the traditional story stresses *Ch'unhyang*'s beauty and submissive nature, in this production's *Ch'unhyang* drew the attention of the magistrate's son through her aggressiveness and intelligence as well as her beauty. This could reflect a more equal role among the male and female characters, but, to me, it suggested a changing view of femininity and attractiveness in modern society. Second, after *Ch'unhyang* is married and separated from her husband, the new governor demands that she become one of his concubines. Traditionally, *Ch'unhyang* resists based on the Confucian virtue that a woman cannot serve two men and should rather die than remarry. However, in this version she resists the governor by saying that her separation from her husband is a private concern and that she is fighting with her own mind to follow

her commitment. While the outcome is the same and she states that she would rather die than be with another man, the motivation reflects her choice to honour herself. Finally, the closing scene, as explained to me by the artistic director, Yoo Young Dai, represents the joining of man and woman as equals (Yoo Young Dai, interview, April 17, 2010). In the traditional story, Ch'unhyang is married to Mongnyong as a concubine and not as proper man and wife because of her low social standing. In the ceremony, the two should bow to each other with the woman bowing twice and the man bowing once to show his higher standing and the woman's submission to her husband. In this version, there are blue and red lanterns hanging to represent a proper marriage rather than that of a nobleman to a concubine. When they bow to each other, they each only bow once to show that they are joining as equals and that neither is dominant or submissive to the other (Yoo Young Dai, interview, April 17, 2010). This is significant in that while *p'ansori* is strictly preserved and the tales are performed rather strictly according to tradition, within the genre of *changgyŏk*, these traditional *p'ansori* tales are brought into the modern setting and continue to evolve.

### 3.3.2. Ideas About the Appearance of Performers

With the growing popularity of *p'ansori* among the upper class, the *inmul* (good features) of a master singer became increasingly important. *Inmul* pertains to both the physical beauty and beauty of movement and character. In fact, *Kwangdaega*, a short opening piece written by Sin Chaehyo, lists good features as the first requisite of being a performer with narrative talent as second and, finally, musical talent being the last of the three (Song Bang Song 1980: 103-106). *Inmul* not only encompasses appearance and visual aspects, but also the ability of the performer to hold the attention of the audience for performances that sometimes last hours at a time. This is

not an issue of characterisation as the performer performs all the roles in the narratives, but is rather due to the desire of the audience to look at a pleasing person during performances. It is unclear if this is what led to the demand for *kisaeng* performers of *p'ansori*, as beautiful objects for the *yangban*, or if it was the upper-class preference for elegant and serene narratives that made the narratives more suitable for female performers.

While on a research trip in the autumn of 2009, I was able to attend rehearsals and performances of the National Changgeuk Company of Korea at the National Theater with the company's Artistic Director Yoo Young Dai. During this time I made many observations about the performance styles and appearances of the wide range of performers in the company. I noted the physical appearance and deportment of the performers chosen as members of the company, all of whom adhered to the cultural standard of physical beauty. While the range of femininities and masculinities will be further discussed in the following section, there seemed to be uniformity among the female performers as well as the male. The female performers, for the most part, were above average attractiveness, slender and moved with smooth, graceful gestures. The men as well were attractive, had a muscular build and moved with strength and defined gestures. When discussing this topic with Yoo Young Dai he explained to me the importance of physical appearance in the performance of *p'ansori* and thus the importance of attractiveness in the selection of the performers for the company:

Isn't it important for every performing art? ... The famous critic, Sin Chaehyo said that the appearance is important for *p'ansori*. Patrons preferred that women were pretty and men were manly, tall and good guys with nice voice. ... Nowadays with plastic [surgery] people can change their appearance... before, they would accept the conditions. ... There is physical beauty, but what is important is the beauty of the attitude. This is part of the *kisaeng* tradition. We choose the *ch'anggŭk* performers... as the director I must choose the [most] beautiful one that

can sing well. The first condition is beauty. All the audience wants to see beautiful and manly [performers]. (Yoo Young Dai, interview, September 10, 2009)

The adaptation of *p'ansori* to female performers has set the idea of femininity in the genre that might have been quite different had the addition of female performers happened in the lower-class performing styles. When women do not perform in the graceful style of the *kisaeng* and perform in a more relaxed and commanding folk style, the performer is considered masculine and will even describe her own style as such.

I observed that the style of performance categorised as feminine by both performers and audience appears to use less stage space and movement than masculine styles of performance. A male performer that follows an aristocratic style of performance is not considered to be a feminine performer, but rather to be showing a different masculinity than a performer in a folk style. For male performers there are two strong, masculine roles: both the aristocratic and folk traditions of *p'ansori*. I observed through either talking to people around me at performances or by asking Yoo Young Dai, with whom I often sat at performances, that the same performance decision by a female performer to sing in a folk style would not present the performer as a folk performer, but would classify her as masculine. While there is a range of femininities within performance styles, within a single age group there is a much smaller range of stylistic expression for feminine classifications.<sup>69</sup> This led me to conclude that male performers are free to choose either aristocratic or folk styles of performance while still remaining masculine, while female performers must remain in the aristocratic style to maintain femininity.

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<sup>69</sup> Section 3.4.

3.3.3. Differences Between Masculine and Feminine Performers in Use of Space, Interaction with Drummer and Audience

When I attended The National Ch'anggük Company's performance of *Ch'unhyangga* in August 2009 during a research trip, there were certain things that instantly grabbed my attention about the different performance styles of each performer. The featured performer, An Suk Sŏn, opened and closed the performance with six other performers of the same lineage singing various parts of the story. While observing and taking notes on each performer, clear patterns emerged in the performance styles of the performers and a clear distinction appeared between male and female performers. The differences immediately obvious were the use of stage space, interaction with the *kosu* (drummer), interaction with the audience and use of gesturing (Photo 3.2.).

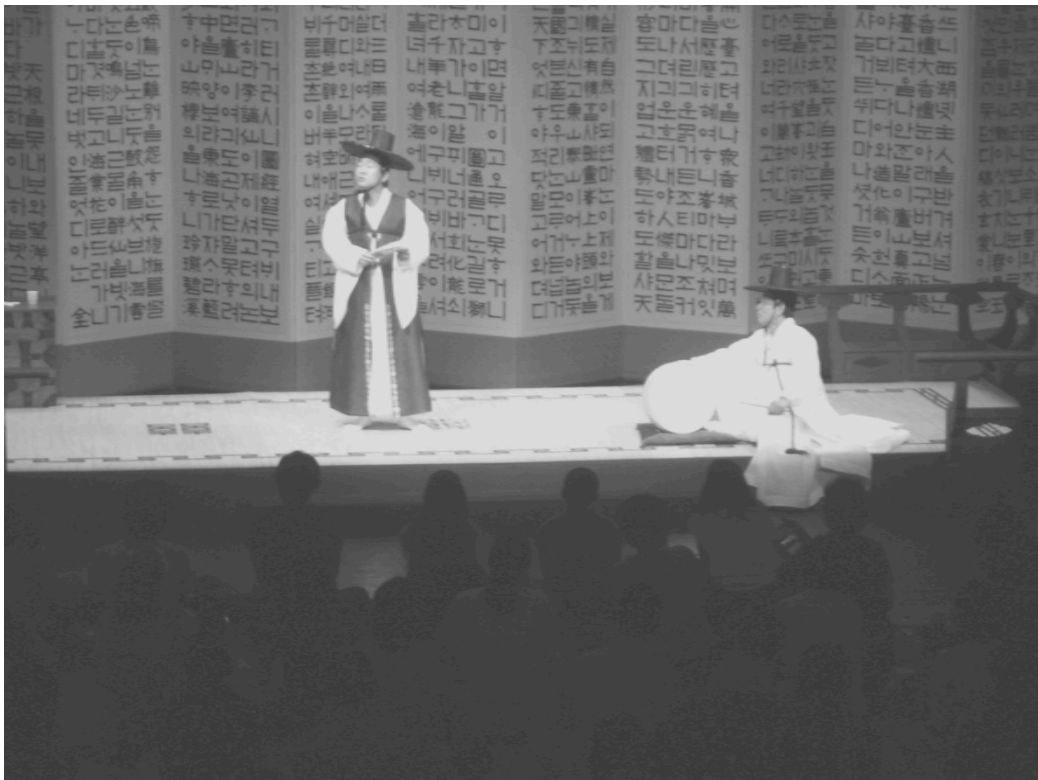


Photo 3.2. Placement of the singer and drummer in relation to the audience showing masculine associations. Photo taken of singer Yi Yŏng'ae at the National Changgeuk Company's performance of *Ch'unhyangga* featuring An Suk Sŏn, August 15, 2009.

These performance differences also maintain strong gender implications from the Confucian society in which these performance practices developed. The differences of masculine and feminine style are quite obvious, but do not necessarily correspond with the sex of the performer and vary as well with their social status and age.

One of the most obvious contrasts, as is observable regardless of ability to understand the text or dialect, is the use of space on stage and the range of movement while performing. The majority of the performances by female performers showed a much smaller range of movement regarding the physical placement of the performer on stage. While the gestures were still quite large and fan use was rather standard in frequency between the gendered styles, the performers that were considered feminine in style did not move more than two or three steps in either direction from centre stage. When stepping, even in dance movements, the performer would return quickly to centre stage, positioned upstage from the *kosu*.<sup>70</sup> Masculine performers, either male or female, used more of the stage, while remaining on the straw mat, and did not return to centre as quickly. Masculine performers would at times come forward of the *kosu*, thus having a very direct communication style with the audience.

Along with stage use was the difference in use of gesturing with hands and the folding fan by performers. The aristocratic or feminine style of performing largely used the fan to emphasise the melodic line of the musical phrase (Photo 3.3.) while the folk or masculine style tended to emphasise the gestures of the stories in actions (Photo 3.4.). The feminine style used the fan like a conducting device while the masculine style used the fan like a variety of stage props. This distinction corresponds to the aristocratic preference for complex, melismatic phrasing with a focus on musicality and the folk preference for the emphasis on storytelling and gesturing.

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<sup>70</sup> This interaction between performer and drummer and the gender implications will be further explored in section 3.5



Photo 3.3. Placement of the singer and drummer in relation to the audience showing feminine associations. Photo taken at the National Changgeuk Company's performance of *Ch'unhyangga* featuring An Suk Sön, August 15, 2009.<sup>71</sup>

These performance styles relate to the Confucian ideas of personal expression and emotionality as prescribed for each gender and social class. In traditional society, men would move within the public sphere while women would remain in the private sphere. This social structure mirrors the division of feminine introversion and private expression from masculine extroversion and public expression. Several of the traditional *p'ansori* tales deal with the issue of feminine suffering and sacrifice in silence. *Ch'unhyang*, committed to her love, is secluded and endures in solitude. *Sim Ch'öng* gives herself for ritual sacrifice in exchange for her father's debts without making her actions known to her father.

<sup>71</sup> It can also be seen that the aristocratic female performer in this photo is further upstage than either the aristocratic male performer (Photo 3.2) or the folk female performer (3.4), which will become significant in section 3.5.





Photo 3.4. Gesturing a strike showing stylistically folk associations. Photo taken of singer Yoo Sujöng at the National Changgeuk Company's performance of *Ch'unhyangga* featuring Ahn Suk Sön, August 15, 2009.

This idea of virtue that is derived from silent feminine suffering is strongly expressed in this introverted performance style. The emotion expressed in a feminine or aristocratic performance style depends on the use of the microphone to project more subtle and controlled emotion. The performers draw the audience into their personal space where the audience can experience the emotion alongside the performer. The feminine style is more vulnerable due to this need to bring the audience in through a more intimate expression.

The masculine performance style has the performer making a direct connection with the audience with a clear statement of the emotions presented in the narrative. The masculine style (which corresponds with the folk style and eastern school of *p'ansori*) is a more emotional and expressive style and is very direct in the approach to this expression.

Pak Dong-jin... he can make the full audience feel his mind. ... nowadays, the male performances use the full range, but the woman uses [smaller] space.... They use a very comic or tragic feeling freely for male performers. Especially Kim So-hee... she doesn't like the extreme... Kim So-hee keeps a small range and never overacts, a very aristocratic style. (Yoo Young Dai, interview, September 28, 2009)

However, it seemed to me that when the aristocratic or feminine performance style exhibits emotion there is a feeling of losing control and composure that can show vulnerability while the extroverted masculine performance allows the performer to cover his feelings and hide behind the direct statement of emotion being expressed.<sup>72</sup> The microphone helped to make this distinction possible because it made performance capable of not being a public act. Instead, the performer is able to project the private act of the expression of emotion without the concern for projection.

The important gender issues regarding masculine and feminine performance styles are the use of space and interaction with audience and drummer. An analysis of these performance aspects sheds light on the differences between folk and aristocratic performances and how these differences have been affected by the shifting from male to mostly female performers. By gaining an understanding of the origins of individual aspects of performance practice, it is possible to trace the division in styles and the development in time. Through the analysis of masculine and feminine performance practices I hope to gain a better overall understanding of the greater gender shifts in *p'ansori* through institutionalisation and the changing sex of the performer.

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<sup>72</sup> When I spoke of my observation with Yoo Young Dai, he said that an extroverted performer could hide behind his "thick face," meaning that the performer need not be vulnerable as the singer can hide behind an exaggerated stage expression of emotion rather than showing intimate and private expression.

#### 3.3.4. *Connections Between Gender, Age and Class*

When undertaking fieldwork, I was very intrigued by the wide age range among performers. Within a performance shared by a number of singers the age range might be as much as forty or fifty years between the oldest and youngest performer. As a classically trained opera singer myself I have always had an awareness of time and the time limit to my singing career. In Western classical opera, few performers have much of a professional performance career past the age of fifty. Once the vocal facility is diminished, the performer is no longer able to perform the works to the audiences' expectations. There is a sense of appreciation for wisdom and life experience gained, but only to the point that the voice is not affected. There comes a point when singers will decide or be told that they can no longer sing the repertoire. However, *p'ansori* singers perform until much later stages of life and are not considered to be singing the work improperly as the voice changes with age. Even when a singer loses the ability to sing with technical excellence, the performance is supplemented with the singer's wisdom and experience. While a young singer may have a larger range of notes and more stamina but lack emotional connection, an older, more experienced singer, or one that has sustained more suffering, will have less vocal ability but have a stronger emotional connection to the music (Heather Willoughby, interview, September 29, 2009). This transition with age can be seen as a shift to a more masculine sound; however, it can also be explored as a different femininity.

While observing these performances of *p'ansori* with multiple performers in turn, the differences between the older and younger performers were quite striking. The difference went beyond that of comfort with the repertoire and experience, although that was a factor, and revealed the performer/audience relationship and the

expectation of the audience regarding the performer. It seemed that as a female performer aged she changed from being a sexual object, and thus submissive to the audience, to a motherly figure with a dominant role to the audience.

Only male *kwangdae*, for example Yi Yöngt'ae, can use... sexual and mocking type humour while women performers cannot do it due to the elegant style even if she would like to. An Suk Sön uses more stage and is more of a motherly figure rather than sexual figure due to her age and her respect in the genre. (Yoo Young Dai, interview, August 28, 2009).

Therefore, the expectation of the performer by the audience allows the female performer to take a dominant performance style while still remaining feminine, while a young female performer assuming dominance would be considered a masculine performer.

The division of femininities is determined by the performer's age, whereas the division of masculinities is determined by the distinction between folk and aristocratic styles. As mentioned before, a male performer, regardless of age, performing in a direct and extroverted style is described and classified as folk or eastern school, while a male performer with a more ornamented expression and an introverted performance style is considered to be aristocratic and of the western school; both are considered masculine. For example, at a performance by Jöng Hee-sök, Yoo Young Dai spoke of his elegant masculinity (Simch'öngga featuring Jöng Hee-sök at NTOK on September 26, 2009). This aristocratic masculinity connects to the Neo-Confucian idea of scholarly masculinity where the literati were considered the most masculine in the court.

This aristocratic tradition of cultivated scholars and homosocial society also affects the relationship between audience and performer. However, although audiences in both aristocratic and folk traditions did contain female viewers, these female viewers were still secondary in the masculine public sphere. Isabella Bird

Bishop says this in her account of Korea between 1894 and 1897: “If a wife is very dull indeed, she can, with her husband’s permission, send for actors, or rather posturing reciters, to the compound, and look at them through the chinks of the bamboo blinds” (Bishop 1898: 136).

Male *kwangdae* would often have long running patronages and would to that extent become members of the community for which they were performing. The relationship between a male audience and male performer in an interior space would create a more casual and relaxed environment with less formality than would a female performing for a male audience. The male performer is part of the community circle while the woman is an object of entertainment. Therefore, when observing both male and female performers in the aristocratic style, the difference in formality between the two appears obvious. For example, when watching Jōng Hee-sōk perform, he is both formal in style and casual in interaction (Photo 3.5.). His emotional range is more controlled and his singing more ornamental, and he is often spoken of as being one of the most elegant performers in *p’ansori*. However, the feeling of intimacy with the audience is created through the causal comments made and the placement of his drinking water on the floor next to the drummer rather than on a stand across stage.<sup>73</sup> The relationship with the *kosu* reflects to the audience a relaxed mood and sense of community. Folk male *p’ansori* performers have a different relationship with the audience and *kosu* as the singer would play host to the event and use the drummer as a way to draw in and relate to the audience while the drummer encourages audience interaction.

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<sup>73</sup> The fact that the drinking bowl is placed on the ground next to the drummer and that the singer and drummer are facing each other shows social equality in Korean culture. If the drummer was of a higher status then the singer would not face him to drink, and if the singer were of a higher status, the drummer would not be watching him drink.



Photo 3.5. Equality and community with drummer as the singer faces him to drink showing stylistically aristocratic associations. Photo taken of singer Jōng Hee-sōk at the National Changgeuk Company's performance of *Simch'ōngga* featuring Jōng Hee-sōk, September 26, 2009.

Issues of masculinity and femininity are not neatly organised into categories. Performers can represent a range of masculinities and femininities and this can change over time or with refinement. Female performers while young are subordinate objects to the audience and are therefore expected to follow the expectations of a feminine performer to maintain their femininity. If not conforming to the audience's expectation, the performer is considered masculine. As a female performer ages and is removed from subordination, she is not subject to the same objectification and expectations of submissiveness are removed, thus allowing for a more direct connection with the audience. The same is not true for male performers, as they are not divided into masculinities by age, but rather by school or class. Therefore, femininity is defined by age designation while masculinities are defined by social class designations.

### 3.3.5. Sex of Drummer

While the gender balance among singers of *p'ansori* has changed over time, the same is not true of the other half of the performance, the *kosu* (drummer) performing accompaniment on the *puk* (barrel-shaped drum). This issue brings many questions to mind and has several implications for the dynamic between singer and drummer. Most singers, male and female, accompany themselves while practising, rehearsing or teaching on a regular basis and show great skill. However, this role has not brought female performers in the same way that singing has done. When addressing this issue with colleagues while on a research trip, several, such as Heather Willoughby, said that they had heard of a female *kosu* who performs while none said that they actually saw a female *kosu* perform in a formal *p'ansori* performance (Willoughby, interview, September 29, 2009).

This shifting of the gender in one area of *p'ansori* and not the other is quite difficult to comprehend. There are dynamics in each of the folk and courtly genres that might help to explain the gender dichotomy, as there is a long history in both areas with women as the primary presenter and men as the supporting musicians. In the folk tradition we learn from Simon Mills that in East Coast hereditary shamanism, as is also true of other regional shamans, that the females of the family are the shamans (*mudang*) who take the primary role as the centre of the *kut* (ritual) while male family members perform on percussion instruments (Mills 2007: 2-3).<sup>74</sup> As shamanism is believed to be the likely origin of *p'ansori*, it is likely that this dynamic could have had some influence on the current practices. However, as *p'ansori* was already well removed from shamanism when women began to perform, it seems

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<sup>74</sup> Other regions of shamanism use additional melodic instruments in the accompaniment, but the dynamic remains the same with female *mudang* and male musicians.

likely that the aristocratic performance dynamics had a greater effect on performance practices.

In court vocal and dance traditions, women would be the central performers while men would accompany on various groupings of instruments. With the institutionalisation of *p'ansori* in universities and national programmes, the entire genre has shifted toward the aristocratic style with most of the top singers currently holding university degrees and holding posts with companies or within educational programmes. With a tradition of female performers in singing and dancing, along with the acceptance of *kisaeng* performers in the aristocracy, it seems likely that female musicians would first enter the role of the singer. More gradually, as the proportion of female musicians to male musicians continues to increase, female musicians might move into the more male-dominated realm of accompaniment. Also contributing to this dynamic of female performer with male accompaniment is the *kisaeng* schools during the Japanese imperial rule where all the performers were female and most of the teachers were male (Pilzer 2008: 299).<sup>75</sup> It is mandatory presently for all music students to study the *changgo* and there are a large number of female drummers in other areas of traditional music, but in similar genres like *sanjo* (a folk solo instrumental piece accompanied by the *changgo*) where there is a single performer and a single drummer the field is still male dominated.<sup>76</sup>

The use of *ch'uimsae* needs also to be looked at as a possible factor in the lack of female *kosu*. *Ch'uimsae* is a call of encouragement or response spoken by the drummer or audience while the vocalist is presenting the narration. There are several reasons that this might perpetuate the use of male drummers. Firstly, *ch'uimsae*

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<sup>75</sup> Retired *kisaeng* also taught, but in a smaller number than the male teachers.

<sup>76</sup> I noticed a large number of female drummers in drum dances, fusion and a new style of large *changgo* drumming. Maybe it is easier for women to play percussion in these areas as they are not part of a past tradition.



identifies the gender of the drummer aurally. It is possible that there is an aural expectation by the listener for the *ch'uimsae* to be in a lower pitch level, which is more audible as it need not compete with the frequency of the singer. Even with a male performer with an equally low voice the *ch'uimsae* would be unobtrusive as the sung pitch is at a higher frequency than a low spoken call of encouragement. Due to the tradition of male drummers and low, underlying support, it might be less comfortable or aurally acceptable for female performers to produce *ch'uimsae*.<sup>77</sup> Another possible issue could be the assumption, seen in many cultures, that male performers are more technical while female performers are seen as more emotional performers; however, this is more difficult to explore since women do perform other technical drumming genres like *samulnori* and *p'ungmul*.

The implication of this gender division is quite significant when it comes to performance practice. There is quite a dramatic difference between the interaction of male and of female performers with male *kosu*. In many ways, this divide relates to the different performance styles and gender issues discussed in the previous two sections. The interaction with the drummer corresponds with the expectations of the audience regarding the gendered qualities of the performance. Male performers in the folk tradition have very energetic and jovial relationships with the *kosu* wherein they often make jokes and talk to each other during the performance. The drummer is like another character in the narrative or a representation of the audience's voice. This can be seen with the use of space as the performer will at times come downstage of the drummer and put himself in direct contact with the audience. For example, the male *p'ansori* singer Kim Young Hwa said that the singer can use any part of the stage

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<sup>77</sup> Heather Willoughby suggested at our interview that the one female *kosu* that she had seen perform did not have the same energy or enthusiasm as one would typically see. This could be an individual style or could be due to a lack of confidence from being a female performer in a male performance area (Willoughby, interview, September 29, 2009).

illuminated with the staged light, which is quite a large area (Kim Young Hwa, e-mail correspondance, July 23, 2013). With male performers in the aristocratic style, the relationship between the singer and the drummer is more casual and intimate. While there is interaction between the two in dialogue and through joking, the interaction is more as members of the same community or of the gathered group for the performance and is thus more equal. Kim Young Hwa referred to the close interaction between himself and the drummer as sharing the breath between the beats; the *kosu* is the ambassador of the cycle and engages in verbal exchanges with the singer (ibid.). This can be noticed by the typical placement of the performer either side-by-side or slightly behind or crossing the visual plane of the drummer (Photo 3.6.).



Photo 3.6. Aristocratic male style represented by the singer crossing the visual plane of the *kosu* and moving downstage. Photo taken of singer Jōng Hee-sōk at the National Changeuk Company's performance of *Simch'ōngga* featuring Jōng Hee-sōk, September 26, 2009.

The interaction between female performers and male drummers is quite different and, as mentioned before when speaking of multiple femininities, is determined by age. A young female performer does not move around the stage more than a few steps in either direction before quickly returning to center.<sup>78</sup> With the male drummer, the young female performer does not move downstage of the drummer where he is always situated between the performer and the audience (Photo 3.7.).<sup>79</sup> The female performer Bak Eun Hae (Pak Ŭnhye) said of this: “In traditional *p’ansori* the space is fixed according to the placement of the mat on the stage.... I only go forward on stage when giving a direct comment or hearing a response from the audience” (Bak Eun Hae, e-mail correspondence, July 25, 2013). The drummer is the dominant figure and acts to legitimise her presence in a traditionally male setting of aristocratic music. This corresponds with the aforementioned dynamic in *kisaeng* schools where the female *kisaeng* were students and performers while their teachers and accompanists were male.

In the case of an older female performer with a male drummer, the dynamic is more similar to the folk tradition of shamanism, where the male members of the family would accompany the women. The female performer again stays upstage of the drummer, but the interaction is more direct and jokes are more often made. At times, the singer will dab the sweat from the drummer’s head or make flirtatious comments. The singer does not need the male drummer to legitimise her performance, and he rather acts as her counterpart in the storytelling while the female singer will at times reach out to him for help or treat the drummer as a character in the story (Photo 3.8.).

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<sup>78</sup> Section 3.4

<sup>79</sup> The *kosu* sits downstage to stage-right of the singer and visually creates a plane which the female performer does not cross.



Photo 3.7. Aristocratic female style represented by the singer does not cross the visual plane of the *kosu* and remains upstage. Photo taken of singer Lee Sŏn Hee at the National Changgeuk Company's performance of *Ch'unhyangga* featuring An Suk Sŏn, August 15, 2009.



Photo 3.8. Folk female style represented by singer singing to the *kosu* as if asking for help or treating the *kosu* as a character in the narrative. Photo taken of singer Yoo Su Jŏng at the National Changgeuk Company's performance of *Ch'unhyangga* featuring An Suk Sŏn, August 15, 2009.

There are many possible reasons for the lack of female *kosu* in *p'ansori*. It does, however, seem likely over time and with the growing percentage of female performers in all areas of traditional music that there will be a growth in the number of female *kosu* as well. As the division between more traditional *p'ansori* and newly composed *p'ansori* becomes greater it seems likely that female drummers will become more popular in the less traditional genre. For example, when I went to see a performance of Badaksori at Namsan Gugakdang in April 2010, the members of the troupe, both male and female, took turns playing the *puk* when not singing.<sup>80</sup> Women much more easily enter into the genres with less of a tradition.

With my research on *p'ansori*, the lack of change in the sex of the *kosu* is equally important as the changing sex of the singer. It is related to both the societal issues that might influence the lack of female *kosu* and the gender dynamics and social expectations that are created between the performer and drummer. My theories regarding the lack of female *kosu* begin with the history of folk, aristocratic and court genres with exclusively male instrumentalists and women participating exclusively as singers and dancers. In addition, the use of *ch'uimsae* might also play a role in the continued male presence due to social expectation. Understanding the dynamics created by the male *kosu* in relationship to either a male or female singer influences the social dynamics that led to either the acceptance or rejection of female *kosu*.

### **3.4. Musical Qualities**

#### *3.4.1. Gendered Aspects of P'ansori Music*

The music of *p'ansori* employs both *cho*, mode or key, and *changdan*, rhythmic cycles, in combination with vocal timbre and movements to express mood and

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<sup>80</sup> The same thing happened in the classes and rehearsals that I observed between 2009 and 2010.

character. Mood and meaning are associated with each mode; however, the mood of a mode can change when combined with the different *changdan* (Um Hae-Kyung 1992: 155; NCKTPA 2003: 39-47). The most commonly used modes in *p'ansori* are *kyemyŏnjo* and *ujo* with other modes, such as *p'yŏngjo*, *kyŏngdŭrŭm*, *ch'uch'ŏnmok*, *sŏkhwajo*, *kyŏnggŭrŭmjo*, *menarijo*, *chunggojo*, *hoŏljo*, *tŏllŏngjo* and *sŏllŏngjo*, being used much less frequently in small excerpts and primarily as needed to signify character or mood (NCKTPA 2003: 32-38). The two most frequently employed modes, *ujo* and *kyemyŏnjo*, seem to carry the strongest gendered characteristics when discussed in academic discourse. The defining of *cho* is very difficult through the use of Western musical concepts. *Cho* can be described as mode, scale or key and the term is used to apply to all three of these melodic aspects (ibid.). *Ujo* is significant in *p'ansori* due to the association of the mode with the aristocratic vocal genres; the use of this mode often represents within *p'ansori* and *sanjo* a more aristocratic association to the listener (Um Hae-Kyung 1992: 155). The use of *cho* is not always consistent and can refer to different modes, keys and scales among different regions and schools of *p'ansori* and differs when used in the related genre of *sanjo*, solo instrumental music accompanied by drum (Figure 3.1.).

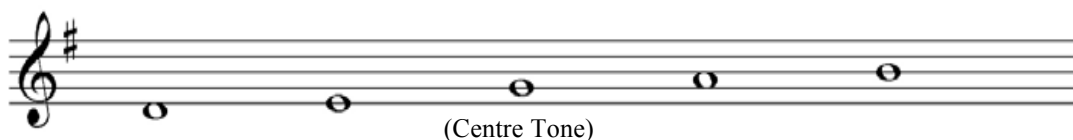


Figure 3.1. *Ujo* (Hwang Junyon 2001: 846-851; Kim Hee-Sun 2009: 28)

*Ujo* was taken from characteristic melodies of *kagok* and uses a slower and more controlled vibrato than *kyemyŏnjo* (Um Hae-Kyung 1992: 144). *Ujo* is used to describe heroic figures, mountain scenery, or descriptions of nature, and “expresses a

gallant or manly voice” (NCKTPA 2004: 34). An example of the masculine use of *ujo* appears in the tale *Chōkpyōkka* where the warrior Yu Bi visits Chegal Yang three times to persuade him to become his advisor (NCKTPA 2004: 34). The use of *ujo* signifies the virile and gallant manner of the masculine character and exemplifies the decisive and curt style of the masculine use of the mode (NCKTPA 2003 32-38). As stated, *ujo* can also be used to represent nature, as in *Ch’unhyangga* in “The Song of *Ch’ōksōng*”, which describes the sights of Namwōn as Mongnyong explores the city. *Ujo* can also be heard in *Simch’ōngga* as the female heroine is describing her surroundings aboard the ship to which she sold herself to pay her father’s debts.

Through these examples we can see the clear and descriptive aspects of *ujo* that are without ornamentation or excess. When combined with *chinyangjo*, the slowest of the rhythmic patterns, *ujo* can show the grandeur of a scene and the power of a character or situation (NCKTPA 2003: 39-47). This unadorned simplicity shows the masculine style of the eastern school. Despite being characteristic of the eastern or folk style of *p’ansori*, it might be assumed that the folk style would be the more *han*-filled school. However, as discussed earlier, the *Minjung* Cultural Movement took place in the later half of the twentieth century. At this point *p’ansori* was undergoing preservation and institutionalisation, which more closely reflected a continuation of the aristocratic styles. This is reflected in the projection of *han* on *p’ansori* as a whole and not purely on a single school or style of performance.

While *p’yōngjo* and *kyemyōnjo* are not comparable with major and minor scales used in Western music, there is a similar relationship between the association of the major third with the expression of happy emotions and experiences (*p’yōngjo*; Figure 3.2.) and the minor third and the expression of sad emotions and experiences (*kyemyōnjo*; Figure 3.3.). Hwang Junyon notes, “It is a common phenomenon that the

scales of music in various parts of the world are divided into two, and that one conveys a bright mood and the other a gloomy mood. The same is true of *p'yŏngjo* and *kyemyŏnjo* in Korean music” (Hwang, Junyon 2001: 847).

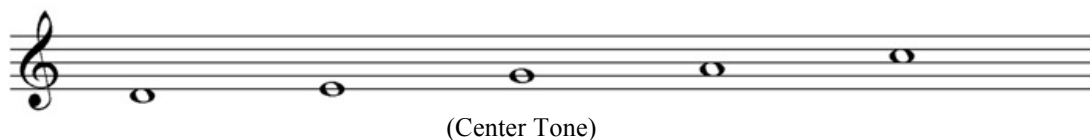


Figure 3.2. *P'yŏngjo* (Hwang Junyon 2001: 846-851; Kim Hee-Sun 2009: 28)



Figure 3.3. *Kyemyŏnjo* (Hwang Junyon 2001: 846-851; Kim Hee-Sun 2009: 28)

*Kyemyŏnjo* came from the shamanic songs of the southern Chŏlla region and uses many ornamentations and a rapid, trembling-like vibrato in combination with smooth, straight tones which are often used to invoke sad feelings or to express “women’s feelings” (NCKTPA 2004: 33). An example of the feminine use of *kyemyŏnjo* is Ch’unhyang in the *p’ansori* tale *Ch’unhyangga* who is separated from her true love and husband for years, is tortured and sentenced and is ultimately rewarded for her loyalty to her husband. Ch’unhyang’s voice is in *kyemyŏnjo*, which signifies her deep sorrow and nostalgia as well as an association with women.<sup>81</sup> This exemplifies the relationship between *kyemyŏnjo*, controlled emotionality and feminine elegance.

There remains an association of *kyemyŏnjo* and sorrow with the feminine claim to *han*; however, to say that *kyemyŏnjo* is used to express women’s feelings does not mean that it is used for the sad feelings of women exclusively. When

<sup>81</sup> The use of *kyemyŏnjo* by Ch’unhyang also shows a regional association with the Chŏlla Province.



combined with the a more controlled vibrato, this mode is used for the king, Yu Kyōnkōk, in Chōng Kwonjin’s version of *Chōkpyōkka* (The Song of the Battle of Red Cliff) when describing the suffering of his people (Chan E. Park 2003: 181-182). Through these two examples, the idea of controlled sorrow is an aristocratic, courtly characteristic while uncontrolled, quivering sorrow is a folk characteristic in *p’ansori*.

The use of *cho* can be altered when combined with different rhythms. *Changdan*, usually translated as “long-short”, can best be described as a rhythmic cycle, which is an important element of *p’ansori* and traditional Korean music as a whole. The most frequently used *changdan* in *p’ansori* are *chinyangjo* (slow tempo), *chungmori* (medium tempo), *chungjungmori* (medium-fast tempo), *chajinmori* (fast tempo), *hwimori* (very fast tempo), *ōnmori* (fast alternating duple-triple) and *ōtchungmori* (fast, six-beat) (NCKTPA 2004: 39-48). The *changdan* is improvised on the *puk* drum, or on *changgo* in the related instrumental genre *sanjo*, while the cycle remains present in the mind of the performer and the audience (Provine 2001b: 840). As with *cho*, there is an association between *changdan* and mood, where it can be expected that sad moods will be expressed with the slower rhythmic cycles and happy moods will be expressed with the faster rhythmic cycles. When *cho* is combined with *changdan*, the outcome can also have significant gender associations. For example, when *ōnmori*, a fast ten-beat cycle that combines units of 3+2 beats, is combined with *kyemyōnjo*, the music often represents the quality of the feminine supernatural or mysticism; however, when *ōnmori* and *ujo* are combined the music is suggestive of masculine heroic figures (NCTKPA 2003: 45-47).

Within these musical aspects of rhythm and mode, there are significant gendered associations. Some of these associations are due to the origin of the musical device; for example, *chinyangjo* or *kutkōri* is associated with shamanic ritual rhythms,

and the *ujo* mode is associated with the aristocratic vocal genres of *kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo*. While most modes or rhythmic cycles are not exclusively associated with a school, class, or gender, their combination and dramatic use can reflect social and gender aspects. With the popularity of *p'ansori* through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, modes and cycles from other genres were well explored and understood by the large range of audiences. While *ujo* was taken from the aristocratic style of *kagok*, when combined with certain fast or slow rhythmic cycles *ujo* can reflect anything from grandeur and joy to refined sadness. The gender aspects of *kyemyŏnjo* can be seen with the association of uncontrolled sorrow, melancholy and even the return to the feminine supernatural origins of shamanism. *Changdan* are not set in a strict time as often defined by tempo markings in Western classical music scoring, but rather are relative to the other cycles. By exploring the modes and rhythmic cycles, the drummer and singer work together to create a rich range of characters and settings to animate the narrative genre.

#### 3.4.2. Schools of *P'ansori* and Gender

In the Late Chosŏn Dynasty when all *p'ansori* performers were male, the aristocratic style of *p'ansori* was associated with a masculine performance style and the folk style with a feminine performance style due to the feminisation of the lower class by the upper class. These associations of class, style and gender have been reversed through the twentieth century. In the Late Chosŏn Dynasty, there was an association between aristocracy, the public sphere and masculinity, while within the court, scholarly masculinity was the ideal. The lower classes retained personal power only within the private sphere and remained powerless in the public sphere to accumulate any real power or private wealth. With the colonisation of Korea by Japan, the Korean

population as a whole was feminised by the colonising force. Performance of Korean music, while not banned, was made to seem old-fashioned, backward-looking and superstitious (Lee Yong-shik, interview, April 8, 2010). *P'ansori*, unlike other traditional Korean genres, was enjoyed by the colonising Japanese. Performances in lower-class society were still performed by men while the aristocratic performance of *p'ansori* was strongly influenced by the *geisha* system that was being imposed on *kisaeng* performers. Performances in the aristocratic style were being increasingly given by female performers, thus reversing the association of aristocracy and masculinity.

There are three schools of *p'ansori* with each being defined by their individual style rather than region in present times (Um Hae-Kyung 2001: 905-906). The three schools are the eastern school (*tongp'yŏnje*) from the eastern region of the Chŏlla province, the western school (*sŏp'yŏnje*) from the western region of the Chŏlla province, and the central school (*chunggoje*) from the Kyŏnggi and Ch'ungch'ŏng provinces (Um Hae-Kyung 2001: 906). These schools have gendered associations, as do the musical qualities of each school. The musical qualities that define these schools are vocal technique such as power and colour, ornamentation, completion of phrases, gestures, lyrical or speech-like style, use of stage and use of mode along with other characteristics that will be developed further in this section. This section will begin with a separate discussion of the eastern and western schools (setting aside the central school as it was not passed down) and then move into a side-by-side comparison of the two (Figure 3.4.).<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>82</sup> Characteristics of each school were taken from my own observations of *p'ansori* as well as from Um Hae-Kyung's dissertation (1992), *Voices From the Straw Mat* by Chan E. Park (2003), and from the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts 2003 book titled *P'ansori*.

The eastern school of *p'ansori* (folk style) is considered to be masculine in character due to many musical factors, a few of which were discussed in the previous section. Many of these issues were also addressed in the sections on performance styles, such as use of space, gesturing and expression and range of emotion. The eastern school tends to use a wider range of emotion, going from extreme sadness and desperation in one section of the story to crude or sexual humour and light-hearted laughter in another section. To say that the folk or eastern school is more emotional is misleading. The eastern school rather uses a more extroverted expression of emotion that brings the emotion outwardly to the audience.

<b>Eastern School</b>	<b>Western School</b>
Masculine	Feminine
Folk	Aristocratic
<i>Ujo</i>	<i>Kyemōnjo</i>
Sentimental	Virile
Little ornamentation	Much ornamentation
Syllabic	Melismatic
Large vibrato	Smaller vibrato
To the point	Drawn out
Simplified	Complex
Extroverted	Introverted
Strong endings to phrases	Weak endings to phrases
Detached phrases	Connected phrases
Ascending cadences	Descending cadences
Strong voice	Strong technique
Fast tempo	Slow tempo
Simple rhythm	Complex rhythm
Much gesturing	Little gesturing
Gesturing emphasises text	Gesturing emphasises musical virtuosity
Larger use of stage space	Smaller use of stage space
More interaction with audience and <i>kosu</i>	Less interaction with audience and <i>kosu</i>
Stronger use of crass humour	Stronger use of wit

Figure 3.4. The different characteristics of eastern and western schools of *p'ansori*.

Regarding the musical characteristics of the eastern school, the phrases are mostly syllabic and tend to have strong endings with a stressed final syllable. The tempos are also generally faster and favour ascending cadences. The phrases are

simplified, use little ornamentation and larger vibrato, and phrases are quite detached. The performer uses a larger amount of space on the stage (still within the straw mat) and does not return as quickly to centre stage, uses larger and more frequent gesturing that often follows the text rather than melodic line, has more direct interaction with audience and *kosu* (drummer), and favours a crass humour that can often be critical toward the ruling classes. This style is mostly used by men and when used by a woman, the performer is often described by others as masculine. While working with the *p'ansori* singer Lee Jeung-hee, Heather Willoughby, *p'ansori* singer and ethnomusicologist, told me that Lee Jeung-hee would often speak of her masculine-sounding voice and masculine personality due to her work with mostly male singers (interview, September 9, 2009). With age, women have more freedom to use this style of performance without being judged as masculine since they move from being sexualised figures to motherly, and therefore assume a higher status relative to the male-dominated public sphere represented by the audience.<sup>83</sup>

The western school of *p'ansori* (aristocratic style) is considered to be feminine in character due to many musical factors, also discussed in the previous section or in the sections on performance styles.<sup>84</sup> The western school tends to use a smaller range of emotion, moving between sadness and melancholy in one section of the story and wit and humour in another section. The western style is not unemotional, but rather uses a more introverted expression of emotion that invites the listener in rather than being outwardly emotive to the audience. This style focuses more on virtuosic beauty and favours the kind of emotionality typically preferred by traditional upper-class patrons.

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<sup>83</sup> For more information on the shift in feminity with age, see section 3.4.

<sup>84</sup> Section 3.2-3.5.

As for the musical characteristics of the western school, the phrases are more melismatic and tend to have weaker endings with the stress on the start of a phrase. The tempos are generally slower and the melodies favour descending cadences. The phrases are complex, use much ornamentation and smaller vibrato, and are mostly conjunct to keep the movement and flow of the line. The performer uses a smaller amount of space on the stage, often only moving a few steps from centre stage and returning rather quickly to centre stage, uses less gesturing that often emphasises the virtuosity of the line rather than text, has less direct interaction with audience and *kosu* (drummer), and favours a wit and humour that often focus around issues of Confucian morality. This style is mostly used by female performers, but if used by a male performer, the performer is not considered feminine unlike the converse in the folk style. The male performers are rather considered to be elegant and refined masculine performers.<sup>85</sup>

It would be misleading to say that singers perform within a single school of performance. These schools developed over time and show the division between the lower-class performance style that was the original form of *p'ansori* and the upper-class performances as the genre grew in popularity and shifted to suit its elite patrons. Currently, many performers have studied with masters in both schools and will employ parts of each style when it suits the version of the tale being used, the performance venue, or a section of the story. When a full performance of a long tale is performed, often lasting six or more hours, many singers are used with each singing from forty-five minutes to an hour and a half. The singers can often be of different schools if they share a common master. However, according to the artistic director of the National Changgeuk Company, Yoo Young Dai, it is seen to be a better quality of

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<sup>85</sup> For more information on the performance style of male *p'ansori* singers, see section 3.4.

performance if the singers perform in the same school of style (Yoo Young Dai, interview, August 28, 2009). Through the time of preservation starting in the 1960s, performers were expected and encouraged to perform both styles. When talking about this issue with the performer Yi Yōngt'ae, he suggested that currently performers he works with would prefer to perform within a single style or school (Yi Yōngt'ae, interview, August 28, 2009). While the flexibility is a current demand, as the genre moves forward from the point of pure preservation we might see a further shift back to the division of the eastern and western school of performance.

## **Conclusion**

The important questions approached here are the following. Why did the completely male genre of *p'ansori* shift toward one that is mostly performed by female singers while drummers have remained male? What in the genre either enabled this shift or was a product of this shift? Each section of this chapter has considered these issues to have a clearer understanding of the process that brought such change and to attach meaning to the practices that have resulted. Some of the issues addressed are not specific to the genre and apply to South Korean traditional music as a whole or in part to other genres, such as the historical context, influence of recording technology and institutionalisation, *kisaeng* performers, and some issues of performance practice, while other issues are more strictly associated with *p'ansori*.

As explored in the opening section, *p'ansori* is theorised to have developed among the lower-class performers associated with itinerant shamans in Chōlla Province and gradually changed in aesthetic as the genre gained popularity among upper-class audiences. Both upper- and lower-class traditions had exclusively male instrumentalists with female participation only as singers or dancers. A shift in the

aesthetics of the upper-class patrons and in the private performance venues in part led to the acceptance of female singers. The aristocratic patronage also changed the role of the singer from host to servant, which within a Confucian patriarchal society would aid in the acceptance of female performers. Indoor performance venues and recording technology provided private spaces, which also made it more acceptable to use female performers in Confucian society. *Kisaeng* performance largely led to the feminisation of the role of the singer through the twentieth century due to the fall in popularity and institutionalisation of schools.

*Han* has had a large impact on the gendered associations of *p'ansori*. With the growing popularity of Christianity in post-colonial Korea came the *Minjung* Cultural Movement and the national association with *han*. This movement became strongly associated with *p'ansori* and was projected onto the aesthetics of the genre. This was in part due to the process of cultural preservation, which tried to find a unifying cultural identity in the process of developing nationhood. This unifying feeling of *han* and glorification of the oppressed in the *Minjung* Cultural Movement were projected on and accentuated within the genre of *p'ansori*. I theorise that this was in part a contribution to the prevalence of female singers. If oppression and resignation are seen as virtuous, women in a patriarchal, Confucian society would have a larger claim and association, thus further allowing for the acceptance of female performers of *p'ansori*, a genre deeply associated with *han*.

The broad scope of the project meant that it was not feasible to undertake specific ethnography of *p'ansori* singers and their perspectives on male/female performance styles, use of stage space and interaction with stage and *kosu*. However, when observing performances, I noticed four distinct gender divisions. Whether a female performer would perform in an aristocratic or folk style was most often



predicted by the singer's age and experience level. Male performers were not differentiated in the same way by age and seemed to choose between an aristocratic or folk performing style according to preference. These masculine and feminine performance practices were evident in several areas. First, masculine or folk performers seemed to use more mimetic movement with gestures following the actions of the story while feminine or aristocratic performers seemed to gesture to accentuate the musical virtuosity. Second, masculine performers seemed to use a larger area of the straw mat while feminine performers would remain closer to the centre of the straw mat. Lastly, the interaction between the singer and the audience was more extroverted with masculine performers and more introverted with feminine performers. Just as with performance practice, the relationships are broken into different categories of masculinities and femininities in association with the origin of the practice. Masculine aristocratic performers would interact with the drummer as a member of the same social community with the *kosu* being the voice of the small and exclusive gathered group. Masculine folk performers interact with the drummer as an equal as well, but the role of the *kosu* in this case is to be an example for the audience in how to act and to encourage audience excitement. The dynamic between *kosu* and singer with a female performer in the aristocratic performance style is that of dominant and submissive. In this tradition the drummer would have often been the singer's teacher and would play the role of legitimising the female singer's place in the male public sphere. However, with a feminine folk performer, as with shamanic communities, the relationship between singer and *kosu* would be as members of the same family with the singer playing a dominant or motherly role to the gathering.

These dynamics are both a product of and a possible reason for the lack of female *kosu*. Why the sex of the singer has changed while the drummer has not is a

very complicated issue. The use of *ch'uimsae* and the social expectation of the audience could have a prohibitive effect. Also contributing is the tradition in all classes of having male instrumentalists and female singers or dancers. It is possible that the social association of male performers with strong technique and female performers with expressive emotionality has had an affect on the genre. However, since women drum in other genres this association is unlikely to be a strong factor.

Several issues are especially distinctive in *p'ansori* from a gendered perspective when compared to other genres of Korean traditional music. First, while traditional music as a whole has shifted from being traditionally male-dominated to being presently mostly performed by females, the introduction of female performers to *p'ansori* seems to have happened quite early in comparison with other genres. In addition, the genre has a clear divide between folk and aristocratic aesthetics that allows a side-by-side comparative analysis of the two without needing to make cross-genre references. Throughout traditional music as a whole, as seen through several of the previous genres of ritual and aristocratic music, the issue of women and cultural preservation is a recurrent one. Most basic is the common contemporary stereotype that classifies women as communal and intuitive and men as instrumental and competitive, thus reflecting the division in social roles (Marini 1990: 98; Ridgeway 2004: 513). Shehan speaks of this divide in Balkan society where women are more concerned with continuity and sustaining while men are concerned with economic gain and progress (Shehan 1987: 47). In diaspora women are often more restricted as “keepers of tradition” while immigrant males are afforded more opportunities outside of the home (Stritikus 2007: 860). Similarly, within rapidly modernising societies, men often work towards progress while women are keepers of culture (Billson 1995: 376).

*P'ansori* reflects this role of women in preservation particularly well, first, due to the role of *kisaeng* in the preservation of the genre through Japanese occupation. Admittedly, many men participated through this period and following Liberation into the phase of nation-building; however, the current system of preservation has seen an even larger shift towards female singers. It seems that as the genre entered the phase of preservation removed from the evolution of popular culture, it has been increasingly feminised. This can be attributed to the institutionalisation of *p'ansori* with performance spaces more closely resembling private, aristocratic settings. While there remains a distinction between aristocratic and folk performance practices within the preserved, institutionalised version of traditional *p'ansori*, the divide between aristocratic and folk can be more clearly seen in the divide between traditional *p'ansori* and *ch'angjak p'ansori*, with the former being a continuation of the aristocratic style and the latter a continuation of the folk. Reflecting the division of masculine folk and feminine aristocratic *p'ansori*, the continuation of the folk style, *ch'angjak p'ansori*, retains a larger number of male participants. This is in direct contrast to other areas of traditional music, such as the larger number of male participants in *aak* and *ch'ongak* than in *ch'angjak kugak*. These issues relate to both the role of traditional music in society and traditional associations of *kisaeng* and scholarly masculinity that will be further explored in the coming chapters on folk music and modern developments.

## Chapter 4: Folk Music

Through my fieldwork, I encountered some strong contrasts between folk and aristocratic musical genres. One was the larger participation of women in folk music than in *aak* or *chǒngak*. For example, while attending the 50<sup>th</sup> Korea Folk Art Festival, I noticed that the regional groups contained about even numbers of male and female participants (Photo 4.1.).



Photo 4.1. Showing both male and female participation within a folk music setting. Photo taken at 50<sup>th</sup> Korea Folk Art Festival held at the National Gugak Center, September 10-13, 2009.

A second issue regarding folk music was that women participated in drumming within percussion ensembles, *p'unngmul*, in self-accompaniment in certain vocal genres, such as *chapka*, and in accompaniment associated with mask dances (Photo 4.2.). To

explore these issues, I first define the terms and parameters of folk music, then present an analysis of the origins of these musical practices.



Photo 4.2. A female drummer accompanying mask dance within a folk music setting. Photo taken at 50<sup>th</sup> Korea Folk Art Festival held at the National Gugak Center, September 10-13, 2009.

Traditional Korean music, as it is presently understood, performed and preserved, derives mostly from the Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910) and still maintains the division between *chŏngak*, meaning music of the upper class (although the term was not applied until the twentieth century), and *minsok ũmak*, referring to folk music (Provine 1983:181). This division between folk music and upper-class music can be confusing when approaching certain genres of music, such as *p'ansori*, *sanjo*, and even the vocal genres *kasa* and *sijo*. All of these genres were performed for upper-class audiences yet *p'ansori* and *sanjo* were classified as folk music and *kasa* and *sijo* as upper-class music. The division of the upper-class and folk genres appears in the

distinction between the documented music of the court annals and the folk music of the oral tradition. While current music students in traditional music programmes study both forms, the styles remain distinctly different. Even before a sound is made, obvious differences are signalled through the existence of different versions of the same instrument, as with the *taegŭm* (*aak* and *sanjo*) and *kayagŭm* (*chŏngak* and *sanjo*).

*Minsok ũmak* includes both the music performed by the non-musician members of the folk class and the music of professional musicians playing for an audience of the folk class. Central to folk culture is the practice of professional entertainment troupes (*nori p'ae*) which formed around shamanism and the itinerant practices of shaman ritual (Provine 1983: 184). This practice, in spite of regional rivalries and geographic obstacles, led to a kind of standardisation of folk music among the geographic regions of Korea, which prompted the popularity of such genres as *p'ansori*; these genres then gained the favor of the upper classes and were performed by musicians belonging to the lower classes. Thus, the classification of genres into either upper-class music or folk music is influenced by both the origin of the genre and the musical preferences of the audience or patrons. For example, *kasa* and *sijo* are classified as upper-class genres due to their originally aristocratic patronage. A genre such as *p'ansori* had lower-class origins and was performed for upper-class patrons by musicians who themselves, for the most part, maintained their status in the lower classes.

Within Late Chosŏn Korea, culture was regulated by Neo-Confucianism; however, expression of this influence on gender varied greatly among the classes. In many ways, the adherence to the rules of Confucianism was a way of defining one's social standing within the public sphere. As explored in chapter two on aristocratic

culture, the social system was such that only members of the elite classes, which were a small percentage of the population, were able to adhere to the social dictates of Confucianism due to economic and familial demands. There was also a clear diminution in the presence of women within the public sphere in the upper-classes. The division of the classes was dependent on the “proper social identification of women, and women therefore became the keepers as well as the victims of an unequal system” (Deuchler 1992: 236).

Women of the lower classes would not have had the means to support this kind of social division of space. Due to financial demands, women of the family would have been required to work outside the home. However, among the lower classes, there was a distinction between members of the commoner class, such as farmers, merchants, and fishermen, and members of the lowest class (*ch'ŏnmin*), which included slaves, butchers, leatherworkers, *kisaeng* and shamans (Deuchler 1992: 13; Hwang Kyung Moon 2004: 24). The position of low standing, especially the *ch'ŏnmin*, allowed for a certain amount of freedom from the Confucian rules strictly imposed on the women of the upper class. In the same way that *kisaeng* had more expressive freedom through the musical media of *kasa* and *sijo*,<sup>86</sup> other women of the *ch'ŏnmin* class, such as shamans, were allowed a similar degree of freedom in the public sphere. Within South Korean shamanism, the ritualists were often women. These female shamans (*mudang*) were often the primary income earners for the family, had influence in the male public sphere through business and taxation, and maintained a public presence due to the social freedom allowed social outcasts; however, this status was also stigmatised, just as with the *kisaeng*.

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<sup>86</sup> For more information on the expressiveness of *kisaeng* in aristocratic vocal music, see section 2.2.

This chapter looks at the folk genres of shamanic music, *minyo*, *p'unngmul* and *sanjo*. By understanding the role of women in folk culture and shamanism, the role of women in folk music is more clearly explained. Unlike aristocratic women, women of the lower class participated in singing in the male public sphere through ritual, farming songs, and communal gatherings; therefore, folk music underwent a different process of adaptation through preservation. This process allowed for a greater acceptance of women in singing and dancing genres associated with women in ritual, such as shamanism, or in communal gatherings, which aided the acceptance of women in *p'unngmul*. The analysis of folk culture allows for a wider context for issues within the whole of traditional music, both currently and historically.

#### **4.1. Shamanism**

While shamanism is not an area included in my fieldwork, it is being discussed here as a foundation for the rest of the chapter. Many folk-derived traditions, such as *p'ansori*, *sanjo* and *minyo*, feature the divide between female soloist and male accompaniment (Photo 4.3.). The same divide is reflected in fusion ensembles where the lead instruments, typically *kayagŭm* or *haegŭm*, are played by women while the supporting instruments and rhythm section are played by men.<sup>87</sup> While this division can be seen in aristocratic traditions through the relationship of *kisaeng* to male performers in *kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo*, the participation of women in the male public sphere through the practice of shamanism might have influenced the acceptance of female participation in folk genres related to singing and dancing. Additionally, the role of male shaman musicians accompanying the female shaman ritualist is reflected in the divide between female soloist with male supporting accompaniment.

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<sup>87</sup> See Chapter 5, sections 2 for fusion and section 3 for the gendering of instruments.





Photo 4.3. Female *minyo* singers with mostly male accompaniment. Photo from the programme of Yun Chunggang-gwa Hamkke Hanün Well-being Ŭmak Matbogi at the National Gugak Center on October 27, 2009.

Within hereditary shamanism (in the southern and eastern provinces of Korea) a woman becomes a shaman by being both born into a shaman family and then married to a male of a shaman family with whom she begins training at a young age. The male members of the family accompany the ritual on a set selection of instruments and begin to learn ritual music as children through the other male members of the family. The female shaman (*mudang*) does not begin training through her family, but rather begins training with her mother-in-law to learn the ritual performance of her husband's family (Mills 2007: 6-7). The male ritualists (*yangjung*) have the job of accompanying the officiating *mudang* (Mills 2007: 7). In contrast to the traditions of hereditary shamanism, spirit-descended shamans of the northern provinces do not pass through family lineage; rather, a person, most often a woman, shows symptoms of possession through mysterious illness, is diagnosed by a shaman, and then initiated a shaman through her spirit mother (Lee Yong-shik 2004: 71-72, 77-78). The musicians that accompany these rituals are sometimes elderly women

with a strong belief in shamanism,<sup>88</sup> male<sup>89</sup> or female shamans who are not presently performing the ritual themselves,<sup>90</sup> or professional musicians from outside of shamanism (such as with Seoul and Kyōnggi shamans) (Lee Yong-shik 2004: 63, 64, 76-77, 83-84).

Before the rise of Neo-Confucianism in the Chosŏn Dynasty, shamanism and Buddhism were both practiced throughout all levels of society. Shamanism and Buddhism functioned differently within society, but areas of overlap or interaction existed. Buddhism was the state religion during the Koryŏ Dynasty (918-1392) and shamanism, while not seen favorably, was able to maintain a position in the upper classes in part because of the ability of shamanism to incorporate certain aspects of Buddhism (Lee Yong-shik 2004: 27). However, with the beginning of the Neo-Confucian Chosŏn Dynasty, both shamans and Buddhist monks were relegated to the lowest class of outcasts, along with entertainers, and were prevented from entering the capital or presiding over public ritual (Lee Yong-shik 2004: 27). During the Chosŏn Dynasty, an association gradually emerged between men and the practice of Buddhism<sup>91</sup> and women and the practice of shamanism. Through the persecution of shamans and their followers by the eradication policy implemented during the Chosŏn

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<sup>88</sup> Lee Yong-shik discusses this characteristic of Hwanghae shamanism. “Most musicians in Hwanghae shamanism are elderly females. For instance, four *janggu* players in the Society for Preservation of Hwanghae Provincial shamanism are sixty years or older.... One of the most competent accompanists of Hwanghae shamanism, Choe Eum-jŏn, the co-holder of the Intangible Cultural Asset. no. 82b, is an eighty-seven year old woman who actively participates in performances. Musicians are usually faithful believers in shamanism, and through their close relationships with shaman, they eventually become accompanists.” (Lee Yong-shik 2004: 84)

<sup>89</sup> Such is the case of Uncle Min-gaebi, but the male shaman is not typical by any means. (Lee Yong-shik 2004: 83)

<sup>90</sup> Because the shamans take on the role of musician without much training or practice, the instrumentation and rhythmic complexity are limited.

<sup>91</sup> This shift developed through the exclusion of women from Buddhist temples, a practice implemented in the sixteenth century, and through the presence of men in the public sphere.

Dynasty, the government inadvertently strengthened the association between women and shamanism. As Lee Yong-shik contends:

Confucianism deepened the already growing paternalism, affecting attitudes toward the aged and also toward women. As women became increasingly excluded from participation in such areas as education and social activities with men, one of the few remaining avenues for their self-realization was shamanism. As a result, the government inadvertently made the shaman role more accessible to women. Since shamanism remained a persistent force in the life of Koreans in spite of official oppression, it provided its female specialists with an unexpectedly powerful avenue for continuing their influence within society. (Lee Yong-shik 2004: 27)

This association can be seen not only through the greater numbers of female shamans than male shamans, especially among hereditary shamans, but also through the choice of spirit-parent. Lee Yong-shik discusses this issue when interviewing his informant regarding his choice of a female spirit-parent rather than a male; Uncle Min-gaebi responds, “There were not many male shamans at that time. In addition, I did not want to have a male shaman as my spirit father because many male shamans are not ‘real’ shamans. Most of the men [are] just fortune-tellers. They are just good at fortune-telling but cannot perform a *gut*” (Lee Yong-Shik 2004: 82).

Among many of the different regional practices of shamanism within Korea, the divide between female shamans and male shaman-musicians often exists. Within areas of spirit-descended shamanism, the divine energy necessary in the practice of shamanism is called *sin-ki*. This often manifests itself within a person through unexplained illness, both physical and psychological, which leads to a diagnosis by a shaman and initiation into the practice of shamanism. This divine energy, *sin-ki*, also refers to creative energy and artistic ability. While it is believed that shamans have more *sin-ki* than non-shamans, the term is also used to describe someone who has exceptional creativity or talent in the arts such as music and dance (Lee Yong-shik 2004: 72). There is a perception of women having greater access to the spirit world

(Kendall 1985: 36). One manifestation can be seen in the feminine association often projected on and self-ascribed by male shaman ritualists, sometimes even dressing in woman's clothing (Kendall 1985: 27). Despite the stigmatisation of shamans, these female shamans historically have been allowed a certain amount of freedom and power within the community due to their low status as outcasts. While women were not permitted within the male public sphere, these women presided over public ritual. In addition, they were usually the primary financial support for their family while the male members of the family accompanied the ritual on instruments (Mills 2007: 6-7).

The increased sense of cultural unity initiated by Japanese rule and forged through the process of modernisation and globalisation enabled Korea to identify an "authentic" Korean identity and shamanism as a native religion, unlike the foreign religions of Confucianism, Buddhism and Christianity (Kim Kwang-Ok 1994: 209). This sense of unity and oneness of the oppressed and alienated resonated with the sentiment of *Minjung* culture and *han* (Sasse 1991: 30). Through the ritual, community members experienced a shared catharsis (*sinyöng*); while creating communal unification, the cathartic ritual energised the struggle against the exploitation of the ruling elite (Kim Yeol-gyu 1971: 274).<sup>92</sup>

Shamanism also furthered associations of women with song or dance and men with instrumental accompaniment. The male members of the family played supporting roles of accompanying musicians or performed other music surrounding the communal gathering. These accompanying shaman-musicians played a role in the early development and influences of *sanjo* and *p'ungmul*, making these genres more likely to be associated with men. These associations established between female ritualists and male shaman-musicians can be seen throughout the whole of Korean

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<sup>92</sup> See section 3.2.3.

traditional music, especially *p'ansori* and *sanjo* which presently clearly reflects this gender division between female performer and male accompanist.

#### 4.2. Sanjo

*Sanjo* holds a unique position in traditional music both in its aristocratic origin under folk influence and in regard to the role of women early in the development and later in the preservation of the genre. *Sanjo*, or scattered melodies, is organised as a rhythmic progression of movements performed on a solo instrument showing great skill and technique and accompanied by the *changgo* (Photo 4.4.). Originating in the southwestern Chölla province, it was first developed for the *kayagŭm* and over time was used as well for *kömun'go*, *taegŭm*, *ajaeng*, *haegŭm*, *p'iri* and *t'aep'yöngso* with the *kömun'go*, *taegŭm*, and *kayagŭm* being the most popular versions. Between the years of 2005 and 2008, my instrumental studies on the *k'ömungo* primarily focused on *sanjo*. Therefore, many of the following observations are based on my time as a student of *sanjo*. As *sanjo* was strongly influenced by *p'ansori*, there are many similarities between these two areas, which are significant areas of my primary research.

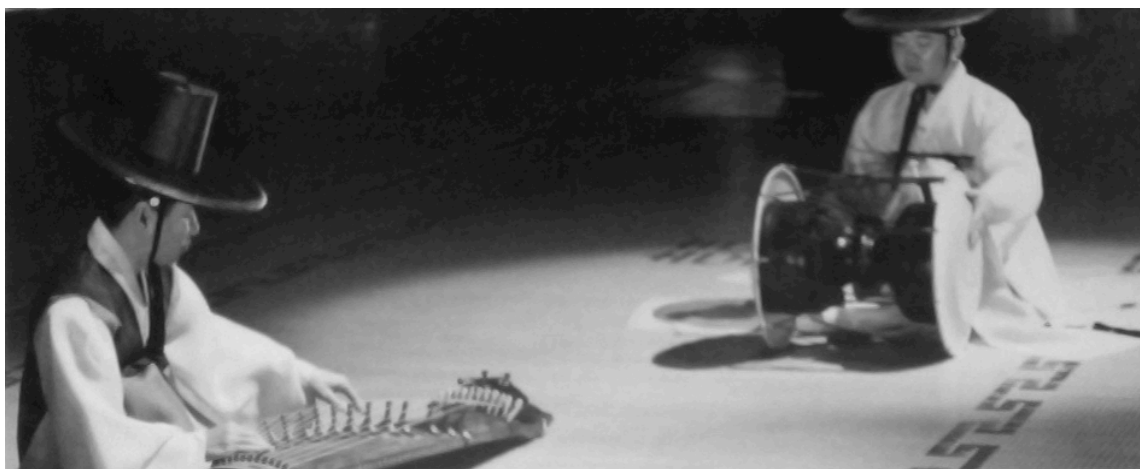


Photo 4.4. Performance of *kayagŭm sanjo*. Photo from concert programme of the Saturday Performance of Korean Music and Dance held at The National Gugak Center on April 17, 2010.

*Sanjo* often begins with a *tasŭrŭm* in free rhythm, similar to a *tan'ga* in *p'ansori*, that acts as a sort of tuning piece before the opening movement. As in *p'ansori*, the sections of the *sanjo* are defined by rhythmic cycles called *changdan*, which are improvised on the *changgo* (occasionally *puk*) accompaniment.<sup>93</sup> The order of the *sanjo* sections moves from the slowest *changdan* of *chinyangjo*, which can take up to half of the total performance time of the whole, followed by the increasingly faster movements of *chungmori*, *chungjungmori* and *chajinmori*. Depending on the instrumentation or version of *sanjo*, there may be additional movements, such as *kutkŏri*, *hwimori* and *ŏnmori*. *Chungjungmori* is sometimes omitted, and *kayagŭm sanjo* often ends with the faster *hwimori* and *tanmori*.

It is believed that this improvisational instrumental genre developed from the shamanic instrumental accompaniment of the southwest called *sinawi* and was greatly influenced by the vocal genre *p'ansori*. *Sinawi* is an improvisational ensemble performed by shaman-musicians who originally accompanied shaman rituals in the southwestern province of Korea. The shaman-musicians were male descendants of hereditary shamans who developed “virtuosic musical and improvisatory techniques from their childhood” (Lee Yong-Shik 2004:115). The instrumentation for *sinawi* was traditionally *ajaeng*, *haegŭm*, *p'iri*, *taegŭm*, *changgo* (or sometimes *puk*), *ching* and sometimes *kuŭm* (singing, usually by the percussionists, using non-lexical vocalisation); the present performance style adds *kŏmun'go* and *kayagŭm*. Traditionally, *sinawi* accompanied shaman ritual, songs and dances; however, there were other ways in which *sinawi* functioned in the Chosŏn Dynasty, such as non-ritual *sinawi* for entertainment by either solo or ensemble performers.

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<sup>93</sup> As related genres sharing the practice of soloist with solo drum accompaniment, *sanjo* often has the same division of female instrumentalist and male drummer as *p'ansori*. See section 3.3. for a discussion on this division.

With the rising interest in the performance of *sinawi* among the upper and middle classes, *kōmun'go* and *kayagŭm* were added to the traditional ensemble. One such member of this aristocracy, Kim Ch'angjo (1865-1920), is often attributed with founding the first school of *sanjo*; he was the son of a petty town officer and later in life became a student and great patron of folk music (Ham Hwa-jin 1948: 201). Not part of the lower class of musicians and shamans, Kim Ch'angjo attended local meetings for *p'ungnyu*, aristocratic instrumental music appreciated by scholars, with the local literati; as he became the head of his family, he brought famous folk musicians to his home to perform and teach (ibid.). As a patron of folk music and folk musicians, Kim Ch'angjo likely had knowledge and appreciation of *sinawi*, *p'ansori* and *p'ungmul*, all of which influenced the creation of *sanjo*.

The instrumentation of *sanjo* is further divided into “schools” (*yup'a*) which are associated with the founder or sometimes the second-generation transmitter of a version of *sanjo*. The versions of *sanjo* developed for other instruments and schools are thought to be based on the original version of Kim Ch'angjo as carried on by his students and granddaughter. While there is music that is *sanjo*-like in nature before this point, such as “*simbang*” shamanic ritual music of Jeju Island, the schools of *sanjo* that have been transmitted to the present can be related to this first school of *kayagŭm sanjo* (Lee Chaesuk 2008: 50). Kim Ch'angjo's *sanjo* was developed into a *kōmun'go sanjo* in 1896 by Paek Nakchun (1876-1934). Schools developed from these early versions by being passed from teacher to student and by the creation of new versions from master students. By the early twentieth century, *sanjo* was being created for other instruments, such as the *haegŭm*, *taegŭm*, and *tanso*. *Sanjo* for the *t'aep'yōngso*, *ajaeng*, and *p'iri* appeared near the middle of the twentieth century.

Beginning in the late 1960s, the government used a system of preservation for the *sanjo* as an Intangible Cultural Property and appointed certain people as designated carriers and teachers of the traditions of the specific schools. However, current students study many versions of *sanjo* and are not limited to a single school. In addition, students who once learned by rote now learn with Western notation. Where it would have traditionally taken a student years to learn a single school of *sanjo*, students currently learn several versions as part of their university course in traditional music (Lee Chaesuk 2008: 48). With this system of preservation and the process of notation, improvisation began to disappear from the performance of *sanjo*. In traditional *sanjo* transmission, the master would teach the student only part of the final movement and have the student develop the rest; however, as Lee Chaesuk began notating *kayagŭm sanjo* schools in the 1960s and 1970s, the pieces were notated with the full endings as originally performed by the masters (Lee Chaesuk 2008: 45).

At the basic level, *sanjo* is comprised of a combination of *changdan*, *cho*, *sŏngŭm*, and *sigimsae*. *Sŏngŭm* refers to the artistic expression of the instrumentalist, which realises the “special expressive timbre evoked and specified by a particular *cho* or melodic prototype of music” (Kim Hee-sun 2009: 30-31). *Sigimsae* is the regionally and genre-specific ornamentation technique. A *sanjo* performer uses *sigimsae* (ornamentation) as an element of expressing *sŏngŭm* (artistic interpretation). This use of ornamentation and expression is applied to *cho* and *changdan*, which deal with tonality and rhythm respectively. The ornamentation and vibrato used in *sanjo* has a wider range, deeper pitch bend, and more sliding between pitches than aristocratic music. The combination of the elements of *changdan*, *cho*, *sŏngŭm*, and *sigimsae* varies greatly among versions of *sanjo* according to the instrument and the



person performing the *sanjo*. These musical elements reflect both the origins and influences of *sanjo* regarding gender, instrumentation and the role of women.

#### *4.2.1. Emotion and Expression: Gendering the Kaygŭm and Kŏmun'go Through Sanjo*

Initially, I was drawn to the *kŏmun'go* to understand the masculine associations of the instrument. Since the masculinity attributed to the instrument was in part due to the association of the *kŏmun'go* with literati gentlemen, I wanted to learn *sanjo* as this was the ultimate expression of literati masculinity; the piece showed intellectual virtuosity through improvisation and reflected the upper-class domination of the lower class through the manipulation of the lower-class genre. I began my studies on *kŏmun'go* just two weeks after my arrival in P'ohang, South Korea in September 2005. I only spoke about ten words of Korean and my teacher, Park Min-ji, a female graduate student, spoke absolutely no English. At this point, I knew very little about Korean music; my knowledge was based on academic reading and a few recordings, but I had never seen any Korean instrument played live, let alone played Korean instruments myself. However, armed with my twenty years of instrumental studies on various Western instruments, I began my studies. Park Min-ji would come to my flat three times a week for hour-long sessions.

We began with a few folksongs, “Arirang” and the like, before moving on to *kŏmun'go sanjo* within the first few weeks. As a new *kŏmun'go* player, I did not have the calluses to protect my hands, and they would hurt so badly that I could only play for about five minutes before I needed to shake my hands out. The movement of the embellishments, slapping and plucking of the strings with my thumb, and long intervallic stretches were very difficult and required a lot of strength. The subtlety of

difference between the ornamentations was very difficult for me to hear and articulate, and the language difficulty and inability to explain meant that my teacher played each ornament repeatedly until I was able to replicate and articulate the difference between the ornamentations needed for *kŏmun'go sanjo*. My thumb, despite the developing calluses, would blister beneath the calluses from the sideways pushing and bending of the strings required in playing *sanjo*, which has a larger tonal range within the vibrato and ornamentation than *aak* or *ch'angjak kugak* (which also formed part of my studies).

While *sanjo* was traditionally passed down without the use of notation from teacher to student through long apprenticeships, current students learn *sanjo* through the use of scores in Western musical notation. While I have been reading music as long as I have been reading books, I was unfamiliar with the *kŏmun'go* and how the written notes related to the instrument. In addition, there are many markings created just for the *kŏmun'go* that are not part of standard musical notation. Therefore, the early part of my studies of *kŏmun'go sanjo* was done without a musical score. We would play a single phrase over and over until my teacher could tell that I understood, even if I could not reproduce perfectly, the subtlety of the many different sounds being made. I would record each lesson and practise with this the day between our lessons. In this way, it took us several months to work through the first movement and only at this point did we begin using the score to stitch the phrases together and work on playing the first movement as a unified piece.

In my process of learning the *kŏmun'go*, especially *kŏmun'go sanjo*, I was struck by the discussion of the “masculine sound” often attributed to the *kŏmun'go* by my teacher or Korean friends. When I could not play an ornamentation properly or with the right expression, my teacher would tell me to play it with a more masculine

feeling. This usually meant to play with a quicker and stronger strike or pluck, or to use deeper or wider vibrato. As someone just exposed to Korean music and culture, I was on a quest to understand what this meant and what it meant to sound “masculine” on an instrument unfamiliar to me in a culture with constructs of masculinity different than my own culture’s gender norms. There were two aspects of this “masculine” performance aesthetic: one aspect was the viewing of the *kōmun’go* as a masculine instrument itself, and the other was the production of a masculine sound within the balance of *ŭm* and *yang*, give and take, and the masculine and feminine characteristics of Korean music.

I spoke to Lee Seungah about the gender associations projected onto the feminine counterpart of the *kōmun’go*, the *kayagŭm*, and she thought that the feminine quality of the latter might come from the ease of emotional expression on the instrument:

The voice of the *kayagŭm* isn’t direct in the expression but is rather introverted and shows deep internal emotion that can be delicate and show many roots. The easiest emotion for me is sorrow in a slow tempo. (Lee Seungah, interview, September 15, 2009)

Lee Seungah spoke of the ease of emotional expression as a specific reason for her preference for *sanjo* and other folk genres over court or newly composed music due to the outward expression of emotionality.

For me I am very difficult to play *kayagŭm* at a strict tempo or emotion and I don’t like that music and it isn’t interesting for me. Palace musicians must hide their emotion. The modern music is very strict in tempo and they want me not to express my emotion, so that music I am not interested in as well. I prefer older [folk] style music. (Lee Seungah, interview, September 15, 2009)

Emotional expression might be both part of the attraction of female musicians to *sanjo* as well as part of the acceptability of women in *kayagŭm sanjo* as this instrument is considered to most easily express emotion. The association between the

feminine quality and *han* was explored in the previous chapter;<sup>94</sup> however, emotionality speaks to the masculine intellectual association of the *kōmun'go* as a quality of masculine sound as well. Chae Ju Byung, *Kōmun'go* player and teacher, said that the mechanics of the instrument are not suited to expressing emotion easily.

It's not easy to express emotions... it is harder than other instruments because the instrument primarily only uses the two strings and the other strings are just for support.... The strings change tone by moving the hand across spaced frets. Because of the structure of the instrument it is more difficult to express emotion.... *Haegŭm* strings, one is thick and one is thin, but there is not much difference. The *kōmun'go* strings are too different and you have to move a lot. That is why it is hard to express emotion (Chae Ju Byung, interview, August 16, 2009).

Keith Howard says of the association of *kōmun'go* and masculinity, “Its prominent entry in the Guide to the Study of Music [*Akhak kwebōm*] meant it thereafter became the favored literati instrument, and was, as a consequence, the instrument for which the majority of historical scores were written” (Howard 2006a: 162). If the *kōmun'go* was the instrument of the literati and a scholar was the epitome of masculinity, then the *kōmun'go* was seen as the most masculine instrument. The strong preference among the literati for the *kōmun'go* was made obvious upon the appointment of *kōmun'go sanjo* as Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 16 in 1967, a year earlier than the appointment of the *kayagŭm sanjo* as a cultural property, despite the adaptation of the *kōmun'go sanjo* from the original *kayagŭm sanjo* (Howard 2006a: 73). The *kayagŭm* was seen as the feminine counterpart in regard to the sound and function of the instrument within aristocratic ensembles. Before the twentieth century, the *kayagŭm* had already gained an association with *kisaeng* and folk musicians. However, the instrument was modified from the aristocratic version to create a smaller version called the *sanjo kayagŭm*.<sup>95</sup> This version of the *kayagŭm*

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<sup>94</sup> Section 3.2.2.

<sup>95</sup> The *taegŭm* also developed a smaller version called the *sanjo taegŭm*.

required a smaller reach and allowed for quicker articulation. The smaller size and folk association of the *sanjo kayagŭm* might have contributed to the further association between the instrument and women.

The difference in playing technique helps to establish the roles of the *kŏmun'go* and the *kayagŭm* regarding masculine and feminine association as well. Kwon So-hyun, a female *kŏmun'go* player, spoke of the masculine quality of the *kŏmun'go* due to the depth of lower register that makes it sound stronger and the striking technique of the plectrum (Kwon So-hyun, interview, August 18, 2009). Playing technique also influences the feminine associations of the *kayagŭm*. The right-hand *kayagŭm* techniques include plucking, pushing and flicking strings. The left hand, working below the movable bridges, adjusts the pitch and adds ornaments as a string is sounded by pressing a string to raise its pitch, pulling to lower its pitch, and providing vibrato by a repeated press and release (Howard 2008: 30). The *kŏmun'go* is a 6-stringed zither with 16 frets and three movable tuning bridges. The striking of the instrument varies from a light stroke of the string to a hard reverberating stroke, moving beyond the string and striking the instrument's surface to resonate through the instrument's wooden body. The left hand, while moving up and down the frets, will at times also play notes by a striking of the finger down on either a still or a vibrating string, or by the plucking removal of the finger from the string. To compare these two techniques, it can be seen that the primary difference in the playing of *kŏmun'go sanjo* and *kayagŭm sanjo* appears in the striking of the former and the plucking of the latter. In Western culture, the association between women and plucked strings has long existed, such as the harp and harpsichord. Green says of this: "Another main category of instruments for women is that of plucked strings, which are of course usually small and relatively quiet, and which can also be

played demurely. As with keyboards, women have played these instruments largely in domestic settings to accompany the voice” (Green 1997: 59). In addition to the difference of plucking versus striking, the left hand manipulates the strings of the *kayagŭm* by pressing downward on the opposite side of the movable fret and then on the side on which the sound is produced; however, the manipulation of the strings of the *kŏmun’go* is done through the sliding of the string across fixed frets. This difference in sound production is part of this association between gender and instrument sound in that the downward movement of the vibrato on the *kayagŭm* can be done at a quicker rate than the sideways slide of the *kŏmun’go*, a quality associated with a feminine sound. The masculine percussive quality of the *kŏmun’go* is furthered by the striking of the plectrum and the association of men and percussion. With the strong male connection of wind instruments and percussive instruments, the *kayagŭm* might have been acceptable for women in part because this instrument is neither. Understanding the technique of performance is significant in that women have been a part of the creation of *kayagŭm sanjo* while all of the *kŏmun’go sanjo* schools were founded by men.

#### 4.2.2. Role of Women in Sanjo

A running theme through the different classes of Korean traditional culture is the role of male musicians as creators and performers of traditional instrumental music. Court musicians were completely male; while both men and women performed and composed the aristocratic vocal genres of *kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo*, the accompanying instrumentalists were male.<sup>96</sup> Until the late nineteenth century, *p’ansori* was

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<sup>96</sup> See chapter 2 on aristocratic music.

performed exclusively by males.<sup>97</sup> However, with *sanjo* something quite different appears in the process of development, performance, and preservation with women having a significant presence since the early development of the genre. The influence of women in *sanjo*, however, has not been the same among all the instruments for which *sanjo* has been developed.

As explored in the introduction, it is believed that *kayagŭm sanjo* was developed at the end of the nineteenth century by Kim Ch'angjo, who became a great patron and student of folk music (Song Bang Song 1986: 95-96). While *sanjo* is believed to have developed from *sinawi* performance by shaman-musicians, this first version of *kayagŭm sanjo* was created by a member of the literati who, while an accomplished musician, was not a member himself of the lower class of musicians or shaman-musicians (ibid.). With the development of *sanjo* after the increased popularity of *p'ansori* among the middle classes and the addition of *kisaeng* singers of *p'ansori* within the upper classes, it is understandable that *kisaeng* would also play a role in the development and performance of *sanjo*. However, this connection might not have existed if the *sanjo* had been first created for the more masculine *kŏmun'go* often played by the male literati rather than for the more feminine *kayagŭm* favored by *kisaeng* performers. This early accessibility to female musicians might even have been less possible if Kim Ch'angjo had created his *sanjo* on *tanso* (vertical notched flute) or *p'iri* (double reed bamboo oboe), instruments that have been much slower to accept female players than stringed instruments have been both historically and presently. Just as significant in the contribution of women to *kayagŭm sanjo* is the absence of women from the other schools of *sanjo* among the different instruments. None of the other instruments have schools that were begun by female players; that

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<sup>97</sup> See chapter 3, section 1 on the origins of *p'ansori*.

restriction of gender is much more characteristic of other genres and classes of Korean traditional music. So, a question emerges regarding what happened within *kayagŭm sanjo* that was different.

Of the ten schools of *kayagŭm sanjo*, two of the versions, those of Sŏng Kŭmyŏn and Kim Chukp'a, were developed by women and several of the male schools were transmitted by female second-generation students, such as Ham Tongjŏngwŏl (Howard 2008b: 12). This access that women seemed to have to *kayagŭm sanjo* could be in part due to the late formation of the genre just before the occupation of Korea by Japan. While other forms of Korean music were seen as old-fashioned or superstitious, *sanjo*, as a newer genre, might not have been dismissed in the same way and therefore had a different process of preservation. The connection between *sanjo* and *p'ansori* could also allow for the acceptance of women due to the increasing performance of *p'ansori* by women through the early twentieth century.

The association between women and *kayagŭm* can also be seen in the relationship of women to *kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang*, a self-accompanied song form for voice and *kayagŭm* that developed as an outgrowth of *p'ansori* (Lee Chaesuk 2008: 51). *Kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang* was also created around the turn of the twentieth century shortly after the creation of *sanjo*. *Kisaeng* quickly became associated with these pieces, and the association between *kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang* and female performers remains strong. This association between the *kayagŭm* and female performers of similar music might have been a reason that women were a part of *kayagŭm sanjo* from an early stage while excluded from other instrumental *sanjo*. As *kayagŭm sanjo* gained popularity among the literati, the genre was developed for the favored instrument of the literati, the *kŏmun'go*. This instrument did not have the same



accessibility to women as the *kayagŭm*; therefore, women did not play a similar role in the development of *kŏmun'go sanjo*.

The role of women in the development of *sanjo* could in part be due to the original function of *sanjo*. *Sanjo* is attributed to an aristocratic patron of folk music and musicians. While Kim Ch'angjo had great skill, the development and performance of his music did not have the same function as the performances of lower-class musicians and shaman-musicians who required patronage. Rather than entertaining mass audiences, *sanjo* functioned as an expression of intellectual virtuosity among members of the elite, much as the vocal genres of *sijo* and *kasa* did. Women of the upper classes did, in fact, sing these genres. However, much in the same way, it is possible that this was permitted because the music was not part of a performance for public consumption in exchange for patronage, but was rather taking place in a confined space among members of the literati community. While these women would not have been participating in these occasions along with their male family members, the process of sharing music privately within the home is evident as well in the teaching of *sanjo* by Kim Ch'angjo to his granddaughter, Kim Chukp'a (Howard 2008b: 12).

We see that in addition to the role of women in the composition of *sanjo*, many of the schools were carried on by the female descendants of the founder, such as Kim Chukp'a, granddaughter to Kim Ch'angjo, or Sŏng Kŭmyŏn's eldest daughter, Chi Sŏngja (Lee Chaesuk 2008: 46). As *sanjo* developed while Japan was beginning to occupy Korea, the issue of women and preservation is relevant. Women's role in the preservation of *kayagŭm sanjo* could be due to the already strong association between women and *kayagŭm*. Over the latter half of the twentieth century, the *kayagŭm* has continued to be associated with female musicians. The *kayagŭm* has

become one of the most popular instruments both within and outside of Korea with the great majority of performers and students within all genres of *kayagŭm* being female. In fact, while undertaking my fieldwork, I would ask musicians why they chose their instrument and what instrument they would like to play. Several of the male musicians I interviewed, such as *taegŭm* player Hak Hyŏnju, commented that they would like to have studied the *kayagŭm*, but that they did not want to play a woman's instrument: "When I was young my mother encouraged me to play the *kayagŭm* or *haegŭm* because they are popular strings, but I wanted to play *p'iri* or *taegŭm* because I wanted a masculine instrument and women play the other" (Hak Hyŏnju, interview, August 20, 2009).

While there are other issues that influence gender and choice of instrument, the stigmatisation of the *kayagŭm* by male performers appears paradoxical when considering that one of the most famous Korean musicians of the modern era is Hwang Byungki, a male *kayagŭm* master. The reason that the connection of Hwang Byungki with *kayagŭm* has not led to more male *kayagŭm* players could be in part because he spent most of his career teaching at Ewha Womans University. However, Hwang Byungki is not purely a performer, but is very well known as a prolific composer of newly-created music. Hwang is also the only living *sanjo* musician to have his own recognised school, and it is significant that this distinction is held by a male despite the much larger percentage of female *kayagŭm* players. While the *kayagŭm* retains a strong association with women, creative innovation still remains heavily male.

Due to the preservation system, improvisation and the creation of new versions is no longer the practice. When I spoke with Kim Hee-Sun, *kayagŭm* player and scholar, about *sanjo*, she spoke about her desire to create or improvise *sanjo* but

felt both that she lacked the educational background in improvisation and that improvisation and creativity was less valued than preserved, institutional music.

Preservation already happened and we don't have to worry about [it]. Because I can play *sanjo* and everybody can play *sanjo*, well previously it was a free melody, "scattered melody," but it is not any more. I feel that musicians should learn how to improvise it rather than playing the same melody again and again because then the music is already dead, a museum. Sometimes I don't feel like a real musician because I play *sanjo* from memory and I don't feel like it is my music. It is not the spirit of the music. I don't know how to improvise it because I never learned it. Maybe there is a way to teach the *sanjo* idiom, possibly adapting some of the ways of jazz musicians.... So the issue of improvisation is a problem of Korean music, but in some ways we already went too far. The problem is not preservation. Not many people value if someone is improvising. Some of the folk musicians can improvise, but the problem is that it isn't from an institution and it is not valued. (Kim Hee Sun, interview, September 23, 2009)

While there are many female composers currently in Korea, the association of musical composition and men is strong enough that separate concerts of music by female composers are still held and the majority of composers of new music are still male. Therefore, while Hwang Byungki does play an instrument that has rather strong feminine associations, his role as a composer and innovator of this instrument reinforces his masculine identity.

*Sanjo* developed in the latter half of the nineteenth century and, therefore, is one of the more recently created traditional musical genres within Korea. This process of development through the growing interest in folk music genres such as *sinawi* and *p'ansori* among the literati led to the creation of the new genre by an aristocratic patron of folk music and musicians. As a creation of the upper classes rather than a genre created by folk musicians or shaman-musicians, *sanjo* functioned as an expression of literati (Lee Bo-hyung 2009: 7-8). This also meant that *sanjo* had a different process of transmission and preservation than other genres through the Japanese occupation of Korea. Additionally, *sanjo* came to be seen as a national

music through the process of preservation and still remains one of the most popular genres of traditional music.

While *sanjo* was developed by the intellectual elite and as a result had an association with scholarship and masculinity, women played an important role in *kayagŭm sanjo*. While women are not the founders of schools of *sanjo* among other instruments, several schools of *kayagŭm sanjo* were founded by female musicians and several of the male schools were transmitted by female second-generation students. Contributing to this role of women in *kayagŭm sanjo* might be the literati origins of *sanjo* which meant that the music was not originally created by musicians to seek patronage, but was rather developed as a way of expressing intellectual virtuosity. Therefore, some of these women, other than the *kisaeng*, were not professional musicians, but were involved in learning and transmitting an intellectual pursuit. Additionally, *sanjo* developed in a time of declining interest in traditional music. Therefore, the performance and transmission of *sanjo* would have taken place to a great extent in the female private sphere.

Recognising women's role in the creation of *kayagŭm sanjo* breaks the traditional association of men and composition versus women and presentation. In the current state of traditional music society, composition remains heavily male. The association between women and the body versus men and the mind is contradicted through women composing, a role which threatens the sexual order (Green 1997: 88). However, composition, as it is understood in the Western musical cannon, did not exist in Korea until the introduction of Western music in the twentieth century and was not applied to traditional instruments until the mid-twentieth century.<sup>98</sup> *Sanjo*, rather, is considered to be “developed” over time through the influence and adaptation

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<sup>98</sup> See section 5.1.

of other versions from previous teachers (Lee Bo-hung 2009: 3). This process of adaptation can be seen as connected to the feminine aspect of artistry and interpretation with the use of the body rather than the masculine, mental act of composing (McClary 1991: 151; Levy 2004: 440). The verb used for this process in *sanjo* is *tchada*, which means “weaving,” a verb which itself represents an action often associated with the work of women (Kim Hee Sun 2009: 31). This, in combination with the accessibility of the *kayagŭm* to women and the development of *sanjo* in a time of decline of traditional music, might explain why women played a significant role in the creation of *kayagŭm sanjo*.

#### **4.3. *P’ungmul***

In the previous sections on *sanjo* and shamanism, as well as in the following section on *minyŏ*, the typical divide is female soloist(s) with male accompaniment. In contrast, in the observation of *p’ungmul*, folk percussion music, during my fieldwork, I was struck by the level of female participation. While women do participate in more modern drumming genres such as *samulnori*, *changgo* ensembles and within fusion and *changjak kugak*,<sup>99</sup> *p’ungmul* stood out as a traditional music genre that freely allowed female participation. For example, I observed that the Cheongbaeyeonghee Troupe has a female participant (Photo 4.5.). Additionally, while attending other university, institutional and festival performances, I noticed regular female participation. This led me to the question of why women are accepted in *p’ungmul* while they do not participate in other kinds of traditional drumming to the same extent.

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<sup>99</sup> See chapter 5, sections 1-3



Photo 4.5. A female *kkwaenggwari* player in the Cheongbae (Chöngpae) *p'ungmul* ensemble. Photo from the programme of the 50<sup>th</sup> Korea Folk Art Festival, September 10-13, 2009.

*P'ungmul*, also known as *nongak*, is folk band music and dance traditionally performed in the countryside (Photo 4.6.). The name is a combination of the words *p'ung* meaning “wind” and *mul*, “object” or “matter,” which is based on the belief that the wind can rouse people to sing and dance, a quality referring to outdoor music (Hesselink 2006: 15). The genre is usually divided into three regional styles: *udo* (“right” as if looking down from Seoul, referring to the western half of Chölla province), *chwado* (“left” looking down from Seoul, or eastern Chölla province), and *kyönggi* (around Seoul) (Howard 2001b: 931-932). There are only small regional differences of sound, practices and costumes; however, the distinction between styles was assigned when regions were more difficult to travel and there was less knowledge of distant places (Howard 2001b: 931).



Photo 4.6. A performance of *p'ungmul*. Photo taken at 50<sup>th</sup> Korea Folk Art Festival held at the National Gugak Center, September 10-13, 2009.

The instrumentation used in *p'ungmul* both historically and presently is much the same across the regional styles. The core instruments are the *kkwaenggwari*<sup>100</sup> (small gong), *ching* (large gong), *changgo* (double-headed hourglass-shaped drum), and *puk* (barrel drum) (Howard 2001b: 933). Supplementary instruments consist of *sogo* (small handheld drums played by dancers and acrobats) and the pitched instruments the *hojök* (a member of the shawm family also known as the *t'aep'yöngso* in court music), which plays melodies over the rhythm of the drums, and the *nabal* (long straight trumpet), which signals the start of a performance. There is a hierarchical ranking of the instruments and instrumental groups with the first *kkwaenggwari* player (*sangsoe*) as the leader of the overall group (Howard 2001b: 934). In processions, the melodic instruments precede the percussion with the latter following in the sequence: *kkwaenggwari*, then *ching*, followed by the *changgo* and

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<sup>100</sup> Also known as the *soe*.

then the *puk*. As stated above, the drumming is only one aspect of *p'ungmul*. In addition, there are large banners called *nonggi* (“farming flags”) carried to the front of the procession and costumed actors delivering speeches while performing traditional village roles (*yangban*, hunter and animals, shamans or Buddhist monks) (Howard 2001b: 934-935; Photo 4.7.). The instruments used in *p'ungmul* are generally believed to be an early foreign import to the Korean elite (Hesselink 2006: 53). The genre has been associated with both shamanism and Buddhism. Significant military associations are also evident and can be seen through the use of percussion (drums and gongs) and *hojök*, the use of hats with rotating plumes (*sangmo*), and the movement on the field similar to military manoeuvres (Howard 2001b: 930). Many of these instruments, such as *puk*, *hojök*, and *nabal*, were used in the battlefields to signal advances or actions (Hesselink 2006: 55-64).



Photo 4.7. A performance of *p'ungmul* showing banners and costumed characters along with musicians. Photo taken at 50<sup>th</sup> Korea Folk Art Festival held at the National Gugak Center, September 10-13, 2009.



Whatever the origins and instrumentation, *p'ungmul* is strongly associated with shamanism through the performing musicians, rhythms, instrumentation and function of music within the village setting. Performances of *p'ungmul* take place at important times of year associated with planting or harvesting of fields (most significantly *maegut* held on the Lunar New Year)<sup>101</sup> and often focus on invoking spirits, exorcising goblins or cleansing spaces (Howard 2001b: 931). Howards says of this:

Stages in village rituals involved the purification of wells (*umulkut* or *saem kut*), invoking tutelary spirits at shrines (*tangsan kut* or *tül tangsan*), ritual knocking at household gates (*mun kut* or *insa kut*), and protecting the walls of a house compound (*hoho kut*, *hölssa kut*, *ölssa kut*, and so on). Inside a compound, the band would address the kitchen spirit (*chowang kut*) and house spirit (*söngju kut*) and would purify storage jars (*ch'ölyung kut*), storerooms (*kokkan kut*), and the animals' quarters (*weyang kut*, *magugan kut*, and so on). (Howard 2001b: 938)

Through this, we can see the strong association with shamanism, which was in part a contribution to the decline of the genre through the Japanese occupation.

The majority of village rituals have suffered a significant decline due to the decline in traditional belief systems; through the first half of the twentieth century, many of the rituals overlap with fundraising events for community projects (Howard 2001b: 931). Through the Japanese occupation, in addition to the stigmatisation of traditional spiritual practices as superstitious, the Japanese prohibited group celebrations and during the Second World War collected metal gongs and utensils for the war effort (Hesselink 2006: 36). Additionally, *p'ungmul* declined after the Korean War with land reform, mechanisation of farming, and movement toward cities during industrialisation which further led to the decline in the need for communal work teams (Howard 2001b: 932-933). Itinerant troupes continued to travel through the

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<sup>101</sup> Other times for band performances include Buddha's birthday, festivals on March 3rd and June 15<sup>th</sup>, and the final weeding of rice paddies before harvest (Howard 2001b: 931).

countryside until the 1960s; however, through the 1960s and 1970s, the expansion of Western-style education, influence of Christianity, mechanized farming and the access to television and other family-centered entertainment further reduced the need for community events (Howard 2001b: 932-933).

Traditional musicians were members of the lowest class and, therefore, highly stigmatised. With industrialisation and social mobility transforming society in the 1960s and 1970s, parents discouraged children from pursuing careers in traditional music (Hesselink 2006: 32-35). While the genre was traditionally completely male, in 1958 the first of many completely female performance groups were formed (Hesselink 2006: 11). This could have been in part due to the influence of *kisaeng* that performed other genres using *changgo*; however, the performance of *p'ungmul* by all-female troupes might have been associated with novelty made possible through the decline of the genre. Most influential in the acceptance of female performers was the opening of theatres at the beginning of the twentieth century and the performance of *p'ungmul* within these spaces as entertainment rather than ritual. Traditionally, there were rules about the interaction of women with the instruments used in ritual cleansing that would have prohibited women from the performance of *p'ungmul* (Howard 2001b: 931). However, through the twentieth century, the ritual aspects of *p'ungmul* faded and *p'ungmul* began to function more as entertainment (Howard 2001b: 929).

In the 1960s there was a movement toward preservation and nationalism with the initiation of the state preservation system and the reinterpretation of traditional arts as part of “indigenous culture by nationalist students in South Korea and performed by dancers on urban stages” (Howard 2001b: 929). In 1966, *nongak sibi ch'a* (twelve specific rhythmic patterns in “farming music”) was designated an

“Intangible Cultural Asset” (No. 11), which brought legitimisation and, more importantly, financial support to the masters of *p’ungmul*. In the 1970s and 1980s, there was an increasing movement towards nationalism and democratisation. This movement was marked by a renewed interest in traditional arts, which had been in great decline since the Korean War. On university campuses and throughout the countryside, there were gatherings in public *madang*, meaning “open square” or “meeting space”, consisting of mask dances, political *p’ansori* songs, and performance of *p’ungmul* drumming.<sup>102</sup> During school vacations students would travel to the countryside to partake in agricultural work and learn *p’ungmul* (Howard 2001b: 938). The performance of shamanic drumming became the representation of the *Minjung* (“people” or “masses”) culture and unified the Korean masses of underprivileged and nameless people (Sasse 1991: 34):

Interestingly, in this quest for national identity, intellectuals turned to Korean shamanism as a spiritual source of nationalist ideology and to shamanistic rituals as a means of raising critical consciousness and comradeship among the participants of the social movement. In this way, history has been re-appropriated, and shamanism is now used to mobilize the spirit of the oppressed. (Koo Hagen 1993: 144)

In this period there was an increase in the number of female musicians participating in *p’ungmul* in mixed-gender groups. Gellner says of nationalism that it usually “conquers in the name of a putative folk culture, its symbolism drawn from the healthy, pristine, vigorous life of the peasants” (Gellner 1983: 57). This gathering within the realm of folk culture along with the ongoing preservation system initiated a collective movement towards participation in folk arts within a communal setting by common people rather than necessarily moving students towards the profession of traditional musician. The unification of the masses through the “spirit of the

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<sup>102</sup> A larger discussion of *Minjung* ideology takes place in the *han* section of the chapter on *p’ansori* (section 3.2.3).

oppressed” led to a glorification of the underprivileged. Women, as the most oppressed members of society, had an authentic claim to this suffering or *han*.<sup>103</sup> This association of women and *han* enabled women to appropriate folk culture and, thus, traditional music as a representation of the *Minjung* Cultural Movement.

The *madang* encourages the expression of the “community spirit” in an age when “traditional village life and the harmony with nature have been destroyed” (Erven 1988: 167). These performances were a kind of “agitational” theatre where audiences were incited into “such a state of ecstatic frenzy that they are spontaneously transformed from spectators into slogan-chanting political demonstrators,” and “many mass demonstrations were initiated or animated by *madang* performances” (Erven 1988: 159). These performances were prohibited, causing locations to be kept secret beforehand and “cultural officers” to intervene between organisers and participants; however, most performances took place on university campuses, within Catholic community centres, or within rural village squares (Erven 1988: 160). Within the communal setting, all members of the audience were encouraged to participate. Gatherings were often led and coached by student activists who would workshop local members, such as factory workers, illiterate farmers and fishermen; local creation of plays and music based on current political issues was encouraged (Erven 1988: 159,169).

Within the formal performances of traditional music and within traditional music programmes of universities, women were either underrepresented or segregated into all-female troupes or institutions. However, the nationalist movement forged an association with and glorification of the lower-class farmers; women thus gained a new claim to the expression of the oppressed as the segregation of women from the

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<sup>103</sup> For a discussion on *han* and *Minjung* culture see section 3.2.3.

public sphere was not economically possible in lower-class society. While trained women, such as *kisaeng* or *mudang* in traditional culture or university-educated students, participated within the institutional setting of schools or religious practices, *madang* appeared in a public forum where women performed alongside men as members of the male-dominated public sphere. Nationalism has helped bridge the gender divide of folk culture through the unification of the people in *Minjung* theory (Sasse 1991: 33, 35). The use of drumming as an expression of folk culture and as a unifying force through the nationalist movement meant that women were more easily accepted in the drumming genres, such as *p'ungmul*, that were used by the nationalist movement.

#### 4.3.1. Acceptance of Women

There are gendered associations within the regional styles that influence the sex of the performers and the acceptance of female musicians in the second half of the twentieth century. The primary questions in the understanding of this shift are: What led to the acceptance of women into the genre? Why did the all-female troupes appear in North Chōlla Province? Why did the shift happen specifically in the late 1950s? Why did women first appear in all-female troupes rather than through the joining of male groups? By looking at these issues individually, it is possible to better understand the acceptance of women in *p'ungmul*.

*P'ungmul* is divided into different regional styles. The “right” style of *udo*<sup>104</sup> is found in the flat farmland of southwest Korea in the North and South Chōlla provinces. This style tends to be slower with faster sections as ornamentation and

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<sup>104</sup> These bands came from the cities of Chōnggōp, Puan, Koch'ang, Kimje, and Changsōng (Howard 2001b: 931).

plays mostly as a unit with few solos (Howard 2001b: 931). The *chwado*<sup>105</sup> style is from the southeastern rice farmlands and the style tends to use faster rhythms and focus on virtuosic technique with regular solo sections (Howard 2001b: 931-932). The third style of *p'ungmul* from Kyōnggi, the area surrounding Seoul, uses a combination of fast and slow rhythms which focus mostly on performance aspects of dance and acrobatics; this style primarily centres on raising money and bringing luck (Howard 2001b: 932).

According to gendered associations that I have ascribed to other genres' schools and regions, I have made an association between the two styles of *udo* and *chwado* and the division of feminine and masculine performance styles. This division is my own and is not a distinction spoken of by the musicians. *Chwado* style can be seen as a more masculine style regarding the emphasis on virtuosity shown in this style. This quality of dominance and leadership among solo players is a distinctly masculine characteristic within the male public sphere. A woman who brings attention to herself within a public space would break Confucian social norms and would, most likely, be associated with the status of a *kisaeng*. This focus on virtuosity leads to a higher number of trained musicians. These trained musicians would have been completely male. While this does happen in the other styles as well, the slower tempo and diminished focus on solo playing means that the *udo* style is more easily played with minimal training.

The *udo* style can also be seen as the feminine style in comparison with the *chwado* style through its larger cultural aspects. Within the strict class system of Neo-Confucian Korea, the elite members of society control the public sphere and dominate society. Within the patriarchal hierarchy, the elite represent a masculine role in

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<sup>105</sup> These bands appeared in the cities of Manwōn, Chinan, Ch'angsu, Muju, Imsil, Sunch'ang, Kurye, and Koksōng (Howard 2001b: 932).

society while the submissive lower classes represent the oppressed feminine role. The qualities of the elite are expressed through education, virtuosity, leadership, and governance. Although *p'unngmul* from the *chwado* region is a folk tradition performed by the lower classes, it reflects these qualities of the elite. However, while of the same low class, the *udo* style reflects the qualities of the feminine lower classes through the less virtuosic playing style and the submission to the group through the lesser use of solos.

The first female performers of *p'unngmul* appeared in Chölla in 1958 in all-female performing troupes (Hesselink 2006: 11). This acceptance of women, specifically in Chölla, could be based on many factors: the use of *p'unngmul* for entertainment rather than ritual purposes after the decline in popularity of the genre; the more feminine qualities of the *udo* style (less virtuosic and fewer solos); the acceptance of women within the Chölla province in other traditionally male genres such as *sanjo* and *p'ansori* through the twentieth century; the association between women and dance through *kisaeng*; and the popularity of all-female travelling *ch'anggŭk* troupes within this same time period.<sup>106</sup>

As we have seen, the influence of Neo-Confucianism on the separation of the genders was not equal through all levels of society. The division of the sexes into public and private spheres was a marker of status, and the seclusion of women to the private sphere was not possible for lower-class families that would have required the income of both male and female members of the family. While women did not traditionally perform *p'unngmul*, it was performed by and for the farmers and lower-class workers where the removal of women from the public spaces would not have been a financial possibility. This might speak to the acceptance of women into

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<sup>106</sup> For more information on the entrance of women into *p'ansori* and all-female travelling *ch'anggŭk* troupes in the mid twentieth century, see section 3.3.1.

*p'ungmul*, but does not explain why women emerged in this genre in the late 1950s and why they emerged in all-female troupes. While the women did have a larger role in the male-dominated public sphere, men and women did not intermingle socially in public spaces. At celebrations, rituals and musical performances, such as *p'ansori* or *minyŏ*, men and women would have sat separately rather than mixing together during viewing. Therefore, while men and women did share the public spaces, there were still gender divisions that would have influenced the acceptance of all-female troupes over mixed-gender troupes.<sup>107</sup>

The advent of women into the genre at this point in the middle of the twentieth century as all-female troupes can be attributed to several influences. In the middle of the twentieth century, there was a similar phenomenon with the introduction of all-female travelling *ch'anggŭk* troupes (theatrical versions of *p'ansori*). *Changgŭk*, on the other hand, had a slightly different development in that women had been performing *p'ansori* since the late nineteenth century as well as (more recently) participating in mixed gender performances of *changgŭk*. As *p'ansori* was a solo genre, women were able to perform this genre without becoming members of the male community. Additionally, the women performing *p'ansori* and *changgŭk* were in many cases *kisaeng* performers. However, in my research I have not discovered anything pointing to these early all-female *p'ungmul* troupes being formed of *kisaeng* performers; rather, *yŏsadang*, all-female troupes performing around Buddhist temples, would sing and dance for money (Hesselink 2012: 21). *Yŏsadang*, or *sadangp'ae*, were female temple groups that both performed songs and dances and provided sexual services for money (Hesselink 2012: 21). These troupes would perform songs and dances with drum and sometimes flute accompaniment while selling charms from the

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<sup>107</sup> See section 3.3.1. on *ch'anggŭk* theatre which also had all-female troupes.



Buddhist temple; this accompaniment was completely male and these male companions were in charge of organisation, financial matters, and supervising fees paid for sexual services (Hesselink 2012: 21). This type of performance enforces the association between women and dance, especially in association with male drummers as would have been typical in shaman traditions as well.

The acceptance of *kisaeng* within male genres through the first half of the twentieth century might have influenced the acceptance of women as musicians. In the late 1960s, women of *kisaeng* influences performed the drumming genres called *sogo ch'um* (small frame drum dance) and *changgo ch'um* (hourglass drum dance), which further shows the acceptance of women and drumming within dance-like genres (Hesselink 2012: 45) (Photo 4.8.). This association with *kisaeng* and the performance of a percussion dance with the drum strapped to the body is still strong and might have led to the acceptance of women in *p'ungmul* because of the similarity of physical presentation (Hesselink 2006: 156).



Photo 4.8. A drum dance taking place at Korea House (<http://www.koreahouse.or.kr/kh/eng/index.html>. Accessed April 15, 2012)

The association between women and dance was also influenced by shamanic ritual, which is more directly related to *p'ungmul*. Traditionally, through all levels of society, there is an association of women as singers and dancers and men as instrumentalists, such as in *p'ansori*, *kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo*. This connection can be seen in the court through performance of aristocratic music by all-male musicians that accompany a group of *kisaeng* women dancers. Likewise, there is a similar divide in shamanic ritual where women are the shamans performing with song and dance while men accompany on instruments. While *p'ungmul* is an instrumental genre, the *p'ungmul* ritual would be considered dead without the physical act of dance (Kim Inu 1999: 6). As dance is an important aspect of *p'ungmul* drumming, women might have been more easily accepted due to this physical association (Photo 4.9.).

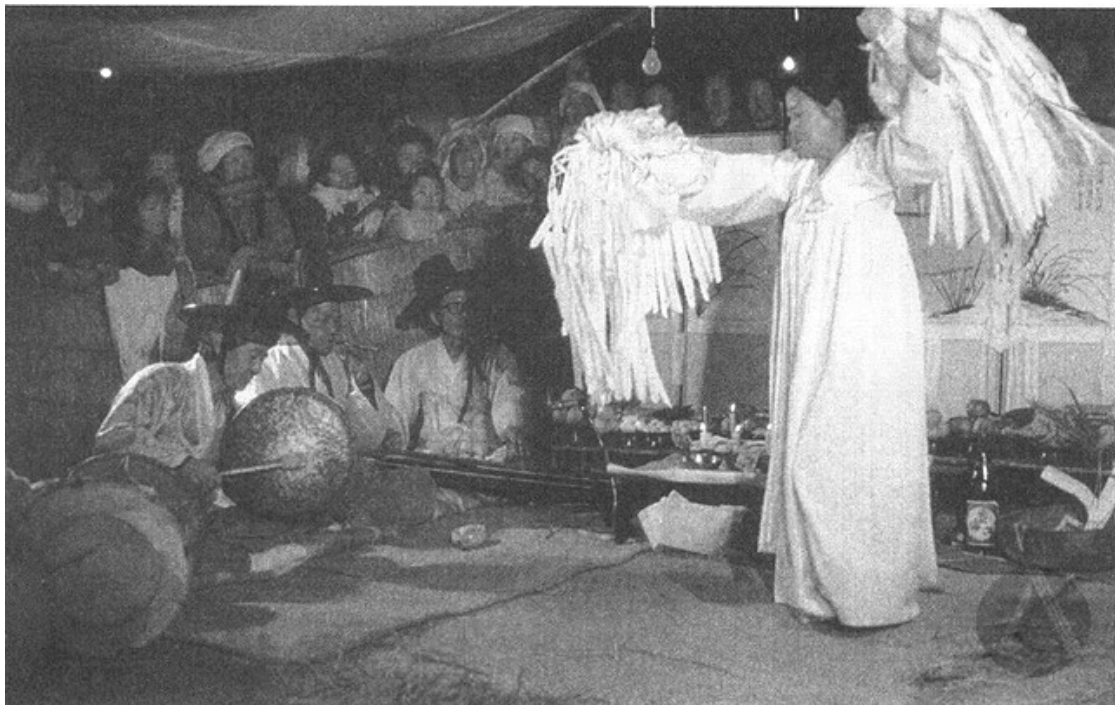


Photo 4.9. Woman performing shamanic ritual dance. Photo by Keith Howard (Howard 2001: 876).

Additionally, within Buddhist traditions, female dancers are part of certain rituals. In the Buddhist dance, some of these dances include percussion instruments played by the female dancer while in the act of dancing (Photo 4.10.).



Photo 4.10. A woman performing a Buddhist cymbal dance. Photo by Keith Howard (Howard 2001: 872).

Drumming genres that include an element of dance seem to more easily accept women in part due to the association between women and dance established through the traditional role of women as *kisaeng* dancers and the links to the dance of the rituals of shamans and Buddhist nuns. This might explain why women are less likely to drum in seated positions within the genres of *p'ansori* and *sanjo*.<sup>108</sup> Although most drumming is performed by men, women have been accepted in Korean genres that are

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<sup>108</sup> See section 3.3.3. for further discussion on the absence of women drummers in *p'ansori* or *sanjo*.

either less traditional, such as fusion or *changgo* ensembles, or that are associated with dance.

#### 4.3.2. *Choice of Instrument in Regard to the Gender of the Musician*

In addition to my experience studying *changgo* privately during my fieldwork, I also drum with a *p'ungmul* and *samulnori* group in the United States called Doorei. This group consists of a majority of Korean native-born musicians and Americans that have lived and studied music in Korea. Within my own group I observed similar patterns as I did while undertaking my fieldwork: women were more likely to play *changgo* or *puk* than either of the gongs and the lead *kkwaenggwari* player is typically male. To explore this divide, I begin by examining regional differences to understand the gendered associations of instruments and sound production.

As explored in the previous sections, the divide between the regional styles helps to explain the earlier acceptance of women within the Chōlla provinces. However, the choice of instrument and acceptance of women on individual instruments is not unilateral within mixed-gender *p'ungmul* bands. This issue will be explored by looking at the masculine and feminine characteristics of the sound and form of individual instruments, the gendered associations with the players of individual instruments, and the practice of ranking players. In Korean traditional music as a whole, there is a balance between masculine and feminine characteristics (*ŭm* and *yang*). Regarding drumming, Keith Howard gives an example of this: “[p’ungmul] must always balance the opposing universal forces of ŭm (Chinese: yin) and yang. Hence, *karak* within *kutkōri* tend to divide into two halves, the first 6/8 given emphasis from the downbeat, the second 6/8 more relaxed” (Howard 1991: 33). This balance between masculine and feminine is applied to the core instruments

themselves and to the instruments regarding how they are performed and ordered within a procession.

The lead instrument, the *kkwaenggwari* (small gong), announces the rhythmic cycle and indicates the changes in rhythm and dance (Howard 2001b: 933-934). While this instrument does focus on rhythmic virtuosity, the lead *kkwaenggwari* player must, above all, be a good dancer and leader while the second *kkwaenggwari* player focuses on the playing of rhythms (Hesselink 2006: 105).<sup>109</sup> The *kkwaenggwari* players alternate between gender-designated “male” and “female” gongs, referring to alternate dominant and submissive playing qualities, beginning with the first player on “male”, second on “female”, third on “male” and so on. The playing quality that makes a *kkwaenggwari* male is the production of “an open and broad sound with an echo similar to that of crying,” while the female *kkwaenggwari* has a sound that comes “to a boil then trail[s] off abundantly yet delicately” (Kim Inu 1999: 13-14). The gongs themselves are of varying pitch with the “male” being higher pitched than the “female”; this distinction would give the “male” *kkwaenggwari* a dominant position in the sonic space. This association of the “male” *kkwaenggwari* with the higher pitched instrument and a player largely focused on dance contrasts with the “female” *kkwaenggwari* which has a lower pitch and is associated with rhythmic precision; these associations represent a significant contradiction of the general practices of traditional music culture and performance practice. This dynamic also directly contradicts the standard gender role of female dancer/singer with male instrumental accompaniment. However, the quality of the lead “male” *kkwaenggwari* maintains masculinity by being the dominant, controlling figure corresponding with

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<sup>109</sup> A second *kkwaenggwari* player will never become a lead player as the function of the positions differ with the former focusing on music and the latter focusing on dance (Hesselink 2006: 105).

the male role in a patriarchal society. Next in importance in the procession is the *ching* (large gong) that gives the basic pulse for the group to follow (Howard 2001b: 933-934). This instrument could be considered feminine in that it plays a role of maintenance and provides a submissive, nurturing guidance similar to the role of women within a patriarchal society. However, this instrument maintains a masculine association in part because of the depth of the sound, but also due to the physical weight of the instrument and the association with military uses.

The next core instruments within the procession are the *changgo* and the *puk*, which in many ways share a similar relationship to the *kkwaenggwari* and *ching*. Just as the *kkwaenggwari* has “male” and “female” sounds, the two sides of the *changgo* are also considered to be “male” and “female” sounds. However, while the “male” sound of the *kkwaenggwari* is higher pitched, the “male” sound of the *changgo* is the left, lower-pitched face (*kungp’yŏn*); the thinner-skinned, higher-pitched right face (*ch’aep’yŏn*) is the “female” sound (Hesselink 2006: 52). Hesselink also comments: “A past (female) teacher of mine – somewhat tongue-in-cheek – felt that the mallet itself represented the male, not only a particular drum head, because the mallet travels to both heads, like a wandering man; the stick plays on only one side, representing the trapped female at home” (Hesselink 2006: 52-53). The performance of the *changgo* could be considered masculine in that the playing imitates the masculine *kkwaenggwari* while ornamenting in a virtuosic way. However, the playing of the instrument strapped to the body, as explored above, can be associated with *kisaeng* and, thus, might be seen as feminine. The *puk*, much like the *ching*, is associated with military function and has a low pitch.

An understanding of the gendered associations of the instruments leads to the question of why women have been drawn to certain instruments within mixed-

gendered groups while men have remained primarily on others. Nathan Hesselink raises this issue quite effectively where he discusses his observations of men playing gongs and women playing drums (Hesselink 2006: 156). The first issue he notes is the Korean folklore association between metal, heaven, and the male domain and the corresponding associations of leather and earth with the female domain (Hesselink 2006: 156). Additionally, he points to the *changgo* being strapped to the body and its association with the *kisaeng* drum dance, *changgo ch'um*. Issues that I suggest also apply include the role of the gongs as the dominant voice of the ensemble. Within a patriarchal society, it would not be appropriate for a woman to make herself stand out or to lead a mix-gendered group within a public space. This is an example of masculine instrumental virtuosity in that men play the virtuosic lead *kkwaenggwari*; however, women are often seen performing on the *changgo*, which is the second most musically complex role in the group. While in professional groups of *p'ungmul* a common division occurs between male/gongs and female/drums, within lesser-trained groups the inverse seems to be true with men playing drums and women playing gongs (apart from the lead *kkwaenggwari* which is still played by a man). These divisions support the association of instrumental virtuosity with masculinity since the women play the gongs with less musical complexity (Photo 4.11.).

The gender issues that are significant in *p'ungmul* present a number of questions. Why did female players emerge within this location? Why did female performers appear in this period of time? Why have women chosen certain instruments within mixed-gendered groups? These questions can be explored through an understanding of the cultural influences, an analysis of the playing styles of each instrument, and an awareness of the gendering of the sounds.



Photo 4.11. Gender switch in amateur *pungmul* groups: female gong players and male drummer. Photo taken at 50<sup>th</sup> Korea Folk Art Festival held at the National Gugak Center, September 10-13, 2009.

In *p'ungmul*, the fact that the dancer is an instrumentalist differentiates this genre from other instrumental genres such as *sanjo*. Women performing song and dance are sexualised objects adhering to the association of woman and nature; a woman implementing the use of instrumentation is desexualising herself through the overpowering of nature through machinery (Green 1997: 53). However, as the genre is strongly associated with dance, a sexualised use of the body, it might be understood that this genre might be acceptable for women. Further sexualising the performance is the mid-twentieth century performance by all-female troupes, which acted as a novelty rather than an equalising force. Later in the twentieth century when women and men did perform side by side, there were still gender divisions in the choice of instrument; however, the masculine association of mastery over nature through instrumentation was continued through the use of dominant instruments by male performers and the focus on virtuosity of playing.



#### 4.4. Vocal Music

As a classically trained singer in European opera, I would say that some of my first observations of gender and performance associations were among singers. Throughout my own studies, I was struck by how many more women studied voice than men. I noticed that the jazz department at my university was much more heavily male and certain instruments, such as percussion, also maintained a larger number of male participants. When I arrived in Korea and began studying traditional music, the same issues were immediately obvious, particularly that in formal concerts in institutional settings, most of the singers were female. Regarding the instrumental accompaniment, as seen in *p'ansori*, the majority of the accompaniment is performed by men. However, something very interesting stuck out to me in folk song; in the genre of *chapka*, a seated folk song from the northwest and central regions, women regularly self-accompany on the *changgo*. While women do self-accompany in the rehearsal of *p'ansori* and can be seen accompanying other shamans during ritual, *chapka* is one of the few examples where women perform drumming in a concert setting in a drumming genre unrelated to dance (Photo 4.12.).



Photo 4.12. Female singer self-accompanying on the *changgo* in the performance of *chapka*. Photo from the programme for the performance of “Chohanga: Japka of Hwanghae and Pyeongan Provinces” as part of the Saturday Performance of Korean Music and Dance series at the National Gugak Center, September 19<sup>th</sup>, 2009.

To understand the larger female participation, the divide between male accompaniment and female singer and the role of women in the self-accompaniment of certain types of folk song, I look at both historical context and performance practice.

While other genres might be more visible within the musical and nonmusical communities, folk song is possibly the most dominant traditional musical form of Korea (Provine 2001a: 879). “Folksongs are songs of the people. They are not composed by particular individuals, but spring up from among the people and are orally transmitted. They have words fixed to tunes, but are free, because they are non-professional works” (Chŏng Chaeho 1982: 261-263). Amongst Korean audiences, *minyŏ* is associated with orally transmitted songs by amateurs of past generations (Kwon Oh-song 1984: 12). Due to the broad inclusion of genres and musicians within folksong, defining the genre presents difficulties. Folk songs include both local songs sung by members of the community for work, play, ritual and celebration (*t’osok minyŏ*) and popular songs performed for the people by professional or trained singers (*t’ongsok minyŏ*) (Han Myŏnghŭi 1983: 63-64; Howard 1999: 1). Through travelling troupes of the Chosŏn Dynasty or later by recording technology, performances of folksongs by professional musicians can be both local and national.

The songs themselves tend to be a strophic call and response with different people singing verses in turn, either memorised or improvised, with the whole group performing the refrain (Provine 2001a: 881). Professional performances are likely to have larger accompaniment, such as the *haegŭm*, *taegŭm*, and *kayagŭm*; however, both professional and nonprofessional performances are most commonly performed with a *changgo* if any instrumentation at all (Provine 2001a: 880). The song texts vary greatly, presenting themes such as criticism of ruling elites, dissatisfaction (with

laziness among certain of members of the community, fate, friends, spouse or occupation), love, and religion (Buddhist, shamanic or Confucian morality) (Hahn Man-young 1978: 28).

Many of the traditional *t'osok minyo* performed by nonprofessional members of the community were born out of community cooperation around farming and harvest. For example, songs are sung by the workers during the communal process of farming such as in spring when moving the seedlings from the seedbed to the paddy or during one of the three community weddings (Hahn Man-young 1978: 21; Photo 4.13.).



Photo 4.13. A reenactment of a wedding song. Photo taken at the 50<sup>th</sup> Korea Folk Art Festival held at the National Gugak Center, September 10-13, 2009.

Most social and communal occasions have associated *minyo*, such as fishing, grain threshing, weaving, and wedding or harvest celebrations (Provine 2001a: 884). The

singers are members of the working community and the location for the performance would be within the rice paddy, usually without accompaniment. However, farmers' songs are also performed in open public spaces of the village on holidays or banquet days. Within this setting the song leader, accompanied by a *changgo*, sings a verse of the song and the surrounding participants circle around and sing the refrain (Hahn Man-young 1978: 28).

The *t'ongsok minyo* of professional singers were performed by travelling troupes of entertainers. The professional singers often adopted the popular local *minyo* they encountered for their repertoire and performed more musically and textually polished versions (Hahn Man-young 1978: 28). Due to this type of transmission, many regional songs were passed across the countryside. However, the versions transmitted by the travelling troupes had a refined quality and differed in function as professional performance rather than communal participation. The professional performers would use professional vocal technique and these songs might have additional accompaniment. This meant that the songs that were part of the local community were performed differently by the local community than songs from other regions brought to them through professional travelling troupes.

Less is known about texts, melodies and performances of *minyo* through history as records were kept by the elite, which had little interest in folk music; the elite commented very rarely on matters of the lower classes (Provine 2001a: 886). However, performances of *minyo* through the latter half of the twentieth century to the present have functioned more as entertainment since the mechanisation of farming and other industries has led to the decline in required communal cooperation. Currently, the performances of folksongs are a "combination of nostalgia and nationalism" for community bonding or, due to the system of preservation, reflect a

professional approach by trained musicians either in performance or competition (Maliangkay 2002: 225).

#### *4.4.1. Regional and Social Stylistic Variations*

Within *minyo*, there are generally five different regional styles recognised: central, northwestern, southwestern, eastern, and Cheju island (Provine 2001a: 880).<sup>110</sup> These regional styles have become harder to differentiate as *minyo* is increasingly performed by professional musicians and made accessible through recording and television technology. These regional characteristics can be seen in *p'ansori* where regionally specific techniques and modes are used to define characters and locations.<sup>111</sup> The central style, the music from Seoul, requires the accompaniment of the *changgo*; within professional performances such *minyo* might include one or a group of melodic instruments. Professional *minyo* from Seoul is accompanied by professional musicians of the genre *sinawi*, the shamanic music from the central region of Korea. The vocal style of this region is said to be clear and fresh, and its music contains flowing modal melodic lines; the texts are considered more cheerful than those of other regional styles (Provine 2001a: 881).

The central and northwestern regions tend to use more falsetto and rest higher in the voice of the singer while using a narrow vibrato (Um Hae-Kyung 2001: 818-819). However, the northwestern regional style uniquely uses little or no instrumental accompaniment. This region tends to be less rhythmically fixed into standard cycles and uses a tight and nasal vocal technique with more subtle ornamentation (Provine

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<sup>110</sup>The central and northwestern styles share similarities in musical style and vocal technique and are therefore sometimes grouped into a single school (Um 2001: 818-819). Cheju island is not always included as a regional style (Provine 2001a: 880).

<sup>111</sup> See section 3.4.

2001a: 882). Within aristocratic vocal genres (*kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo*),<sup>112</sup> the greater use of falsetto, nasality and a smaller, tighter vibrato is more associated with a feminine sound, while the male performers of these genres use a wider vibrato<sup>113</sup> and less falsetto (Um Hae-Kyung 2001: 820). Similarly, it can be said that the central and northwestern styles are feminine styles. Folksongs of Cheju Island are quite different from those of mainland Korea due to its isolation; however, the modal structure is more similar to the folksongs of the west rather than the nearer southern provinces.<sup>114</sup> The eastern style, following the long and narrow east coastal provinces of Kangwŏn, Kyŏngsang and Hamyŏng, is comprised by a large and diverse area with a variety of styles and texts (Provine 2001a: 883). The melodic structure of the eastern region generally revolves around the interval of a fourth plus a third which resembles the southern mode of *kyemyŏnjo* with a sliding emphasis on the supertonic (Provine 2001a: 883). The strong use of *kyemyŏnjo* gives this style a feminine association due to the association of the mode with women.<sup>115</sup> The folksongs of the southern region refer to the Chŏlla province as having a “strong aura of folk life and ancient shamanic religion”; these songs are thought to be more musically simple and require a dramatic voice (Hahn Man-young 1978: 26). The ornamentation is such that the lowest pitch of the scale is sung with a wide, heavy vibrato, with a downward slide on the top degree of the scale and prolonged resolution without vibrato on the tonic (Provine 2001a: 882; Hahn Man-young 1978: 26). When compared with other regional styles, more use of chest voice and a wide vibrato are associated with a masculine style.

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<sup>112</sup> See section 2.2. for more detail on the vocal technique of the aristocratic vocal genres.

<sup>113</sup> The vibrato is wider than the vibrato used by women in the same pieces; however, the vibrato is less than is used in folk singing such as *p'ansori*.

<sup>114</sup> I cannot speculate as to why the folksong modes of these distant regions are similar.

<sup>115</sup> See section 3.4.

Along with regional differences, there are also differences between professional folk genres and between professional and nonprofessional vocal techniques. The differences between the styles of professional singing can be exemplified through the professional folk genres from the northwest and central regions, *chapka* and *sۆnsori*, and the professional folk genre from the southwest, *p'ansori*. These folk genres can be divided into *chapka* that moved downward to the lower classes from aristocratic origins and *p'ansori* that originated with lower-class itinerant performing troupes and moved upward as it gained popularity among the upper class. *Chapka*, “miscellaneous songs” from the northwestern and central regions, are believed to be a trickle-down from the aristocratic *kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo* due to several characteristics (Provine 2001a: 885). *Chapka* is performed in a seated position, which is characteristic of aristocratic genres where performance venues would have been small indoor spaces such as a *yangban*'s home or a restaurant. Folk genres descending from communal work, celebration songs or itinerant troupes would be performed standing and within outdoor, public spaces. These songs are presently performed mostly by women in a seated position either solo or in a small numbers with one of the singers playing the *changgo*; however, there is a type of *chapka* called *sۆnsori* or “standing song” that shows the more typical standing position of folk songs (Provine 2001a: 885). While *sۆnsori* are classified with *chapka*, it is thought that these standing pieces originated with the *sadangp'ae* and *namsadang* associated with Buddhist temples, and that in the twentieth century they were combined with *chapka* as they were performed and preserved by professional singers (Provine 2001a: 885-886). Traditionally, the professional performers of these songs were likely to have been performers of aristocratic vocal genres, such as *kisaeng* and professional male musicians, both of which performed for the upper class while themselves belonging to

the lowest class of society. However, as I observed in viewing performances of *chapka*, these songs use a larger vibrato and more chest voice than is typical of female aristocratic vocal technique; therefore, it can be concluded that *chapka* are more similar to the male aristocratic vocal style. A reason for the disassociation of these upper and lower-class genres could be based on the restriction of *kisaeng*. Only *kisaeng* of the highest level were allowed to perform *kagok* and were forced to retire at the age of thirty. As these *kisaeng* retired, they were no longer permitted to sing *kagok*; however, these retired *kisaeng* often performed in restaurants and communal spaces carrying their training over to less elite vocal genres.

As seen in the first two sections of this chapter on *p'ungmul* and *sanjo* and within the detailed examination of drum accompaniment in the previous chapter on *p'ansori*, it is unusual to have a female performing drum accompaniment. As with *chapka*, both *sanjo* and *p'ansori* are accompanied by a solo drum (*changgo* in the former and *puk* in the latter); however, *chapka* is the only genre that is accompanied by a female drummer. The difference between these genres is that the *chapka* singers accompany themselves. While *p'ansori* performers are accompanied by a male drummer in performance, in casual performances or rehearsal it is common for performers to accompany themselves. It is possible that if *chapka* developed out of the casual performance or rehearsal of aristocratic songs, then the *kisaeng* performers of *chapka* would naturally accompany themselves. *P'ansori* did not develop the practice of self-accompaniment in part because of the narrative gesturing required and in part because of the use of space when performing in outdoor spaces for large audiences. *Chapka*, performed within indoor spaces, is likely to appear in informal spaces within the home or restaurants, which might contribute to the informality that allowed for self-accompaniment.



#### 4.4.2. From Popular to Professional

The distinction between *t'ongsok minyo* (widespread folksongs performed by professionals) and *t'osok minyo* (local folksongs performed by nonprofessionals) did not emerge until the latter half of the twentieth century (Provine 2001a: 880). In fact, the term *minyo* and the classification of all vocal genres as one folk music did not appear until the Japanese occupation of Korea, at which point a Japanese novelist, Mori Ogai (1862-1922), introduced the term (Howard 1999: 1). Currently, traditional vocal music is divided into folk and aristocratic; however, traditional society would not necessarily have grouped the three categories of popular songs, traditional communal songs, and national professional songs together. It seems that the unification projected by the occupying Japanese force began what the nationalistic and democratic movements continued.

*Minyo*, along with the whole of the traditional arts, saw a decline through the first half of the twentieth century.<sup>116</sup> With the introduction of Western art music into Korea at the end of the nineteenth century, traditional music (*kugak*) was separated from what was otherwise called “music” (*ŭmak*).<sup>117</sup> This was part of the overall social transformation that associated traditional music and arts with superstition and old-fashioned culture, while it associated Japanese and Western music with modernity and progress. Through this period, male professional performers of *minyo* declined while some of the professional versions were likely preserved by *kisaeng* through recordings and performances for tourists (Howard 2008: 164).<sup>118</sup> As modernisation and mechanisation prompted the decline of *minyo* performance by nonprofessionals,

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<sup>116</sup> See the Introduction chapter and chapter five for the decline of traditional music through the first half of the twentieth century.

<sup>117</sup> The term *ŭmak* is translated purely as ‘music;’ however, this term was originally applied to Western art music within academic and conservatory settings (Lee 1997: 11).

<sup>118</sup> See section 2.1. for more information on *kisaeng* tourism.

*minyo* moved more towards professional performance; thus, *t'ongsok minyo* became more widely known. As professionals recorded these songs, nonprofessionals imitating them in non-professional settings attempted to copy a professional sound and technique.

The 1970s and 1980s brought a shift from folklore studies of *minyo* by Japanese scholars toward a rise in the popular interest of folk music amongst the Korean populace. Student demonstrations for democracy appropriated folk culture in part due to the growing *Minjung* theology and the association with *han* and the oppressed lower classes;<sup>119</sup> however, other reasons for the adaptation of folk music for personal expressions within student protests included the accessibility and lack of required training for performance. Additionally, many contemporary arts were subject to government censorship in this time period. The government support and system of preservation meant that traditional music was not subject to the same censorship (Lee Byong Won 1997: 12). Through this period there was a return of folk music to nonprofessional members of society in outdoor communal spaces.

*Minyo*, as performed presently, is less popular as a form of entertainment but is taken quite seriously by the professional singers as they seek to increase the standing of folksong and legitimise it within the institutionalised system of folk music (Maliangkay 2002: 225). This is often done through regional and national folk contests where performers prove their skill and gain recognition (Maliangkay 2002: 226). This change in function has a strong effect on the development and preservation of *minyo*. As Hahn Man-young points out, the genre is altered through the preference for virtuosic and exciting passages due to time constraints and the competitive nature of the contests; the exaggerated physical gestures and vocal projection required in

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<sup>119</sup> See section 3.2.3. for an in-depth look at *Minjung* theology and *han*.

these spaces are significantly larger than those in traditional public performance spaces (Hahn Man-young 1989: 92-105). This difference in venue has seemed to create a divide between commercial performance and institutional performance (Maliangkay 2002: 227). Despite the decline of male singers of *minyo* within government and educational institutions, these competitions still maintain a significant number of male performers. A similar division takes place in *p'ansori*, which has a larger percentage of male performers in *ch'angjak p'ansori* than in traditional *p'ansori*. This is possibly due to the social demand on men to earn an income to support a family and the seeking of sponsorship; the number of male musicians that make a living from performance is significantly higher than that of women (Maliangkay 2002: 225, 227). It could be seen that the commercial performance style is a continuation of the regional folk performances, albeit through a very altered state, where male members of society occupy the public sphere. The institutionalised performance style can be seen as a continuation of the professional national performances while the removal from the popular audience has positioned the genre within the feminine private sphere.

*Minyo* has been greatly affected by the events of the past century, including the classification of all the non-aristocratic vocal genres into a single category of folksong. This shift has changed both the function and the style of *minyo*. The division between nonprofessional performers and professional performers has faded with the removal of traditional music from the majority of the population and through the institutionalisation of folk song through the system of preservation. Within traditional regional divisions of professional folk song, the more feminine aristocratic versions appear in the northwest and central regions, while a sound more strongly associated with masculinity within the larger category of traditional music

characterises the southwestern and eastern regions. In the same way, the current system of preservation and competition has led to a similar divide where commercial, competitive performances are associated with male performers while the institutionalised version is associated with female performers.

## **Conclusion**

Although the preservation system was based on the Japanese system of Intangible Cultural Properties, the Korean system, unlike the Japanese system, incorporated folk music and culture from the beginning.<sup>120</sup> This inclusion gave a legitimate position to folk music by placing it alongside aristocratic music. As folk music traditionally maintained female participants through shamanism, *minyo*, *sanjo*, and *p'ansori*, this also acted to legitimise the role of female musicians in the male public sphere. The acceptance of women in preservation—prompted by the influence of folk music—could have influenced the overall acceptance of women throughout traditional music. While traditionally they did not perform on instruments, women were audience members (albeit segregated from men) in folk performances of *p'ungmul*, *minyo* and *p'ansori* and would have participated in communal singing. In this way, it is understandable that women were more easily accepted in folk and folk-derived genres than they would have been in the court and aristocratic genres of *chǒngak* and *aak*.

*Minyo*, in particular, has always been performed by both men and women in communal settings while men alone traditionally performed professional *minyo*. *P'ansori* began with male professional folk performers in the communal space of the village and, with popularity among the upper class, was eventually performed by *kisaeng*. This is significant in that the first female performers of *p'ansori* were not

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<sup>120</sup> See Introduction chapter section on Research Questions and Scope of Research for information on the preservation system.

female *minyo* singers; rather, the folk version of *p'ansori* remained heavily male while the aristocratic version gradually moved towards *kisaeng* performers. Currently, the continuation of the folk style through *ch'angjak p'ansori* maintains a much larger male participation than the professional version of traditional *p'ansori*. Conversely, in *minyo*, while the traditionally preserved version has a similarly larger female participation, the professional singers for competition maintain a larger percentage of male singers than non-professional *minyo* singers. This difference contradicts the traditional association of the upper class as the masculine, dominant members of the Confucian ruling class and of the feminine, submissive members of the governed lower class. However, within the current social setting, the division can be understood as folk culture corresponding with the masculine public sphere and aristocratic culture corresponding to the institutionalised private sphere.

*Sanjo*, rather than being changed by the decline of traditional music, developed within the phase of decline. The development of *sanjo* took place through the Japanese occupation of Korea where traditional music was removed from the commoner and performed within private aristocratic venues; thus, acceptance of women, a marginalised and socially oppressed group, might have been more expected as traditional music was itself marginalised. Furthermore, as a newer genre, there would not have been as much of a cultural association with male performance as in other genres, in part because of the derivation of *sanjo* melodies from *p'ansori*, which was already performed by women. Finally, *sanjo* was performed in small, indoor spaces more acceptable to women and reflective of the traditional spaces of *kisaeng* and aristocratic gentlemen. The creation of *sanjo* by women purely within *kayagŭm sanjo* might be explained through the masculine association between *literati* and the *kŏmun'go*, or through the strong association between men and percussive or wind

instruments. As the *kayagŭm* was neither a percussive nor a wind instrument, it might be more acceptable for female performers. The role of women in the creation of several schools of *kayagŭm sanjo* is also significant considering the continued association between men and composition. While composition is seen as a cerebral act, the fact that *sanjo* was improvised, an act more associated with the body (Levy 2004: 440), might mean that the process was more acceptable to women.

In areas of drumming and singing, there is a strong influence of shamanism and village ritual. Shamanism is significant to the whole of traditional music society as it is presently performed for several key reasons. First, shamanism established the role of women as singers and dancers with male accompaniment within the current performance of the folk vocal genre *minyŏ* and in the same way that the divide between *kisaeng* performers and male accompaniment is traditionally seen within the aristocratic vocal genres. Second, women are associated with shamanism because of the links between women, emotionality and creativity versus those connecting men, rationality, and order. Third, shamanism has a strong association with the rhythms used in *p'ungmul*, *sanjo* and *p'ansori* through the *changdan kutkŏri* and through *salp'uri* as part of *sinawi* (Willoughby 2009: 106-110). Through these influences and the cultural divide of male drummers and female singers, it is understandable that women would have been historically part of the performance of *minyŏ* and that the acceptance of women within the all-male world of *p'ungmul* would be difficult.

*P'ungmul* was directly affected by the decline of village ritual through the earlier half of the twentieth century and the return of interest in traditional arts prompted by nationalism and the *Minjung* Culture Movement. This cultural shift moved the function of *p'ungmul* from that of ritual, where women would not have performed on instruments, to the function of entertainment, where women had existed

throughout history as *kisaeng*. While the first performances by women in *p'ungmul* were within all-female troupes, the shift in function helps to explain the accessibility of the genre to women. The same process of acceptance can be seen in the United States with the development of all-female jazz groups, such as the Darlings of Rhythm in the 1940s, which eventually gave way to the acceptance of women on traditionally male instruments (Tucker 2001: 320-329). Women could sing with male big bands, but only within all-female groups could they play percussion, woodwind and brass (Ake 2004: 439). The division into same-sex exclusive troupes kept in place the divide between novelty entertainment by women and virtuosic performances by men. Additionally, the unpopularity and subsequent preservation of *p'ungmul* removed the music from the male public sphere and moved the genre towards the female private sphere. This shift from a dominant social function to one of preservation is often associated with women.

Through my fieldwork, I came to understand the important role of women not just in the preservation of folk music, but also in the performance, creation and innovation of the music throughout history. Unlike with many forms of music, women have played a public role within the male public sphere as can be seen with female shaman ritualists and communal folk songs. The acceptance of female participation in singing and dancing allowed for an easier acceptance of women in the period of decline to folk genres traditionally held by men. In turn, the addition of folk music to the preservation system legitimised the role of women as performers of music, thus allowing them gradually to gain access to other traditionally male roles, albeit limited, within music society.

## Chapter 5: Modern Developments

Throughout the twentieth century, an ongoing debate has centered on the character, boundaries and definitions of *kugak*. Complicating these issues are the removal of traditional music from popular culture and the introduction and acceptance of Western classical music along with Japanese and American popular music. Some composers and performers, such as Hwang Byungki, speak of the “inherent artificiality of centuries-old music staged for a contemporary audience,” and “emphasise the insincerity of not revising or recreating *kugak* in present times” (Finchum-Sung 2008: 73). The preservation system that began in the 1960s was successful in preserving selected musical traditions; however, the music was made artificial and fossilised through this process and removed from popular culture.<sup>121</sup> Traditional music struggles to be contemporary within a global society while still maintaining connections to historic practices. Two different approaches have been undertaken in the continuation of traditional music: fusion and *ch’angjak kugak*. The former freely incorporates outside influences and instruments while maintaining some elements of tradition, either musically or instrumentally; the latter has remained within the traditional music institutions while using traditional instruments with physical or musical modifications.

“Ages of great rupture are accompanied by declarations of ‘new art’... A time of change demands heightened reflection, an awareness of both the link and break with the past. The opposition of ‘old’ and ‘new’ arise naturally in art” (Lobanova 2000: 16). Korea has encountered many events of great rupture through the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; these events brought Korea from a closed, locally-

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<sup>121</sup> See Introduction chapter section on Research Questions and Scope of Research for information on the preservation system.



orientated kingdom to a global-minded society. They removed traditional music from the public sphere through the influence of outside music and cultures, which made *kugak* a minority interest. The Late Chosŏn Dynasty elevated the importance of education and knowledge (Byeon Gye-won 2009: 54), which influenced the movement towards modernisation and the culture's views about the superiority of Western classical music. *Kugak* continued to be taught during the twentieth century; however, Western classical musicians were paid much more and treated with greater respect while traditional musicians were stigmatised and viewed poorly (Chae Hyun Kyung 2006: 24-25, Byeon Gye-won 2009: 13). While traditional music was performed for minority interest, the end of Japanese rule saw an even greater decline of traditional music and stronger influence of Western music through the modernisation era following the Korean War (Chae Hyun Kyung 1996: 28).

The division of elite and folk music that previously existed in traditional society was reflected in the preservation and democratisation movements in the latter half of the twentieth century. The preservation system sponsored musicians to teach within the institutions of academia in settings removed from the experience of the majority of the populace. This institutionalisation for preservation can be seen as a continuation of the tradition of the male aristocratic literati, those figures who comprised the minority of the cultural population where *kisaeng* were often performers. Meanwhile, through the 1970s and 1980s, traditional arts and culture played a strong role in the democratisation movement by creating a cultural identity for the masses. These *madang* gatherings, where traditional music and dance were performed for social and political commentary, represented a returning of traditional music to the people. While still a minority interest for those participants in the democratisation movement, these public performances and their use as a vehicle for

commentary can be seen as a continuation of the folk music performances that traditionally took place in village squares and public spaces.

Performances within public spaces of traditional villages would have been given by male musicians with both male and female viewers in attendance, as seen in *p'ansori*.<sup>122</sup> The modern reconnection with folk culture was marked by the participation of both male and female performers and audience members, such as with *p'ansori*, *ch'anggŭk* and *p'ungmul* during the nationalist movement.<sup>123</sup> As we have seen, the acceptance of women, as the most oppressed members of society under the military patriarchy, was in part due to the strong claim by women to the suffering of the masses through the *Minjung* Cultural Movement (Davis 2006: 121; Elaine H. Kim 1998: 14).<sup>124</sup> While women were not traditionally part of drumming practices, women have a long association with song and dance; the connection between drumming and dance is widely acknowledged in the practices of *p'ungmul* and *samulnori*, thus making these areas more acceptable for female participation. The transition towards the acceptance of female musicians was further aided by the decline in popularity of traditional music and dance through the twentieth century. Female participation gained greater cultural reinforcement through the association of traditional music with the nationalist movement; in its inclusion of all members of oppressed society, the movement presented women with a basis for a strong claim within the traditional patriarchal society.

Social and historical issues played a large role in the gendered associations of musical instruments. As the role of musician has shifted towards women, the movement of women towards certain instruments has happened in specific patterns

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<sup>122</sup> See section 3.1.

<sup>123</sup> See sections 3.2.3 on *han* and 3.3.1 on *ch'anggŭk*. See section 4.3. on *p'ungmul*.

<sup>124</sup> See section 3.2.3 for information on the *Minjung* Cultural Movement and the feminine claim to *han*.

and waves. While the majority of traditional musicians and students of traditional music are presently female, the most popular stringed instruments, such as *haegŭm* and *kayagŭm*, maintain a still larger percentage of female players. Male musicians, while representing a smaller percentage of performers in traditional music, typically play wind or percussion instruments. Additionally, there seems to be an association of female performer and male scholar that can be seen in the large number of male academics and composers in *kugak* and in the performance of court music, which has disproportionately higher percentages of males than in other areas of traditional music.

Many attempts have been made towards the goal of accepting the global influence within Korean society and creating a new music while remaining “traditional” (Finchum-Sung 2008: 72). Within this area of creation and performance there are specific gender issues regarding composition, genre and choice of instrument or instrumentation. The difference between the music of *ch’angjak kugak* and fusion is that the former attempts to make a current version of traditional music while the latter incorporates nontraditional instrumentation, genres, and musical elements. As the role of performer shifted heavily towards female members of society, the role of musical scholar and composer remained heavily male. However, women do play a strong role in fusion music as both creators and performers.

Fusion has arisen as a way of reconciling traditional music with global influences. Korea is struggling to maintain and create an identity both as an internal expression for members of the Korean society and as an external expression for large international audiences strongly drawn to Korean pop (K-pop), television dramas and their associated popular and historical cultural aspects. The “Korean Wave,” as it has been named, has strongly influenced the creation and marketing of tradition.

Additionally, the incorporation of global influences within Korea has created a large amount of fusion music that continues to develop and change with the interests of popular culture. Within fusion music as a whole, there are gender associations regarding choice of instrument, such as women with *kayagŭm* or *haegŭm* and men with Western instruments like guitar and drums, or with choices of genre, such as jazz fusion with men and pop fusion with women.

These gender issues can be seen not only within these associations with instrument and genre, but also in performance practices, public representation and branding. The depiction of artists in promotional materials and on album covers is quite different according to genre and gender; for example, it seems from my perspective that in the packaging of large female ensembles in pop fusion, the musicians often photographically reference *kisaeng* performers. There is also a strong difference in personal representation between female *kugak* musicians and female fusion musicians where the former tend to adhere to more traditional images of female virtue and modesty and the latter have more freedom of sexual expression through exposure of the body or free physical movement. Lastly, the contrast between male and female *ch'angjak kugak* composer-performers is strongly gendered. Female *ch'angjak kugak* composer-performers, such as Jin Hi Kim, are often depicted as artists with the personal image also being a subject of art. Male *ch'angjak kugak* composer-performers, such as Hwang Byungki, are depicted as scholars with the image representing a view into the act of performing.

This chapter returns to issues of women and preservation, raised in the previous chapters, through reflections on the modernisation of each genre. As traditional music further declined in the post-war era and regained popularity through the nationalist movement, women were increasingly accepted in traditional music,

while modernisation and industrialisation led men towards more profitable careers in business and engineering which were seen as moving the society towards modernity. The theme of female artists and male scholars explored in chapter two is revisited in the context of its influence on modern musical culture and musical genres. The theme of gender and drumming raised in previous sections, such as those on *sanjo* and *p'ansori*, are further explained through the association of *kisaeng* and dance and the acceptance of women in drumming genres associated with dance. These issues will be addressed in this chapter by exploring the modern genres of *ch'angjak kugak* and fusion through the analysis of gender as it relates to choice of instrument and artistic representation. Within the scope of the thesis I cannot examine individual compositions, but rather deal with the cultural influences and how societal shifts have been manifested in the gender issues associated with composition and the creation of new music.

### **5.1. *Ch'angjak Kugak* (Newly-created Music)**

In the observations of *ch'angjak kugak* in my fieldwork, there was a seeming contradiction with the general role of women as preservers and men as innovators as seen in the modernising society as a whole. There is a stronger male presence in *aak*, a preserved music, than in new kinds of *kugak* fusion. This section explores this seeming contradiction through the exploration of the gender associations and the different roles within the traditional music community.

With the introduction of Western music came the Western notions of composition and the composer. The concept of composition by a single composer did not exist before the Western influence, but rather was a “gradual formation over time by generations of musicians” (Howard 2001a: 952). *Ch'angjak kugak*, translated as

“newly-created national music,” developed as a use of traditional instruments accepting Western influence. Byeon Gye-won defines *ch’angjak kugak* as music written for “traditional Korean instruments in Western staff notation using Western or Korean style ornaments, embellishments, tempo indications, dynamic marks, and moods” (Byeon Gye-won 2009: 12-13). Also significant to *ch’angjak kugak* is the mixing of folk and court music, which occurs with the decline of traditional music. Hwang Byungki, one of the most famous composers of *ch’angjak kugak*, combined court and folk styles in his early works in the 1960s, befitting his status as one of the first to learn both folk and court pieces and techniques for *kayagŭm* (Killick 2001: 975).

The traditional concept of the creation of music was *hyŏngsŏng*, or gradual formation over time by generations of musicians (Howard 2001a: 952). With the introduction of the Western concept of composition at the start of the twentieth century, until the 1960s compositions by Koreans were primarily for Western classical instruments such as *Symphonic Fantasia* (1938) by An Ikt’ae (1907/11-1965; Howard 2001a: 952). Kim Kisu (1917-1986), a graduate in *kŏmun’go* from the court music institute (1936), was one of the first to apply the Western concept of composition and performance practice, such as a conductor in front rather than the traditional *pak* clapper, to music for Korean instruments; his compositions used Western-style staff notation and notated ornamentation while being modelled on *kagok* lyric songs or court ensemble pieces (Howard 2001a: 953). Kim’s compositions were often political in content, as seen in his choice of a text by the cultural nationalist Yi Nŭnghwa (1868-1945) for his first composition *Hwanghwa Mannyŏn Chigok* (Ten Thousand Year Chrysanthemum) (1939) and in the titles of several works created during the Korean War: *Hawŏnch’un* (Celebrating the

Beginning of Spring) (1952), *Chǒngbaekhŏn* (Pure White Spirit) (1952), and *Kaech'ōnbu* (The Nation's Origin) (1952) (Howard 2001a: 953). Yi Sanggyu (b. 1944), a *taegŭm* player and composition student of Kim Kisu's, similarly composed large orchestral pieces such as *Chajin hanip* (1972), a work based on a melody from the aristocratic suite *Yōngsan hoesang* (Howard 2001a: 953).

The 1960s is a very significant turning point in *ch'angjak kugak* due to the institution of the preservation system. *Ch'angjak kugak* was composed before this time; however, the desire to preserve traditional music meant that there had to be a clear division between tradition and development in order to maintain tradition unchanged over time. This desire to preserve, sparked by the renewed interest in traditional music and arts, led to a second approach on the part of composers. The second approach in *ch'angjak kugak* began in the early 1960s with Seoul National University graduates Hwang Byungki (b. 1936), graduating in law in 1959 and teaching *kayagŭm* there till 1963, and Lee Sung Chun (1936-2003), a graduate in composition. The addition of a traditional music programme to Seoul National University as an academic major sent the message that *kugak* was part of modern society that should continue to be developed (Hwang Byungki 1982: 223). These second-phase composers took a very different approach to composition, which included new playing techniques for the *kayagŭm* (e.g. arpeggiation with the left hand) and, quite significantly, the use of both folk and court styles and techniques with compositional and instrumental techniques from Western music. Hwang Byungki gained an international reputation as a performer and composer performing throughout North America and Europe, lecturing at prestigious American universities such as the University of Washington (1965) and Harvard (1985), and teaching Western ethnomusicologists and composers (Killick 2001: 976). The international

success of Hwang Byungki and his performances at the great halls of America and Europe legitimised traditional music through linking it to acceptance by the revered Western classical world and contributed to a renewed value of traditional culture (Chae Hyun Kyung 1996: 33).

A third approach to *ch'angjak kugak* coincided with the emergence of nationalism in the 1960s. Many of the composers in this third approach studied music in America or Europe and were likely influenced by the rising interest in the music and philosophy of the East by the Western musical scene and composers such as John Cage (Chae Hyun Kyung 1996: 36-37). This approach, heavily inspired by folk music and the *Minjung* Cultural Movement, uses both traditional and Western instruments to create Korean music which is, according to Lee Geon-yong, Korean both in “inspiration and execution” (Howard 2001a: 956-957). The composer Yi Haesik (b. 1943), for instance, showed a strong interest in folk genres such as *sanjo*, *minyo*, and *kut*. While the second compositional approach consisted of Korean-trained composers performing within Western concert and academic settings, the third compositional approach saw Western-educated composers returning “home” to look for inspiration in folk culture (Howard 2001a: 956-957). As with Aaron Copland returning from France with nationalistic nostalgia,<sup>125</sup> this approach connects with the cultural nostalgia for folk culture and coincides with the movement towards *Minjung* culture; like Copland capturing “Americanness” through the idiom of Western classical music, this third approach attempts to reinsert traditional elements of folk music into Westernised Korean music (Byeon Gye-won 2009: 14).

A fourth compositional approach attempts to broaden the audience of *ch'angjak kugak* outside the musical community into the popular culture through a

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<sup>125</sup> See Chae Hyun Kyung 1996: 36-37.



mix of traditional and Western compositional elements and instrumentation, for example Kim Soo Chul's compositions for television dramas (Howard 2001a: 958-959). While there are clear philosophical differences between these compositional approaches, they often overlap and occur simultaneously.

Composers seeking international audiences confront certain issues. Andrew Killick raises the first issue:

The ambition to reach an international audience, or even a Western-oriented domestic audience, requires some degree of sacrifice of one's national heritage, since an uncompromisingly Korean... work is likely to be incomprehensible to anyone outside of its own culture. In a culture where nationalism is a strong element, artists may be more willing to forgo international aspirations than national heritage. (Killick 1991: 105)

Additionally, Lee Kang-sook warns that "Koreans are collectively deceived by an imitation of Western music, made up merely of Western musical material, technique, style and form, believing it to be authentic Korean art music" (Lee Kang-sook 1980: 276). These issues of authenticity and "Koreanness" present a struggle between fossilisation and progression that varies according to audience and function.

The current state of *ch'angjak kugak* is yet to be defined. This music tends to be avant-garde at times and cliché at other times as a musical landscape is being explored. This might be due to the recurring concern I observed within my fieldwork interviews regarding the fossilisation of traditional music and the next phase of music post-preservation. Female *kayagŭm* player and composer Lee Seungah reflected on this desire within the traditional music community to create a new traditional music:

I am interested in creating a new [traditional] music based on the past to create the future of traditional music that isn't crossover or fusion but stays with the past. Many people like Western music, but they are not really familiar with traditional music so I want to create new traditional music and spread the knowledge so they know the other method.... There are so many kinds, so it is hard to know the future. It is still so transitional and there are so many different directions at this time. It is hard to compose the new traditional music and it is a lot of

pressure but also an exciting project. (Lee Seungah, interview, September 15, 2009)

Often compositions by members of the traditional music community for other members of the same community form a kind of dialogue about the creation of a new traditional music.

Pieces composed for the professional productions, such as those performed at the National Theater of Korea or main stage productions at the National Gugak Center, follow the tradition of the second and third compositional approaches of *ch'angjak kugak*. The compositions tend to be relatively consistent in quality and compositional style as they have been chosen by institutions through a refining process based on institutional direction and public taste. Additionally, these compositions tend to be composed by traditional musicians with training in composition or Western classical music. An example of this type of composition would be female composer Chan Hae Lee's "*P'ansori* Remix" compositions. I saw the performance of Lee's version of *Ch'unhyangga* in April 2010; rather than following traditional progressions with narrative singing, the story is told through a combination of traditional *changdan* with narrative storytelling and atmospheric musical sections that describe the scene. Chan Hae Lee combines Western classical and Korean traditional instruments<sup>126</sup> for her interpretation of *Ch'unhyangga*, which is performed in fixed position on stage and facing a conductor. By maintaining the traditional tale while adapting instrumentation and setting in the Western classical style, the piece targets those with an understanding of classical music.

While *kugak* has greatly increased in prestige and acceptance throughout the last twenty years, Western classical music is still understood as the elite art music for

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<sup>126</sup> Korean instruments consisted of *haegŭm*, *saenghwang*, *puk*, and a *p'ansori* singer; Western classical instruments consist of piano, percussion section, and a string quartet.

the majority of Koreans (Byeon Gye-won 2009: 15). While traditional music and arts were removed from the public sphere during modernisation, there was a simultaneous glorification of Western classical music and culture. *Ch'angjak kugak* gained recognition through the interest of Western composers and musical institutions through the latter half of the twentieth century (Chae Hyun Kyung 1996: 14). Likewise, it is possible that women, as the marginalised members of the compositional community, gained recognition through Western associations. While many composers of *ch'angjak kugak* have studied in North America or Europe, in my experience, for the most popular and well-accepted composers, the need for authority gained through Western recognition and associations seems to be stronger for female than for male composers.

Composition in Korea, as seen in Western classical music within Western classical communities, maintains a large number of male members. While attending new music concerts as part of my fieldwork, I noticed that the majority of composers of *ch'angjak kugak* were male. Almost without exception the *ch'angjak kugak* compositions performed as part of the *Saturday Performance of Korean Music and Dance* programme at the National Gugak Center between 2009 and 2010 were by male composers.<sup>127</sup> The same was true for the handful of other *ch'angjak kugak* performances. During my fieldwork, I did attend several concerts that featured female composers exclusively: Concert of Women Composers, September 6<sup>th</sup>, 2009, The National Gugak Center; Baek Hyun Ju Composition Recital, November 24<sup>th</sup>, 2009, Pusan Kükchang Munhwa Hökwan; Chan Hae Lee Pansori Remix Chunhyangga, April 11<sup>th</sup>, 2010, The National Gugak Center.

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<sup>127</sup> Of the twenty-three performances of *ch'angjak kugak* in this concert series, only one piece, “Ta (Strike)” by Byeon Gyewon, was by a female composer.

The larger issue is the overall feminisation of traditional music, where composition is still a legitimate place for men within what is becoming an increasingly female musical community. The upper class association of *kisaeng* as performers and *yangban* as scholars could influence the current state where the men within the traditional music community gravitate towards scholarship and composition (Chae Hyun Kyung 1996: 22). The traditional process of musical creation was associated with the body in that it occurred through performance in a process of development called *hyöngsöng* (Howard 2001a: 952). However, the current division can be traced to the concept of composition, which came from Western practices. As discussed in the previous chapter on folk music, women often participate as singers or dancers due to the association of women with nature and the body, while men manipulate nature through the use of the mind and instruments.<sup>128</sup> Susan McClary discusses the conflict within the “mind/body split” and whether music belongs to the mind or the body where “music is always in danger of being perceived as feminine (or effeminate)” (McClary 1991: 151-152). Composition, taking place in the mind rather than the body, is clearly defined as male space.<sup>129</sup>

## 5.2. Fusion

When analysing fusion music, the question arises as to what makes Korean music Korean. Do musical elements of rhythm, melody, or tonality have to be included, or is fusion considered to have a Korean contribution purely by including a traditional instrument? The *kayagŭm*, for example, has often been altered in number of strings to accommodate Western tonality, as has the *haegŭm* in its playing technique. These

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<sup>128</sup> See section 4.2.2.

<sup>129</sup> Improvisation, in contrast, can be viewed as a physical act of the body. This might affect the contribution of women to *kayagŭm sanjo* (section 4.2.2).

issues are dealt with differently depending on the audience and purpose. When performed by traditional musicians in the West, emphasis might focus on virtuosity or education, while the traditional music exported internationally (especially within East or Southeast Asia) tends to be more concerned with emotional expression due to the popularity of Korean dramas and the romanticising of traditional Korean culture through the “Korean Wave” phenomenon. Hwang Okon describes the “Korean Wave” as “the surge in popularity of South Korean popular culture around the world since the beginning of the twenty-first century... [in which] the status of Korean popular musicians has been elevated significantly, while classical musicians have become increasingly marginalised” (Hwang Okon 2009: 56). While fusion music preceded the Korean Wave, the latter led to an increase in the popularity of fusion music within popular culture and splintered fusion music into categories for different functions: fusion for the traditional music community, fusion for popular culture within Korea, and fusion to represent Koreanness externally.

Through the “Korean Wave,” culture has become one of Korea’s exports and a source of economic growth (Finchum-Sung 2009: 46). Tourism and cultural exportation has had a strong effect on traditional arts through what Finchum-Sung called the “Hallyu effect”:

The fascination with the idyllic locations and dramas in which, most always, the protagonist succeeds while love and good old-fashioned Korean values save the day, has inspired interest in traditional Korean arts. This interest is something that has not been overlooked by organizers of traditional music performances and government agencies who have latched onto the romantic imagery and idyllic love stories to create an attractive, romantic Korea, using traditional music and hybrid forms as the national soundtrack. The result has been a refashioning of the very definition of traditional Korean music. (Finchum-Sung 2009: 47)

Finchum-Sung further discusses how the *hallyu* effect is used to both attract tourism and further the exportation of Korean culture (one of the largest areas of exports), and

to create a sense of nationalistic pride within the native population (Finchum-Sung 2009: 46-48). This representation of Koreanness through fusion music is conveyed through the identification of musical and thematic characteristics associated with Korean culture. These characteristics have gender implications that vary according to audience and function, reflecting the masculine association of jazz fusion and the feminine association of pop fusion.

Through the process of modernisation Korea has been influenced by globalisation and exposure to other music and cultures and has also influenced other cultures. *Ch'angjak kugak* has attempted to be a continuation of traditional music that accepts outside influence while maintaining a connection to traditional genres and musical characteristics. What has been included in this category of *ch'angjak kugak* is the influence of Western classical music, instrumentation and notation systems and, particularly towards the end of the twentieth century and beginning of the twenty-first century, jazz rhythms and ornamentation. What separates this music from fusion music can be difficult at times to discern, and certain musics vary in definition depending on the audience or viewer. Views on what might be considered fusion might be less strict when defined by general audiences rather than within the musical community. Additionally, adherence to tradition in fusion might differ greatly when targeted outside of Korea depending on its use as entertainment or education.

Within Korea, combining traditional music with non-traditional musical characteristics or instrumentation could be done for different reasons: to connect with an audience that is no longer familiar with traditional musical idioms in a way that is more accessible, or to increase prestige or legitimate traditional music to overcome the negative associations of traditional music and musicians. Much of my observation of fusion within the musical community or musical institutions focused on a kind of

jazz fusion. As this music is not particularly popular within nonmusical circles of society, this choice of fusion seems to be based on the positive musical associations of jazz as an elevating force rather than as an accessible genre. The choice of jazz fusion was often explained through the combination of syncopated rhythms with the quality of *han* or suffering that Korean music shares with jazz and blues. However, in my observation of jazz fusion, especially during my time with Oriental Express (Photo 5.1.), a Seoul-based jazz-fusion group, the stylistic choices often tended towards virtuosity and jazz standards of the male jazz canon rather than towards the more *han*-filled blues ballads.

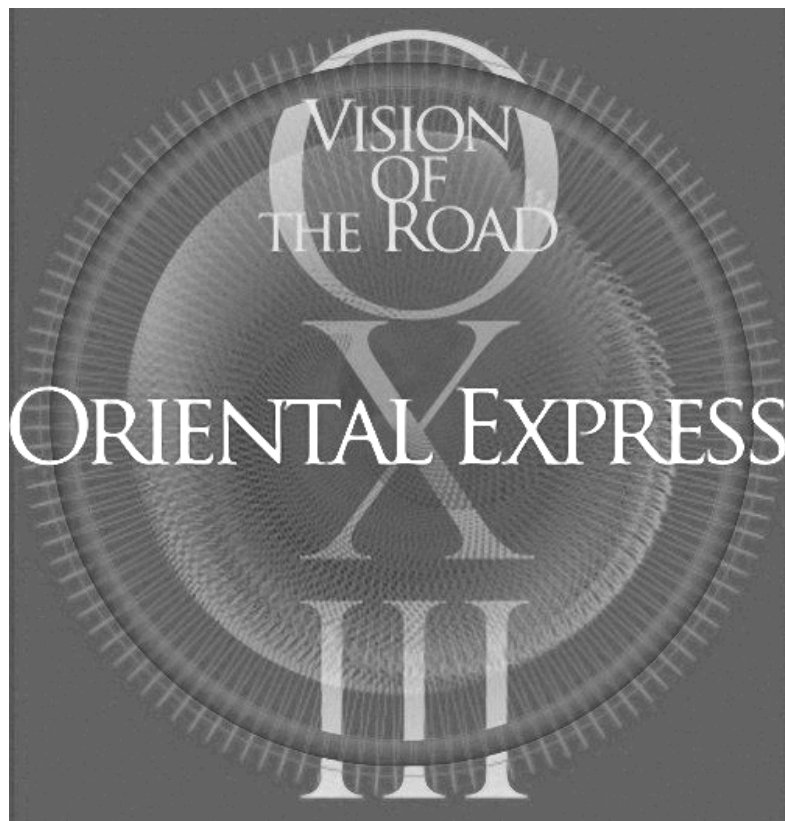


Photo 5.1. The association with Western culture appears through the use of English language and roman numerals, while the *taegŭk* in the centre is very subtly showing underlying Koreanness. CD Cover: Oriental Express. *Visions of the Road*, 2009

While the connection between Korean syncopation and the cultural pathos of *Minjung* culture is similar to the oppressed African-American tradition of jazz music,

the choice of jazz, in my experience, reveals a striving for musical authority and positive cultural association. Choi Youngjun, electro acoustic composer and musician, says of this:

I did heavy sound processing for kayageum... electro acoustic music, I mean. I use MaxMSP to amplifier. Recently Chick Corea used MaxMSP too. (Choi Youngjun, personal correspondence, March 13, 2012)

Oriental Express uses electronic equipment, which minimises the association with the physical body and emotional expression by altering the natural acoustic resonance. Furthermore, by making an association with the music of Chick Corea, both through electronic technology and the performance of several of his songs on several albums, Oriental Express is making the association with virtuoso technique and intellectual expression.

Within performances of jazz fusion, there seems to be a consistent choice of instrumentation with an equally consistent association between instrument and gender. Western instruments usually consist of drum set, bass (usually guitar, but sometimes upright), piano, guitar or violin, and often some other kind of world percussion (conga, djembe, chimes, or a shaker of some sort). Traditional instruments typically consist of *kayagŭm*, *haegŭm*, *p'iri*, *taegŭm* and sometimes *changgo*. Most interestingly, the division tends to be strong with almost completely male musicians on Western instruments while Korean instruments tend to be divided between female strings and male wind or percussion. These jazz-fusion groups are often heavily male. An example of the typical gender divide can be seen in Oriental Express, which consists of a female *kayagŭm* player, sometimes a female violinist, a male *changgo* player, a male percussionist on drum set, a male keyboardist, and a male bass player. The majority of the group is male, and the two female musicians play instruments heavily associated with women in Korean musical society: violin and *kayagŭm*. While



there is a male performer on a traditional instrument, the male musician plays the *changgo*, which is strongly associated with male musicians in the majority of traditional genres. Similarly, self-described all-female groups, often consisting of a number of *kayagŭm*, have backup musicians that still tend to be completely male (typically bass, piano and drums). For example, the *kayagŭm* quartet Yeoul consists of four female *kayagŭm* musicians who are accompanied by male musicians on various instruments such as keyboard, electric or upright bass and drum set.

This division can also be seen in other types of fusion music, such as pop or hip hop, where women perform on traditional instruments while men perform on foreign instruments, as in Sorea (section 4.2.1). For example, the 2006 Kookmin Bank commercial featured six female *kayagŭm* players performing Pachelbel's Canon with a male hip hop dancer, a DJ on turntable and a beatboxer. Two possible reasons for this gender division correspond with previously discussed issues of women and preservation and the distrust of women who work with colonising forces. Chungmoo Choi comments:

The postcolonial Korean discourse of nationalism, compounded by the Confucian patriarchal ideology of chastity, demands self-censorship from women not only because of the danger of real rape but because of the suspicion of conspiracy against the already disempowered Korean men. (Chungmoo Choi 1998: 25)

This distrust of women in collaboration with the occupying force, which in this case is the cultural imperialism of Western music, does not apply to men due to the cultural association of preservation with women. With modernisation, the male members of society move towards modernity while the female members are responsible for tradition; this association can be seen both with internal modernisation and with the adaptation to a new society in diasporic communities where “daughters are often expected to preserve these practices for the next generation” (Stritikus 2007: 860).

These social influences produce a division between the larger number of women in traditional music and the larger number of men in jazz music as a whole. The large number of male jazz musicians cannot purely be explained by the greater respect given to Western musicians since Western classical musicians within Korea are also presently mostly women. However, jazz, as a twentieth-century musical form, is still heavily associated with male musicians and masculinity where women who have made a name are primarily singers or pianists (Ake 2004: 435-440). The fact that fusion groups contain both male and female musicians, with women on traditional instruments and men on Western instruments, reflects this division.

### **5.3. Gendered Associations of Instruments**

#### *5.3.1. Choice of Instrument*

As explored in the previous chapters, the traditional role of professional musician within the public sphere was primarily male. While themselves belonging to the lower classes, male musicians performed throughout the whole of the male-dominated public sphere; Confucian ritual within the palace, aristocratic music both within the palace and within aristocratic settings in the male areas of *yangban* homes, and in restaurants. They performed both aristocratic genres (*kagok*, *kasa*, *sijo*, *sanjo*, *kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang* and aristocratic *p'ansori*) and folk genres associated with or derived from shamanism (*sinawi*, *p'unngmul*, *minyo*, *kut* and folk *p'ansori*). Women, on the other hand, performed mainly in the private sphere, as when *kisaeng* performed aristocratic vocal music and a few instrumental genres within the private sphere of the aristocratic gentleman.

Through the events of the twentieth century, the role of musician as male shifted to the present state where most students and performers of traditional and

Western music are female while men tend to pursue studies and careers in economics, engineering and the sciences (Sutton 2008: 17-18). There are a large number of influences to discuss regarding this shift,<sup>130</sup> but they can all be considered under the broad umbrella of modernisation. The opening of Korea to Western music and culture in the late nineteenth century with the abolition of the class system led to the diminishing popularity of traditional music.<sup>131</sup> The traditionally negative perception of musicians and *kisaeng* as the lowest members of traditional Confucian society, combined with the growing association of traditional music with superstition and old-fashioned practices and the social mobility allowed with modernisation, discouraged the pursuit of traditional arts. On a large scale, this marginalisation of traditional music moved the role of musician from the public sphere to the private sphere, thus allowing the acceptance of women in traditional arts as marginalised members of society. Strengthening the association between women and traditional music was the running of *kwŏnbŏn* to train *kisaeng* in both traditional and Western musical forms (Sin Hyŏngyu 2007, Kim Yŏngŭi 2006).<sup>132</sup>

These issues led to the acceptance of women in many genres of traditional music; however, traditional music programmes at high school and university levels from the 1950s and 1960s maintained a large number of male students and faculty,<sup>133</sup> the exception being all-female universities. While the role of musician has shifted

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<sup>130</sup> These include the opening of the ports and the abolition of the class system in the late nineteenth century, Japanese occupation, nationalism, the Korean War, industrialisation, social mobility, democratisation, and preservation. These cultural issues are dealt with in more detail within the previous chapters.

<sup>131</sup> The class system was officially abolished in the 1890s; however, the social practice continues to influence social perceptions and cultural associations.

<sup>132</sup> *Kisaeng* were not trained in all traditional musical genres, but rather learned genres enjoyed by upper class audiences and *kisaeng* tourists such as *p'ansori*, *sanjo*, *kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang*, *minyo*, and the aristocratic vocal genres (Shin, Hyŏn Kyu 2007).

<sup>133</sup> Female students in attendance with the opening of the traditional music department at Seoul National University include Lee Chae Suk, specialising in *sanjo*, who is responsible for the first notations of the genre.

towards female performers, the rate of the shift and the acceptance of females have not been uniform across genres and instruments. For the most part, women were accepted on stringed instruments and within vocal genres more quickly than on percussion or wind instruments. This association between stringed instruments and women might be due to the performance of *kisaeng* within string and vocal genres through the twentieth century. While far more women than men play stringed instruments presently, within the stringed instruments, *kayagŭm* was most readily embraced by female students, whereas *kŏmun'go* maintained more of a male presence and masculine association.<sup>134</sup> This can be understood through the association of the *kayagŭm* with *kisaeng* and the association of the *kŏmun'go* with literati gentlemen.<sup>135</sup> Interesting as the shift towards female musicians in stringed instruments has been, equally interesting is the adherence of the few remaining male musicians to wind and percussion instruments (Sutton 2008: 18; Photo 5.2.).



Photo 5.2. Commonly assumed divisions between male wind and percussion and women on strings as well as the division between the female *kayagŭm* player and male *kŏmun'go* player. Photo taken at the Seoul National University Alumni Concert, March 31, 2010.

<sup>134</sup> There are more male *kŏmun'go* players than *kayagŭm* players; however, the majority of instrumentalists on both are female.

<sup>135</sup> See Aristocratic music in chapter two for literati's association with *kŏmun'go*, and section 4.2. on *sanjo* for the association between *kayagŭm* and *kisaeng*.

Musicians seem to associate these two instruments, the *kayagŭm* and *kŏmun'go*, with gender more than any others. Through my fieldwork, musicians on *kayagŭm* or *kŏmun'go* were more likely to describe the sound of their instrument as “masculine” or “feminine”.<sup>136</sup> The culturally projected gender division between these two stringed instruments seems to be stronger than with other related instruments, such as the *tanso* and *taegŭm* flutes or the *puk* or *changgo* drums. This association between stringed instruments and women, particularly the feminine association of the *kayagŭm* and *haegŭm*, strongly influences the choice of instrument by students.

The *kayagŭm* is one of the most popular traditional instruments; however, since the 1990s, the *haegŭm* has become increasingly popular for female musicians (Sutton 2008: 17-18). While the *kayagŭm* can be traced back to *kisaeng* in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the *haegŭm* was not played or studied by *kisaeng* (Sutton 2008: 18). In fact, the *haegŭm* was not initially a popular instrument at all through the process of preservation and nationalisation, but rather became popular in the late twentieth century with the increasing interest in fusion music. Traditionally, the *haegŭm* was used as a supporting instrument by male musicians in court and aristocratic ensembles, ancestral shrine ritual ensembles, group accompaniment for the aristocratic vocal genres *kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo*, and the folk derived genres of *sinawi* and *sanjo* (Sutton 2008: 3; Photo 5.3.).

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<sup>136</sup> For discussion on the gender associations of the *kayagŭm* and *kŏmun'go*, see Chapter 4, section 2 on *sanjo*.



Photo 5.3. A small ensemble accompanying a female *kagok* singer. Expected gender divisions appear between the female singer and the male accompaniment with a male *haegŭm* player within an aristocratic *kugak* setting. Photo taken at the Seoul National University Alumni Concert, March 31, 2010.

Within fusion music, the *haegŭm* has a stronger female association than within the modern performance practice of *kugak*. While female *haegŭm* players are the majority within aristocratic and court music settings, male *haegŭm* players can still be readily seen in these areas of *kugak*. The current association between female musicians and *haegŭm* can be attributed to the association of women with fusion music and to the increased popularity of *haegŭm* in fusion music. The choice of *haegŭm* for the creation of fusion music might be in part due to the raspy sound quality produced by the instrument, which makes the instrument identifiably Korean (Sutton 2008: 1). Lee Byong Won states, “A kind of raspy or buzzing sound quality seems to be the preferred timbre in Korean music” (Lee Byong Won 1997: 53). Sutton further explores the reasons for the use of *haegŭm* in fusion, noting its flexibility for playing both Western and Korean ornamentations and scales as well as the high pitch and loudness which allow the instrument to be heard over electronically

amplified instruments (Sutton 2008: 8). Yun Chunggang refers to the sound of the *haegŭm* as “nasal” and compares the sound to the rough voice of an old woman (Yun Chunggang 2004: 6-7). From a gender standpoint, while it is said that raspiness is a representation of Koreanness, *haegŭm* in female-dominated fusion music uses less of a raspy timbre than the traditionally male *haegŭm* genres, such as *sanjo*.

Sutton explains that the *haegŭm* seems to be used in fusion to connect with a Korean audience under Western musical influences rather than to represent Koreanness to non-Korean audiences:

In any case, it seems the *haegŭm* speaks to Korean listeners in ways that it still does not to foreigners. Reactions from the mostly American students to whom I have played *haegŭm* fusion music range from mild discomfort to cringing and gritting of teeth. Only some Korean fusion musicians express a major concern with international acceptance, among them Kim Duk Soo (Kim Tŏksu, of the group SamulNori) and Won Il (Wŏn Il, of the group P’uri). Most others are primarily concerned with popularizing their music, both fusion and traditional *kugak*, with the Korean populace. (Sutton 2008: 19)

If the goal is to reach the general Korean populace, then it is understandable that fusion would use less of a raspy tone than traditional *haegŭm* genres. Through the past century, the decline of traditional music and the popularity of Western classical music have changed the timbre preferences. While the *haegŭm* phenomenon has only happened in the past twenty years or so, this association between women, fusion, and a lighter use of a raspy timbre can be linked to the process of decline in the period of Japanese occupation. Male musicians often taught in *kisaeng* schools as the demand for traditional music declined and the demand for *kisaeng* tourism throughout East Asia increased. Since the livelihood of *kisaeng* and *kisaeng* institutions depended on patronage, it is likely that the aesthetics shifted towards the preferences of the audience. Male musicians, taking the role of scholar, might have been less likely to alter the traditional aesthetics. This appears in strong contrast to the overall

association of men with a movement towards modernity and women with cultural preservation.

The difficulty of combining Western and Korean instruments lies both in tuning and tone quality (Killick 1991: 113). With the introduction of Western instruments came efforts to “improve” or modify traditional instruments. The instrument most affected by these efforts is the *kayagŭm*. The *kayagŭm* has been modified in size and height of the body and with the use of metal or synthetic strings; additionally, *kayagŭm* of different sizes have been made for children or have been altered to create low-, middle- and high-registered instruments (Lee Chaesuk 2001: 107, Byeon Gye-won 2009: 79). Additionally, the *kayagŭm*, originally having 12 strings, has been made in versions of 13, 15, 17, 18, 21, 22, and 25 strings for different tuning and performance styles (Lee Chaesuk 2001: 107-111). The likely reason for the increased modification of the *kayagŭm* is the popularity of the instrument through the process of modernisation and preservation and, consequently, the large number of genres for which the instrument is utilised as a lead or primary instrument. Other instruments have been altered as well, but few to the extent or with as wide an acceptance as the *kayagŭm*. The majority of *kayagŭm* players are female, but the men who continue to study or perform on the instrument primarily play the unmodified version while, in my experience, women play all versions of the instrument but the 25-stringed variation is seemingly only performed by women. The *kŏmun’go* can occasionally be seen with additional strings or strings of different materials; however, these changes do not usually alter tuning, like the addition of strings to the *kayagŭm*.

In my experience, the modified *kŏmun’go* is much more conspicuous than the modified *kayagŭm*, and when used is indicated publicly through programme notes,



prominent placement on stage, or vocal commentary. The *kayagŭm*, on the other hand, might have programme notes regarding the number of strings, but the modification is represented as less unconventional or avant-garde. Additionally, *kŏmun'go* and *kayagŭm* are occasionally made with “f-holes” or large sections of open back to aid acoustics within Western-style concert settings. *P'iri* have been made with key pads rather than finger holes and versions have been made in many sizes like the different registers of saxophone; however, I have only seen these performed at the yearly *p'iri* conference or performances of new compositions. Within the conference and university settings of modified *p'iri*, there seem to be a larger number of female *p'iri* players, whereas the traditional version still maintains an association with male musicians. The greater numbers of women using modified *p'iri* rather than traditional *p'iri* contradicts the association of women and nature versus men and control over nature (Green 1997: 53). It seems likely that women are more easily accepted in modern settings for *p'iri* than in traditional settings; this contrast mirrors the larger percentage of women in fusion and *ch'angjak kugak* rather than in the aristocratic genres of *aak* and *chŏngak*. These same associations of women and modified versions can also be seen on the performance of the *kŏmun'go* and *kayagŭm*.

### 5.3.2. *Samulnori*

The popularisation of folk drumming among students in the nationalist movement can be seen in the formation of the performance group SamulNori that emerged in the late 1970s. The first performance by SamulNori took place in Seoul at the Konggan Sarang “Space Theater” in February 1978 (Howard 2001a: 963; Hesselink 2012: 56). SamulNori, meaning “playing four things,” consisted of four male students

performing on the four primary instruments used in *p'ungmul* drumming: *kwaenggwari*, *ching*, *changgo* and *puk*. The goal of this performance was to adapt the dying tradition of *p'ungmul* by performing music within the concert setting. This concert gained much popular praise and through the 1980s the derivatively named genre, *samulnori*, became a cultural phenomenon. However, the group did not gain acceptance among academic and traditional *p'ungmul* musicians who questioned the traditional foundation of their musical claims. From the beginning, the group SamulNori had a difficult location between popular cultural and traditional culture. In order to appeal to the popular audience, the group shortened the length of the concert, accelerated the rhythms and rate of change between rhythmic sections, created dynamic contrast through virtuosic performance and developed a standard repertoire that eliminated improvisation (Hesselink 2004: 414-431). However, these same changes were in direct opposition to the cultural asset policy that sought to preserve traditional music through the increasingly modernised society; SamulNori was instead responding to modernisation and aimed to produce a performance of the “traditional” within the modern cultural idiom.

While SamulNori did gain great popularity and this drumming gradually became widespread on university campuses, community centres, and within village squares, student protesters did not originally take to SamulNori. While SamulNori celebrated great popular success, this music did not represent the people’s folk music that students were trying to embody. Protests, unlike concerts, were held in open spaces where all members of the community were invited to participate. The problem of legitimisation in the minds of academics was in many ways similar to the issues inhibiting acceptance among student protestors or *p'ungmul* musicians. The rejection by the Minjung movement was in part because of the institutional concert setting and

in part because of the virtuosic nature of the drumming that led to an exclusivity of performance (Howard 2006b: 19). To identify with the Minjung culture and nationalist protests, SamulNori needed to form an association not only with the itinerant professional bands of musicians, but also with local percussion bands so as to show the connection with the “people” rather than just with musicians. This connection is forged by claims “that their music is anchored firmly in the past,” and that “they are inheritors of a tradition fostered by itinerant percussion groups” (Howard 2006b: 7). While not popular among students in the early 1980s, by 1987 SamulNori had gained popularity and had become a significant contributor to the nationalist movement on university campuses (Howard 2006b: 19). Campus groups quickly developed their own drumming groups in the style of SamulNori that took the genre designation of *samulnori*. As women were active in the traditional music departments and within the nationalist movement, it is understandable that women would become part of *samulnori* drumming. Although the musical training and virtuosity of female music students conflicted with the traditionalist agenda of the nationalist movement, female music students became more involved in the genre and gave *samulnori* a greater appearance of gender equality, thus answering a complaint of the Minjung Cultural Movement.

#### **5.4. Representation of Gender in Album Covers and Promotional Materials**

##### *5.4.1. All-Female Fusion Groups*

An obvious difference regarding gender in Korean traditional music is in the area of gender and representation on album covers and promotional materials. While it is not possible to make this a comprehensive study, I have chosen examples to represent the gender difference in what I have observed. Gender is represented differently both

among the varying genres of fusion, *ch'angjak kugak* and *kugak* and among the individual performers within each genre. One of the most obvious gender issues is the presentation of all-female fusion groups, which are often posed with their instruments in a non-playing position and are typically dressed in revealing clothing. This representation is in stark contrast to the *kugak* album covers with the performer in traditional dress, often in the process of performing or playing an instrument. There is also a difference between the presentation of male and female performers, such as the scholarly presentation of male *kugak* and *ch'angjak kugak* musicians in contrast to the more artistic presentation of female musicians in the same genres.

The image of the young and sexy female *kugak* performer is quite prevalent in Korean popular culture with producers auditioning groups of attractive *kugak* musicians to form pop-like fusion groups such as Sorea or Miji. There is an echo of the all-female *ch'anggŭk* and *p'unngmul* troupes of the mid-twentieth century as well as the Chinese Twelve Girls Band that rose to popularity in 2001 (Photo 5.4.).<sup>137</sup> The intentionally sexualised female group of performers has a strong association with *kisaeng* performers. This association is embraced in the February 2011 release of Miji's *New Tales of Gisaeng Original Soundtrack* to the drama of the same name. The cover shows the members of Miji in partial *hanbok* with the top garments missing, which suggests nudity more than any other strapless and sleeveless garment due to the cultural awareness of the traditional dress. The title of the album in Korean scrolled behind the performers prominently features the word “*kisaeng*” (기생), while the preceding word “신” (new) and the following word “던” (tale) are partially obscured by the performers. The album *The Challenge* by Miji uses the same bare arms and employs physical closeness to suggest nudity (Photo 5.5.).

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<sup>137</sup> See section 3.3.1. on all-female *ch'anggŭk* troupes and section 4.3. on *p'unngmul*.



Photo 5.4: Twelve Girls Band CD album *Meili Yinyuehui* (2001)



Photo 5.5. Miji appear on the cover of their CD album *New Tales of Gisaeng OST Part 1*; Miji from the cover of their CD album *The Challenge*.

On the other hand, the overt sexualisation can be viewed as liberated. The performers can gain power and social recognition within the male public sphere without losing

feminine sexuality, as often happens with successful women in the male-dominated public sphere who are then considered masculine. It seems to me that the posing of the musicians with the instrument in hand rather than in the state of playing references *kisaeng* photographs. Postcards of *kisaeng* through the first part of the twentieth century and pictures of *kisaeng* musicians show the *kisaeng* posing alongside the instrument or with hands resting in playing position rather than in action (Photo 5.6.). The same can be said of the dancing *kisaeng* who are often posing in a fixed dance posture rather than seated or in the process of dance (Photo 5.7.). The fusion group Sorea is often seen in these dance-like postures along with their instruments in poses suggestive of these early photographs of *kisaeng* (Photo 5.8.). Sorea also identifies with dance through the popular video “In Panic” which features the female performers playing fusion music while hip hop dancers perform.



Photo 5.6. *Kisaeng* photographs show performers in resting, posed positions (Yi Kyöng-min 2005: 98).

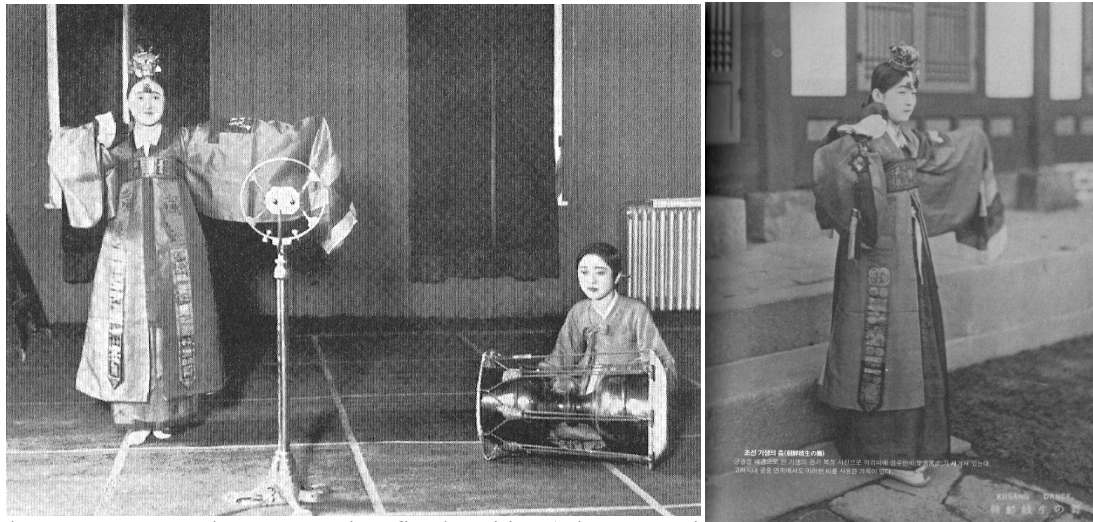


Photo 5.7. *Kisaeng* dancers pose in a fixed position (Yi Kyōng-min 2005: 93).



Photo 5.8. Musicians posing with instruments rather than playing. Sorea, from promotional photograph from a 2011 interview. London Korean Links: <http://londonkoreanlinks.net/2010/06/09/a-meeting-with-sorea/>. Accessed April 14, 2012

Significant in fusion music is the lack of comparable all-male groups. In popular music, there is a huge market for all-male musical groups in Korea, such as Big Bang or Super Junior. Many of the boy bands, especially SHINee (Photo 5.13.), are known for being very stylish and for leading fashion. Many equivalent female groups exist, such as Girls' Generation and Wonder Girls (Photo 5.13). There are many male *kugak* musicians who participate in creating and performing types of

*kugak* fusion. Therefore, the lack of *kugak* fusion all-boy bands seems to be more related to the issue of public perception and the association of *kugak* fusion with young female musicians. Within mixed gender fusion groups containing both male and female musicians, the male musicians often play Western instruments, such as drum set or guitar, with female musicians on traditional instruments like *kayagŭm* or *haegŭm*.<sup>138</sup>

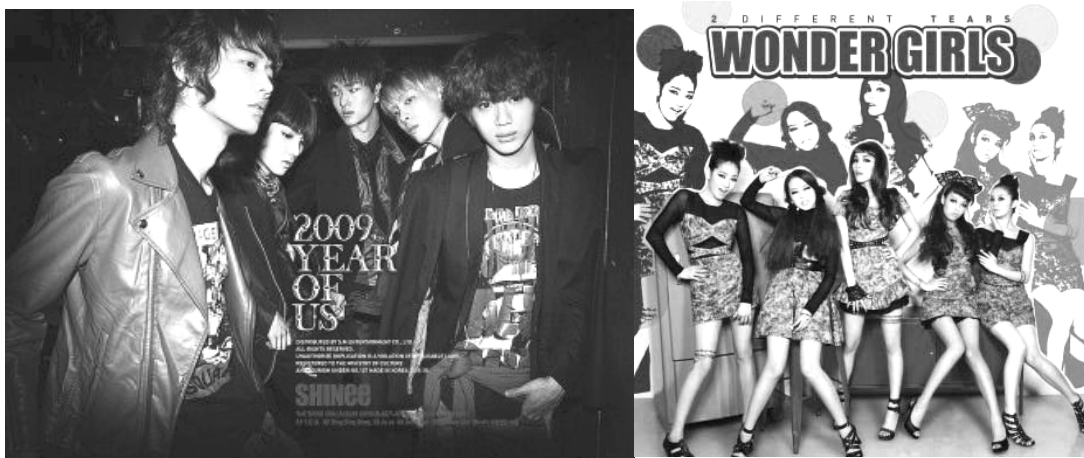


Photo 5.9. All-male and all-female groups in K-pop. SHINee, from the cover of their CD album *2009, Year of US*. Wonder Girls, from the cover of their CD album *2 Different Tears*.

#### 5.4.2. Difference in Female Representation in Fusion and Kugak

Representation of an artist's image is a significant gender issue in the technological world in which traditional music presently exists. While promotional materials, advertisement campaigns, and magazines or other media images do have strong gendered projections, the expression of the artist is secondary to the artistic vision of the proprietary organisation, such as a media or publishing company. In the case of large groups discussed in the previous section, the managing company controls the artistic direction and physical representation of the group. However, individual artists or self-produced groups, such as Oriental Express, have control over the

<sup>138</sup> Further discussion on the reason for this division can be seen in Fusion Music, section 5.2.



representation of their image on album covers and promotional materials. Choi Youngjun, leader of Oriental Express and professor at Seoul Institute of the Arts, remarks:

Oriental Express is pretty rare case in Korea. We record, produce, publish ourselves. We have all control for picture, design, and publishing includes CD to iTunes. I work with my long time collaborator Jin Hyun Park, who design all of Oriental Express logos to CD Jacket, online banner to big print for concert hall too. In case of publishing on magazine, usually magazine does all of the artwork, but we provide our logo and some of pictures too. It's same for TV too. (Choi Youngjun, personal correspondence, February 23, 2012)

The choice of self-representation of Oriental Express focuses on a physical representation of the sound through focusing on the action of music making (Photo 5.10.), whereas magazine editors use photos that focus on the musicians (Photo 5.11.).



Photo 5.10. Photo used on the website to introduce the musicians of Oriental Express. Photo emphasises the music over the musician through a focus on the act of performance where individual musicians are not easily identifiable. <http://www.orientalexpress.org/music>. Accessed March 3, 2013.



Photo 5.11. Photo from an article in the magazine *The Walker's* showing a focus on musicians rather than music (*The Walker's*, Vol. 24, 2011).

Additionally, Choi Youngjun and Park Jin Hyun further deemphasise the musicians by using the group's logo in the cover artwork rather than the instruments or musicians (Photo 5.12.). Choi Youngjun says of this:

I was shy to put face to the front of the cover. It is a sort of series of art from designer. Explosion and logo is the main concept for 1st to 3rd album. Since Oriental Express [are] produced by the musicians we focus more on the music. If a record company produced Oriental Express, they might put Kyungso in front. (Choi Youngjun, personal correspondence, March 13, 2013)



Photo 5.12. Album covers designed by Oriental Express for the CD albums *To The West* (2006), *Cruising Together* (2007) and *Wonderful Life* (2011).

Solo musicians, for the most part, have more personal choice than larger groups or corporately created groups. Park Kyungso, a *kayagŭm* player in primarily *ch'angjak kugak* and fusion, says that as a solo musician she has a lot of control over her image:

Actually I think I am concerned [a lot about] my image [regarding] music. I decide my album final jackets design and album producing. But about my visual things I mostly getting advice from professionals such as photographer and hair and make up designers. Of course, [the] final decision is up to me. Make up and hair designers already know my style. When I take [a] photo with [a] magazine, mostly there is the editor who [is in] charge of the whole thing, even pose... so it depends on the editor's character. (Park Kyungso, personal correspondence, February 23, 2012)

For solo musicians, gender representations in promotional materials and album covers particularly project the chosen self-expression of the musician. Therefore, a comparison between female solo musicians of *kugak* and fusion musicians, or between solo male and female *ch'angjak kugak* musicians (section 5.3), speaks to the artistic expression of the musician. In the case of Park Kyungso, there seems to be a clear difference in the styling and poses she has chosen to represent herself and the styling and poses designed by an artistic director for publication. Many of Park Kyungso's own photos feature her instrument or the playing of the instrument, while images published in magazines often feature her personal image over the instrument or playing of the instrument (Photo 5.13.). Park Kyungso talks about using this picture to represent her music over herself:

This picture is the one I took for publicising which is planned and directed by me and one of my managers and photographer, not from the any specific magazine and this cut is the one I chose for representing my music then (till now), among the other final candidate photos. (Park Kyungso, personal correspondence, March 13, 2013)



Photo 5.13. Two photos showing the difference of artist representation; self-representation vs. outside representation. (Left) Photo provided by Park Kyungso from her promotional materials. (Right) Photo from a feature in the journal *Music Friends* focusing on the musician over the music (*Music Friends*. Vol. 50, October 2011).

There are several significant differences between the representations of female musicians through album covers and promotional materials in fusion music when compared to representations of women in *kugak*. Female *kugak* musicians are typically in full traditional dress without much skin revealed. The female *kugak* musicians are often without background, which is often a solid color or a simple, non-distracting setting. Female fusion musicians are often seen in clothing suggestive of traditional dress, but typically show larger amounts of exposed skin. Female fusion performers are often pictured in non-performance settings such as in nature or in city spaces. In *kugak*, female musicians are at times posed in performance positions, while in fusion music female musicians are more often holding the instrument in a resting position or casually have the instrument in hand (Photo 5.14.).



Photo 5.14. Yi Chungwa, from her CD album *Soaring*. Ccotbyel, from the cover of her CD album *Star Garden*.

This relaxed positioning of the instrument, combined with the relaxed posture of the musician, shifts away from the role of the artist as an object for entertainment, as would have been typical of *kisaeng* or other professional musicians in the traditional aristocratic setting. Rather, the implication of the free artist in relaxation suggests that the music is created for the artist herself rather than in servitude of the audience. The association of the performer as an object of entertainment is implied by the indoor setting of the *kugak* album by Yi Chungwa, which could represent either a performance or rehearsal space. The placement of Ccotbyel in nature removes the audience from the artist by implying solitude where the music is free of a listener. This same division between musician as an object of the viewer and musician free from viewer can be seen in the comparison between the fusion album by Shin Nalsae and the *kugak* album of Kang Hyojin (Photo 5.15.). Kang Hyojin is not in the performance posture or within a performance space, but her physical posture is one of service, almost as if formally greeting someone entering a private space of a restaurant or performance venue. Shin Nalsae, on the other hand, is seated in an

outdoor space, suggesting private retreat, and is resting with her head down and arms in a resting position as if caught in moment of silent rest.



Photo 5.15. Kang Hyojin, from her CD album *Kayagŭm Sanjo*. Shin Nalsae, from the cover of her CD album *Haegŭm In Melodies*.

Another issue seen in album covers of female *kugak* musicians versus female fusion musicians is the sexualisation of the fusion musicians and their exposure of the body. This division could be seen as representing feminine gender roles through the traditional stereotypes of the virtuous Confucian woman in contrast to the emotionally expressive and sexualised *kisaeng* existing outside of the norms of Confucian society.

Physical representation on *kugak* album covers reflects the traditional foundations of the music presented. Kim Chŏngnim (Photo 5.16.) appears in formal traditional dress complete with traditional hair and makeup. Additionally, Kim Chŏngnim stands with the *haegŭm* held in a formal resting position. From this cover the viewer learns little about the artistic style of the musician, while formality and the link to tradition are both clearly projected. While traditional female *kugak* musicians would have been *kisaeng*,<sup>139</sup> the women presently participating in the preservation of

<sup>139</sup> However, the *haegŭm* was not an instrument *kisaeng* would have played.

traditional music can be seen as virtuous members of a globalising society; associations of female musicians have shifted away from status as outsiders of society and towards status as virtuous preservers of society. Kim Chŏngnim's album cover could be interpreted as having a halo, glowing softly yellow and radiating outward into a second larger halo, as can be seen in religious iconography of saintliness or virtue (Photo 5.16.).

While the image of the female *kugak* musician projects formality, tradition, and virtue, album covers of female fusion musicians often show sexual liberation and personal expression. While Kang Hyosŏn's album cover also projects an ethereal glowing, yellow light radiating around her face, the light seems to reflect on her skin (Photo 5.16.).



Photo 5.16. Kim Chŏngnim, from her CD album *Sanjo-wa P'ungmul*. Kang Hyosŏn, from the cover of her CD album *Attraction*.

While also having a solid background, Kang Hyosŏn's photograph gives the feeling of being outdoors through the use of reflected light on her skin and the wind blowing through her hair. Kang Hyosŏn seems to project sexual liberation through the public projection of a private image; she appears to be undressed, apart from the slight

suggestion of a dress by straps in the bottom right corner. Her eye contact is very direct with her lips slightly parted; her arm crosses the body as if in an intimate moment of modesty or physical vulnerability. The location of the artist within the space of the photo suggests personal proximity to the viewer that is part of the intimate moment. While the sexualisation of the musician can be seen as an objectification of the female artist for the viewer in a male public sphere, the sexual expression could also be seen as a freedom from the controlled and regulated female sexuality of traditional Confucian society. The titles of the albums further support the personal expression of the artist. Kim Chŏngnim's album is titled *Sanjo-wa Pungryu*, which as is typical in *kugak* albums, states the artist's name and the genre of music being performed. Kang Hyosŏn's album is titled *Attraction* represents an artistic naming rather than just a statement of the contents and implies a sexual connotation. Representation in *kugak* albums seems to more strictly adhere to the Neo-Confucian role of performer as servant, whereas fusion albums show a liberated performance for self-gratification.

#### 5.4.3. *Ch'angjak Kugak: The Difference Between Male and Female Representations*

*Ch'angjak kugak* imagery is slightly more difficult to compare due to the lack of consensus on the genre and musical direction for the future. However, a few album covers among the most famous *ch'angjak kugak* musicians offer intriguing comparisons for the representation of gender in the presentation of avant-garde compositions. The female composer-musician seems to be presented as the "artist", while the male composer-musician seems to be presented primarily as the "scholar". For example, many female composers' album covers contain very modern portraits with the artist facing forward with either no background or one in black and the



instrument placed in a nonconventional position (Photo 5.17.). Jin Hi Kim, an avant-garde composer and *kōmun'go* player, is often depicted in futuristic photographs representing a movement forward beyond modernisation and towards a future to be created (Photo 5.18.). The choice of avant-garde or modernist artistic photos, where the artistic subject of the photograph is the artist of the music advertised, suggests that the artistry of the musician reflects the same nonconventional style. The positioning of the instrument, often bisecting the photograph (Photo 5.17.) or another appearing in a position other than playing position, creates a point of visual interest as the artistic subject suggests the association of the representation and creation of art. This creates a kind of multimedia performance art where the viewer is separated from the performer.



Photo 5.17. Female *ch'angjak kugak* musicians represented as photographic art. Kwak Suñ, from the cover of her CD album *Gayageum, Be the Legend*; Yi Chiyōng, from the cover of her CD album *Eight Scenes*.<sup>140</sup>

<sup>140</sup> Yi Chiyōng is a performer known for performing experimental music by other composers who are not themselves necessarily performers.



Photo 5.18. Female *ch'angjak kugak* musician presenting the avant-garde. Jin Hi Kim, from the cover of her CD album *Komungo*; Jin Hi Kim, from the cover of her CD album *Sargeng*.<sup>141</sup>

This representation of the modernist female artist is in strong contrast to the album covers and promotional materials for male *ch'angjak kugak* artists. The most famous *ch'angjak kugak* composer and performer, Hwang Byungki, represents this contrast. Whereas female composer-performers are often shown in artistic positions in a modernist or futurist aesthetic with instruments in nonfunctional positions, male composer-performers are often represented as scholars. Hwang Byungki is often depicted in traditional dress, suggestive of traditional aristocratic style (Photo 5.19.). This picture reflects both the modern and the traditional by showing Hwang Bungki in traditional dress and setting while performing non-traditional playing techniques, such as the use of a violin bow in his right hand and the prepared strings with an inserted *changgo* stick on the left-hand side.<sup>142</sup>

<sup>141</sup> This picture is traditional in depicting the playing position and placement of hands, which is not always the case with the performance style of Jin Hi Kim; however, the picture is avant-garde, which represents intellectualisation rather than embodiment. Breaking tradition is the playing of the traditionally masculine instrument by a woman and the non-traditional hair, clothing and setting.

<sup>142</sup> While this picture gives the impression of capturing the act of performance, which brings the viewer into the community of the audience, this artist seems to be posed for the photograph since these two playing techniques do not happen simultaneously in the work.



Photo 5.19. Male performer of *ch'angjak kugak* portrayed in traditional aristocratic dress. Hwang Byungki, from the cover of his CD album *The Labyrinth, Byungki Hwang Kayagum Masterpieces Vol. 3*.

Within traditional aristocratic culture, performances would be held within the all-male private spaces and would contain both performers from the lower social status of musicians and aristocratic literati studying instruments for intellectual pursuit.<sup>143</sup> The depiction of Hwang Byungki in a private space surrounded by other instruments suggests that he is in a rehearsal space rather than a public performance space (Photo 5.20.). The association of the aristocratic literati performing to express intellectual pursuits between members of the masculine class group to which they belong, along with the depiction of Hwang Byungki in a private studio environment surrounded by resting *kayagum*, implies the setting of a scholar. Additionally, this private performance space decreases the divide between performer and listener where the audience is invited into the private setting of the scholarly literati to participate in the intellectual pursuit. This invitation is further implied by the active position of the

<sup>143</sup> See chapter two introduction on traditional *yangban* culture.

artist portrayed in the process of performing rather than in a resting posture with the instrument or in a pose with the instrument as an artistic subject. The depiction of Hwang Byungki in a studio setting rather than on a stage removes the perception of a performance, which would have been undertaken by musicians belonging to the lowest class of traditional society, and gives the perception that the performer is without audience or in the process of practising or creating.



Photo 5.20. Male *ch'angjak kugak* musician depicted as practicing in studio space. Hwang Byungki, from the cover of his CD album *The Best of Korean Gayageum Music*; Hwang Byungki, from the cover of his CD album *Chimhyang-moo (Dancing Among Incense), Hwang Byungki Kayagŭm Masterpieces Vol. 1*.

The cultural association of women with traditional music and men with modernisation is reflected through the representation of male and female musicians in *ch'angjak kugak*. Through the decline of traditional music and the process of preservation through modernity, traditional music and arts became increasingly associated with women (Shehan 1987: 47; Davis 2006: 123; Elaine H. Kim 1998: 16 and 25). Men were more likely to take jobs in business or other economically viable careers once social mobility became possible in the latter half of the twentieth century (Sutton 2008: 18). This process has led to the association between women and artists,

which can be reflected through the artistic representation of female *ch'angjak kugak* musicians.

Through the nineteenth century, the most masculine figure of Confucian society, the scholar (see Moon Seungsook 2005: 47), would appreciate and participate in music performance, patronage, and academic study while not taking on the role of professional musician associated with members of the lower class. The association of men with scholarship of music and women with the artistic performance of music was further enforced through the Japanese occupation when the decline of traditional music and the continued popularity of *kisaeng* meant that male traditional musicians often became teachers within *kisaeng* schools (Kim Kee Hyung 2008: 14-16). The modern state of traditional music reflects the association of men and scholarship in that the smaller percentage of men in traditional music heavily gravitate toward music theory or composition. This association is reflected in the scholarly depictions of the composer and performer Hwang Byungki on his album covers.

## **Conclusion**

Through the process of preservation and modernisation, the acceptance of female musicians has led to strong gender divides within traditional music. While the majority of musicians are presently female, as explored within the chapters on individual genres, the remaining men within traditional music continue to perform in specific areas (Sutton 2008: 18). Through my fieldwork, it became obvious that women were more likely to be performers, whereas men were more likely to be scholars or composers. This contrast reflects the gender divide between male literati learning and performing traditional music as an expression of personal cultivation and *kisaeng* performers who were regarded as entertainers; the men created music for the

self while the women performed for the entertainment of others. As traditional music becomes increasingly associated with women, composition in particular seems to remain primarily male (McClary 1991: 151). The notion of women as corporeal and men as cerebral means that the idea of women in composition “conflicts with the patriarchal constructions of femininity to the extent that, when it is harnessed by women, it produces a threat to the sexual order” (Green 1997: 88).

The shift towards female musicians in the twentieth century was in part due to the preservation process, often associated with women as keepers of the private sphere, and in part due to rapid modernisation associated with men as keepers of the public sphere within a patriarchal society (Shehan 1987: 47; Elaine H. Kim 1998: 16, 25). This association can easily be seen within fusion groups where there is an obvious divide between women on traditional instruments, most often *kayagŭm* and *haegŭm*, and men on Western instruments such as bass, drum set, guitar and piano. Also significant is the popularity of all-female pop-fusion groups, even though no male equivalents exist in pop fusion.

Gender differences are immediately obvious in *ch'angjak kugak* in the modern, artistic depictions on album covers of women who themselves become artistic objects, while male musicians are often pictured in the act of playing in what is typically a studio space (reflecting the scholarly act of the literati rather than that of the performer). Within visual representations of *ch'angjak kugak*, male musicians seem to be shown in a more traditional setting and dress than female musicians. While this difference can reflect the division between male scholar and female artist, it is also an example of the role of men in preservation. While men's dominance of composition can be linked to modernisation, male scholarship functions as

preservation just as the composition of new music in an effort to keep traditional music alive and culturally relevant is another aspect of preservation.

*Kugak* reflects the traditional role of female musicians (*kisaeng*) as objects of the male aristocratic audience, while the modern representation in solo fusion music of the female musician in solitude—and focusing on creating music for personal enjoyment—is more reflective of the scholar. This image of the isolated musician in nature, playing music for personal enjoyment, evokes the image of the traditionally male aristocratic literati. While both groups of performers are female, this depiction reflects both the feminine association with performer/artist and the masculine association with scholarship. The role of women in preservation versus that of men in innovation further reinforces these gender associations.

## Conclusions

This thesis deals with two main issues, both of which have implications in the shift from male-dominated to female-dominated traditional music culture. The first issue is the removal of traditional music from the popular culture; the second is the process of preservation that followed. Preservation is the meeting point between these two processes of decline and the desire to hold on to the past. Throughout patriarchal societies, the process of modernisation, industrialisation, and colonial rule leads to the division between men as innovators and women as preservers. This role as cultural preserver is complex and influenced by many societal factors; however, the basis of this division is the patriarchal separation of gender roles where “initially, men specialised in work in the market, earning wages to support the family, while women specialised in work in the home, becoming economically dependent with primary responsibility for child rearing” (Marini 1990: 97). Thus, within traditional Korean culture, men were in charge of the public sphere and women of the private sphere. Within the home, Deuchler states, “Domestic peace and prosperity depended on the way a wife exerted her authority. It was the wife’s task to keep the customs pure” (Deuchler 1977: 4). While deeply influenced by the events of the past century, it is this role of woman as the preserver of the purity of customs that is the initial cultural association with the role of women in the current system of preservation.

The association of women and preservation has influenced the shift of the role of musician from male to female, which could only have taken place when preservation became a concern of traditional music. Preservation first became necessary after traditional music was removed from popular culture and the desire to retain a past cultural identity developed. Through the twentieth century, foreign occupation and a desire for modernisation aided in the removal of traditional music



and arts from popular culture through associations with superstition and a perception of traditional culture as old-fashioned. While there was some decline through the Japanese occupation, the greatest period of decline occurred in the years immediately following the Korean War (Chang Sa-hun 1990: 615; Howard 2006a: 1). During this period of increased decline, women toured and performed in all-female *p'unngmul* and *ch'anggŭk* troupes. As these genres became less popular and more marginalised, women were more easily accepted as a novel type of performance. Not until the nationalist movement in the 1960s were male and female performers seen in mixed percussion groups at public demonstrations. Nationalism unified around the oppressed folk culture as an expression of national identity (Erven 1988: 167). Women, as doubly oppressed, have a stronger claim to suffering, or *han* (Chungmoo Choi 1998: 14). While identification with the suffering of the oppressed is part of the nationalist movement, male members of society are typically at the head of the movement with female members of society representing the feminine, nurturing “motherland”. Men represent modernity and forward movement while embodying revolution and discontinuity; women, on the other hand, represent the authentic body of national tradition, inertia, nature and continuity (Sunindyo 1998: 3). Implicit in this role of women and preservation is the distrust of women breaking norms of society. The role of women in cultural preservation within Korea has been influenced by this distrust of women that collaborate with the occupying force, both Japanese and, later, American (Chungmoo Choi 1998: 25). Therefore, women that participate in the preservation of traditional culture can be seen as an action against the outside forces of occupation, colonisation and globalisation.

The nationalist movement and the adaptation of traditional genres for the expression of national identity show the acceptance of women as collaborators in

traditional music; however, the next phase calling for the preservation of traditional music speaks to the current state where the majority of traditional musicians are female. The questions that arise are: Why was there a desire to preserve a past music that was no longer part of popular culture? Why did the process of preservation take place at that specific point in history? The desire for preservation was not a response to foreign occupation through the first half of the twentieth century or even independence in the decade following the Second World War when traditional arts were in an increasing decline; rather, nationalism and a desire for national identity arose under military rule and industrialisation. This suggests that the shift towards women as preservers of traditional culture arose at the point when the male members of society were striving for progress. The internal force of masculine progress was counter-balanced with the feminine force of preservation.

With the establishment of the preservation system, the maintenance of the preservation process was increasingly passed on to female musicians. Contributing to this shift towards female musicians is the shift in performance space. The preservation system aimed at preserving traditional music and dance; however, the system did not strive to preserve performance spaces. At the end of the Chosŏn Dynasty, performances in both aristocratic and folk styles were given in male-dominated spaces. *Yangban* held gatherings for aristocratic gentlemen within the private male spaces of the home, and folk genres were performed in the male public realm of the village centre. These spaces were primary gathering places for the male-dominated patriarchal society. As traditional music was removed from the male public sphere, the process of preservation created new performance spaces, either Western classical concert venues or spaces modelled on this design. Rather than taking place in homes or places of heaviest traffic, centres for performance and preservation have been

created. The relationship between performer and audience as equal participants in the performance space has given way to the theatre where audiences act as silent observers viewing through the fourth wall of the stage the performer recreating a preserved object. This shift of performance spaces from the male-dominated public sphere represented by popular culture to the female-dominated private sphere of preservation made performance more acceptable for female performers.

While most areas of traditional music have opened to or even become dominated by women, specific areas have retained a strong male presence. The more humble genres, such as folk song, *p'ansori*, fusion, or *ch'angjak kugak*, would be more accepting to female participation than the more exclusive elite genres of *aak* and *ch'ongak*. At times, the areas that retain stronger male participation seem to contradict one another; the larger percentage of male performers in *aak* rather than in *ch'angjak kugak* contrasts with *p'ansori* where a larger percentage of males perform in *ch'angjak p'ansori*. While some areas maintain a male presence within a female majority, the areas of theory and composition continue to be male-dominated. Composition and scholarship are more clearly mental in contrast to the physical act of performance; thus, masculinity is asserted through the exclusion of women (McClary 1991: 151-152). These associations of masculinity reflect the modern, patriarchal role for men as innovators as well as the Confucian legacy of scholarly masculinity.

This divide between masculine/mind and feminine/body can also be seen in the choice of voice versus instrument. Until the turn of the twentieth century, women, including *kisaeng*, primarily participated in vocal music and dance while men accompanied on instruments. There are exceptions in traditional music, such as music performed by *kisaeng* for aristocratic women or rituals by female shamans; however, these women were highly stigmatised as the lowest members of society. Women, by

singing or dancing, are conforming to the association between woman, body and nature; on the other hand, the male is “defined as out of touch with his body and divorced from nature... nature is seen as a force which man controls” (Green 1997: 53). The genres that are most closely associated with the body through singing or dancing, such as the aristocratic vocal genres (*kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo*), *p’ansori*, *p’ungmul* and *minyo*, have been more accepting of women than music less associated with the body, such as *aak*, *chǒngak* and *p’ansori* or *sanjo* accompaniment.

While other work regarding sex and gender have been undertaken in individual genres of traditional Korean music, what is unique about this study is the broader view. Through this, I hope to have contributed to a framework that can be applied to other musical cultures facing issues of decline and preservation through processes of nationalism, colonialism, industrialisation and globalisation. By looking at the whole of traditional music through the process of change, I have tried to make connections that are not visible when looking at a single genre. These broad connections relate to the larger shifts in the sex of musicians and the trend towards female participation. By comparing female participation across many genres, I have sought to understand the varying rates of change in the acceptance of female musicians. The pattern of increased female participation reflects large trends in the removal of traditional music from the male public sphere and towards the female sphere of preservation. However, as all genres have not and do not accept female participation to the same extent, an analysis across genres sheds light on the reasons for this larger change from male to female musicians. Additionally, by undertaking fieldwork in a broad range of genres, significant differences arise in the way that sex and gender are used as well as in the level of awareness of these issues. Through this broad process, some of the seeming contradictions regarding perception and

performance practice are more clearly explained; for example, more women participate in *ch'angjak kugak* than *aak* while more men participate in *ch'angjak p'ansori* than in traditional *p'ansori*. These similarities and contradictions across genres provide pieces of the larger picture of preservation. I recognise the limitations of depth associated with this approach; however, I hope that taking a larger view over the breadth of traditional music has both allowed for the raising of issues for further research and revealed connections that would not have otherwise come to light.

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## List of Interviews

- Bak Eun Hae (Pak Ŭnhye), female, *p'ansori* singer  
July 25, 2013, e-mail correspondence
- Chae Ju Byung (Ch'ae Chubyŏng), male, *kŏmun'go* player  
August 16<sup>th</sup>, 2009, Naksongdae music studio
- Chin Ee Ran (Chin Iran), female, *kŏmun'go* player  
April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2010, The University of Suwon
- Ch'oe Sook Yung (Ch'oe Sugyŏng), female, Oriental Express violinist  
April 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010, recording studio
- Choi Youngjun (Ch'oe Yŏngjun), male, Oriental Express keyboardist and music technician  
April 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010, recording studio  
February 23, 2012, e-mail correspondence  
February 26, 2012, e-mail correspondence  
March 13<sup>th</sup>, 2012, e-mail correspondence  
April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2012, e-mail correspondence
- Cho Chŏnwŏn, male, *ajaeng* player  
April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2010, The University of Suwon
- Chŏng Chuhyŏn, male, *taegŭm* player  
April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2010, The University of Suwon
- Chŏng Chuhyŏn, female, musicologist  
September 9<sup>th</sup>, 2009, coffee shop
- Chu Yŏngo, male, *minyo* singer  
August 19<sup>th</sup>, 2009, Naksongdae music studio  
August 26<sup>th</sup>, 2009, Naksongdae music studio
- Chung Jitae (Chŏng Chit'ae), male, *taegŭm* player  
March 19<sup>th</sup>, 2010, Naksongdae Music Studio  
March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2010, The National Gugak Center  
April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2010, Chung Jitae's personal residence  
April 4<sup>th</sup>, 2010, Chung Jitae's personal residence  
April 10<sup>th</sup>, 2010, Chung Jitae's personal residence  
April 18<sup>th</sup>, 2010, Chung Jitae's personal residence
- Finchum-Sung, Hilary, female, musicologist  
April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2010, Seoul National University
- Hak Hyŏnju, male, *taegŭm* player  
September 14<sup>th</sup>, 2009, Gangnam
- Hong Hyeyŏn, female, *haegŭm* player  
September 14<sup>th</sup>, 2009, Gangnam

Hwang Jun Yon (Hwang Chunyon), male, musicologist  
September 9<sup>th</sup>, 2009, Seoul National University

Kim Ŭnjŏng, female, *haegŭm* player  
April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2010, The University of Suwon

Kim Hee Sun (Kim Hŭisŏn), female, musicologist  
September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2009, Seoul Arts Plaza

Kim Hyŏngjong, male, Oriental Express percussionist  
April 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010, recording studio

Kim Hyŏnmo, male, Oriental Express bass player  
April 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010, recording studio

Kim Insoo (Kim Insu), male, *changgo* player  
August 20<sup>th</sup>, 2009, Seoul National University  
April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2010, Seoul National University

Kim Yŏnghwa, male, *p'ansori* singer  
July 23, 2013, e-mail correspondence

Ko Hanyun, male, *changgo*, Oriental Express percussionist  
April 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010, recording studio

Ko Min'gyŏng, female, *minyo* singer  
April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2010, The University of Suwon

Ku Ponch'in, male, *p'iri* player  
April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2010, The University of Suwon

Kwŏn Song Hee (Kwŏn Songhŭi), female, *p'ansori* singer  
July 27, 2013, e-mail correspondence

Kwon Oh-Sung (Kwŏn Osŏng), male, musicologist  
September 9<sup>th</sup>, 2009, coffee shop

Kwŏn Sohyŏn, female, *kŏmun'go* player  
August 19<sup>th</sup>, 2009, Naksongdae Studios

Lee Jeongchan (Yi Chŏngch'an), male, musicologist  
April 7<sup>th</sup>, 2010, Seoul National University

Lee Seungah (Yi Sŭnga), female, *kayagŭm* player  
September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2009, Seoul Arts Plaza

Lee Yong Shik (Yi Yŏngsik), male, musicologist  
April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2010, The National Gugak Center

Yi Yŏngt'ae, male, *p'ansori* singer  
September 9<sup>th</sup>, 2010, The National Theater of Korea

- Lim Jin Oh (Im Chino), male, *taegŭm* player and orchestral conductor  
 March 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2010, The University of Suwon
- Oh Yong Nok (O Yongnok), male, music theorist  
 September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2009, Seoul National University
- Pak Ŭdŭm, male, *kŏmun'go* player  
 April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2010, The University of Suwon
- Pak Ch'anmi, female, *kŏmun'go* and *yanggŭm* player  
 April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2010, The University of Suwon
- Pak Hyŏnju, female, *kayagŭm* player  
 April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2010, The University of Suwon
- Park Kyungso (Pak Kyŏngsŏ), female, *kayagŭm* player, Oriental Express  
 September 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2009, coffee shop  
 March 20<sup>th</sup>, 2010, The National Gugak Center  
 March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2010, coffee shop  
 April 15<sup>th</sup>, 2009, recording studio  
 February 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2012, e-mail correspondence  
 February 27<sup>th</sup>, 2012, e-mail correspondence  
 August 17, 2012, e-mail correspondence
- Sheen Dae-Choel (Sin Taech'ŏl), male, musicologist, Academy of Korean Studies  
 September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2009, Academy of Korean Studies  
 April 6<sup>th</sup>, 2010, Academy of Korean Studies
- Willoughby, Heather, female, musicologist  
 September 29<sup>th</sup>, 2009, Ewha Women's University
- Yi Chihyŏn, female, *p'iri* player  
 April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2010, The University of Suwon
- Yi Sŭl, female, *minyo* singer  
 April 20<sup>th</sup>, 2010, The University of Suwon
- Yi Ujung, male, *kayagŭm* player  
 April 21<sup>st</sup>, 2010, The University of Suwon
- Yoo Young Dai (Yu Yŏngdae), male, Artistic Director of The National Changgeuk Company  
 August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2009, The National Theater of Korea  
 September 26<sup>th</sup>, 2009, The National Theater of Korea  
 March 27<sup>th</sup>, 2010, The National Theater of Korea  
 April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2010, The National Theater of Korea  
 April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2010, The National Theater of Korea  
 May 25<sup>th</sup>, 2010, The National Theater of Korea

## List of Rehearsals and Performances

- August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Regular Saturday Performance: *Sujech'ŏn, kŏmun'go sanjo, ka'injŏnmoktan, p'ansori*: Ch'unhyangga, *tanso: chŏngsŏng chajinhanip*, "Mansŏn" by Hwang Ŭijong, Ch'eju *minyŏ e yŏngok*; The National Gugak Center
- August 15<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Ch'unhyangga with An Suk Sŏn; The National Theater of Korea
- August 18<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Lee Seungah Kayagŭm Graduate Recital SNU; The National Gugak Center
- August 19<sup>th</sup>, 2009; 8 Minyo; The National Gugak Center
- August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2009; Composition Group Minyo; The National Gugak Center
- August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2009; Regular Saturday Performance: *Sanjo hapju, todŭri*, Chŏlla *minyŏ*, "Dance of Chŏyong", *ujo sijo, jirŭm sijo*, "Song of Evening" by Yi Kŏnyong, "Dreaming of Utopia"; The National Gugak Center
- August 29<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Regular Saturday Performance: *Kut, pungnyu*, "Between" by Won Il, *pakjŏpmu, hahyŏn todŭri, Yŏngsan hoesang, salpuri, kasa*, Samdo *sŏlchanggo*; The National Gugak Center
- August 30<sup>th</sup>, 2009; University Children's Musical; The National Gugak Center
- September 1<sup>st</sup>, 2009; 21<sup>st</sup> Century Music Project; The National Gugak Center
- September 4<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Chonnam National University Concert of the Korean Music Department; The National Gugak Center
- September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2009; 21<sup>st</sup> Century Association for P'iri Music; The National Gugak Center
- September 5<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Regular Saturday Performance: *Yŏngsan hoesang, kayagŭm sanjo, kagok, chunaengiŏn*, Chŏlla *minyŏ*, "Pihyŏn" by Yi Pohyŏn, *chakbŏp*; The National Gugak Center
- September 6<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Sunday Green Concert; The National Gugak Center
- September 8<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Tuesday Series: Eastern Folk Song; The National Gugak Center
- September 9<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Rehearsal for the National Changgeuk Company; The National Theater of Korea
- September 10<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Thursday Series- Only Haegŭm; The National Gugak Center
- September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2009; 50<sup>th</sup> Folk Art Masters Show; The National Gugak Center
- September 12<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Regular Saturday Performance: *Pohŏsa, chapga, kagok, hŏnchŏnhwa*, "Morning Prelude" by Yi Sanggyu, *hallyangmu, pan kut*; The National Gugak Center

September 10-13<sup>th</sup>, 2009; 50<sup>th</sup> Folk Art Festival; The National Gugak Center

September 15<sup>th</sup>, 2009; SNU 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Show; The National Gugak Center

September 16<sup>th</sup>, 2009; SNU 50<sup>th</sup> Alumni Show; The National Gugak Center

September 19<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Monthly Pansori: Chunyhangga; The National Gugak Center

September 19<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Regular Saturday Performance: *Chitwa, kilkunak, sijo, changgo ch'um, chapga, haegŭm sanjo, yanggŭm* concerto “Ta Strike” by Pyŏn Kyewon, *taegŭm* concerto “Taebaram Sori” by Yi Sanggyu; The National Gugak Center

September 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2009; Pansori: Shimchŏngga; The National Theater of Korea

September 24<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Songs of Old and New: *Kayagŭm Pyŏngch'ang*; The National Gugak Center

September 26<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Shimchŏngga with Jŏng Hŭisŏk; The National Theater of Korea

September 27<sup>th</sup>, 2009; Asia, Asia, Ah!sia! With Multi-Cultural Families; The National Gugak Center

March 13<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Regular Saturday Concert: *Kyŏngpungnyŏn, Kyŏnggi minyo, p'iri sangnyŏngsan, pusal, ajaeng sanjo, samulnori, menari, fan dance*; The National Gugak Center

March 19<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Kwak Chinu *Taegŭm* Concert; The National Gugak Center

March 20<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Regular Saturday Concert: *Hamnyŏng chigok, sŭngmu, sijo, Sŏdo minyo, hyangpalmu, saekarak pyŏlgok, chimhyangmu, sinpuri*; The National Gugak Center

March 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2010; Kim Su Ak (Kim Suak) Dance; The National Gugak Center

March 24<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Master Series- P'ansori; The National Gugak Center

March 27<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Regular Saturday Concert: *Sujech'ŏn, Namdo minyo, chunaengjŏn, sanjo ensemble, chŏngsŏng chajinhannip, sŏlchanggo, ilchul, hallyangmu*; The National Gugak Center

March 27<sup>th</sup>, 2010; P'ansori with Yŏm Kyongae; The National Theater of Korea

March 31<sup>st</sup>, 2010; Traditional Music Concert Masters; The National Gugak Center

April 1<sup>st</sup>, 2010; Ryu Young-soo (Yu Yŏngsu) and Ryu Dance Team; Seoul Namsan Traditional Performing Arts Hall

April 2<sup>nd</sup>, 2010; Kim Se-gyŏng (*p'iri*) and Kim Kye-Hee (*saenghwang*); Seoul Namsan Traditional Performing Arts Hall

- April 3<sup>rd</sup>, 2010; Regular Saturday Concert: *Sujech'ŏn*, *Namdo minyo*, *chunaengjŏn*, *sanjo ensemble*, *chŏngsŏng chajinhannip*, *sŏlchanggo*, *ilchul*, *hallyangmu*; The National Gugak Center
- April 6<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Kim Yŏnggi *Yŏjang Kagok Tokjanghui*; The National Gugak Center
- April 7<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Traditional Dance Concert; The National Gugak Center
- April 8<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Hanyang University 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary; The National Gugak Center
- April 9<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Chun hyang 2010; The National Theater of Korea
- April 10<sup>th</sup>, 2010; *Pungryu*; The National Gugak Center
- April 10<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Regular Saturday Concert: Maestro Premium; The National Gugak Center
- April 11<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Buddhist Celebration; The National Gugak Center
- April 11<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Pansori Remix: Chan Hae Lee's Ch'unhyangga; The National Gugak Center
- April 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Oriental Express Rehearsal; recording studio
- April 15<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Royal Court Dance: Ulsan Cultural Center Association; Seoul Namsan Traditional Performing Arts Hall
- April 16<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Pyŏn Chaenam (*taegŭm*); Seoul Namsan Traditional Performing Arts Hall
- April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Regular Saturday Concert: *Nakyangchun*, *kayagŭm sanjo*, *chŏngsŏng chajinhannip*, *sinawi*, *hŏnsŏndo*, *samulnori*, *chŏknyŏm*, *taeparam sori*; The National Gugak Center
- April 17<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Chicken Dreams of Flying, Badoksori; Seoul Namsan Traditional Performing Arts Hall
- April 23<sup>rd</sup>, 2010; Yang Chaeyŏl: Korea-China culture exchange world intangible cultural property performance; Seoul Namsan Traditional Performing Arts Hall
- April 24<sup>th</sup>, 2010; Regular Saturday Concert: *Chongmyo Cheryeak*, *p'ansori*, *chŏyongmu*, *kanggangsullae*; The National Gugak Center
- April 24<sup>th</sup>, 2010; P'ansori with Yoo Yŏng Hae; The National Theater of Korea

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## Glossary of Terms

*aak* – “elegant music”. Refers to Confucian ritual music played by the royal court, symbolising the harmony of the kingdom.

*ajaeng* (instrument: string) – a half-tube zither with moveable bridges, seven silk strings, played traditionally with a rosined forsythia stick and often presently with a horsehair bow.

*ajaeng sanjo* – *sanjo* for *ajaeng* with *changgo* accompaniment.

*akchang* – singers within Confucian ritual.

*Akhak kwebŏm* – “Guide to the Study of Music”. Nine-volume treatise on music written during the reign of King Sejong (1418-1450).

*anch’ae* – inner rooms of a traditional home.

*aniri* – spoken narration or dialogue in *p’ansori* or *ch’anggŭk*.

*Bunkazai hogoho* – Japanese Cultural Properties Protection Law implemented in 1950.

*ch’aep’yŏn* – thinner skinned, higher pitched right face of the *changgo* considered to be a feminine sound (see *kungp’yŏn*).

*chajinmori* – *changdan* with a fast twelve beats divided into four groups of three, sometimes sounds like duple metre.

*ch’ang* – singing with raspy vocal tone.

*changdan* – ‘rhythmic cycle’ defined by the number of beats, tempo and accents.

*changgo* (instrument: percussion) – double-headed hourglass-shaped drum played with a mallet in one side and either a stick or the hand on the other.

*changgo ch’um* – drum dance traditionally performed with the *changgo* strapped to the body.

*ch’anggŭk* – theatrical version of *p’ansori* first appearing at the beginning of the twentieth century.

*ch’angjak kugak* – newly-created *kugak*.

*ch’angjak p’ansori* – newly-created *p’ansori*.

*ch’angu* – professional entertainers, usually husbands or sons of female shamans, that would perform in public village spaces often travelling alongside shaman ritual gatherings.

*chapka* – “miscellaneous songs”. Professional folk songs from the northwest and central regions believed to have originated with the upper class through *kagok*, *kasa* and *sijo* and later gained popularity with the lower classes. Sung in the seated position while sometimes self-accompanying on the *changgo*.

*chegŭm* (instrument: percussion) – cymbals used in Buddhist and shamanic ritual.

*Cheryeak* – Confucian ritual music.

*ching* (instrument: percussion) – large gong struck with a cloth-covered mallet.

*chinyangjo* – slowest *changdan* with 24 subdivided beats.

*cho* – mode. Refers to the tonal system of Korean music.

*chokpo* – family descent group.

Chosŏn Dynasty (1392-1910) – Also called the Yi Dynasty after the family name of the ruling dynasty.

*Chŏkpyŏkka* – one of the remaining *p’ansori obat’ang*, ‘Song of the Battle of Red Cliff’ takes place on the battlefield and shows the triumph of the virtuous over the immoral.

*chŏngak* – music of the upper class.

*Chŏngdaeŏp* – one section of the *Changmyo Cheryeak*.

*chŏngganbo* – mensural notation used for the notation of court music. Consists of boxes showing duration with Chinese pitch names running in a column. Used as a memory aid as an approximation of the music without much ornamentation, accent marking, dynamic markings, or mood indications.

*ch’ŏnmin* – lowest level of society consisting of musicians, *kisaeng*, butchers, slaves, shamans and travelling entertainers.

*Chongmyo Cheryeak* – Royal Ancestral Shrine Music consisting of singing, instrumentation and dance in honor of the kings of the Chosŏn Dynasty.

*chŏnsusaeng* or *chŏnsuja* – master student of a designated carrier of a cultural asset. Each master must maintain one master student as a requirement for designation.

*ch’uimsae* – vocal calls or sounds by the drummer or audience in *p’ansori*.

*chungin* – called ‘middle people’. Could not sit civil service examinations, but could hold lower-ranking positions.

*Ch’unhyangga* – one of the most popular of the *p’ansori obat’ang*. A forbidden love story based on Ch’unhyang, a daughter of a *kisaeng*, that falls in love with the son of a government official.

*chunggoje* – central school of *p'ansori*.

*chungjungmori* – medium-fast *changdan* with a subdivided twelve beat cycle.

*chungmori* – *changdan* with a twelve beat pattern stressing beat nine.

*chungyöüm* – interlude section, one of the five sections of *sijo*.

*chwado* – “left” looking down from Seoul referring to the eastern Chölla province.  
One of the regional styles of *p'ungmul*.

*haegŭm* (instrument: string, classified as wind) – a bowed two-stringed spiked fiddle.

*haegŭm sanjo* – *sanjo* for *haegŭm* with *changgo* accompaniment.

*han* – a feeling of resentment and suffering as the produce of oppression.

*hanbok* – traditional Korean dress.

*hojök* – see *t'aep'yöngso*.

*Hŭngboga* – one of the remaining *p'ansori obat'ang*, ‘The Song of Hŭngbo’ is based on the Confucian virtue of honouring family and the importance of kindness. The virtuous brother, through a gift of magic gourd seeds from the swallow king, is rewarded with riches while the selfish brother is cursed with demons.

*hwimori* – fastest *changdan* which is a faster version of *chajinmori* and usually follows this section in progression.

*Hyömnnyulsa* – The first permanent theatre built in Seoul, 1902.

*hyöngsöng* – traditional concept of the creation of music through gradual formation over time by generations of musicians.

*hyönjo* – distinguished ancestor.

*ilmu* – dancers within Confucian ritual.

*il p'ae*, *i p'ae* and *sam p'ae* – three grades of *kisaeng* which designated area of training, target audience and artistic repertoire.

*inmul* – good features or physical attractiveness, used in reference to *p'ansori* performers and the important qualities of a master singer.

*i p'ae* – see *il p'ae*.

*kasa* (genre: vocal) – Aristocratic vocal genre based on the poetic form long *sijo* performed by solo male or female singer. Accompanied by a small instrumental ensemble.

*kagok* (genre: vocal) – Aristocratic vocal genre based on the poetic form *sijo* performed by solo male or female singer or in combination. Accompanied by a small instrumental ensemble.

*kayagŭm* (instrument: string) – half-tube plucked zither with movable bridges and 12 or more silk strings.

*kayagŭm pyŏngch'ang* (genre: *kayagŭm* and voice) – extracted *p'ansori* songs performed self-accompanied on the *kayagŭm*.

*kayagŭm sanjo* – *sanjo* for *kayagŭm* with *changgo* accompaniment.

*ki* – energy, similar to Chinese *chi*.

King Sejong – Fourth Ruler of the Chosŏn Dynasty (1418-1450).

*kisaeng* – Female entertainers performing for the upper classes.

*kisaeng kyobŏn* – *kisaeng* schools.

*kkwaenggwari* (instrument: percussion) – small gong held by the left hand and struck with a mallet with the right. Lead instrument in *p'unmul* and *samulnori*.

*kŏmun'go* (instrument: string) – a half-tube zither with 6 silk strings, 16 fixed perpendicular frets and 3 movable bridges and plucked with a bamboo plectrum. Instrument favoured by the literati.

*kŏmun'go sanjo* – *sanjo* for *kŏmun'go* with *changgo* accompaniment.

*Koryŏ-sa* – “History of the Koryŏ Dynasty”, a post facto documentaion of the court annals of the previous three Chosŏn rulers by King Sejong.

*kosu* – *puk* drummer that accompanies a *p'ansori* singer.

*kugak* – “national music”. Term to refer to Korean traditional music as a whole.

*kui-myŏngch'ang* – skilled listeners able to judge good and bad performances.

*Kungnip Kugagwŏn* – National Gugak Center.

*kungp'yŏn* – thicker skinned, lower pitched left face of the *changgo* considered to be the masculine sound (see *ch'aep'yŏn*).

*kut* – shaman ritual.

*kutkŏri* – rhythmic cycle based on shamanic ritual rhythms.

*kuŭm* – singing using non-lexical vocalisation.

*kwagŏ* – government service examinations only available to first born sons of first wives of first born sons.

*kwangdae* – master singer of *p'ansori*.

*Kwangdaega* – a short opening *p'ansori* piece written by Sin Chaehyo which lists the important characteristics of a master singer (physical appearance, narrative talent and musical talent).

*kwŏnbŏn* – *kisaeng* schools.

*kyemyŏnjo* – musical mode often compared in cultural associations to the minor mode.

Kyŏnggi – region around Seoul and one of the regional styles of *p'ungmul*.

*Kyŏngguk taejŏn* – legal document used in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty to impose Neo-Confucian philosophy.

*maegut* – shamanic ritual held during the Lunar New Year.

*Manhwa* – a version of the *p'ansori* tale, *Ch'unhyangga*.

*Minjung* – “the people” or “masses” theory unifying Korean masses of underprivileged and nameless people. First seen in the 1960s nationalist movement and influenced by Christianity.

*minsok umak* – music of the lower classes or folk music.

*minyŏ* (genre: folk, vocal) – orally transmitted folk songs that can be regional (*t'osok minyŏ*) or known nationwide through professional singers (*t'ongsok minyŏ*).

*mudang* – shaman ritualist.

*Muhyŏng munhwajae* – Intangible Cultural Property designated under the Cultural Property Preservation Law instituted under Park Chung Hee in 1962.

*Munmyŏ* – Confucian Shrine in Seoul where the twice-yearly Confucian ceremony, *Sŏkchŏn*, is performed.

*Munmyŏ Cheryeak* – ritual music reconstructed in the fifteenth century from a variety of sources on Chinese music; consists of singing, instrumentation and dance in honour of Confucian scholars of China and Korea.

*myŏngch'ang* – master singer of *p'ansori*.

*nabal* (instrument: wind) – long, straight trumpet that signals the start of a *p'ungmul* performance.

*nonggi* – “farming flags”, large banners carried at the front of *p'ungmul* processions.

*nongak* (genre: folk, percussion ensemble) – see *p'ungmul*.

*nongak sibi ch'a* – the twelve specific rhythmic patterns in *p'ungmul*.

*nori p'ae* – professional entertainment troupes performing folk music around the practices of itinerant shamans.

*ŏnmori* – *changdan* in a fast ten-beat cycle alternating duple-triple metre.

*ŏtchungmori* – fast *changdan* in six beats which is often used in the final scene of a *p'ansori* story to show celebration and resolution.

*Owŏl Kwangju* – ‘Kwangju in May’ is a famous *ch'angjak p'ansori* tale that recounts the 1980 Kwangju Revolution.

*pae* – spouse.

*pak* – fan-type clapper used by the musical leader of *aak*.

*pakkat ōrŭn* – literally “outside adult” referring to the male head of household.

*pallim* – gestures used in *p'ansori*.

*p'ansori* (genre: vocal, solo voice and *puk*) – narrative storytelling performed by one singer and one drummer.

*p'ansori obat'ang* – five existing narratives in the traditional *p'ansori* repertoire.

*pip'a* (instrument: string) – Chinese lute.

*p'iri* (instrument: wind) – double-reed bamboo oboe-type instrument.

*p'iri sanjo* – *sanjo* for *p'iri* with *changgo* accompaniment.

*posal* – Buddhist term for Bodhisattva.

*Pot'aep'yŏng* – a piece from the *Changmyo Cheryeak*.

*puch'uimsae* – method of attaching words to rhythm, such as melismatic or syllabic.

*puk* (instrument: percussion) – shallow barrel-shaped drum struck with a hardwood stick. Consists of two types: *soripuk* used for *p'ansori* and *p'ungmulpuk* used in *samulnori* and *p'ungmul*.

*p'ungmul* (genre: folk, percussion ensemble) – *p'ung* “wind” and *mul* “matter”. Folk band music and dance traditionally performed in the countryside; also known as *nongak*.

*p'ungnyu* (genre: aristocratic, instrumental) – meaning “wind and stream” referring to the music appreciated by scholars as part of the cultivated life and assimilation with nature.

*p'yŏngjo* – musical mode often compared in cultural associations to the major mode. *Ujo* is a variation of this mode.

*p'yŏngmin* – social class that includes farmers, fishermen and merchants

*p'yŏn'gyŏng* (instrument: percussion) – stone chimes used in *aak*.

*p'yŏnjong* (instrument: percussion) – bell chimes used in *aak*.

*saenghwang* (instrument: wind) – mouth organ with seventeen slender pipes (each with a finger hole at the base) projected upward and sixteen internal metal reeds that produce sound.

*samhyŏn yukkak* – court entertainment in the form of orchestral concerts and dance music consisting of three strings and six winds.

*sam p'ae* – see *il p'ae*.

SamulNori –instrumental percussion group established in 1978 consisting of four musicians influenced by *p'ungmul*.

*samulnori* (genre: percussion ensemble) – the genre based on the music developed by the group SamulNori.

*sangmo* – hats with rotating plumes used in various regional styles of *p'ungmul*.

*sanjo* (genre: solo instrument and *changgo*) – “scattered melodies”. Solo instrumental piece displaying virtuosity through the performance of a series of movements in different *changdan*.

*sanjo kayagŭm* (instrument: string) – a smaller version of *kayagŭm* used in the playing of *kayagŭm sanjo*.

*sarangch'ae* –the outer wing of the traditional home.

*Sasŏl sijo* – narrative *sijo*

*Sejong Changhon Taewang Sillok* – Court Annals taken during the reign of King Sejong.

*sesŏng* – refers to female aristocratic vocal technique of “fine voice”, comparable to head voice.

*sibi kasa* – twelve songs of the *kasa* repertoire.

*sigimsae* – regional and genre-specific ornamentation techniques.

*sijo* (genre: vocal with instrument accompaniment) – aristocratic vocal music based on the poetic form *sijo*. Accompanied by a small instrumental ensemble.

*silhak* – “practical learning”, referring to the social reform in the Late Chosŏn Dynasty in response to the increasingly metaphysical nature of Neo-Confucianism.

*simbanggok* – shamanic ritual music of Chŏlla province thought to have influenced early *sanjo*, particularly the first school of *kayagŭm sanjo*.

*Simch’ŏngga* – one of the remaining *p’ansori obat’ang*, ‘The song of Sim Ch’ŏng’ is a tale of filial piety where the daughter, Sim Ch’ŏng, sacrifices her life to clear her blind father’s debt and is saved due to her virtue.

*sinawi* – improvisational ensemble of male shaman musicians.

*sin-ki* – divine energy acquired by spirit-descended shamans in order to practice ritual.

*sin-yŏng* – shared catharsis which creates communal unification.

*sogo* (instrument: percussion) – small double-headed frame drum with an integral wooden handle played by acrobats and dancers in *p’ungmul*.

*sogo ch’um* – *sogo* drum dance.

*sogŭm* (instrument: wind) – small transverse flute similar to the *taegŭm*

*Sŏkchŏn* – ceremony using *Munmyojerjeak* (Confucian Shrine Music) performed twice yearly (spring and autumn).

*Sŏkchŏndaeje* – Rite to Confucious.

*sokch’ŏng* – refers to female aristocratic vocal technique of “inner voice”, comparable to chest voice.

*sŏnbi* – a gentleman scholar.

*sŏnggyŏng p’ansori* – *ch’angjak p’ansori* based on Bible stories

*sŏngnihak* – Neo-Confucian philosophy.

*sŏngŭm* – artistic expression of a performer.

*sŏnsori* – professional folk songs of the central regions.

*sŏp’yŏnje* – western school of *p’ansori*.

*sori* – the human voice, or singing.



*Sori Naeryo* – *ch'angjak p'ansori* tale on the origin of *p'ansori* that tells a satirical story of a man that was imprisoned, tortured and lynched for shouting “no” in public.

*Sugungga* – one of the remaining *p'ansori obat'ang*, ‘The Song of the Underwater Palace’ follows anthropomorphised animals where the hare, representing a commoner, outsmarts the turtle, representing a government official.

*susŏng karak* – accompaniment practice where the instrumental part is improvised following the vocal line.

*taegŭm* (instrument: wind) – large bamboo transverse flute with 6 finger holes as well as a large hole covered with a paper-thin membrane of reed to produce a buzzing sound.

*taegŭm sanjo* – *sanjo* for *taegŭm* with *changgo* accompaniment.

*t'aep'yŏngso* (instrument: wind) – double-reed horn, member of the shawm family, known as *hojŏk* in *p'ungmul*.

*t'aep'yŏngso sanjo* – *sanjo* for *t'aep'yŏngso* with *changgo* accompaniment.

*Taeseongjŏn* – Confucian shrine where *Munmyo Cheryeak* is performed and that houses the memorial tablets of the ten great philosophers and four great teachers.

*taeyŏŭm* – instrumental prelude to a *kagok* song.

*tanjŏn* – lower abdomen.

*tanso* (instrument: wind) – notched bamboo flute with 4 anterior finger holes and 1 posterior thumb hole.

*tanso sanjo* – *sanjo* for *tanso* with *changgo* accompaniment.

*tasŭrŭm* – a short tuning piece that acts as the opening movement of *sanjo* and before the first and second half of a cycle of *kagok* songs.

*todŭri* – returning musical theme.

*tongp'yŏnje* – eastern school of *p'ansori*.

*t'ongsok minyo* – folk songs and popular songs performed by professional or trained singers.

*t'osok minyo* – folk songs sung by members of the community for work, play, ritual and celebration.

*ttorang-kwangdae* – beginner or novice singer of *p'ansori*.

*udo* – “right” as if looking down from Seoul referring to western Chōlla province.  
One of the regional styles of *p’ungmul*.

*ŭm* – equivalent of Chinese *yin*, associated with femininity, women, submissiveness, earth.

*ŭmak* – term for music; however, traditional music is called *kugak* (“national music”) while *umak* refers to Western classical music and popular music.

*ujo* – musical mode often compared in cultural associations to the major mode.

*uri chip saram* – literally “our house person”, used to refer to the wife.

*yang* – equivalent of Chinese *yang*, associated with masculinity, men, domination, heaven.

*yangban* – elite members of society that controls the political process, wealth, and Confucian learning. Divided into civil and military service based on descent and heredity.

*yanggŭm* (instrument: string) – a trapezoid-shaped hammered dulcimer struck with a bamboo beater.

*yangjung* – male ritualist, usually with a familial connection, that accompanies the female *mudang* among southeast Korean hereditary shamans.

*yŏlsaga* – patriotic *ch’angjak p’ansori* tales.

*yŏmmo* – veiled hat worn by women to cover the face as dictated by Neo-Confucianism.

*Yŏngsan hoesang* – aristocratic instrumental suite.

*yŏrak* – a practice in the Koryŏ Dynasty where *kisaeng* would perform songs and dances upon the arrival or departure of the king at court.

*yŏsadang* – all-female Buddhist temple groups that would sing and dance for money.

*yŏsŏng kukkŭk* – all-female *ch’anggŭk*.

*yŏŭm* – aftertone of a struck or plucked string.

*yuksŏng* – male aristocratic vocal technique of “natural voice”, comparable to chest voice (non-falsetto).

*yup’a* – ‘school’ of performance showing local or personal variations, associated primarily with *p’ungmul*, *p’ansori* and *sanjo*.