Diasporic P’ungmul in the United States: A Journey between Korea and the United States

DISSERTATION

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Abstract

This study contributes to understanding diaspora and its music cultures by examining the Korean genre of p’ungmul as a particular site of continuous and dynamic cultural socio-political exchange between the homeland and the host society. As practiced in Los Angeles and New York City, this genre of percussion music and dance is shaped by Korean cultural politics, intellectual ideologies and institutions as p’ungmul practitioners in the United States seek performance aesthetics that fit into new performance contexts. This project first describes these contexts by tracing the history of Korean emigration to the United States and identifying the characteristics of immigrant communities in Los Angeles and New York City. While the p’ungmul troupes developed by Korean political refugees, who arrived during the 1980s, show the influence of the minjung cultural movement in Korea, cultural politics of the Korean government also played an important role in stimulating Korean American performers to learn traditional Korean performing arts by sending troupes to the United States. The dissertation then analyzes the various methods by which p’ungmul is transmitted in the United States, including the different methods of teaching and learning p’ungmul—writing verbalizations of instrumental sounds on paper, score, CD/DVD, and audio/video files found on the internet—and the cognitive consequences of those methods. The ways in which immigrants teach and learn p’ungmul have brought standardization to performance
practices and enabled Korean American p'ungmul practitioners to learn performance styles currently popular in Korea. This project shows the culture of p'ungmul in the United States to be highly flexible, as Korean American performers utilize different performance instrumentation, repertoire, and aesthetics depending on different audiences, performance venues, aims, and performance contexts. Depending on where they are performing or for whom, they alternate between highly virtuosic and dramatic performance techniques and attempts to re-arrange traditional existing repertoires. In tracing the common performance practices and instrumentation found in different p'ungmul groups in the United States, this project ultimately reveals how different conceptualizations of p'ungmul according to different age groups and across professionals and amateurs affect performance practices and aesthetics.
Dedication

This document is dedicated to my family.
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Notes on Romanization and Translation

All of the Korean words in this dissertation are Romanized according to the McCune-Reischauer system in which I add a hyphen between the noun and the particle.

I follow standard Korean usage for Korean names where last name precedes first name. However, I make an exception to this rule when a Korean author publishes in English. In this case, the first name precedes the last name in the main body of the text and in the parenthetical references the last name precedes the last name with comma: i.e. Namhee Lee in the main body of the text and (Lee, Namhee 2001) in the parenthetical reference. Also, I follow the same system of Romanization for historical names or for authors’ names in the original publications in English. For example, I mention Park Jung Hee, Chun Du Hwan, and Kim Duk Soo instead of Pak Chŏng-hŭi, Chŏn Tu-hwan, and Kim Tŏk-su, respectively. All Romanized Korean words are italicized except people’s names, geographical place names, and performance troupes’ names.

All translations from English to Korean and from Korean to English are my own unless otherwise noted.
Chapter 1
Introduction

Contemporary communication and transportation developments have brought changes to the lives of displaced populations and to the means through which they retain or adapt their culture. This dissertation describes how these developments have affected the performance and transmission of music through analysis of p’ungmul performances in Los Angeles and New York City. P’ungmul, a Korean genre of percussion music and dance, is one of the most famous genres among traditional Korean performing arts, not only in Korea but also in the United States (U.S.). There are a lot of p’ungmul groups in the U.S., many of them operate as clubs in universities and high schools. P’ungmul groups perform during important social events and ethnic festivals for their communities. Korean Festival, Korean Thanksgiving, Solar New Year, and Lunar New Year’s Day can hardly be imagined without the familiar sound of p’ungmul performances.

In this dissertation, I examine the ways in which p’ungmul is transmitted, what the methods of transmission signify, how p’ungmul performance practices are adapted to the host society, and what the methods of transmission and adaptation of performance practices mean to the performers. The examination shows that p’ungmul performance in Los Angeles (LA) and New York City (NYC) is conditioned, influenced and shaped by multiple negotiations between Korean immigrants’ communities, the larger host societies,
and the cultural politics, institutions and ideologies of contemporary Korea. Particularly, communication and transportation developments that transcend national boundaries have brought new methods of transmitting cultural practices, leading to the development of new performance practices, aesthetics, and conceptualizations of p’ungmul in LA and NYC. At the same time, the large Korean immigrant communities in LA and NYC are loci where performers negotiate identities of place and re-design the overall format of performances. In this regard, the objective for this dissertation is to look at how developments in communication and transportation have influenced p’ungmul practices and aesthetics in LA and NYC.

To do this, I analyze the current means of p’ungmul transmission and their cognitive implications, aesthetics and conceptualizations. I also examine two important performance troupes in NYC through which similarities and differences in the transmission of p’ungmul can be seen. Then, I investigate the ways in which the performers present p’ungmul by looking at various cultural events at which p’ungmul is staged. I focus on characteristics of LA and NYC, two of the largest cities in which Korean Americans reside with two of the largest Koreatowns in the world. Material culture rooted in Korean traditions plays a large role in these cities. LA and NYC have been important centers for traditional Korean performing arts throughout Korean immigrant history. At the same time, different ethnic groups also co-exist in both places. Those circumstances structure aims and goals for staging p’ungmul performance.
1.1. Background of *P’ungmul*

In Korea, *p’ungmul* was an integral part of rural village life before it was suppressed during the Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945) and the Korean War (1950-1953). The Korean government made considerable efforts to revive *p’ungmul*, which was designated as an Important Intangible Cultural Asset in 1966. In addition to the government’s efforts, the *minjung* (literally, “common people”) cultural movement (*Minjung munhwa undong* 민중 문화 운동) of the 1970s and the 1980s drew attention to *p’ungmul*. College students and intellectuals who were involved in the movement expressed sentiments against military dictatorship and westernization and sought to support the lower class through performing folk arts, such as the mask dance (*t’alch’um* 탈춤), folk song, and *p’ungmul*. *P’ungmul* was an important feature of public demonstrations and protests. Moreover, the appearance of *samulnori*, a new form of *p’ungmul* that emphasizes musical aspects, gained enormous popularity. *P’ungmul* and *samulnori* became icons of the Korean cultural heritage in contemporary Korea.

The history of *p’ungmul* in the U.S. is influenced by Korean cultural politics, institutions, and intellectuals’ ideologies. Given that the greatest influx of Korean immigrants into the U.S. occurred only after the Immigration Act of 1965, there is little evidence of *p’ungmul* before that time. The earliest documented musical activities by Korean Americans trace back to the 1960s. The Korean government promoted traditional performing arts by sending performing artists abroad during the 1960s. These performances stimulated the creation of traditional Korean performance associations in the States. One of the earliest traditional Korean music associations, the Korean National
Music Association in the U.S. (*Chaemi kukakwŏn* 재미 국악원), was established in LA in 1973. The first *p’ungmul* group in NYC was the Nongak Troupe of the Eastern U.S. (*Midongbu nongakdan* 미동부 농악단), established in 1976. Although the founding members are now in their mid-sixties and seventies, this group still takes an active part in various performances and cultural events.

*P’ungmul* performance in the U.S. became more widespread in the 1980s after the arrival of Korean political refugees who had been involved in the *minjung* cultural movement in Korea. They founded independent social advocacy organizations, which included *p’ungmul* groups under their cultural divisions. These organizations also helped to establish collegiate *p’ungmul* groups. Although musical performance groups have been involved in social and political action in Korea as well as in the States, many young *p’ungmul* practitioners tend not to become involved in socio-political issues as a result of their theatrical performance interests. For example, Hanool, a performance group in NYC, partnered with an organization called Service and Education for Korean Americans (SEKA) that provides voter education and registration assistance to Korean Americans. Hanool participated in various SEKA campaigns and workshops by performing *p’ungmul*. However, Hanool broke away from SEKA in 2007 and declared itself independent of any social organization. Thereafter, the troupe performed *p’ungmul* only for cultural events and festivals, and turned its attention towards performers’ virtuosity.

To learn *p’ungmul*, performers in LA and NYC attend workshops in the U.S. presented by Korean musicians and visit intensive training centers (*chŏnsugwan* 전수관) in Korea during the summer and winter breaks. *P’ilbong p’ungmul*, a regional *p’ungmul*
style which was designated as an Important Intangible Cultural Asset in 1988, is closely associated with a few p’ungmul groups in the States. Representatives of P’ilbong have been visiting the U.S. since 1999, and have become popular teachers with members of Hanool. Some of the members of Shimtah, a p’ungmul group at Cornell University, have visited the P’ilbong intensive training center during the summer breaks and have brought their newly acquired knowledge from Korea back to the junior members of the ensemble. In 2008, the P’ilbong p’ungmul workshop brought together members from across the U.S. who practice the P’ilbong style. In addition to this knowledge acquisition, p’ungmul performers in the U.S. obtain costumes, instruments and other supplies for their performances directly from Korea. The performers keep audio-video recordings of Korean performer’s performances and share them through internet sites such as YouTube and Cyworld, a social networking service in Korea. This practice allows Korean American performers to keep up with the styles currently popular in Korea. Additionally, at annual p’ungmul camps, they exchange new information and solidify their networks.
1.2. Theoretical Framework

1.2.1. Defining Immigrants in Transnational Flow

The history of *p’ungmul* and its performance transmission in LA and NYC shows that *p’ungmul* in the U.S. is continuously influenced and shaped by cultural politics and institutions from Korea. This study emphasizes roles of the ongoing transnational movements of *p’ungmul* practitioners and numerous resources for learning *p’ungmul* between the homeland and the host country in transmitting cultural practices to the host country. Quite a few studies on migrants have articulated how migrants’ original cultures have changed, assimilated, and generated hybrid cultures in the host countries.¹ In these studies, migrants were regarded as uprooted and isolated from the homeland. Furthermore, those studies have a tendency to overlook the fact that migrants have various channels to keep connected with their countries of origin and that some migrants frequently visit relatives in the homeland. Accordingly, such studies ignore or “minimize the impact of the home country on immigrants’ lives and cultural expressions while emphasizing only the processes of becoming citizens of the New World in one kind of melting pot or another” (Zheng 2010: 10).

Martin Stokes notes that, “while earlier migration literature tended to the before-and-after of assimilation and acculturation in accordance with modernization theory, contemporary theories of music in diaspora elaborate cultural ambivalences of return, subalternity in host societies, and the forging of transnational strategic alliances” (Stokes

¹ For example, Aileen Dillane (2009) points out that extensive literature on Irish Immigrant music has tended to focus on a process of acculturation of traditional Irish music in American society and its hybrid musical production. Su Zheng also argues forcefully that “the theme of acculturation” was the “dominant discourse” in the studies of immigrant communities (1993: 10).
2001: 390). More recent studies, particularly since the 1990s, have highlighted the possibility that migrants keep in touch with relatives in their homeland and encounter cultural practices from their country of origin through various media like video recordings of soap operas and entertainment shows, and satellite TV channels that air famous TV programs.

Arajun Appadurai (1996) proposes five dimensions of global cultural flow in his book, *Modernity at Large*: ethnoscape, ideoscape, technoscape, mediascape and financescape. Each dimension elaborates on the transnational distribution of people, political resources, technology, media, and finance, respectively. He stresses migrants and media as two major elements for understanding the modern world in the era of globalization:

Fax machines, electronic mail, and other forms of computer-mediated communication have created new possibilities for transnational forms of communication, often bypassing the intermediate surveillance of the nation-state and of major media conglomerates. Each of these developments, of course, interacts with the others, creating complicated new connections between producers, audiences, and publics—local and national, stable and diasporic (1996: 194).

(…) the electronic mediation of community in the diasporic world creates a more complicated, disjunct, hybrid sense of local subjectivity. (…) Different groups of Indians in the United States also hear speeches and sermons from every known variety of itinerant politician, academic, holyman, and entrepreneur from the subcontinent, while these make their American tours. They also read India West, India Abroad, and other major newspapers that imbricate news of American and Indian politics in the same pages. They participate, through cable television, video, and other technologies in the steady noise of home entertainment produced in and for the United States (1996: 198).
Appadurai’s idea stems from Benedict Anderson (1983) who describes influence of media on the creation of imagined communities approximately a decade before Appadurai. He asserts that the dissemination of printed media enables people in different places to have common identities, interests, and discourses and thus it helps to build an imagined community. Both Appadurai and Anderson are pioneers in considering the effects of various forms of media on displaced people in studies of transnational cultural flow.

The contemporary transnational exchanges and connections between different nations are not a completely new phenomenon. Migrants of the past also kept in touch with relatives they left behind and stayed informed about the home societies. Nancy Foner (1997) points out that Russian Jews and Italians in New York at the turn-of-the century had economic, political and cultural links to their homeland and therefore having ties and connections with the homeland is not unique to contemporary migrants. Foner affirms that the new phenomenon of modern day transnationalism enables people to have “more frequent” and “closer contact” with home societies thanks to technological development (1997: 362).

There are different terms that refer to displaced and dispersed people such as “diaspora,” “immigrants,” “refugees,” and “exile community.” Khachig Tölöyan remarks that “the term diaspora that once described Jewish, Greek, and Armenian dispersion now shares meanings with a larger semantic domain that includes words like immigrants, expatriate, refugee, guest-worker, exile community, overseas community, ethnic community” (1991: 4-5). Among the terms to describe dispersed populations, the
terms “diaspora” and “immigrant” have often been distinguishable from each other. The term “diaspora” has signified powerlessness, longing, and exile, and forced migration (Butler 2001). On the contrary, the term “immigrant” has been widely used for voluntary migration. Immigrants have tended to be seen as permanently living in and, more importantly, assimilating to the host society. In this sense, the term “immigrant” presupposes that they have lost their cultural practices as they assimilate to the new home (Park and Ernest 1924). In contrast, the term “diaspora” assumes that displaced people retain customs and cultural practices and moreover that they endeavor to establish connections between their homeland and the host countries (Clifford 1997; Safran 1991; Hear 1998; Butler 2001). For example, James Clifford makes a distinction between the two terms by saying that “diasporist discourses reflect the sense of being part of an ongoing transnational network that includes the homeland not as something simply left behind but as a place of attachment in a contrapuntal modernity” (1997: 256). William Safran holds a similar view in defining the term diaspora; he identifies constant links to the home country as one aspect of diaspora.²

Nevertheless, it seems that the distinction based upon maintaining contact with the homeland between the terms “immigrant” and “diaspora” is not valid any longer. Contemporary immigrants tend to actively make use of transportation and communication technologies as a way to link to the homeland. Glick Shiller, Linda

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² He argues that the population of a diaspora meets the following characteristics: (1) dispersal to two or more peripheral, or foreign, regions; (2) collective mythology about their homeland; (3) alienation and insulation from host society; (4) idealization of return to home eventually; (5) commitment to maintenance, safety and prosperity of homeland; and (6) constant relationship with the homeland that define ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity (Safran 1991: 83-84). The sixth category embraces a characteristic that people in diaspora have maintenance of an ongoing relationship with the motherland.
Basch and Cristian Blanc-Szanton propose the term “transmigrants” to specifically indicate immigrants who “develop and maintain multiple relations—familiar, economic, social, organizational, religious, and political that span borders” and thus “transmigrants take actions, make decisions, and feel concerns, and develop identities within social networks that connect them to two or more societies simultaneously” (1992: 1-2).

Increasingly, studies have illuminated how immigrants make use of technology for contacting their relatives and maintaining connections with their home country. Many of those studies offer detailed descriptions of how frequently, conveniently, and closely immigrants connect with their homeland (see Basch et al 1992; Zheng 1993; Foner 1997).

Thus, it is necessary to reconsider the term “diaspora.” Su Zheng (2010) provides an insightful definition:

> I consider diaspora as a descriptive term illustrating Chinese Americans’ past and present social and cultural experiences and their structures of feelings, memoires, and imaginations through rich ethnographic treatment; as an analytical category for probing the deeper meanings and implications of diasporic conditions of Chinese American expressive cultural forms and practices; as a mode of awareness for critiquing and problematizing the pervasive, often Western-centered notion of the bipolar order of the totalizing global system and fragmented local responses; and, at the same time, as a vehicle for oppositional politics against the oppressive and hegemonic national narratives and cultural formations (Zheng 2010: 11).

Following Zheng, I will consider the term “Korean diaspora” as a descriptive term that relates to modes of awareness and a vehicle for oppositional politics. At the same time, I will make use the term “diaspora” interchangeably with “immigrant.” The term “Korean immigrants” refers to those who actively take advantage of developments in technology and transportation and build close connections with Korea. In addition, in this thesis I
will use the term “Korean Americans” interchangeably with “Korean immigrants.” The term “Korean American” signifies two places, Korea and the U.S., that are determining factors in creating socio-cultural political contexts that change and influence immigrants’ lives and their music making.

A new analytical framework is necessary for studies on displaced people and their music making. Mark Slobin (1992) offers a valuable framework of “diasporic interculture,” which involves complex individual networks and relationships with the homeland. Zheng (1993, 2010) takes a similar position to Slobin’s. In her dissertation “Immigrant Music and Transnational Discourse: Chinese American Music Culture in New York City,” she stresses that the immigrant movements from the home to host societies should be considered “not as once-and-for-all unilateral journey, but as the beginning of an on-going process in building a transnational network” (Zheng 1993: 8). She expands the scope of immigrant studies to include the homelands, which might be an important factor in forming immigrants’ cultures. By evolving her argument, Zheng (2010) proposes a concept of “triangular relationship” between the host countries, the ethnic society of the immigrants—in her case Chinese American communities—and the homelands as a way to investigate migrants’ cultures. Drawing on Zheng’s arguments, this present study locates a p’ungmul performance within an on-going triangular relationship between Korea, Korean American communities in LA and NYC, and the American society at large.
1.2.2. Ethnic Enclaves

Commercial-residential centers, so called ethnic enclaves, in the host country help immigrant groups remain strongly attached to their homelands. This is because the distinctive commercial-residential centers “cater to the particular way of life of the dominant ethnic population, such as restaurants, grocery stores, bars, clubs, theatres, and churches” (Abrahamson 1996). Ethnic enclaves embody cultural traditions, values, and commodities of the populations who reside in them. In this way, “linkages between ethnic group and geographic location” have been created (Timothy 2002: 136).

Academic interests in ethnic enclaves have emerged since the mid 1970s, when scholars started to challenge the notion of assimilation through the concept of multiculturalism. The basic idea behind assimilation theory is that immigrants seek to integrate into the cultural and socio-economic structures of the host society. The term “melting pot” connotes that being Americanized means to lose the cultural practices of one’s origins (Park and Ernest 1924). One important factor behind assimilation theory was the fact that the major ethnic groups that emigrated to the U.S. during the first half of the 20th century were the Europeans. At that time, U.S. immigration policy had a quota system based on national origin that excluded Asians. As the Asian Exclusion Act was abolished and the new immigration act became effective in 1965, larger populations from

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3 Commercial-residential centers for immigrants are frequently called ethnic enclaves. However, the term ethnic enclave has hardly been defined and there is no widely accepted definition despite its frequent usages and wide recognition in scholarly works. Stephanie Bohon, in her work *Latinos in Ethnic Enclaves: Immigrant Workers and the Competition for Jobs*, argues that there are three common elements in the various conceptualizations of the term ethnic enclave: 1) the term connotes “separation from the economic activity surrounding it,” 2) “the emphasis on boundedness is central to definitions of the ethnic enclave,” and 3) the term has been used to indicate “metropolitan areas” (2001: 26). Throughout this dissertation, I will stress Bohon’s second and third elements in my use of the term “ethnic enclave.”
various parts of the world, including Asia, came to the States. Subsequently, U.S. society became much more diverse than before. The presence of diverse ethnic cultures led scholars to reconsider the notion of assimilation and melting pot theories and motivated them to replace it with the concept of multiculturalism. As the notion of multiculturalism was introduced, ethnic enclaves as embodiment of cultures began to draw scholarly attention.

Current studies on immigrants, particularly on those who live in ethnic enclaves, cover a variety of issues. Generational difference is one of the most interesting subjects in the studies of immigrants. Since the 1965 Immigration Act, a huge number of people from various parts of the world have emigrated to the U.S. with their children. Immigrants who were born in foreign countries and came to the U.S. as adults are considered first generation. The children who were born in their countries of origin and emigrated with their parents in early childhood are designated as “1.5-generation.” The second generations are those who were born and raised in the States as descendents of immigrant parents.

The term “1.5-generation” was coined by Rumbaut and Ima, in order to distinguish these people from the first generation and the second generation. The 1.5-generation is often bilingual. They are different from their parents, who have strong ties to the homeland, and from the second generation who have been born and raised in the host society and are said to have few cultural conflicts due to their education in the host society. The “in-between” characteristics of the 1.5 generation and the generational

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4 Rumbaut and Ima (1988) first used the term “1.5-generation” to describe young Southeast Asian refugee children.
differences in cultural adaptation have been investigated in various fields such as linguistics, anthropology, sociology and education (see Zhou 1999; Danico 2004; Min 2006). Despite its wide recognition and usage in scholarly works, scholars define the term “1.5-generation” in various ways depending on the age at which foreign-born children first came to the States. Moreover, studies on generational differences do not consider immigration status and generational status in the States. They also exclude cooperative interactions among these categories (Gwak, Sung Youn Sonya 2006: 11). Therefore, in this dissertation I focus on young p’ungmul practitioners, in their twenties or mid-thirties, who have different immigrant and generational status from each other and have cooperative interactions regardless of their status while performing p’ungmul. I examine how they view p’ungmul as a way to transmit traditional Korean performing arts and as a way to adapt in the new society.

Ethnic media in host countries is another interesting subject in studies of immigrants. The term “ethnic media” refers to mass media such as the press, radio, or television produced for ethnic groups and published or broadcasted in their mother tongue in the host countries. According to Matthew D. Matsaganis, Vikki S. Katz, and Sandra J. Ball-Rokeach, ethnic media broadly includes “media produced by and for (a) immigrant, (b) ethnic, racial, and linguistic minorities as well as indigenous living in various countries across the world” (2011: 10). During the previous two decades, additional studies about effects of ethnic media on ethnic identities of immigrants have been produced. Two perspectives on media are expressed in these studies: consumption of ethnic media helps to maintain, retain and transmit ethnic culture and heritage
(Gillespie 1989; Melkote and Liu 2000) mainly because native language is used in the media (Riggings 1992; Sonja de Leeuw and Ingegerd Rydin 2007) and consumption of ethnic media facilitates assimilation and adjustment to the new country because it provides various information about different cultural and social values of the host society (Lam 1980; Subervi-Velez 1986). However, as indicated by Zheng (2010), the presence and impact of ethnic media and music, as represented in and through ethnic media, has been overlooked in the studies of immigrant music. In this dissertation, I take the position that ethnic media helps immigrants pass down and study the cultural practices of their country of origin and that it also helps the immigrants construct images and sounds of the homeland. I analyze how p’ungmul performers use media as a way to learn p’ungmul.

Lastly, small business entities are also an interesting subject in studies of immigrants. Scholars have examined how ethnic solidarities, ethnic entrepreneurship and ethnic concentration are integral parts of each other (see Valdez 2007; Light and Bonacich 1988). These studies on ethnic entrepreneurship in ethnic enclaves are good sources for understanding the socio-economic contexts of ethnic communities in metropolitan areas like LA and NYC. Many immigrants, who have come to the U.S. since 1965 particularly from Hong Kong, Taiwan and Korea, have had enough capital to run their own businesses. In Chapter 2, I shall examine studies on Korean entrepreneurship in LA and NYC in order to understand the socio-economic environments of Korean American communities.
1.2.3. Correspondence between Culture, Place and People

One limitation of studies about ethnic enclaves is that they often depict the enclaves as being distinctive and isolated from the dominant larger host society (Zeigler and Brunn 1985). The studies often consider immigrant groups as static and unchangeable, and they presuppose that the groups maintain the same cultural practices as those performed in their homeland. However, the notion of linkage between people, place, and cultural practices has been reevaluated based on critical theorizations of space “embodied in such notions as surveillance, panopticism, simulacra, deterritorialization, postmodern hyperspace, borderlands, and marginality.” (Gupta and Ferguson 1997:33)

No doubt, a number of works on globalization, transnationalism, and migration have raised questions about the linkage between cultural practices, a population group and a place (Gupta and Ferguson 1997; Appadurai 1992; Clifford 1992; Slobin 1992). In this light, Doreen Massey (1994) invokes the phrases “global sense of the local.” Also, Amy Schuman (1993) suggests the notion of “the dismantling of local cultures.” Both authors point out the blurred concept of “local” and “global,” and call for a larger-than-local context to look at culture in a region.

An ethnic enclave is unique in that cultural practices of an ethnic group are embedded in a certain place and at the same time that place is surrounded by a larger host society. Thus, a cultural practice is influenced by “other groups, institutions, media and audiences of the larger society” (Buren 2001: 35). In a similar sense, Adelaida Reyes Schramm criticizes the corresponding linkage between an ethnic enclave and their music and ethnic group:
These assumptions promote a static view both of the ethnic group and of its music. Methodologically, it strongly suggests the closed system of the functionalists, the holistic approach effective for the study of self-contained units but dysfunctional for the study of complex societies. By ignoring the host environment as a necessary variable, by negating the fact that pressures generated by this environment can not only suppress but also revitalize and strengthen ethnic identity, the enclave notion also suggests that there is no essential difference in the methods needed for the study of a music in its native and in an alien context (1981: 10).

Hence, an investigation about a cultural practice or a performance in an ethnic enclave in an urban area of the host country calls for attention to various performance contexts. In the case of p’ungmul, this genre has been displaced and relocated to the U.S. as Koreans have migrated to the States. P’ungmul in ethnic enclaves like LA and NYC is not enjoyed only by Korean immigrants but also by other ethnic groups who reside there. Additionally, the ethnic enclaves are linked to the dynamics of the larger place. This study emphasizes the dynamic interactions surrounding p’ungmul performances. LA and NYC are not simply sites “where or about which music happens to be made, or over which music has diffused,” but “different spatialities are suggested as being formative of the sounding and resounding of music” (Leyshon et al 1998: 4).
1.3. Studies on Korean Immigrants

1.3.1. Korean Immigrants in the U.S.

There are a number of studies on Korean immigrants in the States. Many pioneering works in this field offer historiographies of Korean emigrants to the States. Wayne Patterson (1988; 2000) is well known for his works particularly on the first Korean immigrant groups who worked on Hawaiian sugar cane fields. He presents various types of historical documents on the early Hawaiian immigrants. Bong Youn Choy (1979) describes social organizations of early immigrants. He demonstrates that the social organizations helped to create stronger solidarity among Korean immigrants groups in the U.S. and also helped to initiate independence movements for Korea from Japan. Patterson and Choy lay the foundations for examining the characteristics of Korean immigrants in different historical periods.

Since then, a number of scholarly works about religion, economics, race conflicts and social characteristics of Korean immigrants have been produced. For example, Eui-yong Yu (1982; 2002), Pyong Gap Min (2002; 2006), and In-jin Yoon (1997; 2004) examine more recent periods of Korean immigration. Particularly, the three of them provide a variety of statistical data, including the 1990 and 2000 U.S. Census and other types of surveys they created, to analyze features of Korean immigrants in the States. Korean small business entities and racial conflicts within immigrant neighborhoods are some of the most interesting issues in the studies of Korean immigration (see Park, Kyeyoung 1997; Yoon In-jin 1997; Min, Pyong Gap 1988; Nancy Ableman and John Lie 1995). It is notable that most studies deal with Korean immigrants either in LA or NYC.
and the characteristics of both places, and demonstrate that these ethnic enclaves help immigrants keep strong ethnic solidarity. Additionally, these studies point out that generational differences produce distinctive aspects in the retention of cultural practices.

1.3.2. Studies on Korean Music in the U.S.

As the number of studies on Korean immigrants has increased since the mid-1980s, a few studies on Korean immigrant’s musical cultures in the U.S. have been produced. The article “Korean Musical Culture in Los Angeles,” written by Ronald Riddle (1985), was the first one to shed light on Korean immigrants’ musical activities. Riddle describes Korean immigrants’ diverse musical taste as ranging from Western art music to traditional and popular Korean music. He points out that the strong involvement in Korean Protestant churches and their choir music, accompanied by piano or organ or both, as unique aspects that make them different from other Asian immigrant groups. In regard to traditional Korean music, he mentions that the Korean Classical Music Institute together with an associated group called the Korean Classical Music and Dance Company and UCLA’s Korean performing ensemble have attempted to foster traditional Korean performing arts in LA despite Korean immigrants’ lack of interest.

Anderson Sutton (1987) describes traditional Korean dance activities as well as music in his article “Korean Music in Hawaii.” He has a similar view as Riddle in that traditional Korean performing arts play a less important role in Korean immigrants’ lives (1987: 99). He traces this phenomenon back to early times of traditional Korean
performing arts in Hawaii and investigates the organizations and figures that have taught and promoted traditional Korean music and dance.⁵

Later, Peggy Myo-Yong Choy (1995) examines the history of traditional Korean music and dance in the States. Different from the two former studies, she attempts to cover Hawaii, Los Angeles, the Midwest and the greater New York and New Jersey region. Additionally, she first mentions p’ansori performances, a Korean genre of storytelling, in Hawaii. Maria Kongju Seo (2001) provides one of the most detailed historiographies by examining three historical divisions: 1903-1945, 1945-1964, and 1965 to the present.⁶ She deals not only with Western art music activities but also traditional Korean music and dance activities in Hawaii, Los Angeles and New York and New Jersey by Korean immigrants and their descendants. Seo also introduces descendants from early Korean immigrants to Hawaii such as Earl Kim, Donald Sur and Gregory Pai. Her work is unique because there are few histories of Korean Americans’ music activities that introduce Donald Sur.

Two additional histories can be found in the books, entitled *Miju hanin imin 100 nyŏnsa* 미주 한인 이미 100 년사 [A 100-Year History of Korean Immigration to America]: “Namgaju hanin ūmak-e 50 nyŏn 남가주 한인 음악의 50 년 [A 50-Year History of Korean Music in Los Angeles]” and “Mikuk sok-ui hankuk ūmak: Kukak 미국

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⁵ Sutton enlisted organizations like Nam Pung Sa, Hyung Jay Club, and Halla Huhm Dance Studio) and figures like Hwang Ha-su, Halla Huhm, Chi Yŏng-hŭi, Sŏng Kŭm-yŏn and Byong Won Lee.

⁶ Her divisions are each based on important historical events. The first period follows the first Korean immigration to the Hawaii sugar cane plantations and the Korea liberation in 1945. The second period includes the Korean War. The third period begins after the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which allowed the largest influx of Korean immigrants to the States.

“Namgaju hanin ūmak-e 50 nyŏn [A 50-Year History of Korean Music in Los Angeles]” is about Western art music. Though the authorship is unknown, it lists all important concerts and their dates from 1967 to 2000. “Mikuk sok-ŭi hankuk ūmak: Kukak [Korean Music in the U.S.: National Korean Music]” is about traditional Korean music by Korean immigrants in LA. It is written by Kim Tong-sŏk, who demonstrates that Kim P’il-gwŏn and several members of Arirang Performance Troupe had visited the U.S. for performances in several cities. Kim points out that some members of Arirang Performance Troupe had remained in the U.S. and fostered traditional Korean performing arts in LA.

P’ungmul is one piece of the large puzzle of Korean immigrant music cultures. Although earlier studies of Korean music and musicians in the U.S. mention p’ungmul in the overall history of Korean immigrant music activities, it is difficult to locate detailed information about it.\(^7\) It is only since the late 1990s that p’ungmul became a main concern for scholarly works. Jennifer Bussell (1997) first investigated p’ungmul troupes in the U.S., particularly in Chicago, New York, and Boston, by looking at performance repertoire, membership of the troupe and ways of learning. Despite its brevity, Bussell’s condensed illustration offers valuable inquiries that might be further examined later. For example, she considers the use of videotape recordings, vocalization of instrumental sounds (so called ip changdan 입장단) and politicized p’ungmul performances led by

\(^7\) Some of the above works deal with p’ungmul performances in the U.S. as well (Seo Maria Kongju 2001; Choy 1995; Sutton 1987).
voluntary associations for Korean immigrants, aspects that subsequently have been further developed by Donna Lee Kwon’s work (2001) and the present dissertation. In her article “The Roots and Routes of P’ungmul in the United States,” Donna Lee Kwon (2001), eloquently investigates different p’ungmul troupes throughout the States. Kwon’s work offers valuable insights for my own dissertation. While providing an in-depth ethnography, she delves into contributions of Korean political refugees to the creation of p’ungmul troupes in the U.S. and their means of transmission, which largely depend on passing video and audio recordings down from senior to junior performer and attending intensive training centers (chŏnsugwan) in Korea. She also examines characteristics of performance troupes that are based on community organization, college clubs and special interest groups. Her work shows cultural ties and influences between Korea and the U.S. as well as between different geographical areas across the States.

political refugees’ contributions in creating voluntary associations and *p’ungmul* groups for Korean communities in the States.

Interestingly, all four works—Bussell, Kwon, Kwak and Yu—are concerned with identity constructions through *p’ungmul* performances. They attempt to examine the roles of *p’ungmul* performances to create, constitute, construct, and negotiate Korean immigrant’s identities.

1.4. Research Methodology

In 2006, I embarked on field research in LA and NYC. I conducted field research in LA and NYC from September of 2006 to August of 2008. On these trips I observed various cultural events, participated in three different *p’ungmul* workshops, and visited Korean cultural centers in LA and NYC. My ethnographic methods included participant-observation, field note taking, interviews, and photo and video documentation. Also, I observed LA and NYC Koreatowns as a way of obtaining background information on the everyday life of Korean immigrants.

I consider the method of participant-observation as an ideal approach for this study. Although some events had limitations that I became aware of as a participant-

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8 In 2006, I visited LA from September 20 to 25 and NYC from October 5 to 8 and from December 20 to 22. In 2007, I undertook field research in LA from January to March and in NYC from May 22 to 25, from September 5 to 9 2007, and from December 27 to 30 2007. In 2008, I revisited NYC from July to August 2008.

9 These cultural events include the Korean American Festival, the Lunar New Year Festival, and *Chisinbalkki* in LA, the Korean Festival, and the Christmas *P’ungmul* Party in NYC. The name of the organization in LA is the Korean Cultural Center and the name of the organization in NYC is the Korean Cultural Service.
observer, I tried to observe the performance rehearsals, overall atmosphere of the events, the attitudes of the audience, and the interactions between audiences and performers. In particular, I did my best to observe as many rehearsals as I could before *p’ungmul* performances were staged. Rehearsals gave me valuable clues as to which performance aspects the performers wanted to highlight and why they chose to do so. This is because rehearsals often contained verbal descriptions of the performers’ playing, their posture, the tempo, and dynamics. The performance aspects on which Korean American performers want to focus are closely associated with performance aesthetics. As a participant-observer I strove to build a close rapport with *p’ungmul* performers in LA and NYC. However, I found that it is not easy to build a close rapport and that it takes time. For example, when I visited the office of the Korean Cultural Outreach Network, some performers were making a team flag that they would carry at the *p’ungmul* procession. When I came into the office, nobody noticed or greeted me. Since my goal was to be a participant-observer, I tried to become involved in the needlework. I sat by one of the performers and picked up a needle. However, nobody instructed me about what to do. Soon after, I gave up because I felt embarrassed and that I was not helpful for them. I sat alongside the group and just observed them while taking pictures and field notes. After repeatedly meeting the group, they became friendly and interested in my thesis work. This experience taught me a lesson that building rapport requires much time and as a result, I tried to take more time to build rapport with Korean American performers.

I conducted in-depth interviews with over fifteen people, many of whom were introduced to me by my other informants. For example, I met Kim Chun in LA by

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10 I will examine the history of the Korean Cultural Outreach Network in Chapter 6.
accident when he performed *p’ungmul* for the Lunar New Year Festival. After the performance, I introduced myself to him, and asked to schedule an interview. A few days later, I interviewed him and he introduced me to Nam Chang-u, Sŏkjae Cliff Yi and Yun Se-jong. I met many informants in NYC through this method as well.

I made audio recordings of my interviews and took notes. All of my interviewees allowed me to record the interviews, which I did with my SAMSUNG MP 3 Player. Unfortunately, I found that two of the interviews were erased when I filed them onto my laptop. In those cases, I could only rely on the notes taken during the interviews. Because I wrote out important information, the note-taking reminded me of what my informant and I talked about. My interviews were both structured and unstructured. I explicitly specified a set of basic common questions and at the same time I let my informants speak of whatever they wanted to. Unstructured interviews allowed for a more comfortable atmosphere. Also, this approach offered unexpected information that I could have foreseen.

Overall, I made over 70 mini DVC cassette tapes during the field research. They included recordings of cultural events where *p’ungmul* was staged, *p’ungmul* workshops, rehearsals, and my private *changgo* lessons. I recorded these events with either a CANON or SONY miniDV camcorder. Then, I converted all of them into DVD for permanent preservation. I preferred to take video recordings rather than audio recordings because video recordings allow to analyze a performer’s body movements, their use of space, the format of *p’ungmul* processions, and the participation of the audience in the course of performances.
Additionally, I researched local Korean language newspapers, magazines, program notes when available, and web content. The internet is one of the most convenient yet challenging sources; I found that some websites did not exist any longer and that I could not check the materials of certain performance troupes that had disbanded. For example, the Korean Youth Cultural Center in Oakland, California initially had provided valuable preliminary resources for this study. As soon as the group disbanded, the websites closed permanently. I realized that I should have printed all of the materials from the websites. This embarrassing experience taught me a lesson. After that, I kept printed versions of all web pages that I consulted.

1.5. Performance and Bi-Musicality

In addition to the ethnographic methods described above, I took two months of intensive private changgo lessons. During my 2006 preliminary field research in LA, I interviewed Kang Tae-sŏng. A few months later when I flew to LA for further field research, I contacted him and asked if he could give me private lessons. My personal experience of learning how to play the changgo led me to refine my basic questions for this study, and re-directed my inquiries towards the means of transmission and effects of transmission on actual performance practices. As I learned how to play the changgo, my positions became one of a researcher, performer, insider and outsider.

Two distinctive directions in ethnomusicology appeared in the late of 1950s. One branch was led by Alan Merriam, and stemmed from an anthropological background.
while the other, led by Mantle Hood, derived from a musicological background (Myers 1992; Nettl 1991). Merriam emphasized the importance of the fieldwork experience, while Hood coined the concept of bi-musicality. The concept of “bi-musicality” criticizes “passive observation, working with informants and museum studies” (Hood 1960: 55) and encourages scholars to learn the musical practices they study, so that scholars experience the music and deepen their observation. These two camps have been combined in the contemporary ethnomusicological field; ethnomusicology puts values on a researcher’s own experiences in the field as well as learning to play the music. In anthropology as well, many scholars have argued that culture is not only to be interpreted but also to be experienced in order to understand people in other culture.

Experience-based field research has been stressed in recent literature. Jeff Todd Titon (1997) and Timothy Cooley (1997) postulate that music as a lived experience is important to investigate. Deborah Wong (2004) examines the identity of a taiko performance based on her own performing experience. A range of lived musical experiences is also considered important for non-Western scholars who study traditional performances of their own culture. In many societies that have been influenced by Western culture and music, learning traditional music is a challenge for indigenous people because many have been trained in Western music. Although they are marked by their nationality and ethnicity as indigenous people, they do not perform traditional music. I am in quite a similar position myself. I, as a native Korean, have been trained in Western music. Like many Korean children, I have studied piano since I was six years old. I studied violin when I attended elementary school, although I have almost forgotten
how to play it now. I sang Western art songs and some Korean art songs that are based on Western music. I never met a music teacher who had majored in Korean traditional music. I only learned the “tip of the iceberg” about traditional Korean music. Up to now, I have been almost an outsider in the realm of traditional Korean music.

1.5.1. Transcending the Dichotomy between Insider and Outsider

I studied the _changgo_, a Korean hourglass drum, in LA for two months. It was not my first time to play the _changgo_. I learned how to play the _changgo_ when I was in college; at that time, I studied several rhythmic cycles (_changdan_). What I learned at college was very rudimentary. In LA, I pursued more experiential knowledge. My _changgo_ lesson was held in the rehearsal room of the Traditional Korean Performing Arts Institute (_Miju yesulwŏn_ 미주 예술원). A few different instructors of Korean music and dance share the space at different time slots. The institute has one large practice room and two different small practice rooms, all of which have wall-to-wall mirrors. My teacher was a professional performer who had toured extensively in other countries as a professional performer selected by the Korean government. While learning the _changgo_, I faced challenges because I was not familiar with rhythmic, kinesthetic, and even acoustic characters of Korean traditional music, and because I was not accustomed to a way of teaching that combined oral and written means. I kept wandering between binaries: outsider and insider, objectivity and subjectivity, my academic topic and my increasing interest in playing _changgo_, scholarly insights and personal interests, habitually westernized musical taste and musical taste acquired for my project, orality
and literacy, performance by professional performers and performance by amateur
performers, performance in Korea and performance in a Korean diasporic space.

At the first session, my teacher advised me to record every class, and to take notes
of the verbalizations of *changgo* sounds in writing. The same instruction had occurred
when I took a *p’ansori* workshop at the Ohio State University. The teacher of the
workshop, Chan E. Park, encouraged students to take audio recordings and notes as a
memory aid while listening to the teacher’s sound. During the *p’ansori* workshop I
marked tonal variation in the given text. I put curved and straight symbols over words
and left short notes regarding vocal quality in the margins. Although traditional Korean
music was transmitted orally in the past, the advent of writing and other communication
media such as audio and video recordings have been adopted in transmitting traditional
culture. Combination by oral and written means in a process of transmitting traditional
Korean music is a pervasive phenomenon in Korea. Students listen to teachers’ sounds
and describe them with words and symbols while recording the lesson. Those media have
changed the method of transmission “from traditional apprenticeship to ‘lessons’” (Park,
Chan E. 2003: 158). Since students have sound recordings and written descriptions, they
are able to replay what they cannot recall clearly, and as a result, they are able to shorten
the time required to learn and imitate their teacher’s sounds.

I decided to take video recordings of my *changgo* lessons in order to be able to
observe kinesthetic as well as acoustic features of *changgo* playing. Playing the *changgo*
requires one to have a proper body posture, and to distinguish hand positions on either on
left or right of the drumhead. In most cases, verbalizations of *changgo* sounds give
players a clue how they are to play and the position their hands, but sometimes hand position does not line up with verbalizations of changgo sounds. For example, the word “kung” means to hit on the left and right drumheads together, but sometimes it means to hit only the right drumhead with the left and right stick at the same time. Since sound recordings cannot capture the details of hand position, I relied on video recordings. By reviewing my video recordings, I aimed to develop my posture and to observe the details of hand position.

Although the video recording includes the teacher’s voice and the sound of his playing, the visual image is only mine. He did not want his image to be recorded, because he did not want the tape to be shared by other potential students. For personal practices, I played the changgo while reciting verbalizations of the rhythmic sequence of changgo sounds until I acquainted myself with the new rhythmic patterns. If there was no space to practice, I recited onomatopoeia verbally while beating on my lap instead of the changgo. To correct my posture, I often used a mirror to see my stance while referring to a video recording that includes teachers’ verbal instruction for correcting my posture.

If I had not learned the changgo, I would not have been able to grasp the reality of a p’ungmul performance. As mentioned above, current ethnomusicology has stressed the importance of learning music and the researcher’s experience in the field. Performance theory regards culture as “encapsulated within discrete performances” and performance as “the most concrete observable units of the cultural structure.” Performance theory

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11 Chan E. Park also points out that p’ansori learners’ recordings have little currency for other students (Park, Chan E. 2003: 160)
now even encourages an “intense mode of participation” or “enhanced participation” (Bell 2004: 89). In this regard, Grimes notes that “an appreciation of the inadequacy of earlier models of participant-observer relations” and “a real sense of shared purpose between participants and critics” should be reconsidered in the studies of performance (Bell 2004: 90).

Michael Atwood Mason (2004), in his article “The Blood that Runs Through the Vein: The Creation of Identity and a Client’s Experience of Cuban-American Santeria Dilogun Divination,” aims to understand the client’s experience through the phenomenological approach, and attempts to experience the divination together with the client for a shared experience. He remarks that “experience as lived by real people, never fits perfectly into categories of thought or anthropological and folkloric models,” and “we cannot completely know the experience of another person; we can only understand the expression of their experience, the symbols used to represent life” (2004: 99). He notes that the limitations of knowledge and the understanding of other people’s experiences is gained through what the people say and through what the researcher analyzes as a participant-observer. What distinguishes experience-oriented studies from previous theories in any performance related field is that previous theories point out the limitations of the concept of performance as text as something to be interpreted and to be deciphered rather than as something to be experienced.

Clifford Geertz is a preeminent scholar of culture who views culture as something that is deciphered and interpretable by him. Geertz (1973) conceives culture as “an assemblage of texts.” Titon notes that Geertz has defended a hermeneutics of observation,
“one in which the interpreter deliberately stands outside of and apart from the cultural production that is the object of interpretation” (1995: 438). Along with Geertz, Paul Ricoeur and William Dilthey are representative scholars in the hermeneutic tradition (see Titon 1995; 1997; Cooley 1997; Friedson 1996). Ricoeur and Dilthey attempt to combine hermeneutics and phenomenology by proposing hermeneutic phenomenology, which grounds “knowledge in the world of lived experience” (Titon 1997: 90). Dilthey takes an in-between position between hermeneutics and a lived-experience oriented perspective, and emphasizes “the lived experience in cultural expressions rather than reducing experience to a system of semiotic exchange” (Rajan 1994: 378). Victor Turner argues against text-based hermeneutic approach (Titon 1995: 437). In a similar vein, Jeff Todd Titon (1997) rejects the idea that musical experience is to be textualized, since music is the thing that should be experienced. He argues that ethnomusicologists “participate in the musical life of the people who they observe” (1995: 438). He remarks:

In my view, music is a socially constructed, cultural phenomenon. The various cultural constructions enable people to experience it as patterned sounds, aesthetic objects, ritual substance, even as a thing-in-itself. But to say that music is a culturally constructed phenomenon does not mean that it has no existence in the world, for like everyone I know, I experience my world through my consciousness, and I experience music as a part of my life world (Titon 1997: 92).

Timothy Rice (1997), based on his experience of learning how to play the gaida (Bulgarian bagpipe), supports the idea of a lived-experience. He goes further in asking which aspects of a researcher’s personal experience of “being-in-the-World,” a phrase coined by Heidegger and frequently used for lived experience as seen in Steven Friedson,
Titon, and Rice as well, is useful to understand music. While learning how to play the *gaida*, Rice encountered difficulties in understanding how to produce high-pitched ornaments. They were not explained to him in words, gestures, or musical notations by the Bulgarian players (Rice 1997: 108). After practicing them by himself and listening to slowed down recordings, he finally was able to play the ornaments. Rice proved the limits of a “language-based method and its associated theory of culture,” which Charles Seeger called the “linguocentric predicament” (Rice 1997: 109). From his personal experience, Rice argued for the necessity of mediation between field methods and field experience.

Experiential knowledge opens up new dimensions to the researcher by helping them understand and analyze music, and informing them what he or she cannot gain through established methods in fieldwork. This knowledge can be achieved when scholars ask “how is this musical experience possible, not to ask what is this musical experience” (Friedson 1996: xvi). My experience studying the *changgo* led me to experience what *p’ungmul* performers cannot describe in gesture, notation, or specifically words (Cooley 1997: 108).

1.5.2. Performative Ethnography

Writing ethnography is a performative work. In writing an ethnography, an ethnographer positions him or herself as a fieldworker, performer, cultural broker or any other role. The title of James Clifford’s and George Marcus’s book, *Writing Culture: the Poetics and Politics of Ethnography*, indicates that poetics and politics are involved in
writing an ethnography. Wong points out that “the positioned observer and the located writer” is “no self-indulgence but rather a political necessity” (2004: 7). Friedson (1996) proposes a notion of the ethnography as a possibility, on the ground that it precludes the investigative focus of searching for a fixed reality. He postulates that an ethnography always begins in “the simultaneity and historicality” of the lived experience of fieldwork (1996: 2). Both Wong and Friedson believe that the position and location of the ethnographer in the field should not be disregarded. Placing the ethnographer in the ethnography leads the ethnographer to wander between self and other and subjectivity and objectivity while writing. Chan E. Park remarks that the tradition of ethnographic writing has restricted the personal voice, keeping it at an objective distance, but that there has been a shift to consider it through reflexivity (2003: 16): “reflexivity expresses researchers’ awareness of their necessary connection to the research situation and hence their effects upon it” (Davis 1999: 6).

Throughout this dissertation, I seek to develop a performative ethnography that reflects my personal voice and Korean American p’ungmul practitioners’ voices. I am positioned in my ethnography as a fieldworker, novice performer, Korean, a person who has a family in Canada, and a student who is regarded as having professional knowledge on music by my informants. The fact that my family lives in Canada led my informants to feel comfortable and to talk frankly during interviews. Because they assumed I already knew and understood their hard time as immigrants, they did not want to hide their jobs or work status but told me everything in detail. Those narratives are helpful in
order to see why the performers perform *p’ungmul* in such diverse musical contexts involving various ethnic groups.

Based upon my learning experience, I examine characteristics of Korean music in terms of kinesthetics, aesthetics, and rhythm. Experiential knowledge is crucial when I examine what my informants did not and could not explain, and subsequently it takes an important role in my ethnographic writing. Indeed, the experience of embodiment provides new aspects of analysis and understanding: I was able to transcend the dichotomy between etic and emic.

1.6. Structure and Limits of the Chapters

I initially resided in LA for eight weeks and NYC for six weeks. I visited both regions, particularly NYC, several times after my initial visits to attend important cultural events. The term of my residence was relatively shorter than those of other field researchers; many ethnomusicologists have longer fieldwork experiences, ranging from one year to a few years, if necessary. However, I have attempted to supplement my research through intensive interviews and analyses of workshops, during which I could participate as one of the members.

This dissertation has nine chapters including both the introduction and conclusion. Chapter 2 examines the socio-cultural context of Korean immigrants in the States. I give an overview of the history of Korean emigration to the U.S. and describe the current demographics and general characteristics of Korean immigrant communities. Then, I
specifically look at communities in LA and NYC, and examine the contexts in which
*p’ungmul* is performed in those communities. In Chapter 3, I provide general
background for understanding what *p’ungmul* is. I introduce the terminology of
*p’ungmul* as well as characteristics of *p’ungmul* performance, rhythmic structures, and
notation.

Chapter 4 is divided into two sections: the first section focuses on the history of
*p’ungmul* in Korea and the second one concentrates on the history of *p’ungmul* in the
States. By examining *p’ungmul* in Korea and the U.S., the chapter provides a
comparative study of *p’ungmul* from a historical perspective. Chapter 4 also highlights
the role of Korean political refugees in creating *p’ungmul* groups and voluntary socio-
political organizations during the early stage of *p’ungmul* in the States.

Chapter 5 examines ways that *p’ungmul* is transmitted. I look at various methods
of teaching and learning *p’ungmul* in the U.S. and their cognitive effects on performance
practices. I especially shed light on usages of audio and video recordings as well as files
found on the internet. This chapter supports the idea that ways of transmitting *p’ungmul*
in the U.S. is largely shaped and conditioned by those in Korea. More importantly, these
ways bring about standardized performance practices among performers in the States.

Chapter 6 concerns two performance troupes in NYC—Hanool and Hannoori—and
investigates the means of *p’ungmul* transmission, performance practices, and styles
of each troupe. Hanool and Hannoori largely rely on the ways of learning *p’ungmul* that
I discuss in Chapter 5. Both troupes were influenced by Korean political refugees and
activists when they were founded. However, the troupes now seek their own
performance styles that fit the new performance contexts of NYC.

Chapter 7 is based on my observation of a number of specific cultural events. I
look at four different events during which p’ungmul was performed: chisinbalpki, a
p’ungmul after-party, a Christmas p’ungmul party, and the “Sounds of Korean Soul.”
Each of the events had different purposes and a different audience. In the analysis of the
material in Chapter 7 I analyze how U.S. p’ungmul performers negotiate the concepts of
tradition and adapt their performance practices to the host society.

In Chapter 8, I examine common repertoires, instruments and props for p’ungmul
troupes in the U.S. and also look at different conceptualizations of p’ungmul among U.S.
p’ungmul performers. Particularly, the way in which each of the performance troupes
conceptualizes p’ungmul leads the troupes to have different performance aesthetics. In
Chapter 9, I summarize my observations, interpretations, and analysis. I point out that
p’ungmul in the U.S. is continuously shaped, conditioned and influenced by Korean
ideology, politics, and cultural institutions. At the same time, performance practices and
conceptualizations related to p’ungmul are continuously adapted in ways to fit the
conditions of the host society.

1.7. Significance of the Study

While earlier studies of p’ungmul in the U.S. have acknowledged the influence of
the minjung cultural movement and the use of CDs and DVDs in the transmission of
*p’ungmul* in the U.S. (Kwon, Donna Lee 2001; Bussell 1994), scholars have not yet described how *p’ungmul* transmission has influenced and changed performance practices and aesthetics. By examining performance practices at various cultural events, including the Korean Lunar New Year’s Day, Korean Festival, Christmas party, *p’ungmul* workshops, and annual *p’ungmul* camp, I demonstrate that *p’ungmul* performers in the U.S. adapt the aesthetics of *p’ungmul* to local conditions based on standardized repertoire and performance practices. Additionally, this dissertation will show that the internet and CDs and DVDs from Korea play important roles in the transmission of the traditional performing arts and knowledge about the homeland in the States.

Another novel feature of my dissertation is that I examine how cultural politics and performance styles of Korea continuously affect the cultural practices of *p’ungmul* in the States. Previous studies on *p’ungmul* in the U.S. have listed concerts, master classes and workshops given by Korean masters who were sent by the government. However, the studies ignore the role of the Korean government in motivating and inspiring Korean American practitioners to learn various performance genres. I demonstrate that the Korean government has an important role in stimulating Korean American performers to learn traditional Korean performances by sending various performance troupes to the U.S. since the 1960s. I also examine professional troupes from Korea that have traveled to the U.S. to hold workshops for young practitioners. They enable Korean American practitioners to keep up with the styles currently popular in Korea and to expand their performance repertoires and practices.
Chapter 2

The Socio-Cultural Context of Korean Immigrants in the United States

Korean immigrant communities have been formed in many parts of the world, and the one in the United States is the largest. However, the large influx of Korean immigrants did not occur until the U.S. Immigration Act of 1965. Before the Immigration Act was in effect, the States was not a country to which many Koreans would emigrate. Rather, prospective emigrants went to China, the Russian Empire, and Japan. The most significant reasons to emigrate were associated with socio-political and economic conditions in Korea as well as in other countries in the world. This chapter will examine the circumstances under which Koreans have emigrated to other countries, particularly to the States. I will examine four historical periods to show the distinctive external and internal forces that prompted Koreans to move overseas during these times. The particularly large influx of Koreans into the States after 1965 led to the creation of so-called Koreatowns, commercial and residential centers for Korean immigrants. I will also discuss the kinds of communities that they created once they got there. Because this study concerns p’ungmul performances in LA and NYC, the two largest communities for Korean immigrants in the States, I will examine demographic information about Korean American communities in LA and NYC, both together and separately in order to provide
background information on the particular contexts in which $p \text{'ungmul}$ is performed and transmitted, which I will examine in the following chapters.

2.1. History of Korean Immigration to the U.S.

According to Yoon In-jin (2004), Korean emigration since the mid 19th century can be divided into four phases: 1) 1860-1910; 2) 1910-1945; 3) 1945-1962; and 4) 1962-the present. The first of these phases (1860-1910), the late Chosŏn (조선) dynasty, was characterized by an unstable socio-political situation, and both internal and external forces pushed Koreans to emigrate to other countries. In-jin Yoon (1997) explains that farmers suffered from oppressive taxation. The yangban (양반), a high class of Chosŏn, attempted to appropriate more and more land as a way to extract heavy taxes and rents from farmers during the late Chosŏn period. Additionally, this period included several famines. At the same time, external political powers such as Japan, the United States, and the Russian Empire, as well as China competed with each other to conquer the Korean peninsula. These situations uprooted Korean peasants from their ancestral lands and they moved to other places in search of work and food (Kim, Hyung-chan 1986; Yoon, In-jin 1997). A severe nationwide famine and drought in 1901 made socio-economic conditions worse, further accelerating the flow of Koreans into other countries. Vast numbers of Koreans fled to two neighboring countries, China and the Russian

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12 During the late Chosŏn period, the yangban class owned large amounts of land and farmers would rent some portion of the land in order to make a living for themselves.
Empire, seeking opportunities to work and farm new lands. Many of them settled in Manchuria in China and Siberia in the Russian Empire and established farms there.

At that time, Hawaii businessmen were recruiting laborers from many parts of the world, mostly from China and Japan. Many Chinese laborers had come to Hawaiian sugar plantation camps by 1886, though there had been no marked Chinese emigration to the States due to anti-Chinese legislation, such as the Chinese Exclusion Act of 1882, which restricted the number of Chinese workers allowed to enter Hawaii. Thus, the Hawaiian landlords recruited Japanese laborers and Japanese comprised 80 percent of the plantation workers at the turn of the 20th century. As Japanese laborers outnumbered those from any other ethnic group, they began to engage in strikes and many of them left Hawaii for other parts of California seeking better work conditions and higher compensation. To fill the ensuing labor shortage, Hawaiian businessmen began recruiting Korean laborers (Yoon, In-jin 1997: 51).

Horace Allen initiated the idea of sending Korean laborers to Hawaii. He came to Korea in 1884 as a Presbyterian medical missionary and had strong political ties with Kojong, the Korean King. Although there is evidence that some Koreans had already migrated to Hawaii by the late 19th century (Patterson 1988), a large number of Korean immigrants to Hawaii was first officially documented in 1903. The number, 103 Koreans, was much smaller than the number to settle in China and the Russian Empire during this period, but between 1903 and 1905 approximately 7,000 Koreans came to Hawaii. Korean laborers in Hawaii sometimes moved from one plantation to another and the majority of Korean immigrants in Hawaii were sojourners who planned to return to
home as soon as they made enough money (Yoon, In-jin 2004; Min, Pyong Gap 2006; Patterson 2000). Many of them came from urban Korea and had Protestant church backgrounds, which contrasted strongly with other immigrant groups from China and Japan who were from rural areas that had few Protestant influences (Patterson 1988; Min, Pyong Gap 2006).

In addition to the economic reasons for migration to Hawaii, Bong Youn Choy (1979) and Pyong Gap Min (2006) point out that Koreans who converted to Christianity came to Hawaii for religious freedom. It is noteworthy that approximately 40 percent of Korean emigrants to Hawaii were already Christians in Korea because American missionaries were involved in sending members of their Korean congregations to Hawaii (Avakian 2002: 76). Indeed, the majority of Korean laborers in Hawaii joined the Korean Christian churches there, which became key centers for social interactions with other Koreans (Choy, Bong Youn 1979; Min, Pyong Gap 2004).

Even after this, Korean churches in the States have continued to play important roles in educational and cultural

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13 Yi Tŏk-hŭi points out that two thousand Koreans in Hawaii had re-migrated to the mainland of the U.S. and one thousand Koreans had returned to Korea by 1910 (2002: 15)
14 According to Chunghee Sarah Soh (1995: 845), the first Korean Christian church began in 1784, when scholars from the school of practical learning (Silhak 실학) gathered together and founded a congregation of Catholics. She notes that the church began to grow, but the Chosŏn government persecuted Korean Christians and foreign missionaries, as the church banned the ancestor worship that was one of the core Confucian practices. She also points out that Protestants were first known in Korea in 1884 when Horace Allen came to Korea. Korean Christianity has been closely associated with socio-political issues since its introduction to Korea. Many churches in Korea and the States participated in mobilization for the Korean independence movement from Japan (Kim Ch’án-hŭi 2003: 163) and many pastors and church leaders played important roles in the minjung cultural movement which I discuss in elsewhere in Chapter 4.
15 As soon as Korean laborers came to Hawaii in 1903, they founded the Korean Evangelical Society which was later renamed the Korean Methodist Church in 1905. The Korean Methodist Church was the first Korean church in Hawaii.
activities as a means to maintain Korean cultural practices as well as to help congregants to adapt to the host society, a trend which I will discuss later in this chapter.

In his book, *Ilse*, Wayne Patterson (2000) gives detailed documentations of the first generation of Korean immigrants to Hawaii, and notes that among the adult immigrants during this period only 10 percent were women. This situation brought about the “picture-bride” phenomenon. The term “picture-bride,” or “picture marriage” (*sajin kyŏlhon 사진결혼*) is derived from the exchange of photographs between the prospective bride and groom. After a groom paid an appropriate fee to an intermediary, the bride would come to Hawaii. Between 1910 and 1924, more than 800 picture brides came to Hawaii and more than 100 to the mainland, especially to San Francisco, Los Angeles, Sacramento, and Portland, Oregon (Choy, Bong Youn 1979: 138). Some of the picture brides helped their husbands in the fields, while others served meals for Korean workers.

Since the Sino-Japanese War (1894-1895) Japan had attempted to increase its political and economic influence in Korea. With the 1904 *Treaty of Protection* and the end of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), Japan significantly increased its control over Korea. It was on this background that, in 1905 the flow of Korean plantation workers to Hawaii suddenly halted. The Japanese government began to consider the Korean immigrants as a threat to Japanese nationals abroad (Cho, Sue-Jean 2007: 35). Striking Japanese workers were afraid that Hawaiian businessmen would simply continue to bring in more Koreans to replace the Japanese, reducing their bargaining power (Kim, Hyung-chan 1986: 16).
Japan annexed the Korean peninsula from 1910 to 1945, the second period of Korean emigration. This period brought another exodus of Koreans to China and the Russian Empire. In addition, Japanese colonial powers drastically increased forced migration to Japan, as Koreans were compulsorily involved in the Manchurian Incident\textsuperscript{16} and the Pacific War. Moreover, Koreans in the Russian Empire were deported from Sahalin to further west to areas such as Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan by Stalin’s government. Compared with the emigration to China and the Russian Empire, the amount of emigration to the States was still small during this second period. At this time, 541 Koreans came to the U.S. for their studies (Yoon In-jin 2004; Houchins and Houchins 1974). Many students joined existing local Korean associations in the States and played active roles to lead mobilization for Korean independence, including Rhee Syngman, Ahn Ch’ang-ho and Sŏ Chae-p’il.\textsuperscript{17}

The third period (1945-1962) began when Korea gained independence from Japan on August 15, 1945, with the end of World War II. Soon after, Korea was divided into two political entities across the 38th parallel: the northern part came under the influence of the Soviet Union and the southern part of the States. Different political ideologies developed during the Korean War (1950-1953). Pyong Gap Min (2006) argues that

\textsuperscript{16} The Manchurian Incident, also known as Mukden Incident, occurred in 1931 when Japan made an attempt to invade the northern part of China, Manchuria, and to found a logistics base for the Japanese army in the area. Japan intentionally installed a small quantity of dynamite close to a railroad owned by Japan’s South Manchuria Railway near Mukden. When the dynamite exploded, Japan accused China and reacted with the invasion that led to the occupation of Manchuria.

\textsuperscript{17} Rhee Syngman was a president of the Korean Provisional Government and became the first president of Republic of Korea (1949-1960) until he resigned due to a falsified election. He received the Ph.D degree in theology from Princeton University. While he was in the U.S., he led Korean independence movements.
strong historical, political, and economic U.S.-Korean relations greatly increased Korean emigration to the States in this period. In particular, the wives of U.S. servicemen, adoptees, and orphans came to the U.S. after the Korean War. Wives of American citizens comprised 45% of all admitted Korean immigrants to the U.S. between 1951 and 1964 (Min, Pyong Gap 2006). Their number was over 100,000 by 2000 (Yoon In-jin 2004). Additionally, approximately 6,000 Korean students came to the U.S. for studies between 1945 and 1965 and many of them settled permanently in the U.S. after completing their studies.

The most recent period of Korean immigration (1962 to present) has been marked by a Korean emigration policy that took in effect in 1962. The purpose of the policy was to earn foreign currency but also to intentionally decrease the exploding population after the Korean War by sending Koreans abroad. Since 1962, the States has become one of the major countries of destination for Korean emigration. There are two important reasons that Koreans have been coming to the U.S. en masse. The first reason was the new U.S. Immigration Act of 1965, which took full effect in 1968. It is considered to be one of the most liberal immigration laws in the world, called the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 (Min, Pyong Gap 2006). The law did away with the national origins quota system, instead giving preference to families and siblings of those that already lived in the U.S. and workers with needed skills (Park, Kyeyong 1997: 13). It enabled increasing numbers of Koreans as well as other Asian emigrants to come to the States. Wives of servicemen and students invited their family members to join them in the U.S. for permanent residence. Also, a large number of doctors and guest nurses were

18 Koreans also prefer to emigrate to Canada, New Zealand and Australia.
admitted to the U.S. because at the time, the U.S. was suffering from a shortage of doctors and nurses. Accordingly, the U.S government admitted a number of nurses, doctors, pharmacists, and dentists from the Philippines, India, and Korea (Park, Kyeyoung 1997; Min, Pyong Gap 2006; Yoon In-jin 2004). Approximately 3,000 doctors, 2,500 nurses, 800 pharmacists, and 100 dentists came to the U.S. between 1965 and 1973, most coming directly from Korea and some working in Germany before coming to the U.S. (Kim, Ilsoo 1981: 148).

The second reason for Korean emigration was the soaring unemployment rate in Korea between the late 1960s and the late 1970s. The Korean government sought rapid economic growth, but the economic environment remained somewhat unstable in post-war Korea and the job market for the highly-educated was still poor. The rate of unemployment among college graduates was 28% (Yoon In-jin 2004). Koreans sought stable jobs abroad and the Korean government even encouraged highly-educated citizens to emigrate to the States from the middle to the end of the 1970s in order to reduce the extreme unemployment rate.

The flow of Koreans to the U.S. reached its peak in the latter half of the 1980s and at the time Korea was the country sending the third largest number of immigrants to the States, next to Mexico and the Philippines (Min, Pyong Gap 2006: 232). By the end of the 1980s, Koreans came to the U.S. for more secure lives, better economic opportunities, and better living circumstances. However, since the early 1990s, Koreans’ purposes and reasons for emigration to the U.S. have changed and more Koreans now
come to the U.S. for better educational opportunities for their children (Min, Pyong Gap 2006; Yoon In-jin 2004).

2.2. Current Demographics and Characteristics of the Korean American Community

There are 1,228,427 Korean emigrants in the U.S. according to the U.S. Population Census 2000. Counting temporary Korean visitors such as students and workers, there are currently 2,100,000 Koreans in the States, according to the statistics provided by Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade in Korea in 2001 (Yoon In-jin 2004). Both sets of census results tell us that the U.S. has the largest overseas Korean population in the world. The most preferred state for Korean Americans in the U.S. is California followed by New York, which is similar to other Asian ethnic groups’ settlement patterns.\textsuperscript{19} The U.S. census from 2000 showed that approximately 32\% (346,000) of Korean Americans reside in California and 11\% (120,000) in New York. The remaining top ten states with a large Korean population are New Jersey (6.1\%), Illinois (4.8\%), Washington (4.4\%), Texas (4.2\%), Virginia (4.2\%), Maryland (3.6\%), Pennsylvania (2.9\%), and Hawaii (2.2\%). Among them, New Jersey has had one of the most dramatic increases in its Korean American population, increasing by 70\% between 1990 and 2000 (Min, Pyong Gap 2006), because it is close to New York and provides better education.

\textsuperscript{19} In regards to a residential pattern of Asian Americans, more than one third of Asian Americans reside in California, which is the largest state for Asian American population with New York as the second largest state (Min, Pyong Gap 2006: 35-36).
environments for children and better and safer living environments than New York. Three-fourths of all Korean Americans reside in one of those ten States.

96% of Koreans live in Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Areas (CMSA) (Yoon In-jin 2004; Yu, Eui-young 2003). The term, coined by the Census Bureau, refers to an area that comprises two or more interlocking urban communities with populations of at least one million. Pyong Gap Min (2006) notes that almost 60% of Korean Americans live in six CMSAs: LA, NYC, Washington D.C., San Francisco, Chicago and Seattle, in order of population. Among the CMSAs, the LA CMSA (covering Los Angeles, Riverside, Orange, San Bernardino and Ventura counties) is the largest commercial and residential area for Koreans in the U.S.: approximately one out of four Koreans (257,975) in the U.S. lives in this area. The LA CMSA also comprises the largest Korean community outside of Korea in the world. The second largest CMSA is NY CMSA, which covers the New York, New Jersey, and Long Island areas, and 15.83% of Koreans in the U.S. live in this area. That is, approximately 45% of Koreans Americans in the U.S. reside in the LA and NY CMSAs. I found the concept of CMSA to be very useful for my study because the CMSA areas are tightly interlocked with each other both geographically and culturally and many p’ungmul practitioners and troupes perform based on those CMSA areas. For example, the group Hannoori, which I will discuss in chapter 6, has a rehearsal room in New Jersey. However, the performers live in New York as well as New Jersey and Hannoori often performs together with performance troupes in New York. Thus, Hannoori is a performance troupe based in the NYC CMSA while the specific location of its rehearsal space in New Jersey. Due to
geographical proximity, it is difficult to differentiate *p’ungmul* practitioners in New York from those New Jersey, or New York City from any of the other cities in New Jersey. Each CMSA, then, reflects a culturally inseparable unit. In this vein, throughout this dissertation, when I refer to LA and NYC, I will be referring to the concept of the entire LA and NYC CMSAs.

This large community of immigrants has come together to form its own residential and commercial centers, or so-called the ethnic enclaves.²⁰ Ethnic enclaves for Koreans immigrants in the States are called Koreatowns. In the Koreatowns in LA and NYC there are a number of Korean grocery stores, restaurants, bookstores, clinics, travel agencies, insurance companies, Korean bank branches, hotels, and companies Korean Americans run. Particularly, there is a saying that the LA Koreatown is just like a part of Korea, or “the Korean capital of the United States,” a statement that reflects both its large Korean population and variety of convenient facilities (Kibria 2002: 19).

Koreans in such Koreatowns can obtain commercial goods from Korea very easily and conveniently due to developments in transportation and technology. This level of comfort and convenience attracts more and more newly emigrated Koreans to settle in or nearby Koreatowns. Generally speaking, ethnic enclaves like Chinatown, Little Italy, Little Tokyo, and Little India are sources of imported goods, which come directly from home countries, and services for the ethnic population. Also, the centers create many job opportunities for those who have little English fluency, which particularly attracts many newly emigrated people. Many immigrants who cannot speak English make their living

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²⁰ Refer to Chapter 1 for a more detailed discussion of the term ethnic enclave.
mostly in the ethnic oriented businesses that are run by the same ethnic group.\textsuperscript{21}  
Additionally, newly emigrated people find strong moral and emotional support and feel more comfortable with members of their ethnic group because of their shared cultural practices and languages and from common facilities.

Korean religious organizations are also concentrated in LA and NY. An article in the \textit{Korea Times} in San Francisco from Dec, 1, 2006 estimates that there are 3,711 Korean Protestant churches in the States: 1,136 in California, 389 in New York, and 198 in New Jersey. As in past eras, Korean churches play an important role in helping recent immigrants adjust to the new environment of the States. Qualitative research conducted by Pyong Gap Min estimates that as many as 79 percent of Korean Americans attend Korean church (Min, Pyong Gap 2000). He suggests that the reason for the high rate of attendance is that Korean churches help Koreans to adjust in the new country by providing various services and maintaining a “fellowship and friendship network” and “cultural tradition” (Min, Pyong Gap 2001: 186-187). For example, many Korean churches in the U.S. help newcomers, either immigrants or students/workers, by providing information about housing, businesses, giving rides and so forth. Also, Korean churches offer Korean language programs to teach cultural practices as well as the mother tongue for young Korean Americans\textsuperscript{22} and church members celebrate Korean holidays such as the Korean Lunar New Year and Korean Thanksgiving Day. For the holidays, Korean churches provide traditional food according to the holiday: rice cake

\textsuperscript{21} Some of them establish their own businesses when they have enough capital. Particularly, Korean Americans show a high rate of self-employment in residential and commercial centers.
\textsuperscript{22} Some churches also provide after-school programs that teach topics such as SAT preparation, Western instruments like violin and piano, ballet, and Korean dance and arts for their members.
soup (ttŏkkuk 떡국) for the Korean Lunar New Year and half-moon-shaped rice cakes stuffed with beans and flavored with pine needles (songp’yŏn 송편) for Korean Thanksgiving Day, respectively.

Furthermore, the Korean American communities in NYC and LA have their own news sources and there are various Korean language daily newspapers, including, to name a few, Hankuk ilbo (한국일보), Choongang ilbo (중앙일보) and Segye ilbo (세계일보). The dailies offer news about Korean communities in each region and the larger U.S. society as well as news about Korea. Also, they include classified advertisements concerning real estate, cars, jobs, after-school programs, religious services and so forth. All of the newspapers are branches of major news organizations in Korea and provide internet versions as well. In addition, there are Korean language TV and radio stations in LA and NYC. Some of them air programs 24 hours a day while others broadcast only a few hours a day. The TV stations air videotaped TV dramas and entertainment shows from Korea and provide news from the Korean Broadcasting Station (KBS) in Seoul. Also, the stations air advertisements for cultural events, cars, local stores and shops in LA and NYC that Korean immigrants run. When I watched one of Korean channels in LA, I found an advertisement for Chrysler and Ford which included a cast of Korean immigrants and used the Korean language. The advertisement not only shows the large size of the Korean immigrant communities but also demonstrates how easily and conveniently Korean Americans are able to obtain information in the Korean language from the media. Unlike Korean television, the Korean radio programs focus on providing regional news and various types of practical information for Korean
immigrants on such topics as immigration laws, taxes, and real estate. Because TV stations mostly rebroadcast programs from Korea, regional news and information is limited. In addition, there are various regional internet portal services created by Korean immigrants, including Missy USA, Hey Koreans, and the internet version of Radio Korea, which provide not only regional news, but life information, such as useful tips on U.S. culture and English expressions. Those websites enable Korean immigrants anywhere in the States to obtain information about the larger host society. In other words, Korean Americans have many resources to obtain information and news about their host society even without English proficiency.

Korean Americans have many ways to stay connected with Korean entertainment media as well. In grocery stores and Korean video shops, people are able to rent DVDs and videotapes of shows, soap operas, and movies that are currently on the air in Korea. Installing a satellite dish is another way to watch TV programs from Korea, including programs from major stations (the Korean Broadcasting Station, Seoul Broadcasting Staion and Munhwa Broadcasting Station) as well as from cable stations (Yŏnhap Television News and Christian Broadcasting Station). Also, many Korean Americans can easily go online and download and watch all kinds of TV programs and movies from Korea. Today’s Korean immigrants can easily read current news through Korean internet portal services such as Yahoo Korea, Naver and Daum and access the internet version of major dailies in Korea by just clicking. Korean immigrants might catch up on news about politics, the economy, and popular culture in Korea with no time difference even when they are no longer in Korea.
There are relatively few studies concerning media use by Korean immigrants in the States. David Oh, “Ethnic Identity and Transnational Media: the Relationship Between Second Generation Korean American Adolescent Ethnic Identity and Transnational Korean Film,” counted only two published articles on the topic at the time of writing his dissertation: Kapson Yim Lee (2004) and Minu Lee and ChongHeup Cho (2003). I add a study by Pyong Gap Min (2001) to his count. All three of these studies argue that Korean media use facilitates keeping ethnic attachment and solidarity. Pyong Gap Min (2001), one of the pioneers in studies about Korean Americans, examines each of the different newspapers and television and radio stations in New York. He asserts that while the “monolingual background of Koreans” and the “extensive development” of the Korean media in the U.S. contributes to stronger ethnic attachment, it prevents Korean immigrants from assimilating to the larger society (2001: 195). Like Pyong Gap Min, Kapson Yim Lee Lee (2004) also demonstrates that Korean satellite TV strengthens the viewers’ attachment to their Korean identity.

Whether Korean media use helps Korean immigrants to maintain their ethnic identities or to assimilate to the larger society through offering information about current Korea or the host society, I would put an emphasis on the fact that Korean media use enables immigrants to keep up-to-date on information about the homeland. To be sure, it was possible to hear about the homeland after leaving even in the past as well. However, contemporary immigrants obtain news more instantly and intensely. For example, in the past, Korean daily papers in the States would photocopy each issue after it was airmailed from the headquarters in Seoul, and thus the dailies in the States included news about
Korea a few days after it happened (Min, Pyong Gap 2001: 188). Anita Mannur, in the article “Postscript: Cyberscapes and the Interfacing of Diasporas,” describes some of the results of this new era in information transmission:

We are in an era of technospheric space, where dislocated geographical points merge and re-pollinate one another in virtual realms (such as online bulletin boards). As we move from paradigms of geosphere to infosphere, the boundaries of nation and diaspora begin to traverse, retraverse, inform, and deform one another. Ultimately, the movement of capital across diasporic/national divides creates a liminal territory that is neither here nor there but not exactly separate from either domain (Mannur 2006: 283).

Although Mannur speaks of the internet, she describes how media in general enables one to transcend geographical boundaries at any time. Thus, the contemporary immigrant’s life is potentially much more deeply connected with the homeland than before due to the development of technology. Accordingly, current immigrants might have more opportunities to be continuously influenced by the homeland’s economy, politics, and culture. P’ungmul practices in the U.S. illustrate that the ways that Korean Americans transmit Korean cultural practices has been strongly influenced by the current cultural policies that shape cultural institutions and practices in Korea, even while those practices are being transmitted into the larger host society. Following this line of thought, in the next section, I will examine the characteristics of Korean residential and commercial centers in LA and NYC and the role of the Korean Cultural Center/Korean Cultural Service, which is supervised by Ministry of Culture, Tourism and Sports in Korea, in promoting and introducing Korean cultural practices to the host society.

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23 See Chapter 4 for the current Korean cultural politics such as the Important Intangible Cultural Asset.
2.3. Korean American Community in LA

Although the Immigration Act of 1965 brought many Asians to settle in LA, the city with the largest Asian population, before 1965, NY had the largest Asian population. Along with immigrants of Asian origin, LA has a variety of other ethnic groups, particularly Hispanics from Mexico. Pyong Gap Min describes LA as the “capital” of Korean America (1995: 940). LA has a Koreatown. Koreatown in LA is located three miles west of downtown Los Angeles and covers approximately 25 square miles. Olympic Market at the corner of Olympic Blvd. and Hobart Street was established in 1969 and thereafter many other Korean related businesses opened along Olympic Blvd. (Min, Pyong Gap 1995:941). Pyong Gap Min (2006), based on Eui-Young Yu and his associate’s analysis, illustrates the geographical and demographic characteristics of LA’s Koreatown:

Based on the 2001-2002 Korean Yellow Pages, Yu and his associates (2004) analyzed major Korean businesses located in Koreatown. They located 34 Korean bookstores, 116 travel agencies, 193 law firms, 184 accounting firms, 410 medical offices, 204 accupuncture/herbal medicine offices, and 41 night clubs/bars in Koreatown. They also found that 41 of 66 Korean community service centers, 162 of 307 Korean associations, 37 of 67 Korean bank branches, and 23 of 32 Korean Buddhist temples were located in Koreatown (Min, Pyong Gap 2006:236).

Those descriptions are helpful in showing the size of Koreatown in LA. There is also a Korean movie theater in LA, which shows Korean movies as well as foreign movies with Korean subtitles, and another one was being constructed by CJ, one of the big three entertainment enterprises in Korea, when I was in LA for my field research.
The enormous size of LA Koreatown is also evidenced by the annual Korean American Festival. For my preliminary fieldwork, I observed the LA Korean Festival, which was held from September 21 to 24, 2006 in LA. The festival is hosted by Korea Times (Hankuk ilbo 한국일보) in LA and by the Korean Festival Foundation (Hanin ch’ukje chaedan 한인 축제 재단). The 2006 festival celebrated the 33rd anniversary of the festival and the foundation of Korean American Day in LA. It included a parade lasting three hours. During the parade, Korean traditional dance and music performing groups, Korean enterprises, social associations, alliances of businesses, churches, and various p’ungmul groups marched along the street. Aside from the parade, the festivals had over 100 food and merchandise booths. Also, there were a variety of carnival rides such as merry-go-rounds. The number and variety of commercial booths illustrate that LA Koreatown has an abundance of Korean products, commodities, and artifacts. There were various performance groups from LA and Korea on the main stage.

Figure 2.1. A percussion performance group from Korea on the main stage
Figure 2.2. Carnival rides behind the main stage

Figure 2.3. Commercial booths around the main stage
The existence of Korean culture-related associations that are operated by the Korean government is another indicator of the size of Korean immigrant communities. There are two associations operated by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of South Korea in the U.S.: one is in LA, and the other is in NY. The Korea Cultural Center (KCC) in LA, located at 5505 Wilshire Blvd., sponsors Korean language programs, field trips, workshops, fine-art exhibitions and many other activities. It includes a library, auditorium, museum, art gallery and film archive, and theatre. The website of KCC states its mission:

(…) the Korean Cultural Center welcomes the general public to experience the rich traditions and history of Korea through specialized programs, sponsored events, and multiple learning resources. (…) the Korean Cultural Center is dedicated to providing insights into rich cultural heritage of Korea. We encourage everyone to visit and learn something new about a nation with a history spanning more than 5,000 years.  

The KCC also supports various types of Korean performing arts. Local performance troupes and performers as well as masters from Korea have given performances at the auditorium under the auspices of the KCC. *P’ungmul* performances have been staged at the KCC auditorium as a part of a monthly concert series of traditional Korean performing arts.

The performing arts sponsored and hosted by the KCC include not only court music and dance but also folk and contemporary popular genres. However, Ahn Ji-won argues that the KCC’s program promotes a particular cultural agenda beyond simply promoting Korean culture:

[The] KCC promotes mainly high classical culture as Korean national culture, presenting very conventional and standardized images of “Korea” and the “Korean culture” used at KCC functions as a superficial, touristic and propagandistic instrument that caters mainly to the aesthetic pleasure and stereotypical ideas of white audiences in Los Angeles. Furthermore, considering the complicated class configuration of the Korean American community with which KCC inevitably gets involved, the KCC’s cultural legitimization of only one type of culture and its exclusion of all others becomes more questionable (2003: 163).

Based on my own research, however, I found out that her argument that the KCC promotes an outdated and stereotyped version of Korean culture is based on somewhat out-of-date information and data. When I visited the KCC during my fieldwork in the spring of 2007, the KCC building was also being used by the Korea Center Los Angeles that collaborates with the KCC in LA, the Korea Tourism Organization in Korea, and the Korean Culture and Content Agency in Korea. The Korea Center Los Angeles promotes contemporary Korean popular culture and distributes various brochures that introduce Korean popular drama, film, and music. I was able to gather those materials easily at the entrance to the first floor of KCC. It seems, then, that the KCC currently makes an effort to present and introduce contemporary Korean culture as well as traditional culture in the U.S., as shown in its collaboration with the Korea Center Los Angeles. In this vein, the KCC hosted a B-Boy performance called “Battle Tactics,” on July 31th, 2009. The term B-Boy refers to a male dancer, or a group of male dancers, who perform break-dance and hip-hop style dance. As B-Boy performances have gained extensive popularity among teenagers and young adults in Korea since the mid 2000s, different samulnori troupes have attempted to perform with B-Boy performers in Korea.
Figure 2.4. The building of the Korea Center in LA
Figure 2.5. *P’ungmul* instruments displayed at the Korean Cultural Center of the Korea Center in LA

2.4. The Korean American Community in NYC

The NYC CMSA that covers the New York-New Jersey-Long Island area is the second largest area that Korean Americans reside in. There are 170,509 Korean Americans in that area, according to the U.S. Census from 2000. Like LA’s Koreatown, NY has a residential and commercial center for Korean immigrants in Flushing, Queens. More than 70% of Korean Americans who live in New York’s central city, approximately 87,000, reside in the borough of Queens, with 25% in Flushing (Min, Pyong Gap 2006: 237). Korean business, organizations, and associations have been established along
Union and Roosevelt Street. Kyeyong Park (1999), in her book, *The Korean American Dream*, notes that many Korean Americans in Queens live along the number 7 subway route from Sunnyside and Woodside through Elmhurst, Jackson Heights, and Corona to Flushing. Indeed, a number of Korean immigrant-run stores have been established in this area. In particular, there are numerous Korean businesses along Union Street between 35th Ave. and 41st Ave. and the 25 blocks along Northern Blvd. and Bell Blvd. (Min, Pyong-gap 2006: 237). The following paragraph describes how many Korean-related businesses are concentrated in Flushing:

In late March 2005, I, along with Young Oak, counted Korean businesses in the Korean business district in Flushing, basing our counts on Korean commercial signs. We counted 405 in the heart of the Korean business district along Union Street and on avenues one or two blocks west and east of Union Street. All served primarily Korean customers with distinctive Korean cultural products. Considered the capital of the Korean community in New York City, the Korean business district in Flushing and the adjacent area house a number of offices of Korean cultural and social organizations. These include the Council of Korean Churches of Greater New York, (Korean) YWCA, the Korean American Family Service Center, Korean Youth Center, and a few Korean elderly centers. I counted another 240 Korean businesses along Northern Boulevard, covering about thirty blocks between Farrington Street and 165th Street. Korean-owned stores on Northern Boulevard stretch further eastward fifty-five more blocks to 220th Street in Bayside. On Northern Boulevard between 166th Street and 220th Street were another 220 Korean stores. The total number of Korean ethnic businesses geared to Koreans in the larger Flushing-Bayside Korean enclave include restaurants, grocery stores, drinking places, beauty salons and barber shops, and many semi-professional and professional businesses (Min, Pyong Gap 2008: 20).

The Korean district in Flushing is distinguishable from other parts of Flushing because of its Korean language signs.
In addition to Flushing in New York, Fort Lee and Palisades Park in New Jersey represent suburban concentrated residential areas for Korean immigrants. There are 130 Korean stores in the Fort Lee downtown and 120 in Palisade Park (Min, Pyong-gap 2006: 237). Those two areas are close to New York and a number of Korean Americans commute from New Jersey to New York. In particular, Korean Americans who want better living conditions and educational opportunity for their children often choose to live in New Jersey.

Additionally, there is Korea Way on 32nd Street between Fifth Ave and Broadway in Manhattan. It is across from Macy’s department store and one block behind the Empire State Building, one of the most popular sites for New York tourists. In this commercially concentrated area are located along Korea Way, Korean-related facilities such as hair salons, Korean bank branches, restaurants, grocery stores, small department stores, bookstores, language schools, and churches.

There is an annual Korean Parade on the first Saturday of October along Broadway. The Parade has been organized and hosted by Hankook ilbo in NY, as with the Korean Festival and the Korean Parade in LA, since 1980. While the Korean parade in LA has a limited number of other ethnic groups who attend, the parade in NYC is open to the general public from different cultural backgrounds. This difference is because the parade in LA is held along Olympic Blvd. which is inside Koreatown territory, while the parade in NY is held along Broadway Street, particularly between 32th Street and 24th Street. Because Korea Way is at the intersection with Broadway, large numbers of tourists who have not planned to see the Korean parade in NYC have the opportunity to
observe it. As seen with the parades in LA, a variety of Korean American associations, churches, community organizations, Korean bank branches, companies, and performing arts clubs have a procession through the street. During the parade, the street is partially blocked.

The Korean Cultural Service (KCS) is also located at 460 Park Ave. in Manhattan, which is operated by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Korea. Its function and role are similar to those of the Korean Cultural Center in LA. The KCS has a library, gallery and audiovisual room. In addition to Korean art exhibitions and film screenings, the KCS sponsors and hosts various Korean performing arts events in NYC and also supports workshops of Korean traditional performances. Since it is operated by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of Korea, the KCS actively takes part in promoting Korean masters’ performances and workshops in New York. In regards to p’ungmul and samulnori, the KCS has financially supported the Korean percussion music ensemble, led by Yuk Sang-min, at Wesleyan University for a few years. The KCS has also financially supported several of the p’ungmul groups who took part in the Korean parade in Manhattan and it had purchased p’ungmul instruments for p’ungmul groups in NYC. Also, it sponsored some p’ungmul practitioners when they visited Korea in order to learn p’ungmul from Korean masters. Additionally, the KCS collaborated to host a samulnori workshop with the National Korean Traditional Performing Arts Center of Korea in NYC in 2007.
Figure 2.6. Korean-related businesses in Flushing

Figure 2.7. Korean Cultural Service in NYC
As almost half of Korean immigrants reside in either in LA or NY, these areas have become two of the largest commercial and residential centers for Korean immigrants and for practicing performance groups, including *p’ungmul* troupes. In the following chapters, I will examine *p’ungmul* in Korean American communities in LA and NYC.
Chapter 3

An Introduction to P'ungmul

P'ungmul is a Korean genre of music and dance performed by an ensemble consisting of percussion and wind instruments. The percussion includes small gongs (kkwaenggwaris 쎽과리), large gongs (ching-s 정), barrel drums (puk-s 북), hour-glass shaped drums (changgo-s 장고), and small drums (sogo-s 소고) and the wind instruments are conical wooden oboes (t'aep'yŏngso-s 태평소) and long end-blown trumpets (nabal-s 나발). While playing their instruments, performers exhibit acrobatics and dance movements. Actors and flags often accompany a p'ungmul ensemble. P'ungmul is one of the most popular genres among traditional folk performances in contemporary Korea. Traditionally, p'ungmul was an inseparable part of events related to work, ritual, fund-raising and entertainment activities. It involved communal participatory events where there were few distinctions between performers and onlookers, who would dance along and play instruments. Today, many of the earlier roles of p 'ungmul bands have disappeared as the performance genre suffered during the Japanese occupation, Korean War, rapid Westernization and modernization.
I will first elaborate on various terms used to describe p’ungmul. Most of the terms denote different performance contexts for p’ungmul. Then, musical instruments and other elements of a p’ungmul performance and the rhythmic structures of p’ungmul will be examined. I narrate my personal changgo learning experiences in LA as a way to show how I acquired the complex rhythmic patterns. Lastly, I will introduce widely used p’ungmul notation systems.

3.1. Terminology and Regional Divisions of P’ungmul Styles

There are different local terms that are in use for p’ungmul: “maekut (매굿),” “p’ungjang (풍장),” “turegut (두례굿),” “kölngung (겔꽁),” “kollip (겔립),” “kŭmgо (꽁고)” and “p’an’gut (판굿).” Maekut is employed, particularly on Lunar New Year’s Eve, as a way to invoke prosperity, wealth, and freedom from disease. P’ungjang and turegut are performed while working, in order to enhance work efficiency and amuse workers. Although the term “kölngung” has been recently applied to paid bands (Howard 1999), it implies palace connections and during the Chosŏn dynasty it had a role “to train farmers as a kind of reserve force” (Howard 1987: 32). The term “kollip,” literally meaning grain-begging, relates to performances that collected money for village projects such as building a bridge. The term “kŭmgо” also denotes p’ungmul and is derived from p’ungmul instrumentation which consists of kŭm (an idiophone 금 literally meaning metal) and ko (a membranophone 고 literally meaning skin). P’an’gut indicates an event that comes after ritual, work, or fund-raising activities.
All these terms for *p’ungmul* are used along with the term “*nongak* (농악).”

During the Japanese colonial period, the term “*nongak*” replaced all other terms used to refer to the performance genre and was widely used among *p’ungmul* practitioners as well as in scholarly works. However, the term “*nongak*” has been gradually replaced by *p’ungmul* since the mid-1980s. This happened because the origin of the term is connected with the Japanese colonial period, when the Japanese intentionally referred to the performance genre as *nongak*, literally meaning farmers’ music, as a way to denigrate and abolish traditional Korean cultural practices. Chŏng Pyŏng-ho (1986) argues that the term *nongak* first appeared in *Purakje (부락제)*, a written document about Korean folk practices and performing arts which was published in Japan in 1936. Other scholars, however, claim that it was first introduced in *Chosŏn-ui yŏnjung haengsa (조선의 연중 행사)* in 1931 (Hesselink 2006; Kim Chŏng-hŏn 2009). Kim U-hyŏn (1984) suggests that the term *nongak* was initially used at the *Wŏn’gaksa* (원각사), the first national theatre founded in 1902 where various forms of performances were staged. However, he does not offer a date when the term was first used. Despite the debates over the first appearance of the term, all these arguments agree that the term “*nongak*” was created under Japanese colonial rule. Keith Howard (1990) suggests the possibility of even earlier usage of the term “*nongak*” dating from the 1870s. Kim Chŏng-hŏn (2009) argues that the term “*nongak*,” used to signify an ensemble consisting of *kkwaenggwari*, *changgo*, *ching* and *puk*, was introduced during the late 19th century. He points out terms like “*maekui (매귀)*,” “*kŏlgung*,” “*kŏllip*,” “*nongak*” and “*p’ungmul*” were used...
during the 1920s but that usages of the term “nongak” outnumbered the other terms starting in the 1930s.\(^{25}\)

Although the term “nongak” has been replaced by the term “p’ungmul,” practitioners from the older generations still refer to the performance genre as nongak. In addition, the Korean government has kept the term “nongak” when designating the performance genre as an Important Intangible Cultural Asset, or City/Province Intangible Cultural Asset. Currently, all designated cultural assets that involve percussion music and dance make use of the term “nongak” instead of “p’ungmul.”

Nevertheless, I use the term “p’ungmul” to indicate this genre of percussion music and dance throughout this dissertation. This is because the term “nongak” is limited to music and does not encompass the dance and chapasaek’s (actors) theatre aspects of the performance. Additionally, the term “nongak” seems to address only participants that are farmers, even though the performance genre has been performed by fishermen as well as professionals. As the term “p’ungmul” is a more generic term to encompass all these features, this study employs this term.

3.2. P’ungmul Instruments

The kkwaenggwari (괭과리) is a small, hand-lipped flat gong and serves as a lead instrument of p’ungmul. It is also called soe (쇠), maegu (매구), kkaengmaeki (깡매기), kkaengsoe (깡쇠), kwangsoe (광쇠), kkwangsoe (깡쇠), sogŭm (소금) and kwaengmaegi

\(^{25}\) Maekui is a synonym for maekut which is used to refer to a way to pray for prosperity, wealth, and health of villagers.
(朝鲜语) (Pongch’ŏn Norimadang 1994: 21). It is made of metal. The diameter of the kkwaenggwari is approximately 20 cm (Provine 1984a) and it is struck by a mallet. The mallet is made of bamboo root or wax tree wood and is 20 to 23 cm in length (Hesselink 2006: 56). The lead kkwaenggwari player is called the sangsoe (상쇠). The player serves as a conductor and director by giving a signal to start a performance and to change rhythmic patterns and tempo. A performance might include additional kkwaenggwari players depending on the size of the group or the event, and the second player is called pusoe (부쇠) and assists sangsoe, the lead player. There are two kinds of kkwaenggwari: male and female. The male instrument has a higher and shaper pitch and the female has a lower pitch (Pongch’ŏn Norimadang 1994: 21).

The ching (징) is a large, hand-lipped, flat gong made of brass and bronze. There is no fixed size of the ching but the diameter is approximately 40 cm (Provine 1984b) and it is 8-10 cm in depth. It is struck by a beater, which is made of wood wrapped at the striking end with cloth or straw (Hesselink 2006: 58; Park, Shingil 2001: 35). It gives the first beat of a rhythmic pattern and its number of beats determines the rhythmic pattern like ilch’ae (일채), ich’ae (이채), and och’ae (오채). It is used for various musical genres, encompassing Buddhist, marching band, and ceremonial music.

The puk (북) is a shallow double-headed barrel-shaped drum. The body of the puk is made of pine, paulownia, or poplar wood. The heads are made of a cow, dog, or deerskin which is stretched over the rim and laced together with rope or leather thongs. The diameter is 40-45 cm and the depth 21-25 cm, and the stick is a long cylindrical
shape and 31-35 cm in length (Park, Shingil 2000: 38; Hesselink 2006: 54). The *puk* is hung on the player’s shoulder by a long cotton cloth.

The *changgo* (*창고*) is a double-headed hourglass shaped drum which is struck by one stick and mallet. Many performers pronounce it *changgu* because deer and dog skin had been widely used for the instrument and thus performers named it after the Chinese character for deer (*chang*) and dog (*gu*) (Pongch’ŏn Norimadang 1994: 23; Park, Shingil 2000: 36). The *changgo* is composed of two bowls. The body is made of hollowed poplar, pine, willow, walnut, or paulownia. The body of the instruments are sometimes colored and lacquered. Many *p’ungmul* players prefer a non-colored, natural body whereas *samulnori* players tend to prefer dark brown colored instruments (Park, Shingil 2000: 36). Each bowl is stretched over drumheads which are made of dog and cow hide. The drumheads are laced together by eight metal hooks and tied by thongs (*pujŏn* 부전) regulating tension and changing sound and pitch. One head (*kungp’yŏn* 궁편 or *kunggŭlp’yŏn* 궁글편) is lower in pitch and the opposite one (*ch’aep’yŏn* 채편 or *yolp’yŏn* 열편) sounds higher. The *kungp’yŏn* is most often the left head and is hit by a mallet (*kungch’ae* 궁채 or *kunggŭlch’ae* 궁글채). In particular performance contexts, when accompanying folk song and dance, *kungp’yŏn* is hit only by hand. The *ch’aep’yŏn* is the right one and hit by a stick (*yŏlch’ae* 열채) and sometimes by a mallet (*kungch’ae*). The *changgo* is hung on player’s shoulder by a long cotton cloth for *p’ungmul* performances and played in a standing position. It is put on the floor in front of a

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26 This arrangement is for right-handed performers. Left-handed performers position the *kungp’yŏn* on their right side and the *ch’aep’yŏn* on their left side.
performer for samulnori and played in a sitting position. The changgo often elaborates the rhythmic patterns while the puk and ching play the basic one. It is one of the most widely used instruments for various genres like court music and folk music. The changgo can also be played as a solo or as an accompaniment to a solo or ensemble.

The sogo (소고) is a small double-headed frame drum with a handle. The handle and body of the sogo are made of wood. The sogo is 32-35 cm in length, the diameter of the drumheads 20-23 cm, the depth of the body 5-7 cm, and the stick (sogo ch’ae 소고 채) is made of wood and 20-29 cm in length (Heseelink 2006: 60). The body is made of wood by stretching cow skin or dog skin over a frame, and then lacing them together with leather thongs. The surface is left plain and might also be painted with the ṭum-yang (음양) or t’aegŭk (태극) symbol, which is a circle divided into red and blue, or red, blue, and yellow sections. The sogo produces little sound and is mainly used as a dance prop. The sogo players wear spinning-tassled hats and do acrobatic movements while playing the sogo.

The nabal (나발), also called the nap’al (나판), is a long, end-blown straight trumpet. It is approximately 115-130 cm in length (Park, Shingil 2000: 31). The instrument produces an undefined pitch. It is used for giving signals to begin a performance to other members. The performer holds the mouthpiece with the left hand and the right hand holds the main body of the instrument. The performer lowers the end of the instrument and then raises it up high to blow a tone (Park, Shingil 2000: 32).

The t’aep’yŏngso (태평소), known also as the saenap (새납) or the hojŏk (호작, literally meaning barbarian pipe), is a double-reed, conical wooden oboe. The
onomatopoetic name for *t’aep’yŏngso* is *nallari* (날라리). The main body is a conical pipe made of bamboo or hardwood. The instrument is 3-4 cm in width, broadening at the base and the length of the instrument is 30-32 cm (Park, Shingil 2000:31). It has a mouthpiece called a *chorongmok* (조롱목) which is made of either copper or brass to which a reed called a *hyo* (효) or *so* (소) is attached. It has seven finger holes in the front and a thumbhole. It produces loud and piercing tones. The rhythmic pattern of *kutkŏri* (굿거리), which is a rhythm associated with dance in an entertainment-oriented performance, is invariably accompanied by this instrument (Hesselink 2006: 63).

3.3. *P’ungmul* Props and Actors

Several flags are used in *p’ungmul* performances: the *nonggi* (농기), the *yonggi* (용기), the *yŏnggi* (영기), and the team flag. All these flags are usually posed at the front of *p’ungmul* performance. The *nonggi*, literally the “farming flag,” is held at the very front of a *p’ungmul* procession. On the flag is written in Chinese characters: “*nongjach’ŏnhajidaebon* (농자천하지대본)” which can be translated “farming is the foundation of the world.” The *yŏnggi* is translated as “the commission flag.” It is either triangular or rectangular in shape and held by a pair in red and blue banners. The traditional role of the *yŏnggi* is to protect the *nonggi* and to stand guard at the village gate or shrine as prayers and supplications are made (Hesselink 2006: 77). The *yongi*, literally meaning “dragon flag,” has a dragon description in the center and has black borders. The team flag is a flag displaying the performance group’s name vertically.
The clothing of p’ungmul performers seems to have been derived from farmers’ cotton clothes and straw shoes (chipsin 짭신) (Chŏng Pyŏng-ho 1986; Ch’u Eŭn-hŭi 2009). The common clothing across different areas is white trousers (paji 바지), coats (chŏgori 저고리), and vests (chokki 조끼). Performers in P’ilbong, a village in the left side of Chŏlla province, wear deep blue vests and performers in Iri, a village in the right side of Chŏlla province wear lighter blue vests with a decorative inner red lining (Hesselink 2006: 67). One to three colored cloth sashes, yellow, blue and red are tied over the shoulders and/or around the waist. There are no specific rules for the positioning of the sashes. It is believed that the performers’ clothing is getting more splendid as p’ungmul becomes a more entertainment-focused performance (Chŏng Pyŏng-ho 1986: 45).

There are five different hats used in p’ungmul performances: the pup’o sangmo (부포 상모), the ch’ae sangmo (채 상모), the yŏltubal sangmo (열두발 상모), the kokkal (고깔) and the p’aeraengi (패랭이). The sangmo (상모), also known as chŏllip (the two Sino-Korean characters translate as fight and bamboo hat 전림), is a variation of a military cap with a flower decoration on it (Shin, Yong-ha 1985: 8; Yi Bo-hyŏng 1997).27 It is a black conical hat. The pup’o sangmo has a tuft of white feathers (pup’o) and is made of bird feathers when affordable, but paper or plastic streamers are also used.

27 It is believed that band movements have also been inspired by soldiers’ movements (Howard 1997; Chong Byong-ho). The P’yŏngt’aek band near Seoul and the Kangŭng band on the east coast, for instance, describe their movements as panhyang tolgi (circling 반향 돌기), taehyŏng mandālgi (forming a line, with the leader standing in front 대형 만들기), p’ljin (marching in parallel lines 필진), and chinŭl mandŭlدا and chinŭl p’unda or p’ulda (to make and break camp, a movement that transforms a straight line into a tight circle and back again 진을 만들다, 진을 뭉다, 줄다) (Howard 1998: 930).
The *kkwaengwari* players wear the *pup’o sangmo*. The *ch’ae sangmo* has a long paper or plastic ribbon which is 90 cm in length. The most spectacular feature for play involving the *ch’ae sangmo* is the *chaban twijipgi* which features rapid flips in the air. The *yŏltubal sangmo*, literally meaning “twelve-foot-sangmo,” has very long streamers which today have been standardized at 14 meters (Hesselink 2006: 74). Both the *ch’ae sangmo* and the *yŏltubal sangmo* require acrobatic skills which form the most exciting section of the performance. The *kokkal* is a white triangular paper hat adorned with paper flowers. Most instrument players except the *kkwaengwari* players wear *kokkal* in the Iri and P’ilbong regional styles. The *p’aeraengi* is flat-topped rimmed hat made of rough woven bamboo. It is rarely used today.

There are also actors called the *chapsaek* (*잡색*), literally meaning “various colors.” The order in which these actors stand is different from one region to another. Instrument players stand in the first line and *chapseaks* are in the second line in one region. In another region, *chapsaeks* are the first line and the instrument players stand in the following line. Also, there are no rules for the standing order of the *chapsaeks*. *Chapsaek* do not play instruments at all in the *p’ungmul* performance. The set of *chapsaek* characters consists of a hunter (*taep’osu* 대포수), monk (*chung* 중), aristocrat (*yangban* 양반), bride (*kaksi* 각시), actor (*ch’angbu* 창부), flower boy (*hwadong* 화동) and dancing boy (*mudong* 무동). They wear masks and often do make-up to illustrate their character. Their role brings theatrical elements to the *p’ungmul* performance (Kim Ik-du 1997; Pak Chin-t’ae 1997). The dancing boy stands and dances on the shoulders of adult performers. The Namsadang, professional wandering entertainers, are famous for
their use of the role of the flower boy. The role of *chapzaek* is to heighten and enhance the festive atmosphere of a *p’úngmul* performance through dance and witty remarks.

### 3.4. Rhythmic Structures in *P’úngmul*

The aesthetics of Korean music is often described in relation to the terms “*mŏt* (beauty or flavor 男神)” and “*mat* (taste 男神).” Chan E. Park offers valuable insights on these terms:

> In an aesthetic discourse, different perspectives result in different interpretations, and here is mine: The *mat* is the taste that the audience experiences, whereas the *mŏt* is quality of flavor that causes good taste that the performer exudes. “Flavor” is a subjective expression, while its “tasting” is the objectified reception by the audience. Then again, the performers’ expression is also an objectified outcome of subjective thought, while the audience’s objectified reception is a collective of multiple subjectivity (Park, Chan E. 2003: 210).

When applied to Korean music, the term “*mŏt*” can be used to refer to when an object appeals to the emotions and when we sense a rhythm in it (Provine 1998: 815).

Regarding the concept of rhythm in Korean music, Lee Hye-ku states:

> There are several concepts of rhythm in the music played in Korea (…) Korean classical styles, (…) are based on unequal duration of syllables and melodic tones. In court and aristocratic music, tempo may be as slow as MM. 30. If unaccompanied, it would be almost impossible to communicate a rhythmic feeling to the duration of several of these beats tied together (…) Folk songs are seldom as slow as the classical songs; and *gutkuri* [kutkŏri], a rhythmic pattern in triple meter, 6/8, is characteristic of Korean folk music (…) The Korean language has neither article nor preposition, but does have postposition. For this reason, the Korean song is trochaic rather than iambi (…) (quoted in Lee Kang-suk 1983: 204).
His account of the rhythmic aspects of Korean music illustrates the rhythmic characteristics of folk music, in which triple meter is frequently used, in contrast to court music. *Changdan*, literally meaning long and short, is the term for rhythmic patterns in traditional Korean music. Each *changdan* has “considerable variation and flexibility in repetition, according to the needs of the moment” (Provine 1998: 841). Moreover, it is said that the rhythm of Korean folk music, which is made up of strong and weak or long and short beats, produces “vitality” (Hwang 1998: 815). Robert Provine describes four main characteristics of rhythmic patterns in folk music: “1) a length of time, short enough to be held easily in memory and quickly recognized, 2) a sense of speed (*not* tempo, which is related to beat), 3) a typical meter, which fills the length of time, and 4) characteristic events during the rhythmic pattern” (1998: 842-843).

Korean folk rhythm is complex, since the rhythmic patterns alternate rapidly between different meters that last the same amount of time (Provine 1998: 843). Lee Hye-ku provides an example to show the alternating rhythmic pattern: “in the exuberant music the original form of a rhythmic pattern in 12/8 time only appears at the beginning of a section, and then it develops freely, sometime introducing hemiola (6/4 time) and sometime heterometer. The loudness is reinforced with such heterometer to enhance the excitement.” (1983: 18). Hesselink provides valuable insight into Korean rhythmic patterns:

Korean rhythmic patterns are determined by rhythmic models consisting of a series of accented and unaccented strokes or beats, often varying in metrical and repeat structure, use of tempo, and phrase length (when applicable) (Hesselink 2006: 189).
There are several common rhythmic patterns in traditional Korean music: *chinyangjo* (진양조), *chungmori* (중모리), *chungjungmori* (중중모리), *kutkôri* (굿거리), *chajinmori* (자진모리), *tanmori* (단모리) and *ônmori* (언모리). These patterns can be divided into triple (*chinyangjo, chungjungmori, kutkôri, and chajinmori*), duple (*hwimori*), and a combination of triple and duple rhythmic patterns (*ônmori*), or a combination of different rhythmic patterns. *Chinyangjo* is in very slow six beats, *chungmori* is in twelve-medium-speed beats (12/4 meter), *chungjungmori* is typically in 12/8 meter, and *kutkôri* is “considered a variant of *chungjungmori*” (Provine 1998: 843). *Chajinmori* is a fast four-beat pattern and an even faster version of *chajinmori* is called *hwimori*. *Tanmori* is six medium beats. *Ônmori*, ten medium beats, consists of a combination of triple and duple patterns.

The names for rhythmic patterns like *ilch’ae* (임채), *ich’ae* (이채), *samch’ae* (삼채) and *ch’lch’ae* (칠채) originate from the number of *ching* strokes in one cycle. Namely, *i* (two) *ch’ae* (stroke) means to hit the *ching* two times and *sam* (three) *ch’ae* (stroke) to hit three times per cycle. As the term *p’ungmul* has various terminologies in different regions, a number of different terms for same rhythmic patterns and the same rhythmic patterns for different names or for different tempo exist. For example, the rhythmic pattern which is called slow *samch’ae* in the P’ilbong region refers to fast *samch’ae* in the Ami region (Kim Hyŏn-suk 2009). Also, *samch’ae* is also called *tŏngdŏngungi* (등덩궁이) or *chajinmori* in other folk music.
Among the rhythmic patterns described above, *chungjungmori* (중중모리), *kutkŏri* (굿거리), *chajinmori* (자진모리), *hwimori* (휘모리) are widely played in various regional *p’ungmul* styles.

![Chungjungmori](image1)

**Chungjungmori**

![Kutkŏri](image2)

**Kutkŏri**

![Chajinmori](image3)

**Chajinmori**

![Hwimori](image4)

**Hwimori**

Figure 3.1. Examples of frequently played *p’ungmul* rhythmic patterns

All of the rhythmic patterns shown above comprise small parts of much more diverse rhythmic patterns. A rhythmic pattern functions as a skeleton within which
performers make music. Based on the given frame of a rhythmic pattern, performers will make variations. For example, the *hwimori* rhythm can be played as shown below.

![Figure 3.2. Variations of the *hwimori* rhythmic pattern](image)

There are a number of different variations performers can play. In a given pattern, performers often add ornamentation to create variations. For example, “*Sŏlchanggo*” based on *hwimori* rhythmic patterns starts with the basic form of *hwimori* and takes different forms of variations through adding ornamentations and omitting some percussion strokes. In addition to allowing for variations, a combination of rhythmic patterns in different sequences creates a different piece. For example, *miryang o pukch’um* is made up of *sam ch’ae* and *hwimori*. Performers play these two rhythmic patterns in a given sequence, while creating variations. When these two rhythmic patterns, *samch’ae* and *hwimori*, are played with other rhythmic patterns like *ch’ilch’ae*, *yukch’ae*, *samch’ae*, *hwimori* and *tchaksoe* in a sequence, the set of rhythmic patterns constitutes a piece of *uttari*.
Additionally, a sequence of different rhythmic patterns is made up of a musical section in *p'an'gut* which comes after work, ritual, or fund-raising. Today’s *p'an'gut* signifies “any entertainment by a band, notably performances at festivals and on urban stages; the term is virtually interchangeable with *nongak* or *p’ungmul*” (Howard 1997: 931). In practice, performers often play a section or sections of *p'an'gut* and call them just *uttari*, *udo*, *chawdo*, *yŏngnam*, and *yŏngdong p’ungmul*. The terms for musical sections vary. For example a section is called *madang* (마당) in the right side Chŏlla province and *kut* (굿) in the left side Chŏlla province (Yang Chin-sŏng 2008). The second section in the right side is made up of the *obangjin* (오방진), *chinobanjin* (자진오방진), *kinsamch’ae* (긴삼채), *tchlaünsamch’ae* (짧은삼채), *toensamch’ae* (된삼채) and *maedoji* (메도지) rhythmic patterns in order. The second movement in the left side is created by the *ilch’ae* (일채), *tumach’i* (두마치), *kaenjigaeng* (갠지갱), *maeji* (메지), and *hwimori* (휘모리) rhythmic patterns. The lead *kkwaenggwari* player gives a signal to begin and end each movement as well as each rhythmic pattern. Performers might repeat given rhythmic patterns and also make variations based on the given rhythmic patterns. The number of repetitions for given rhythmic patterns is different from one to another performance context. Nathan Hesselink (2006) points out repeated structures for *p’ungmul* rhythmic patterns: free repetition, set repetition, irregular free repetition, sequential. Also, rhythmic patterns can change tempo during a single occurrence of the rhythmic pattern. Through signals given by a leader *kkwaenggwari* player, the other players are informed when to repeat the given
rhythmic pattern, when to finish the repetitions, when to change the tempo, the pace of the tempo and when to move from one rhythmic pattern to another.

It took much time to embody and to express the rhythm in my own way while I studied the *changgo*, a Korean hourglass drum, in LA for two months. While learning the *changgo*, I faced challenges because I was not familiar with rhythmic, kinesthetic, and even acoustic characters of Korean traditional music. My first moment of embarrassment occurred while learning *ch’ilch’ae* (seven-stroke), one of the most famous repertoires in *uttari*. Byung-ki Hwang describes the *ch’ilch’ae* rhythmic pattern as 5/8, which is made up of quarter and eighth notes, and relates this pattern to the concept of hemiola (Hwang, Byung-ki 1998: 815). However, from his notational representation the delicate sense of *ch’ilch’ae* cannot be sensed. I first attempted to transcribe it into the Western notational system in my mind as Hwang did. However, it was not successful. I could not embody this pattern until I realized that my teacher’s verbalization of *changgo* sounds and his body movements gave me a clue about how to express *ch’ilch’ae*. Then I regrouped this pattern, as shown below, and tried to forget about the westernized concept of meter. After performing *ch’ilch’ae* successfully, I concentrated more on the teacher’s verbalization of *changgo* sounds that have both a sense of beat and dynamics.

Hwang: ♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♫

Mine: ♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♩♫

Figure 3.3. *Ch’ilch’ae* rhythms by Hwang and myself
In addition, I acknowledge that kinesthetics helps one feel the different rhythmic patterns as well. I mastered a difficult pattern when I learned how to move my body corresponding to the rhythm. My teacher’s body “showed” how I should feel the rhythm. Through kinesthetics and the sequence of verbalizations of changgo sounds I successfully and clearly expressed ch’ilch’ae. Moreover, how one moves one’s head, arms, upper body, and hands is an integral part of feeling the mŏt of Korean music. That is, kinesthetics conveys a refined sense of Korean music aesthetics. The movement of the performer’s body must be in a continuous curved line, not a straight or broken line. My teacher kept pointing out that my playing was much too confined to a strict beat. He told me, “too much stiff (너무 뻣뻣해).” Frankly, my body movement did not look as natural as his, but I see now the difference between my teacher’s kinesthetics and mine. Kinesthetics provides a criterion of how successfully a performer feels the rhythm he or she is performing. In other words, kinesthetics helps one to understand p’ungmul performance in two ways: it helps performers understand how to embody complex rhythmic patterns and it introduces the mŏt of Korean music.

3.5. Reciting Percussive Rhythms (Ip changdan)

P’ungmul was originally transmitted by oral and aural means. In the past there was no notational system for p’ungmul, however, performers in oral cultures are always
in need of memory aids to keep alive and transmit the drum stroke sequences, time values, sound sequences and complex rhythmic patterns they had learned.

Scholars have studied oral transmission, its cognitive capacities and processes (Lord 1960; Goody 1987; Foley 1998; Phil 2003). Oral transmission literally means that oral and aural means are employed to hand down performance practices. A vast number of stories, folktales, poems, songs, ballads, legends, myths, and maxims have been taught, learned, and transmitted from one generation to another by only oral practices. Unless learners repeatedly listen to a piece or performance, it is impossible to learn and to acquire it. Oral transmission has no writing, printed references, or “external representations” (Will 1999: 2). The only reference point for oral modes is the memory of prior experience of actual performances. In other words, the recall of a performance in the oral tradition is the memory of prior experience of an actual performance without external representation, which is reconstructed in the present with the help of either text or musical formula.

However, the idea that oral tradition relies on memory often leads us to the misconception that oral tradition is highly fluid and has no capability for verbatim recall. This claim is associated with the oral-formulaic approach proposed by Parry and Lord. Parry proposes that formulas in oral poetry function as mnemonic devices. Lord follows Parry’s definition of formula, taking it to mean “a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea” and not meaning “repetition,” “stock epithets,” “epic clichés,” or “stereotyped phrases” since these terms are too ambiguous (Lord 1960:4). What the concept of formula implies is
that while the overall framework of a work is maintained, other parts could be continuously changing over the course of multiple performances. In other words, it presupposes that verbatim transmission is ultimately impossible in the oral tradition. By elaborating on these terms, Parry proposes formulae as a grammar of parataxis and of frequently used and useful phrases (Lord 1960: 64-65). Zumwalt states that Parry and Lord identified certain lines and half lines as formulaic because “they follow the basic pattern of rhythm and syntax and have at least one word in the same position” (1988: 82). According to Udo Will, “many works on formulaic aspects of oral cultures are focused on formulas with regard to themes, imagery, explicit meaning, and declarative memory, and discussions often remain at the statistical level of description.” (1999: 3). This assumption results from the fact that verbatim memorization is often concerned with the text itself while musical components have been excluded from studies of oral transmission.

However, Kirk proves the assumption wrong and demonstrates that verbatim recall actually can be seen in oral traditions (Will 2004; Goody 1987). Will also demonstrates that oral cultures allow for verbatim transmission by exploring Australian Aboriginal songs and showing that text-rhythm, melody and beating accompaniment reinforce verbatim recall. Those musical elements serve as musical formulas for verbatim recall. What he shows is that oral-recreation and verbatim recall are not necessarily mutually exclusive (Will 2004: 25).

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28 Along with the concept of the formula, Lord puts forward “the concepts of theme (a recurrent narrative pattern such as feasting or assembly)” and “story pattern (a tale type that underlies an entire epic)” (Zumwalt 1998: 83).
Because *p’ungmul* is neither a song nor a poem with text that can be memorized, what helps *p’ungmul* to be handed down without written references is the practice of memorization through oral representation of instrumental sounds, called *ip changdan* (literally, “mouth” and “short and long” 입장단) or *kuŭm* (literally, “oral sound” 구음). These onomatopoeic syllables “are partly imitative of the tone color of the particular instruments” (Hughes 1991: 398). For example, vocalizations of zithers’ sounds like *kayagŭm* and *kŏmun’go* have “syllables beginning with voiceless obstruents or affricates (tang, ttung, ch’ing, etc.), reflecting the sharp attack of plucked sound” and the oboe *p’iri* consists primarily of “liquids and nasals (re, na, etc.), representing the much smoother, less abrupt attack of a reed instrument.”

Vocalizations of plucked string sounds end with ng (*tang, ch’ing, etc.*), while wind instruments ends with vowels, representing the decay of the sounds (ibid).

Through these patterns, the *ip changdan* (vocalizations of instrumental sounds) of *p’ungmul* instruments imitate the rhythmic sound of percussive instruments. For example, there are 10 kinds of vocalizations for *changgo* instrumental sounds: “tŏng ᄀ,” “kung ᄀ,” “kugung ᄀ,” “kurŭrŭrŭ ᄀ,” “tŏk ᄀ,” “tta ᄀ,” “ttak ᄀ,” “ta ᄀ,” “kidŏk ᄀ,” and “tŏrŭrŭrŭ ᄀ.” For the *changgo kuŭm*, “tŏng ᄀ” means a strike by both mallet and stick at the same time, mostly on the both drumheads but sometimes only on the right head. Because one hits both sides of the drums for tŏng, this is represented by the most resonant and deep sound. “Kung ᄀ” indicates to hit only the left drumhead, while “tŏk ᄀ” means to hit the right drumhead. Since the left

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29 *Kayagŭm* is a twelve-string fretted long zither and *kŏmun’go* is a twelve-string long zither.
drumhead produces a lower-pitch sound than the right drumhead, hitting only the left side produces a richer and more reverberating sound than hitting only the right drumhead, a difference reflected in the vocalization. \(^{30}\) “Tiaak (ㅌㅏ)” indicates to hit the right head with a stick and make a dampened sound. “Tia (ㅌㅏ)” means to play on the right head with a rebounding stick. Whereas “ta (ㅌㅏ)” makes a light stroke using the tip of the stick with rebound, “tŏk (ㅌㅓ)” instructs to dampen on the right head. “Kidŏk (ㄱㅣㅏ)” reflects a combination of shorter and longer sound within a single strike on the right drumhead and it makes the first a grace note with the tip of the stick and the second with the full stick. “Tŏrūūŭ (더르르르)” indicates to make repeated rebounds with a stick. Kung indicates a single strike on the left head with a mallet, “kugung (ㅋㄑDoug)” double strikes, and “kurururu (ㅋㄑ Roo Roo)” repeated rebounds. “Kung (ㅋDoug),” “kugung (ㅋ Doug),” and “kurururu (ㅋㄑ Roo Roo)” sometimes refer to strikes on the right head.

All these vocalizations of changgo instrumental sounds contain references to how the performers actually perform bodily movements.

Different combinations of the speech sounds listed above create rhythmic patterns and these rhythmic patterns denote instrumental rhythmic patterns. A rhythmic pattern is also called a karak (literally, “finger”; 가락) or changdan (literally, “long and short”; 장단). Hesselink (2006) points out that these terms for rhythmic patterns have had different usages:

\(^{30}\) Kung sometimes indicates to hit the right drumhead. According to Shingil Park, the changgo is made of two bowls and the bowl of the left drumhead is larger than that of the right drumhead. Hence, the left drumhead produces a deeper and lower pitch (2000: 37).
The two most common [terms] are *changdan* and *karak*, though their specific usage and meaning have been open to debate. The *p’ungmul* scholar Ryu Muyŏl saw these terms as essentially synonymous (1986: 39), while Robert Provine (1975:6) and Han Manyŏng (Chang Sahun and Han Manyŏng 1975: 27) considered *changdan* appropriate for rhythmic patterns, in direct contrast to Kim Hyŏnsuk, who preferred *karak* (1991: 78). …Kim Hyŏngsun used the two most common *p’ungmul* terms for rhythmic patterns, *karak* (literally, “strand” or “finger”) and *changdan* (literally, “long and short”), with little differentiation in meaning at the general level (Hesselink 2006: 158).

Despite these differences, I have found that most of performers in the States whom I met during my fieldwork use both terms with no differentiation, but prefer to use *karak*.

Following them, I will use *changdan* and *karak* as synonyms, both of which refer to a rhythmic pattern.

Within the different rhythmic patterns, *tŏng* often takes the longest time value. For instance, *tŏng-* *kidŏk-kung-tŏrrr-kung-kidŏk-kung-tŏrrr* denotes a *kutgŏri* rhythmic pattern, and *tŏng-kung-kung-tŏk-kung* would be a *chajinmori* rhythmic pattern. The vocalizations of instrumental sounds used in *p’ungmul* do not include any specific references to rhythm itself. Each oral replication of an instrumental sound has a different time value depending on the rhythmic pattern it appears in. In *kutgŏri*, *tŏng* is equivalent to two time values, while in *chajinmori* *tŏng* is equivalent to three time values.

Regardless of the sequences of complex rhythmic patterns, rhythmic recitation of instrumental sounds helps performers to memorize particular rhythmic patterns and the ways to execute them. My *changgo* teacher, Kang Tae-sŏng, told me that *ip changdan* is like a “*kil* (path 길)” that performers follow and navigate during a performance.
3.6. Notation

Traditional Korean music has a rhythmic notation system, *chǒngganbo* (정간보). It is believed that King Sejong invented the system along with the Korean alphabet system, *hangul* (한글). The first appearance of *chǒngganbo* was in *The Annals of King Sejong*. *Chǒngganbo* consists of vertical columns of small squares, called *chǒnggan*, read downwards and from right to left. The name *chǒnggan* comes from the “Chinese character, 井, which is a hieroglyphic character of a well and pronounced 총 in Korean” (Seo In-hwa 2002: 61). Each square represents a unit of time and contains symbols for musical information, including note names, vocalizations of instrumental sounds, tablature, or even dance choreography (Provine 2001). Unlike Western music, which includes time signatures and different length of notes and bars, length of notes in *chǒngganbo* are given by the number of squares. If a note name is inscribed in a square and the following square is empty, this indicates to play the note two times longer than the note in the square. Today’s *chǒngganbo* tends to subdivide a square into many parts for smaller time values. In other words, while Western music signifies different pitches in a high-low spatial dimension with different symbols for time values, *chǒngganbo* represents different lengths of notes by the number of squares or by the size of the space that the note takes; time values in *chǒngganbo*, including today’s *chǒngganbo* are represented in a large-small spatial dimension. *Changgo* parts were incorporated in some *chǒngganbo* notations in the past, either in diagrammatic instrument representations or a mix of circles and lines (Howard 2006 b: 39). Circles indicate hand or mallet strokes and lines stick strokes. However, notation systems including *chǒngganbo* were exclusively
used for court music or aristocratic music, not for folk music, before the 20th century. It is only recently that p’ungmul practitioners employ any form of notation system.

Since Western music was introduced in Korea, many folk songs were transcribed with aids of staff notations. Howard notes, “the first use of staff notation I know of for Korean music was of Arirang (아리랑), published in 1896 in the third volume of Korea Repository” (2006 b: 36). In regards to notations for the drum, he reports that Minsok akpo (민속 악보), a Korean score of folk music published by the Ministry of Education in 1959, made use of a modified staff notation to notate drum patterns. In one of the pieces in the second volume of Minsok akpo, Sangryŏngsan (상령산), the changgo rhythms are given on the single line with time signatures like 18/8, 8/12, etc.

![Figure 3.4. One of the changgo parts from Minsok akpo](image)

Provine (1975) employed a modified staff notation when he transcribed Kim Pyŏng-sŏp’s solo changgo piece. In the transcription, he gives “strikes of the left and right heads below and above a single line” and strikes of the right head are “notated with tails up above the line” and strikes of the left head are “notated with tails down below the line when striking the left head and above the line when striking the right head” (Howard 2006 b: 37-38). Despite its limitations, which include ways to notate auxiliary strikes (Howard 2006 b; Kim Hyŏn-suk 2009), a number of transcriptions follow Provine’s modified staff system in an attempt to analyze the musical aspects of p’ungmul.
Indeed, most rhythmic transcriptions of p’ungmul or samulnori adopt the single line staff notation and give strikes of the left and right heads below and above a single line with tails up and down respectively. Whether notes are on a single line, as in Minsok akpo, or below and above a single line, as suggested by Provin, a single line notation represents the way to play strokes by the position of the note tails. Moreover, since single line staff notations have time signatures and bars, which are means to mentally organize time, performers can recognize how to divide time units within a bar according to time signatures. The single line staff notation sometimes includes tempo indications, such as $\text{♩} = 90$. Thus, performers can learn the overall tempo of a piece as well as its rhythmic patterns.

On the other hand, SamulNori, led by Kim Duk Soo, modified chŏngganbo for samulnori notations. The group published a series of textbooks which include a great number of transcriptions of samulnori. For instance, Samulnori Workbook vols. 1-3 (1990, 1993, 1995) and The Basics of Samulnori volumes 1-3 (all in 1994) were published. Whereas Samulnori Workbook vols. 1-3 are devoted to Samdo sŏlchanggo, the first volume of The Basics of Samulnori deals with Yŏngnam, the second Uttari, the third one Sŏlchanggo, respectively. In 1997, Yŏngnam and Uttari come together in one
book, *The Basics of Samulnori: Yǒngnam and Uttari*. In the transcriptions of all these publications, *chǒngganbo* is rotated to read left to right as horizontal rows and modified circles and lines are used to indicate different *changgo* strokes.

In respect to the hourglass drum, each sound was now indicated with a circle, tiny circles signifying acciaccature, large open circles strokes by the mallet-shaped stick and partially or completely shaded circles light and accented whip-like stick stroke. The drum requires two conjoined horizontal rows of boxes, one for each stick; this is much as Provine divided the stave, but where the malle-shaped stick moves to the higher-pitched head, it is notated on the median between the two rows (Howard 2006 b: 39).

While the rotated *chǒngganbo* system is widely used, other modifications in notating percussion strokes suggested by SamulNori are not as popular with traditional music practitioners or in scholarly works.

![Diagram of chǒngganbo notation](Figure 3.6. *Kutkōri* in SamulNori troupe’s *chǒngganbo* notation)

Scholars have proposed different ways to mark percussion strokes (Hesselink 2004). Despite the different ways to symbolize percussion strokes, the notational system of *chǒngganbo* incorporates symbols of percussion strokes that represent not only the time values of each stroke but also how to execute the strokes.

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31 I will examine SamulNori troupe, their repertoires and performance styles in Chapter 4.
In some of the publications mentioned above, SamulNori provides single line staff notations as well as verbalizations of instrumental sounds along with a modified chŏngganbo notation. For the verbalization of instrumental sounds, kuŭm (구음), or ip changdan (입장단), the SamulNori troupe systemized a number of varied kuŭm for different regions. The Basics of Samulnori: Yŏngnam and Uttari states that:

*Kuŭm* is in practice different across musical genres, regions, and practitioners. However, this book provides a standardized way to perform a number of kuŭm and suggests a consistent way to perform the kuŭm-s which are used for samulnori, *p’ungmulgut* as well as the shaman ritual in three different regions.\(^{32}\) However, it is not the purpose of this book to unify the various flavors, or colors of kuŭm (1997: 4).

When those kuŭm-s are provided along with chŏngganbo and/or modified single line staff notation, SamulNori puts the written words of the kuŭm just below the chŏngganbo, so that the written words match the drum strokes according to time unit.

These standardized kuŭm-s are widely used not only for *p’ungmul* or *samulnori* practitioners but also for scholarly works. Additionally, many chŏngganbo for *p’ungmul* contain verbalizations of instrumental sounds that follow the standardized kuŭm by SamulNori or icons for drum strokes in squares.

This chapter provided background information on *p’ungmul* which will be useful to comprehending the following chapters. In Chapters 4 and 7, different terminologies

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\(^{32}\) There is no indication of which regions are included in the three different regions. Given that SamulNori led by Kim Duk Soo arranged various rhythmic patterns from *uttari*, *yŏngnam*, and *udo* for *Samdo sóлечanggo* and *Samdo nongak* pieces, the three regions signified are *uttari*, *yŏngnam*, and *udo*. 

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for *p'ungmul* will appear along with various performance contexts and concepts of *p'ungmul* for Korean American practitioners. In Chapter 5, I will particularly examine the different cognitive implications which are involved in learning *p'ungmul* by *kuŭm*, *chŏngganbo*, and single line staff notation.
Chapter 4

History of P’ungmul

A history of a performance genre tells us about the various contexts in which the genre emerges, and how it develops. This history is not only about the genre itself but also about changes in socio-cultural structures, institutions, politics that influenced it, as well as the reception of this genre within the society. As such, a history of P’ungmul reflects how P’ungmul gained popularity, as well as how it became politicized, revived, and how it was perceived by audiences and institutions. This chapter examines the history of P’ungmul in Korea and the States from a comparative perspective. This will provide necessary background to understand how cultural politics, ideologies, and institutions as well as a performance practices and styles of the homeland affect to the performance genre in a new host society.

In the first section of this chapter, I investigate P’ungmul in Korea. By examining diverse materials, including not only historical documents on P’ungmul during the Japanese colonial period, but also theses, journals, interviews and documents published by the government, I illustrate how P’ungmul performance is shaped and manipulated by Korean cultural politics and institutions. In the second section, I develop a history of
p’ungmul in the States. To do so, I examine several studies on traditional Korean performing arts including p’ungmul in the States. Additionally, I conducted numerous interviews to gather more information about p’ungmul in the States. The interviews present “not just what people did, but what they wanted to do, what they believed they were doing, and what they now think they did” (Portelli 1998: 67). Based on interviews with p’ungmul practitioners in the States, I am able reconstruct a history of p’ungmul in LA and NYC. Since my interviewees sometimes provided incorrect information about when important events occurred, I verified the date and the year of the events through newspapers. Thus, I was able to create a chronology of important events in relation to p’ungmul in the States.

Despite the existence of quite a few previous studies on p’ungmul in the U.S., most of those studies examine p’ungmul in the States before 2000. This chapter includes what has changed since 2000. I investigate not only important historical events in relation to p’ungmul but also a number of new p’ungmul performance troupes that were created after 2000, which have not been dealt with in the previous studies.

4.1. P’ungmul in Korea

P’ungmul history in Korea can be divided into five historical periods: 1) before 1910; 2) 1910 to 1945; 3) 1945 to 1980; 4) the emergence of samulnori in 1978 and 5) the 1980s to the present. Each historical division is determined by major socio-political changes and as a consequence, each shows changes in the performance contexts, roles
and functions of *P’ungmul*. Japan annexed Korea from 1910 to 1945 and because the colonial period brought about significant changes in *p’ungmul* practices, the year 1910 is a key date for dividing the first and the second period of *p’ungmul* history.

4.1.1. Before 1910

*P’ungmul* was at the heart of rural communities during the Chosŏn (조선) dynasty, the pre-modern agricultural period in Korea. According to Shingil Park (2000), *P’ungmul* is traditionally performed in two major ritual contexts—“village” and “work.” The “village ritual” is associated with ritual activities that pray for the good fortune of the village. An example of a “village ritual” is *chisinbalpki* (literally meaning stepping on the earth 지신밟기). In the “work ritual” context, *p’ungmul* is performed to enhance work efficiency and to pray for a good harvest. Shingil Park also indicates the importance of the professional wandering troupe, the so-called “namsadang.” However, Shingil Park does not highlight the fund-raising context in which *p’ungmul* performers visit houses in a village and perform *p’ungmul* in order to collect grain, food, drinks or money. This has been another important performance context for *p’ungmul*. Therefore, as suggested by Hong Hyŏn-sik, Kim Ch’ŏng-hong and Park Hŏn-bong (1967), I divide *p’ungmul* into four performance contexts: 1) work, 2) ritual, 3) fund-raising, and 4) entertainment activities. In the work context, it is performed to encourage farmers, to amuse laborers, and to enhance work efficiency.\(^{33}\) In the ritual context, *p’ungmul*

\(^{33}\) Singil Park notes, “[t]he members in the *p’ungmul* section were assigned less work in comparison with other ordinary workers. The singer (*sorikkun* 소리꾼) and his drum accompanist would do no physical labor, since singing was featured throughout the working hours” (2000: 54).
performers play for good fortune, health, prosperity, and rich harvests. Entertainment activities are events that come after work, ritual, or fund-raising activities.

*P’ungmul* in work-related activities is often associated with a *ture* (두례), which is an all-male village organization for joint labor cooperation in agricultural pre-modern Korea. *Ture-s* were widespread at the end of the 19th century and existed until this labor structure was abolished or suppressed by Japanese colonization. Each village had a *ture* and participation in a *ture* would be obligatory for all male members in the village from the age of 16 to 55. Villagers would do watering, rice-planting and weeding together through a *ture* system. While engaging in rice planting, weeding, and harvesting some farmers would go in processions to and from the paddy fields, playing *p’ungmul* and singing folk songs. Playing *p’ungmul* is believed to enhance work efficiency and to amuse workers during the labor of farming. During the processions, one of the members held the commission flag (*yŏnggi*) and the farming flag (*nonggi*). There is no doubt that *p’ungmul* has been an integral part of rural work contexts (Chŏng Byŏng-ho 1986; Yi Bo-hyŏng 1981; Pongch’ŏn Norimadang 1994). Yongha Shin (1985b) asserts that *nongak* actually derived from *ture* and it later developed into house-call *nongak* (*chipdori nongak* 집돌이 농악), fund-raising *nongak* (*kŏllip’ae nongak* 걸립패 농악) and professional wandering *nongak* (*namsadangp’ae nongak* 남사당패 농악).34 Shingil Park (2000) also

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34 Yong-ha Shin uses a term *nongak* instead of *p’ungmul* throughout his article. He demonstrates that when performers went house by house in a village, performing *p’ungmul* and collecting rewards, the money would be spent to purchase instruments and supplies for performances and for community purposes. However, professional wandering bands, organized for the purpose of income, would support themselves from the income they earned from their performances. It is
argues that p’ungmul originated from ture and developed into its current form through the influence of professional performance troupes.

P’ungmul is also played in a ritual context and through performing p’ungmul people pray for village purification, community well-being, or harvest. In the ritual contexts p’ungmul has been performed especially often during the New Year’s Day celebrations, the May festival (tano 단오), and the Korean Thanksgiving day (ch’usŏk 추석). Since it is performed at village shrines (tang 당) when functioning as part of the ritual activities, it is also called tanggut (당굿) or tangsangut (당산굿). The village tenants ask at the shrine for a good harvest that year with accompanying p’ungmul.

Following the ritual, p’ungmul performers encircle a communal well to play for enough water for the year. The performers also visit house-to-house and all of the performers visit each area of the house, from the main gate, the front yard, the kitchen, and the main floor to smaller areas like the cupboard where the family keeps saucepots. As they visit each place, they step on the ground as a way to chase away bad spirits. Thus this ritual is also called chi (ground 지) sin (spirit 신) balpki (stepping on 발기). After the ritual, a host offers some food such as rice cake, or wine, and money to performers.

Fund-raising is another important context for p’ungmul performances. This type is called kŏllipgut and the group of the performers who engages in it is called kŏllipp’ae, literally meaning a begging-rice troupe. The kŏllipp’ae performers are members of the village and the fund-raising is used for the village, not for the performers. The kŏllipp’ae

unknown when this type of wandering band emerged. It is said that before the very early 1900s numerous professional wandering bands already existed and they would perform as a way to make income.
is often performed with the greatest skill and on the largest scale because the purpose of the performance is to earn income (Park, Shingil 2000: 68; Yi Bo-hyŏng 1981: 166). It is believed that kŏllipgut derived from chisinbalpki because villagers provide foods, drinks or grains to p’ungmul performers as part of a community ritual. “Today, a local band may still be formed, made up solely of villagers or including one or more invited performers” (Howard 1998: 911) and collected money from the performance is spent for the whole community: i.e. building a bridge, mending a temple, etc. The last context of p’ungmul performances is entertainment. P’an’gut is the term to refer to entertainment-oriented moments in p’ungmul performance, when the recreational function dominates the p’ungmul performance. This kind of event traditionally occurs on the final night of work, ritual, and fund-raising activities in order to entertain village residents. Individual performers show off their skills and various styles of choreography. The audience dances and sings with the performers. A p’an’gut traditionally lasts several few hours, often until midnight. However, in the modern performance context it is performed during a limited time as a showcase (Sohn U-sŭng 2009: 197). The term p’an’gut is now interchangeable with p’ungmul because p’an’gut signifies “any entertainment by a band, notably performances at festivals and on urban stages” (Howard 1998: 931).

4.1.2. 1910 to 1945: Japanese Colonial Period

Japan annexed Korea from 1910 to 1945. During the Japanese occupation, performing p’ungmul was regulated. According to Sohn U-sŭng (2007), the Japanese powers legitimated p’ungmul when the performances could be used to extend the pro-
Japanese influences. For example, the colonial powers encouraged *p’ungmul* performances in connection with *ch’ungsankyo* (증산교), a Korean indigenous religion, because the leader of the religion, who loved *p’ungmul* performances and held numerous *p’ungmul* performances at his house, was a member of a pro-Japanese group. While Japan strategically allowed selected *p’ungmul* events to continue as a way of extending pro-Japanese influences, the colonial power suppressed *p’ungmul* by and large in an attempt to exterminate Korean cultural practices. Also, re-drawn village boundaries and government-controlled organizations under Japanese rules took away the role of the *ture*, and approximately 80 percent of *ture*-s had disappeared between 1940 and 1950 (Park, Shingil 2000: 60; Sohn U-Sŭng 2009: 59-64). It is assumed that demise of the role of the *ture* resulted in the decline of *p’ungmul* (Shin, Yong-ha 1985; Sohn U-sŭng 2007). As seen above, *p’ungmul* was an inseparable part of labor in agricultural society and the *ture* system supported *p’ungmul* groups. The reduced influence and number of *ture*-s also decreased the need for *p’ungmul* groups. In addition, metal instruments for *p’ungmul*, such as the *kkwanegwari* and *ching*, were confiscated and used for making weapons during several wars led by Japan (Shin Yong-ha 2009: 596). As a result, the severe reduction in the number of *p’ungmul* troupes caused some performers to more localized performance contexts and join professional entertaining groups, which were called *namsadang* (Shin, Yong-ha 1985).
4.1.3. 1945 to 1980s

Even after independence from Japan in 1945, p’ungmul suffered because of the Korean War that occurred from 1950 to 1953. The war destroyed everything and resulted in unstable political conditions in Korea. Park Jung Hee established a regime of military dictatorship in 1961 and stayed in power until his assassination in 1979. He established policies for economic growth: i.e. the New Village Movement (Saemaül undong 새마을 운동). The purpose of the new village movement was to modernize rural villages.

Myong-seok Oh says:

(…) the movement has left indelible effects on the landscape and lives of Korea’s villages (…) It is no exaggeration to say that Korean peasants in the 1970s lived with the movement: whether they were waking up in the morning to broadcasts of Saemaol [Samaül] songs blaring from village-owned speakers, or were attending their frequent meetings in the village assembly halls to discuss Saemaol projects, or were being recruited for participation in communal labor to renovate village roads, drainages, and their own houses (Oh, Myong-seok 1998:77).

Because the movement was implemented in a bureaucratic and centralized way, it achieved its goals in a few decades. It has symbolically changed the rural village’s straw-thatched and tiled roofs to slate. The movement attempted to change every part of village culture into something modern, conceived as scientific, rational, effective and practical in behavior and thoughts, and “pragmatism and rationalism was figured as dominant value in this enlightenment crusade” (Oh, Myong-seok 1998: 85). Traditional ways of life were reexamined and measured by the movement. For example, Koreans in the past believed that all objects have supernatural spirits which might bring good or bad fortune. Villagers set a road idol (changsŭng 장승) at the entrance of each village in order to
prohibit bad spirits from coming into the village; they also set long pillars near a road idol or sacred shrine and villagers would pray and offer requests to spirits that those symbols that represent. *P’ungmul* was often performed as part of those ritual activities and ceremonies. For example, *p’ungmul* performers would begin a *chisinbalpki* ritual at the shrine and then visit house to house, as seen in the earlier section.

However, the New Village Movement conceives those ritual activities as superstitions and myths which prevent Korea from moving forward with modernization and urbanization. Hence, most sacred shrines, pillars, trees and road idols were abolished and destroyed as part of the movement. Because *p’ungmul* in ritual contexts was performed and centered around those places and objects, *p’ungmul* lost its role in ritual activities as they were abolished in rural villages. Moreover, rapid industrialization and urbanization of rural areas resulted in a decrease in farming-related performance contexts. Many Koreans still engage in farming but most of the work in the paddy fields is performed by machines. Many young people have left rural villages and moved to big cities to work at factories, offices and stores. In addition, *ture* no longer structures farming as most of this practice disappeared during the Japanese colonial period. Thus, *p’ungmul* is no longer an integral part of farmers’ lives.

On the other hand, *p’ungmul* has gradually been getting more attention from the public since the 1960s. This change resulted from the efforts of the government. President Park Jung Hee’s politics on folk arts is widely seen as somewhat ironic (Kwŏn Ûn-yŏng 2009: 108; Paek Hyŏn-mi 2005: 167-168; Yang, Jongsung 1994: 62); while he initiated the New Village Movement that undermined many folk cultural practices, his
regime simultaneously promulgated the Cultural Asset Preservation Law. The Korean government formed the Cultural Asset Preservation Law in 1962 and its purpose was to protect and preserve cultural practices which had been suppressed during the Japanese colonial period and the Korean War. The government founded the Bureau of Cultural Assets, under the supervision of the Ministry of Culture and Sports and Research Institute for Cultural Asset that belongs to the Bureau of Cultural Assets.

The law outlines four different kinds of cultural assets: tangible assets, intangible assets, monuments, and folk cultural properties. The tangible assets (*yuhyŏng munhwajae* 유형 문화재) encompass cultural products such as classical books, buildings, ancient documents, sculptures, paintings and craftwork (Yang, Jongsung 1994: 174). The intangible assets (*muhyŏng munhwajae* 무형 문화재) consist of rituals, music, dance, drama, and plays, as well as crafts and food (Howard 2006a: 6). Monuments (*kinyŏmmul* 기념물) include “shell mounds, ancient tombs, castle and palace sites, pottery remains, strata containing remains, scenic places, animals, plants, minerals and caves of high scientific value” (Howard 2006a: 6; see also Yang, Jongsung 1994: 174). Folk cultural properties (*minsok charyo* 민속 자료) embrace manners and customs relating to religion, clothing, housing, food, objects and events. In order to decide how to award the designation of Important Cultural Asset, the Research Institute for Cultural Asset organizes committee members who conduct archival and field research. The committee members perform the documentation, publication, and the collections of materials which are required for the designation process (Yang, Jongsung 1994). For Intangible Cultural Assets, any performers of the asset are designated the title of
Individual Holders (*poyuja* 보유자), also called Human Cultural Assets (*In’gan munhwajae* 인간 문화재). The obligation of the Individual Holders, who must be over the age of 50, is to transmit the designated cultural asset to succeeding generations, to teach to the public, to hold public performances, to perform in government-organized festivals or performances (Yang, Jongsung 1994). In order to transmit cultural practices to the general public, since 1973 the Korean government has founded intensive training centers (*chŏnsugwan* 전수관) for performance genres in the region where the performance originated. The intensive training centers are operated based on government funding and the centers provide regular training sessions. During summer and winter breaks, members of the public may visit the intensive training centers to learn folk performing arts. It was 1966 that *p’ungmul* was designated as Important Intangible Cultural Asset No. 11. Five of the regional types of *p’ungmul* have Individual Holders and intensive training centers.

In addition to the Cultural Asset Preservation Law, various competitions sponsored by the Korean government have shed light on *p’ungmul* and helped it attract attention from the public. For example, the National Competition of Folk Performing Arts was first held in 1958 as an attempt to preserve disappearing folk arts. The second competition was held in 1962 and has been annually held since then. Through the competitions, 39 different kinds of Important Intangible Cultural Assets including *p’ungmul* have been involved in competitions. *P’ungmul* from different regions has taken top prizes at the competitions and this has led to *p’ungmul* gaining much more popularity than any other traditional performing genres.
The Korean government’s efforts and support toward preserving *p’ungmul* have impacted *p’ungmul* performance practices and development. Above all, these efforts codified regional *p’ungmul* performance practices and formulated five regional distinctions of *p’ungmul* styles. Also, *p’ungmul* had gained scholarly attention across various academic fields such as folklore, music, dance and theatre, as regional *p’ungmul* styles were examined in depth for the purpose of being designated as Important Intangible Cultural Assets. At the same time, however, this attention in connection with the Important Intangible Cultural Asset program produced the conception that traditional practices are static and unchangeable. The Individual Holders of the Important Intangible Assets have to maintain their performance styles in the same style as they are documented. In case of any change, altering and development of the style, the Human Cultural Asset loses their status (Hesselink 2004: 407). They must transmit their skill exactly as the documents described it at the moment they were designated as Important Intangible Cultural Assets. That is, the institution preserves folk cultural practices and artifacts, but only through museumization.

Furthermore, participation in competitions brought the development of more formalized *p’ungmul* costumes such as the clothing and hats. Yang Sun-ju points out that regional styles of *p’ungmul* clothing have been recently standardized because of the various competitions created.\(^{35}\) Many groups often choose vests and cotton sash colors among red, blue, yellow, white and black. Interestingly, some groups have pink vests, which is not considered a traditional color. Instead, this is their strategic selection to

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\(^{35}\) Interview with Yang Sun-ju, July 26, 2008.
catch the committee members’ instant attention. Lastly, once a type of regional
*p’ungmul* wins at a competition, its performance style becomes the stereotype and the
representative performance practice in the area. As a result, all other performance groups
in the same area that have different styles and practices tend to follow and imitate the
performance style of the group who wins at competitions (Yi Chong-jin 2001: 56). As
the Cultural Asset Preservation Law and national competitions have brought increased
recognition of *p’ungmul* as an entertainment-oriented performance, *p’ungmul* has gained
more attention in its function as a showcase. Any other performance contexts like work,
ritual, and fund-raising have decreased.

4.1.4. Samulnori

*Samulnori* (사물놀이) is an innovative form of *p’ungmul*. It literally means
playing four objects: four (*samul*) and play (*nori*). The instruments for *samulnori* are the
*changgo* (a double-sided hourglass drum 장고), the *kkwaenggawari* (a small gong
康熙), the *ching* (a large gong 짝) and the *puk* (a barrel drum 북). The term
“*samulnori*” was first used in 1978 when Kim Duk Soo with other three performers
premiered extracted musical forms from *p’ungmul* at the Space Theatre (*Konggan sarang
공간사랑*) in Seoul. The performance was widely considered a great success. Two
months after their first performance, they were given the name for their group. The
Korean folklorist Shim U-sŏng created the name, SamulNori, based on the number of

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36 Interview with Yang Sun-ju, July 26, 2008.
37 When the term *samulnori* refers to the original group, it will be written SamulNori. When it
refers to the genre, it will be written *samulnori*. 108
musical instruments used in the performance. The original SamulNori performers were Kim Duk Soo (chango), Kim Yong-bae (kkwaneggawari), Yi Chong-dae (ching), and Ch’ae T’ae-hyŏn (puk). The ching and puk players have been replaced by Yi Kwang-su and Ch’oe Chong-sil by 1980.\textsuperscript{38} This group has gained enormous popularity. Henceforth, many followers of Kim’s SamulNori performances learn musical pieces and performance practices which has been established by SamulNori. It is currently one of the most famous performance genres enjoyed by the general public. Today, the term refers to the new genre as well as Kim’s performance group.

There are several differences between samulnori and p’ungmul; 1) performance venue and format; 2) instrumentation and costumes; 3) eliminated props; 4) organization of time; 5) standardized and systematized way of teaching; and 6) standardized repertoire with an accent on virtuosity. First, samulnori is often held inside of a concert hall because of differences in its performance purpose and function from traditional forms. As seen above, p’ungmul is often associated with work and ritual contexts. However, samulnori emphasizes musical aspects. Furthermore, the major performance format of samulnori is anjūn pan, which means performing in sitting position, whereas p’ungmul is always performed in standing position. Although samulnori is also performed in standing position, it is used solely for the p’an’gut, which consists of dance, playing instruments, and audience’s participation in a performance at the end of the performance.

Second, the instrumentation and costumes for samulnori performances are different from p’ungmul. As seen in the genre name, samulnori refers to the playing of

\textsuperscript{38} Kim Yong-bae left SamulNori in 1984 and performed with samulnori ensemble of the National Center of Korean Traditional Performing Arts. Ch’oe Chong-sil left in 1989 and Yi Kwang-su in 1992. Both Ch’oe and Yi found their own samulnori troupes.
four of the *p’ungmul* instruments. The *sogo* (small drum) is sometimes added, but other wind instruments like *nabal* and *t’aep’yŏngso* are not often played in *samulnori*. The moment when *nabal* and *t’aep’yŏngso* are played in *samulnori* is limited to the *p’an’gut* section, performed in standing position. Also, the *samulnori* costume is unified and standardized (Howard 1998). All performers wear white trousers and tops with black jackets and colored sashes: yellow, blue, and red. The *kkokkal* (hat with flower ornamentation) is rarely seen for *samulnori* performances. Third, the variety of clowns, dancers, and flags that often accompany traditional performances are eliminated from *samulnori*. There are no actors (*chapsaek*) who take charge of theatrical character roles to provoke the audience’s attention. The flags are indicative of the group name, SamulNori, but no longer have any association with farmers or labor groups.

Fourth, whereas *p’ungmul* is a lengthy performance which repeats a few rhythmic patterns over and over again, *samulnori* has adapted to the stage performance context of a concert hall. All *samulnori* pieces together do not last more than two hours, as is the case for other music performances found in concert halls. Also the moment of *p’an’gut* at the end of the whole performance is notably shortened, or it is even sometimes eliminated. Fifth, after gaining enormous popularity and success, Kim Duk Soo established Hanullim, a non-profit organization for performing and teaching *samulnori*. The organization has published textbooks and scores for *samulnori* pieces and produced audio-video teaching aids since 1990. It first released “*Samulnori kyo‘ch’ikbon 1: changgo-ŭi kibon* 사물놀이 교칙본 1: 장고의 기본 [Samulnori Workbook 1: The basic of *changgo*]” in September of 1990. The textbook is a transcription of *changgo*
rhythms. Also it has set up an “aesthetic code” for samulnori, with specific instructions for such techniques as a way of breathing, rotating the hands and the up-and-down upper body movements (Howard 1998: 965). This provides a more standardized format from which to learn samulnori repertoires. In addition, various audio recordings of Kim and other samulnori performances allow students to learn by listening to professional performers playing. Shingil Park (2000) states that those materials are convenient for learning systematic theories of breathing and stroke techniques for self-study.

Sixth, samulnori has set pieces and orders in which they are played. A concert program of Kim’s samulnori has a typical structure: Pinari, Samdo sŏlchanggo, Samdo nongak, short intermission, and P’an’gut (Park, Shingil 2000: 183). The standard order was established in 1984 when SamulNori performed at the Sejong Cultural Center in 1984.39 “Pinari (비나리)” is a chant to pray for good fortune. It was added in September 1980 (Howard 1998: 966). “Samdo sŏlchanggo (삼도 설장고),” arranged rhythmic patterns from three regions, premiered in 1982. It originated from p’ungmul sŏlchanggo which is a solo changgo piece, while performing kaeinnori (showing individual performer’s skill 개인놀이) in p’an’gut. All of the players for “Samdo sŏlchanggo” play only changgo in the sitting position and “Samdo sŏlchanggo” in samulnori to maximize the musical aspects of the performance. The traditional order of the sŏlchanggo is fast-slow-fast, but Kim Duk Soo’s SamulNori rearranged it into slow-moderate-fast (Kim Tong-wŏn 2009: 20). The “Samdo sŏlchanggo” of SamulNori starts

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39 It was in 1984 at the Sejong Cultural Center when the program order was the first introduced to the public. After the performance Kim Yong-bae left samulnori.
with a *tasŭrum* (다스룹) based on a *samch’ae* (삼체). This is an introduction to the “*Samdo sŏlchanggo*.” It moves from the *kutkŏri* (굿거리), a slow dancelike section, to the *chajinmori* (자진모리), a moderate section, and to the *hwimori* (휘모리), a fast section. In other words, Kim’s SamulNori tends to maximize dramatic effects by positioning the fast section at the end. However, the order of the sections is different from one *samulnori* group to another. For example, the *samulnori* team of the National Center of the Korean Traditional Performing Arts presents the *hwimori* just after the introduction (Park, Shingil 2000: 184).

“*Samdo nongak* (삼도 농악)” refers to the assembled rhythmic patterns from three regions. It involves “*Tchaksoe* (짝쇠)” from *uttari* (웃다리), “*och’aejilkgut* (오채질굿)” from *udo* (우도), and “*pyŏl’dalgŏri* (별달거리)” from *yŏngnam*. At first each piece was performed separately and it was later combined as one piece of “*Samdo nongak*.” Also, the core repertoire later added *chwado nongak* (Howard 1998: 967). The *p’an’gut* in *samulnori* combines playing instruments with acrobatic gymnastic movements. During the *p’an’gut*, the *taep’yŏngso* is often played while other performers are playing instruments and doing acrobatic movements. A *kkwaenggwari* player wears a *pup’o sangmo* (a rounded-top hat with a tuft of white stiff feathers) or *pudŭl sangmo* (a rounded top hat with a tuft of white soft feathers) and the rest of the players wear *ch’ae*

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40 Each of the SamulNori members knew the rhythmic patterns of different regions very well. Ch’oe Chong-sil knew *yŏngnam* and Kim had learned the *changgo* rhythmic pattern of Koch’ang in Honam *udo*. Kim Duk Soo and Yi Kwang-su were born in the Ch’ungch’ŏng province and knew *uttari p’ungmul* very well. Thus, the SamulNori performers could bring together different regional *p’ungmul* styles.
sangmo-s (a hat with a long ribbon, 90 cm in length). During the p’an’gut, the sogo is also added and the player does chaban twijipgi (flipping in the air 자반 뒤집기) and later spins a large circle with the yöldubal sangmo (a hat with a long ribbon, 14 meters in length). The p’an’gut is indeed a moment of showing off the skills and techniques of the performers. Whereas the traditional p’an’gut in p’ungmul lasts a considerable time, sometimes until midnight, p’an’gut in samulnori does not last more than 45 minutes in order to fit into a 2-hour concert program. Lastly, Kim Duk Soo’s samulnori repertoire is suitable for showing a performer’s virtuosity. It requires maximizing a player’s skills and techniques. As a result, the musical aspects are highlighted (Yi Chong-jin 2001: 56). Moreover, video recordings of the SamulNori performances focus on performers’ fast somatic movements and virtuosity by highlighting performer’s sweat.

There is no doubt that samulnori genre has adapted to the contemporary urbanized Korea. It has gained spectacular popularity with the public, regardless of gender, age, and social class. Many schools, including middle and high schools to colleges, have samulnori and or p’ungmul circles. Due to samulnori’s stunning reputation, p’ungmul has gained more interest from the public as well. The Korean government strategically uses icons of p’ungmul performances in an effort to promote Korean traditional performances (Hesselink 2006: 3-4).

4.1.5. The Minjung Cultural Movement

P’ungmul performance in the 1980s was strongly associated with the minjung munhwa undong (minjung cultural movement 민중 문화 운동). Much has been written
about a variety of issues revolving around definitions of *minjung*, goals of the *minjung* cultural movement, and the roles of folk arts as a way of articulating the *minjung* cultural movement (Shim U-sŏng 1978; Cho Tong-il 1984; Chŏng I-dam 1985). *Minjung* refers to common or ordinary people, especially those who participate in movements “in opposition to a system perceived as authoritarian” (Koo 1993: 131-132, quoted in Hesselink 2006: 91). Namhee Lee remarks that “*minjung* was projected as true intersubjective agency, and the military dictatorship, and foreign powers as not only anti-*minjung* but also as anti national and anti-democratic” (2001: 330). Hence, the *minjung* cultural movement sought practices that would allow the common Korean to express identity through folk arts genres, against rapid Westernization and military dictatorship.41 Folk cultural practices were believed “to represent common people, or the *minjung* that intellectuals sought so passionately to connect with and mobilize” (Kwon, Donna Lee 2005: 13). During this period, “South Korea not only saw the proliferation of *minjung* as a social movement of students, workers, the urban poor, and women but also as academic, religious, and artistic activities such as *minjung* historiography, sociology, theology, literature, art and even comics” (Lee, Namhee 2001:3). The *minjung* cultural movement gained much attention from particular social classes including college students, the highly educated and laborers. Many college students during this period were involved in the movement and formed circles with interests in folk arts, such as *p’ungmul, t’alch’um* (mask dance 탈춤), *misul* (art 미술), and *minyo* (traditional folk song 민요). Those folk genres were often utilized politically for expressing positions that

41 At that time, the Western imperial power, particularly the U.S. influence, was conceived as collaborating with the Korean military regime (Park, Shingil 2000: 88).
were against military dictatorship and Westernization. The minjung cultural movement was the consequence of a number of student demonstrations during the military regimes of former presidents Park Jung Hee and Chun Doo Hwan. During the 1960s and 1970s the protests were often followed and accompanied by performing kut (Korean shamanistic rite 교), t’alch’um (Korean mask dance 탈춤) and madanggŭk (an inventive theatre form of outdoor play 마당극). It is not an exaggeration to say that p’ungmul, t’alch’um and madanggŭk were rediscoveries of the minjung cultural movement between the late 1960s and 1980s.

The minjung cultural movement traces back to the “4.19 Revolution” that included a number of student movements and protests. The 4.19 Revolution was led by students in an attempt to criticize the falsified election, which was held on March 15, 1960. College and high school students in all over the country demanded a new election and president Rhee Sung Man’s resignation. During the protests, many students were killed and wounded, until finally president Yi resigned from office and was exiled to Hawaii. During the turmoil, Park Jung Hee and his fellows at the Korean Military Academy staged a coup d’etat on May 16, 1961, so-called “5.16.” This event replaced the docile prime minister, Chang Myŏn, and opened a new military dictatorship for over three decades. President Park signed the Normalization Treaty with Japan despite the students’ intensive protests. As Namhee Lee remarks, “there was a widespread perception that normalization with Japan should be preceded by Japan’s apology” for its colonial period and “the United States was behind the Treaty (…) presiding over Japanese take-over of Korea’s economy” (2001: 66-67). Students held anti-treaty
protests and some protests included a form of Korean shamanistic rites (kut 굿): Funeral Service for Nationalist Democracy (Minjokjŏk minujuŭi changryesik 민족적 민주주의 장례식). The performance is considered as one of the antecedents of the madanggŭk (마당극) of the 1970s and 1980s (Mun Ho-yŏn 1985: 54). In order to suppress the students’ anti-Treaty demonstrations, Park Jung Hee declared martial law, which included closing universities, censoring media, and extending curfew hours. He used the stated purpose of developing the economy as a way to justify his regime, and forced low wages and long work hours on laborers. Also, his regime intensively suppressed protests that demanded better work environments as well as democracy. To control the state, Park promulgated the Yusin constitution (a set of oppressive laws 유신 헌법), stating that the government could prohibit freedom and suspend the rights of people, which are described in the constitution. Due to the constitution, Park’s regime is also called the Yusin era (1972-1979). While Park stayed in power, he attempted to restore and revitalize traditional practices as a way to justify the legitimacy of his regime (Mun Ho-yŏn 1985: 55). Namhee Lee, who considers tradition and folk practices as a site of contested nationalism remarks:

The military regime saw in the revival of folk culture a reservoir of resources of folk culture a reservoir of resources for modernization and a source of its own legitimacy, with the students and intellectuals seeing it as the indigenous minjung life of resisting the impact of modernization and westernization (Lee, Namhee 2001: 548).

Paradoxically, university students were against President Park’s regime on the one hand, while on the other hand the governmental systems also opened up “certain avenues of access to politicized students” (Kwon, Donna Lee 2005: 12; see also Mun Ho-
yŏn 1985). From the 1960s, students began to found folklore and folk drama research groups. For example, Cho Tong-il and Kim Chi-ha, who are very influential through their followers in the minjung cultural movement and who led the Funeral Service of National Democracy, founded a folk drama research group, Malttuki (말뚝이), at Seoul University in 1965. The research groups contributed to reviving mask dance (t’alch’um) among college students during the 1970s. It began with a student circle, called the Traditional Folklore Research Group, which performed mask dances, at Pusan University in 1969. College students were attracted to mask dance during the late 1970s and learned various forms of mask dance like “Pongsan t’alch’um (봉산 탈춤).” Students at Sŏgang University particularly revitalized “Kasan o kwangdae nori (가산 오광대 놀이).” Mask dance has different characters, each of which satirizes a ruling class. Not only traditional mask dance but also a reinvented form of mask dance was commonly perceived as a “natural and effective medium with which to voice resistance to the Yushin system” (Lee, Namhee 2001: 570).

In addition to mask dance, madanggŭk gained popularity during the 1970s. Madanggŭk derived from mask dance and was also influenced by Western theatrical practices as well as the tradition of “theatre of resistance” abroad (Kwon, Donna Lee 2005: 17; Lee, Namhee 2001: 569-570). It also involves the traditional Korean musical practices of kut (traditional shamanistic rite), p’ungmul and p’ansori (traditional forms of

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42 Cho Tong-il is well known for his numerous works on t’alch’um. Kim Chi-ha is very famous poet and his work is very well known, particularly his “Five Enemies (O Chŏk, 오적),” which indicates the rich, congressmen, generals, ministers/vice ministers, government officials at a high level. He criticized and satirized these five enemies and was imprisoned for the poem.
story telling (판소리). Performing a *madanggŭk* became a form of protest during this period, due to its themes and subject matter which were directly drawn from political and social issues. *Madanggŭk* dealt with the issues of suffering farmers in “Sweet Potatoes in Hampyŏng (*Hampyŏng koguma* 함평 고구마),” workers and the poor in “Light of Factory (*Kongjang-ŭi pulpit* 공장의 불빛),” “Solve the Issue of Tongil Textile (*Tongil pangjik munje haekyŏlahara* 동일 방직 문제 해결하라),” “The Dream of a Pig (*Toeji-ŭi kkum* 돼지의 꿈)” and “*Miyal* (미얄)” (Lee, Namhee 2001: 573-575; see also Mun Ho-yŏn 1985).

4.1.6. 1980s to the Present

Park Jung Hee was assassinated on Oct 26, 1979 and major general Chun Doo Hwan, supported by No T’ae-u and Chong Ho-yŏn, in the so-called “12.12 incident” in the same year gained control of the state. Major general Chun declared martial law and extended it to the entire country on May 17, 1980. Consequently, students began protests on May 18, 1980 in Kwangju, a city of the South Chŏlla province. This event is called the 5.18 Kwangju *Minjuhwa undong* (5.18 Kwangju democratization movement, or Kwangju uprising 광주 민주화 운동) and continued until May 27, when martial law subjugated the movement. While martial law suppressed the protest, many college students who participated in the protests and also other citizens were killed, prompting outrage. While over 200,000 people in Kwangju partook in demonstrations, thousands were wounded, killed and rendered missing. Also, the 5.18 Kwangju uprising prompted Korean Americans to participate in protests in the States and to become interested in the
minjung cultural movement. As Namhee Lee remarks, “since 1980, May has been
designated as the month of Kwangju, with various forms of commemorate events” and
“during 1980-1985 commemorative events were as much a part of student movement as
street demonstrations” (Lee, Namhee 2001: 203).

In the aftermath of the 5.18 Kwangju uprising, the minjung cultural movement
reached its peak. Not only historical but also theoretical approaches to mask dance and
madanggŭk increased explosively during the 1980s. The Song Movement (Norae
undong 노래 운동) also gained popularity during this period and many universities had
norae circles: Ulimtŏ at Yŏnse University (1984); Sorisarang at Sŏnggyungwan
University (1983); Hangaram at Sukmyŏng University (1984), to name a few. Students
created, learned, and circulated minjung kayo (songs of minjung 민중 가요), whose texts
explicitly projected the themes and subject matter of the minjung cultural movement. For
example, songs like “Sagye (사계)” and “Chŏnggylech’ŏn 8th Street (청계천 팔가)”
depict the life of the urban poor and laborers. “Sangroksu (상록수)” demonstrates
eagerness for democracy. Among the minjung kayo, “Morning Dew (Ach’im isul 아침
이슬)” became one of the most popular minjung kayo between the 1970s and 1980s.
Singing and circulating the songs was banned during Park’s regime not only because
those songs were often sung at student rallies and protests but also because the texts of
the songs expressed anti-government sentiments.

Notably, p’ungmul became a cultural marker of the 1980s. The image of
p’ungmul became and remained a part of the minjung cultural movement. Students often
perform p’ungmul as a means of initiating demonstrations, so performing p’ungmul often
correlates with protests and rallies during this period.\textsuperscript{43} Students became interested in the origin of \textit{p’ungmul} and attempted to stage \textit{p’ungmul} in work and ritual contexts, as it had once functioned in agricultural society. This was because that \textit{p’ungmul} in work and ritual contexts often emphasized the kind of community participatory activities that were highly valued in the \textit{minjung} cultural movement. Hesselink writes:

\begin{quote}
\textit{P’ungmul}’s close association with shamanistic activity in the countryside, as well as its ties to articulate and “the earth”, made it an ideal candidate for minjung theorizing and support. Such efforts often sought to provide unifying symbols and models of behavior to help explain the logic—if not, at times, mysteries—underlying the art form’s enduring emotional links to the realm of mythos and the prototypical, timeless Korean “peasant” (Hesselink 2006: 92).
\end{quote}

Thus, \textit{p’ungmul} and it’s role as a communal participatory activity was emphasized during this period (Yi Bohyong \& Chu Kang-hyŏn 1989; Kim In-u 1987). Mun Ho-yŏn (1985) shows the wide range of \textit{p’ungmul} participants at college campuses during the 1980s. Also, \textit{p’ungmul} hobby clubs of laborers were founded extensively during this period. \textit{P’ungmul} practitioners learned \textit{p’ungmul} from the \textit{p’ungmul} circles and clubs and they visited intensive training centers (\textit{chŏnsugwan}) in rural areas during the summer and winter breaks.

In contemporary urbanized Korea, \textit{p’ungmul} or \textit{samulnori} has become a cultural icon to represent Korean culture. As Hesselink (2006) explains, images of \textit{p’ungmul} or \textit{samulnori} performers appear on calendars, post cards, and various kinds of artifacts, which are sold at souvenir shops. It is difficult to find regional folk festivals without \textit{p’ungmul} or \textit{samulnori} performances. Many schools, including elementary schools,

\textsuperscript{43} Interview with Kang Tae-sŭng, September 23, 2006.
middle schools, high schools and universities, have *p’ungmul* or *samulnori* circles. Although the correlation between *p’ungmul* and political rallies has decreased, a few social activists still perform *p’ungmul* as a signal at the beginning of rallies. Intensive training centers for *p’ungmul* are full of students regardless of age, gender, occupation, and nationality. Some second generation Korean Americans and foreigners from Germany, Japan, and other parts of the world attend the intensive training programs during summer and winter breaks. The National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts, one of the most influential organizations for traditional arts in Korea, has a *samulnori* troupe under the division of folk music troupes.\(^\text{44}\) The center has sent performers abroad to promote traditional Korean performing arts and held workshops abroad for Korean immigrants around the world.

4.1.7. Regional Characteristics

A large volume of scholarly works on *p’ungmul* in various academic fields examines regional *p’ungmul* practices by looking at instrumentation, costume, rhythmic patterns, and *p’an’gut* formations. There are several pioneers in this field, including Chang Sa-hun (1976), Kim U-hyŏn (1984), Chŏng Pyŏng-ho (1986) and Yu Mu-yŏl (1986). However, scholars have divided regional *p’ungmul* in different ways. For example, Chang Sa-hun (1976) and Kim U-hyŏn (1984) divide *p’ungmul* into Kyŏngki, Honam, Yŏngnam and Kangwŏn provinces. Yu Ok-jae (1985) divides *p’ungmul* into Kyŏngki, Ch’ungch’ŏng, Udo, Chwado, northern Kyŏnngsang, southern Kyŏngsang, and

\(^{44}\) The official name of the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts has changed to National Gukak Center.
Kangwŏn. However, the five regional divisions of *p’ungmul* which are most widely used by *p’ungmul* practitioners as well as in academia originated from the Intangible Cultural Asset program and the Cumulative Report of Investigation of Korean Folk published in May 1985.

As I discussed earlier part in this chapter, the Korean government promulgated the Cultural Asset Preservation Law in 1962 as an effort to preserve and revitalize Korean cultural practices and founded the Bureau of Cultural Assets (*Munhwajae kwallyuk* 문화재 관리국) in 1963. As a means to designate cultural elements as Important Intangible Cultural Assets, the bureau organized committee members who would conduct investigations and field research about various traditional Korean practices and performing arts, including *p’ungmul*. For example, the committee members examined the history of performances, accounts of their contexts, and information about special features and collected photos and took audio or video recordings of performances (Yang, Jongsung 1994). The Bureau of Cultural Properties has published reports about a number of cultural assets.

The first official document on *p’ungmul* published by the Bureau of Cultural Properties was *Nongak 12 ch’a* (Twelve Movements of Nongak 농악 12 차) in 1965. In the report, *p’ungmul* was recognized under the name of *Nongak 12 ch’a* and based on the report, *p’ungmul* was designated as Important Intangible Cultural Asset No. 11 in the following year 1966. The report, *Nongak 12 ch’a*, divides nongak into three regional distinctions: chwado (the left side of Chŏlla province 좌도), udo (the right side of Chŏlla province 우도) and chungan (literally meaning central 중간). This document not only
illustrates each of the three regional $p'$ungmul$ styles but also identifies the characteristics of Chinju Samch’ŏnp’o $nongak$, the representative $p'$ungmul$ styles of the south-eastern ($yŏngnam$ 영남) area.

However, Chŏng Pyŏng-ho and Yi Po-hyŏng argued for reconsideration of the regional division in a new report of the Cumulative Report of Investigation of Korean Folk series produced in 1981 (Howard 2006 a: 11-12). In the Cumulative Report of Investigation of Korean Folk published in May 1985, $Nongak$ 12 $ch’a$ renamed simply $nongak$, so that the name “accommodate regional variations” in $p'$ungmul$ practices (Hessenlink 2006: 10). In the document, Chŏng Pyŏng-ho and Yi Po-hyŏng examined additional $p'$ungmul$ groups from Iri, P’yŏngt’aek, and Kangnŭng and all these groups were appointed as the Intangible Cultural Asset No. 11 in December 1985. Three years later, Pilbong was additionally appointed as the Asset. Currently, five $p'$ungmul$ groups are recognized as Intangible Cultural Asset No.11. Each group is considered the representative form of a particular regional style: Chinju samch’ŏnp’o (Important Cultural Asset No. 11-1) is the representative form of $yŏngnam$, P’yŏngt’aek (No. 11-2) of $uttari$, Iri (No. 11-3) of $udo$, Kangnŭng (No. 11-4) of $yŏngdong$ and P’ilbong (No.11-5) of $chwado$. 
A: uttari    B: udo    C: chwado    D: yŏngnam    E: yŏngdong

Figure 4.1. The five regions of *p’ungmul*
Thereafter, *p’ungmul* practices have been divided into five different regional forms, those from: *uttari* (우타리), *chwado* (좌도), *udo* (우도), *yŏngdong* (영동), and *yŏngnam* (영남). *Uttari* (literally meaning upper leg) includes the Kyŏnggi and Ch’ungch’ŏng provinces. *Chwado* is the left side of Ch’olla province and *udo* is the right side of province, if we were looking southward from Seoul. Therefore, the left side (*chwado*) involves the foothills of mountains such as Imsil, Muju, and Namwŏn and on the right side (*udo*) is found in the flat rice plain around the Sŏmjin River, and areas like Iri, Chŏngŭp, and Kimje. *Yŏngdong*, the eastern side of Korea’s central mountain spine, includes the Kangwŏn province and *yŏngnam*, the southern side of Korea’s central mountain spine, includes the Kyŏngsang province. In other words, the designation of five regional *p’ungmul* types as Important Cultural Assets generated the five regional divisions of *p’ungmul*. Afterwards, a variety of publications by folklorists and the Bureau of Cultural Assets follow the five regional divisions and examine characteristics of the five different regional *p’ungmul* styles.

Among them, Chŏng Pyŏng-ho (1986) outlines the characteristics of the five different regional *p’ungmul* styles in a schema which many succeeding works on *p’ungmul* have followed. According to him, dancing boys (*mudong* 무동), the *kilgunak ch’ilch’ae* (길군악 칠채) rhythmic pattern, and the *tchŏktchigi kut* (칠파치기 곫) played by two *kkwaenggwari* are unique feature of *uttari* *p’ungmul*. Also, *uttari* is famous for *namsadang* (남사당), wandering professional entertainers, which have highly developed techniques and skills. Various *p’an’gut* formations are also seen in *uttari* *p’ungmul*. As for costumes, cotton sashes of three colors in white cloth are common and sometimes
performers wear blue vests. The wearing of *sangmo* by most performers is another feature in this region. *P’ungmul* from *chwado* tends to have faster and powerful rhythms. However, *udo* is well known for its slow and fairly elaborated and ornamented *changgo* rhythms, and *sŏlchanggo* in *udo* is a very famous repertoire. In *chwado*, all players except the *kkwaengwari* player wear *sangmo*, whereas in *udo* all except the *kkwaengwari* player wear *kokkal*. *Yŏngnam* is especially known for its powerful and military-like characters because of the frequent use of *puk* in *p’ungmul* performances and performers’ bold movements. The dance for five *puks* (*o pukch’um 오복춤*) is a famous repertoire in *yŏngnam*. Also, *pyŏldalgŏri* (*별달거리*), one of the most prominent pieces in *samulnori*, is derived from *Yŏngnam*. *Yŏngdong* has very simple rhythmic patterns and is known for *p’ungmul* performed in the *chisinbalpki* (stepping on the ground) ritual.

The characteristics of each regional *p’ungmul* style, as Chŏng Pyŏng-ho demonstrates, rely on the representative form of a particular regional style. The representative form of each region follows the official version that has been designated as the Important Intangible Cultural Asset. Once a performance group is designated as the Important Intangible Cultural Asset, the group has the prestige to represent and further define the regional performance style.

However, the designation of a representative form for each regional *p’ungmul* style essentializes this form and does not allow for the inclusion of variation or other performance styles in the region. For instance, *uttari* encompasses the Kyŏngki and Ch’ungch’ŏng provinces, which the P’yŏngt’aek performance style is represented by. However, the performance styles of the southern part of the Ch’ungch’ŏng province,
including Nonsan and Kŭmsan, are similar to the performance styles of Honam chwado (Yu Ok-jae 1985: 84). The Kangwŏn province is included in yŏngdong, which is represented by Kangnŭng performance practices. However, the province is divided by the T’aebaek mountain and the performance practices of the western part of the mountain are similar to the performance styles in uttari (Yu Mu-yŏl 1986: 19). This problem is most explicit in chwado and udo. Hesselink (2006) raises a question about the dichotomy between chwado and udo and argues that the regional distinction is derived from the designations of the Important Intangible Cultural Asset process. It is believed that in regards to the context of the performance, chwado is associated with the rural style due to the government designation of the P’ilbong troupe as the Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 11-5, and udo is often linked with itinerant group due to Iri being designated as the Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 11-4. Hesselink remarks:

The local Chŏlla province p’ungmul scene could have been radically different. If the Namwŏn-based “left side” touring ensemble directed by the virtuoso lead soe player Yu Myŏng-ch’ol had been designated a cultural property, if the amateur “right side” village ritual group from Koch’ang had been recognized (see Hesselink 1999), then nearly all currently accepted norms and truisms would cease to have any explanatory power. Though I have been mostly sympathetic to the cultural property system throughout the writing of this book, this last observation reveals a negative yet very real consequence of relying solely on this institutional framework (Hesselink 2006: 204).

Also, the regional division of p’ungmul performance practice does not reflect any process of change or any possibility for being influenced by other performance groups. Many performance troupes, particularly troupes in uttari and udo, wander various areas and make money by performing p’ungmul. Especially during the 1960s there were quite a few professional wandering troupes (Kwŏn Eŭn-yŏng 2009). As the troupes visited
different regions, the performers would have opportunities to observe the performance practices of other regions and would change or integrate variations in their performance practices. Also, given that chwado and udo are geographically close to each other, there is no doubt that they have been mixed while the wandering troupes have gone around (Kim Wŏn-ho 1999:260-263):

Chwado and udo have been mixed because of the appearance of female p’ungmul troupes and mixed gender p’ungmul troupes during the 1960s. It was the time that wandering entertainment p’ungmul troupes performed as a way to make money and gain popularity. “Those troupes only select ‘fast and rhythmical’ patterns for their performance.” (Yu Myŏng-chŏl, Honam chwado p’ungmulgut, p. 264) (Kim Wŏn-ho 1999: 260).

The narrative shows that there can be no clear distinction between chwado and udo.

Many contemporary studies on p’ungmul are wary of applying the framework of the five regional p’ungmul styles (see Kim Wŏn-ho 1999; Hesselink 1999; 2006; Yang Chin-sŏng 2008; Howard 2006 a) because those studies show tendencies to over-emphasize a particularity of a performance troupe in a region. Nevertheless, the structure of the five regional divisions of p’ungmul is widely maintained for its convenience. As pointed out by Donna Lee Kwon, the Intangible Cultural Asset system has intensified the sense of regionality and locality within p’ungmul practice (2005:139).
4.2. P’ungmul in the U.S.

Although there are a few studies on p’ungmul in the U.S. from different aspects and disciplines (Gwak, Sung YounSonya 2006; Yu, Youngmin 2005; 2007; Kwon, Donna Lee 2001; Bussell 1997), historical concerns about p’ungmul in the U.S. have gained relatively little scholarly attention. This is not only because it is difficult to trace the number of p’ungmul groups scattered throughout the States, but also because many groups have disbanded at various times due to the lack of funding and resources. Despite those difficulties in writing a history of p’ungmul in the States, constructing a p’ungmul history remains a crucial part in demonstrating how p’ungmul has developed and changed in the host society. Donna Lee Kwon (2001), one of the pioneers of looking at p’ungmul history within the U.S., divides the history of p’ungmul in the U.S. into two phases: the first from 1985 to 1989 and the second from 1990 to the present. She points out that Korean political exiles were stimulated to create p’ungmul groups by the cultural divisions of voluntary social organizations in the Korean American community during the first period and a number of formal p’ungmul groups throughout the States were created during the second period.

Given that there were significant numbers of traditional Korean performance troupes in LA and NYC before the 1980s, I propose to divide p’ungmul history into three periods: 1) before the 1980s; 2) the 1980s to 2001; 3) 2001 to present. I have found evidence from the early years of one of the first p’ungmul groups of New York that is still actively involved in diverse cultural events. The group, Nongak Troupe of the Eastern U.S. (Midongbu nongakdan 미동부 농악단) was founded in 1976. Also, a few
traditional Korean music associations staged $p$’ungmul before the 1980s. Thus, I see the first phase as taking place before the 1980s, and functioning as an opening of $p$’ungmul in the States. The second period (1980s to 2001) sees the birth of quite a large number of $p$’ungmul groups in the States and many troupes were influenced by the minjung cultural movement in Korea. In addition, numerous collegiate $p$’ungmul groups were created during this time. More importantly, the National $P$’ungmul Network was founded in 1999 in an attempt to create a network between different $p$’ungmul troupes across the States. The National $P$’ungmul Network provided opportunities to meet $p$’ungmul performers across different regions of the U.S. through $p$’ungmul camps, at which performers exchanged knowledge and resources about $p$’ungmul. In addition to the National $P$’ungmul Network, Hannoori was created and the group has held the annual $p$’ungmul camp and workshops, mostly for $p$’ungmul practitioners in New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania.

The third phase (2001 to the present) opens with the founding of the Korean Cultural Outreach Network in New York, whose purpose is to network $p$’ungmul groups mostly in New York area. Most importantly, the third phase is distinguished from the previous period in that young $p$’ungmul performers currently have little involvement in politicized activities through $p$’ungmul performances, while the older generations of performers are still interested in politicized $p$’ungmul performances. A few of the groups which were created during the second period disbanded during this period for various reasons. Also, the National $P$’ungmul Network broke up in 2008 when the Korean Youth Cultural Center in Oakland, California, which had served as a headquarters of the
National *p’ungmul* Network, officially closed. In addition, a number of traditional Korean performers have immigrated to the U.S. and formed performance groups in various regions of the States during this period.

After tracing this historical trajectory, I will examine various institutes and performers in LA and NYC along with their major repertoires and the characteristics of their costumes and instruments.

4.2.1. Before the 1980s

As I mentioned in Chapter 2, the first wave of Korean emigration to the States occurred between 1903 and 1924, until the Asian Exclusion Act of 1924 took effect and prohibited Asian emigration to the States. Most of the Korean emigrants during the first wave were laborers on sugar cane plantations in Hawaii and their families. Some of them eventually moved to the mainland, particularly to California, for better working conditions. In Hawaii in 1905, the first official Korean language schools were founded and the schools provided history, language, and tradition classes (Seo, Maria Kongju 2001: 81). It is unknown whether the language school also taught Korean folk songs or traditional musical performances, as many contemporary Korean language schools do. Only two years after the first group of Koreans came to the U.S., these Koreans in Hawaii showed how eager they were to maintain Korean cultural practices in the new land. As early as 1907, Korean emigrants in Hawaii arranged to import musical instruments for their Korean ceremonies and feasts (Bernice K. 1937: 116, quoted in Sutton 1987: 103). In 1922, the arts organization Nam Pung Sa was founded in Honolulu, Hawaii and
offered classes in Korean traditional songs and dances and Nam Pung Sa disbanded in 1927 (Sutton 1987: 103).

Maria Kongju Seo (2001) notes that there are three Korean American musicians who are descendants of the first wave Korean emigrants to the U.S.: Earl Kim, Donald Sur, and Gregory Pai. They have actively taken part in composition (Kim and Sur) and performing traditional Korean performances (Pai) since the 1960s. During the 1960s, some traditional Korean performers visited the States, as the Korean government attempted to promote traditional performing arts abroad. For example, Yu notes that the Folk Arts Troupe (Minsok yesuldan 민속 예술단) gave a performance in the U.S. in 1962 and the Arirang Troupe took performance tours in the U.S. and Europe in 1964 (2005: 193-194). In addition, Hwang Byung-ki, a well-known kayagŭm (twelve-string-zither 가야금) player and composer, was invited to teach the instrument at the University of Washington in Seattle in 1965. As seen in the previous chapter, the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1965, which abolished discrimination on the basis of racial and national origin, brought about a large influx of Korean emigrants to the States. Many Koreans left the homeland with a hope for better educations, occupations, and lives. A few major traditional Korean musicians and scholars also emigrated to the U.S. since the act of 1965. For example, Jin Hi Kim (a kŏmungo, six-string-zither, player), Byong Won Lee (a professor at the University of Hawaii), Kim Tong-sŏk (an adjunct assistant

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45 One of Earl Kim’s uncles, Kim P’il-kwŏn, is known as changgo harabŏji (changgo grandfather 장고 할아버지). He led a parade of Korean Americans in Long Beach, California, which showed Korean music and dance. It was known that he had made his changgo by himself (Seo, Maria Kongju 2001: 84).
professor at University of California Los Angeles), to name a few, came to the U.S. after the Act took effect. They have devoted themselves to inviting professional performers from Korea and to introducing traditional Korean performing arts to the States. Also, Chi Yŏng-hŭi (1909-1979) and Sŏng Kŭm-yŏn (1923-1986) moved to Hawaii. They are the poyuja (Individual Holders of the Important Intangible Cultural Asset) in the sinawi and kayagŭm sanjo genres, respectively. They opened a Korean music studio in Honolulu and taught Korean musical instruments such as changgo, puk, ching, kkwaenggware, taegŭm (a large transverse flute 대금), ajaeng (a seven-string bowed long zither 아쟁), kayagŭm (a twelve-string long zither 가야금), and kŏmungo (a six-string fretted long zither 거문고).

Meanwhile, traditional Korean performance groups or associations in the U.S. have been created since the 1970s. One of the earliest traditional Korean music associations, the Korean Traditional Music Institutes in the U.S. (Chaemi kukakwŏn 재미국악원) was established in 1973 in LA (Yu, Young-min 2005: 194) and a few years later in 1980 the Korean Traditional Music and Dance Association (Chaemi kukak ᴬ hôphoe 재미국악협회) was founded (Choy, Peggy Myo-yong 920). The associations have contributed to promoting and to introducing traditional Korean arts in the States.

The first p’ungmul group in NYC, the Nongak Troupe of the Eastern U.S. (Midongbu nongakdan 미동부농악단), was unexpectedly established just for an event

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46 Anderson Sutton lists traditional Korean music and dance performances from 1963 to 1985 in Honolulu, Hawaii which were organized by Byong Won Lee or Halla Huhm, a dance studio (1987:113-115).
on Independence Day on July 4th of 1976. In fact, it was a surrogate performance group. Fifty Korean performers were supposed to visit the U.S. for the event. However, a political issue between Korea and the U.S. at that time prevented the Korean performers from coming to the States; all of them were denied U.S. visas for that visit. The group’s founding member, Kim Ch’i-jung recalled that one of the officers at the Korean Central Intelligence Agency (the predecessor of the National Intelligence Service) visited his work-place, the Myŏngdong Korean Restaurant, and asked Kim if he could perform at the Independence Day celebration event. He remarked that the officer already knew that Kim had performed p’ungmul in Korea for 30 years before he came to the States. He accepted the invitation to perform for the event because he was being paid well. This was the first performance of the Nongak Troupe of the Eastern States.

The Nongak Troupe of the Eastern U.S. initially consisted of performers from New York and New Jersey and the group performed for the Independence Day celebration event for approximately ten more years. The performance for the Independence Day brought popularity to the Nongak Troupe and since then they were invited to various cultural events, such as the Korean American parade on Broadway, Manhattan, the Immigration Parade at Main St., Flushing, the Lunar New Year parade for Chinese and Korean in Flushing, the Korean Thanksgiving Day Festival at the Meadow Park in Flushing, and so on. The name of the group, the Nongak Troupe of the Eastern U.S., was changed in 1998 to the Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe (Pyŏnghwa t’ongil Nongakdan 평화 통일 농악단). The leading performers of the group are Kim Ch’i-

47 Kim Ch’i-jung and his fellows still use the term nongak regardless of their knowledge that the term was used under Japanese colonial period and has been widely replaced by p’ungmul. The new name of the group, Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe, still uses the term nongak.
jung, Pak Chŏng-bae and Chang Kŭn-dŏk. Both Pak Chŏng-bae and Chang Kŭn-dŏ have served as president of the performance troupe. Pak Chŏng-bae had been a member of the National Traditional Ensemble in Korea (1976-1983) before coming to the States. He plays tanso (notched vertical bamboo flute 단소), sokŭm (transverse bamboo flute 소금), p’iri (bamboo oboe 피리), and also sings traditional Korean lyrics called kagok (가곡). Chang Kŭn-dŏk has recently released an audio recording that includes 24 folksongs from the Kyŏngki province. He has won first place at the Traditional Korean Music Competition of the U.S. and a special award at the Chŏnju Taesasŭp Nori in Korea. Both Pak Chŏng-bae and Chang Kŭn-dŏk have also taught various forms of traditional Korean music to students at the Korean Folk Arts Institute (Hankuk minsok yesulwŏn 한국 민속 예술원) in Flushing, New York. In spite of the founding members’ ages, mid-sixties to seventies, this group still actively takes part in various performances and cultural events.

Figure 4.2. Members of the Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe at the house of Kim Ch’i-jung: Pak Chŏng-bae, Chang Kŭn-dŏk, and Kim Ch’i-jung from the left side
4.2.2. 1980 to 2001: *P’ungmul* Inspired by the *Minjung* Cultural Movement

This period is marked by Korean political refugees’ and the *minjung* cultural movement’s influences on the formation of *p’ungmul* groups in the States. A number of important *p’ungmul* groups were created during the 1980s, as Korean political refugees came to the States (Kwon, Donna Lee 2001; Yu, Young-min 2005). Among the political refugees, Kim Pong-jun and Yun Han-bong are important to note. Kim and Yun formed *p’ungmul* groups as cultural affiliations of voluntary political social associations and they introduced politicized *p’ungmul* to Korean American practitioners. Kim Pong-jun is an artist who is well-known for his drawings and prints that are inspired by folk arts. He was a founding member of the Folk Art Research Group at Hongik University in Korea. As with many other students who participated in the *minjung* cultural movement during the 1980s in Korea, he was also interested in learning mask dance and *p’ungmul*. When he came to the U.S. in 1987, he visited 8 cities with an aim to create folk arts groups, so called art group (*misulp’ae* 미술패). During his visit, Kim Pong-jun helped to establish the Korean Youth Cultural Center (*Hanin ch’ŏngnyŏn munhwawŏn* 한인 청년 문화원) in Oakland and the Minjung Cultural Research Group (*Minjung munhwa yŏnguso* 민중 문화 연구소) in LA and created *p’ungmul* groups that were affiliated with the Korean Youth Cultural Center. Until it was shut down in 2008 due to a lack of enrollment and funds, the Korean Youth Cultural Center had provided *p’ungmul* and mask dance classes. The Minjung Cultural Research Group facilitated forming *p’ungmul* groups at UCLA and

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*48* A few years later, the Minjung Cultural Research Group was renamed the Uri Cultural Research Group (*Uri Munhwa Yŏnkuso* 우리 문화 연구소). 136
UC Santa Barbara. The research group sent p’ungmul teachers when the collegiate p’ungmul groups of UCLA and UC Santa Barbara were initially formed, so the p’ungmul groups were able to have resources to learn traditional Korean performance.

Another important figure, Yun Han-bong, came to the U.S. as a political refugee after the Kwangju uprising (Yu Yongmin 2005). He established the Young Koreans United of USA. Each of its affiliations formed p’ungmul groups later, such as Hannuri (1992), Binari in Flushing (1985), Sorimori in Philadelphia and Ilkwa Nori (1988). During the early 1990s, Yi Chŏng-hun and Ko Chae-ho also came to the States. They were strongly influenced by the minjung cultural movement and taught p’ungmul and other forms of traditional Korean performance genres for various political social organizations.

In addition to these groups, P’ilbong p’ungmul teachers from Korea first visited the U.S. during the end of 1990s. P’ilbong was designated as Important Intangible Cultural Asset, No. 11-5 in 1988. As mentioned above, each of the regional p’ungmul styles that is designated as the Important Intangible Cultural Asset has an intensive training center, where the poyuja (the Individual Holder of the Important Intangible Cultural Asset 보유자) transmits the performance genre to students and the general public. Even before P’ilbong p’ungmul was designated as an Important Intangible

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49 Interview with Nam Chang-u, March 7, 2007.
50 See Youngmin Yu (2007: 204-206) for more a detailed historical background of YKU and its affiliations in Los Angeles, Chicago and Flushing. She notes that each of YKU’s affiliations currently operates under the National Korean American Service and Education Consortium, founded in 1994.
51 I trace the history of P’ilbong p’ungmul and the influences of P’ilbong practice on p’ungmul practitioners in Chapter 6.
Cultural Asset in 1988, Yang Sun-yŏng, the former leader of P’ilbong p’ungmul, had worked to transmit P’ilbong to the general public, particularly to college students in Korea since the 1970s. Because P’ilbong is well known for its community participation village practice (maŭlgut 마을굿), which is disappearing with the urbanization and industrialization of Korea, and because the minjung cultural movement focused on the participation of the community in p’ungmul, many participants in the minjung cultural movement were particularly attracted to P’ilbong p’ungmul practices. According to Yang Ching-sŏng (2008), the current leader of P’ilbong p’ungmul and the first son of Yang Sun-yŏng, quite a few leaders of the minjung cultural movement had visited the P’ilbong village to learn P’ilbong p’ungmul with Yang Sun-yŏng. Thus, P’ilbong-style p’ungmul is often considered to be a symbol of the minjung cultural movement in Korea. Yi Chong-hwan, a former director of the P’ilbong p’ungmul Preservation Society in New York (P’ilbong p’ungmul pojonhoe of New York 뉴욕 필봉 풍물 보존회), first invited P’ilbong performers to New York in 1999. When Yi Chong-hwan invited P’ilbong performers, Kim Tong-ch’an, Kim Tong-sŏk and Yi Chong-ku helped Yi. All of them had participated in the minjung cultural movement and learned P’ilbong p’ungmul practices before they came to the States. Since then, P’ilbong p’ungmul teachers have visited the U.S. and held workshops in different cities.

Moreover, the National P’ungmul Network (NPN) was created in 1999. It was supervised by the Korean Youth Cultural Center (KYCC) in Oakland which was founded

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52 I will discuss how P’ilbong p’ungmul is associated with the minjung cultural movement in Korea and how P’ilbong has continued to be linked with performance troupes in the U.S. in Chapter 6.
in 1987 by Kim Pong-jun. The NPN was created as a way to exchange knowledge and resources about p’ungmul and other forms of traditional Korean performing arts among different p’ungmul troupes across the States. More importantly, it held p’ungmul camps that lasted for two to three days. At the p’ungmul camps, Korean masters were often invited and different p’ungmul troupes hosted the p’ungmul camp in turn. P’ungmul practitioners in different cities came together in order to teach and learn p’ungmul at the camps and they had meals, lessons, practices and recreational time together. The first p’ungmul camp was hosted by the KYCC in Oakland, California in 1999 and performers from the National Korean Traditional Performing Arts Center in Korea were invited. Some p’ungmul practitioners from New York flew to Oakland in order to attend the camp. The biggest p’ungmul camp was held in 2001. Hanool in Flushing, New York hosted the p’ungmul camp that year. Four teachers from the P’ilbong p’ungmul group in Korea were invited for the camp. Participants came from Chicago, Baltimore, Oakland, and across the States. The final day was held at the Central Park in Manhattan, New York, and approximately 100 performers participated. For the event, a road idol (changsŭng 장승) was brought from Korea. As Donna Lee Kwon (2001) points out, one of the Korean national broadcasting stations, KBS, featured the whole p’ungmul camp with an emphasis on the final day’s event.

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54 A road idol had been set at the entrance of a village as a way to prevent bad spirit and fortune from coming to the village. Most of road idols had been removed when president Park Jung Hee enacted the New Village Movement (Saema’il undong) during his regime. See earlier of this chapter for more details on the New Village Movement and its effects on traditional Korean practices.
55 Interview with Yi Chong-hwan, July 26, 2008.
In addition to the NPN, Hannoori (한누리), a performance troupe in New Jersey, has held annual p’ungmul camps since 1999. The first p’ungmul camp by Hannoori was coincident with the first p’ungmul camp hosted by the NPN. The camp by Hannoori was mostly for the groups in the eastern area of the U.S. like New York, New Jersey, and Philadelphia. P’ungmul camps, not only those sponsored by NPN but also by Hannoori, illustrate that performers in the U.S. have a tendency to seek and create opportunities to meet other performance troupes in different regions and to learn new things from others. Participating p’ungmul camps are a way to extend performance repertoires and to learn more varied performance styles.

Indeed, numerous p’ungmul groups had been created across the U.S. by the end of 1990s. Founders of many of the groups had either participated in the minjung cultural movement, or were strongly influenced by the movement. For example, Hanool, which I will discuss elsewhere in Chapter 6, was founded in 1997. The troupe is a performance group affiliated with the Service and Education for Korean Americans (SEKA). Two of the founding members of Hanool and SEKA, Kim Tong-ch’an and Kim Tong-sŏk are known for their strong involvement in the minjung cultural movement. Both of them have emphasized p’ungmul as a politicized activity and Hanool has participated in political protests and campaigns. DDKY was created in 1996 as a performance troupe of the State University of New York, Stony Brook. Ch’oi Hyŏn-don, a founding member of DDKY, is known to have been influenced by the minjung cultural movement and he

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56 DDKY is an abbreviated form of Dŏng Dŏng Kung Yi. Dŏng and Kung is a verbalization of the changgo (double headed hourglass drum) sound. Yi is a suffix for a person’s character. For example, Kuiyŏmtŏngvi (귀염동이) refers to kuiyŏun saram (a sweet person 귀여운 사람) and simsulchaengvi (심술쟁이) refers to simsul maniŏn saram (a screwy person 심술 많은 사람).
was also involved in founding the Korean Culture Research Group (Uri munhwa ch’atkihoe 우리 문화 찾기회) in 1990.\textsuperscript{57} Mo Se-jong is another important figure who helped to form Sorimori, a p’ungmul group at the State University of New York, Buffalo. He was also strongly influenced by the minjung cultural movement.\textsuperscript{58}

In addition, Kim Duk Soo’s SamulNori group also had enormous effects on the p’ungmul groups in the States. His SamulNori group has performed in the States since the 1980s. The original members of SamulNori performed in the U.S. in 1987. This performance was a sensation for Korean Americans. SamulNori performances led by Kim Duk Soo in the States motivated many people to create a samulnori groups in the States. More importantly, it broadened the repertoire of p’ungmul groups of the U.S. and many p’ungmul troupes in the U.S. now perform samulnori pieces as important pieces of their repertoire.\textsuperscript{59}

4.2.3. Since 2001: Greater Diversity among P’ungmul Groups

The present period is characterized by the disbanding of the NPN, lessening influence of the minjung cultural movement on younger generation Korean Americans, and the coexistence of much more diverse p’ungmul groups. Since a dazzling performance at the Central Park in New York in 2001, there have been no active exchanges between p’ungmul groups in the Western and the Eastern areas of the States. I have attempted to find out whether some major p’ungmul practitioners in New York still

\textsuperscript{57} Interview with Kang Kyŏng-hŭi, December 23, 2006 and interview with Ko Ch’an-hyŏck, October 6, 2007.
\textsuperscript{58} Interview with Ko Ch’an-hyŏck, October 6, 2007.
\textsuperscript{59} Impacts of samulnori on the repertoire of p’ungmul in the U.S. will be examined in Chapter 7 and 8.
keep in touch with other performers in California during my fieldwork. However, I found that they have had no contact with each other. Because of the long distance, it seems to be difficult to come together on regular basis. Moreover, the NPN was officially shut down when the KYCC disbanded in 2008 due to lack of funding. The websites of the NPN and the KYCC do not exist any longer. It was unexpected that the KYCC disbanded because KYCC celebrated their 20th anniversary event in 2007.

Even after the NPN disbanded, p’ungmul groups in close distance have worked to have performances that would bring the Korean American community together. For example, under Nam Chang-u’s guidance, different collegiate p’ungmul groups have cooperated and performed the chisinbalpki ritual as a part of the Lunar New Year Festival in Koreatown, LA.60 Nam Chang-u had been involved in the KYCC during his college years and was one of the founding members to set up p’ungmul groups for UC Berkley, Stanford, UC San Francisco and UC Irvine. He currently serves as a mentor for the p’ungmul groups at UCLA, UC Santa Barbara, and UC Irvine, as he moved to Los Angeles a few years ago. He gives those groups advice on how to form entertainment-oriented p’ungmul (p’an’gut 판굿) events for their annual performance and for the Korean Culture Nights. He also holds an annual p’ungmul camp for collegiate p’ungmul practitioners. Also, p’ungmul groups in New York have been supported by the Korean Cultural Outreach Network (KCON) since 2002. Kang Kyŏng-hŭi, Ko Ch’an-hyŏck, Yun Paek-ch’ŏn, and Ch’oe Hyŏn-don are founding members of the KCON and all of the

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60 As I mentioned earlier, the purpose of chisinbalpki is to chase away bad spirits and bad fortune and to bring good fortune, wealth, health and good spirits into a village. It is traditionally performed between the first day and 15th day of the New Year. Performers sing traditional folk songs and perform p’ungmul by stepping on the floor, which signifies stepping on the bad spirits and chasing them away. I include ethnographic studies on chisinbalpki in LA in Chapter 7.
figures are involved in different \textit{p’ungmul} troupes. Before the foundation of the KCON, Hannoori took charge of many activities and roles that the KCON currently holds. By offering leadership training and membership training for collegiate \textit{p’ungmul} practitioners and hosting the annual \textit{p’ungmul} camp, it creates opportunities to meet other performance troupes, to build friendships with them and to obtain more knowledge about \textit{p’ungmul} and traditional Korean performing arts. Particularly, the KCON has taken over Hannoori’s annual \textit{p’ungmul} camp since 2002 and created its own webpage, www.poongmul.com. As of 2008, the KCON has the largest affiliation of groups in the eastern area. It consists of numerous collegiate \textit{p’ungmul} groups and other kinds of \textit{p’ungmul} groups like 149 \textit{P’ungmul} Place, Peace and Unite \textit{Nongak} Troupe, and New York \textit{P’ungmul} Troupe.\footnote{I examine more detailed history and characteristics of KCON in Chapter 6.}

The current younger generation of \textit{p’ungmul} practitioners are not as interested in participating in political protests or demonstrations when performing \textit{p’ungmul} as they were in the prior period. I met one of the \textit{p’ungmul} practitioners in LA who had moved from NYC. He plays the \textit{kkwaenggwari} and had been involved in Binarai, which is an affiliated \textit{p’ungmul} troupe of the National Korean American Service and Education Consortium in Flushing, New York. However, he does not like politicized activities. As he moved to LA, he sought a performance group which is not involved in politicized performances. He is now involved in one of the \textit{samulnori} troupes not performing any political activities. In addition, Hanool separated from the Corean Center, one of the major voluntary social organizations in Flushing, New York in 2008. All Hanool members agreed to found a performance troupe that was not involved in political issues.
Also, Kang Kyŏng-hŭi, a founding member of the Korean Culture Research Group (Uri munwha ch’atkihoe 우리 문화 찾기회), which leans toward politicized activities, has turned his interests to non-political ones.\(^{62}\)

Moreover, the Nori Company led by Yuk Sang-min is composed of New York P’ungmuldan (뉴욕 풍물단) and Samulnorip’ae Param (사물놀이패 바람).\(^{63}\) The former performs for a Korean American audience and the latter for a non-Korean American audience. Initially, Yuk Sang-min came to the States for his studies. However, while serving as a leader of the p’ungmul parade for the Korean American Festival in Manhattan, New York, he changed his mind and decided to devote himself to traditional Korean performances. Although he had not been a professional p’ungmul performer in Korea, intensive training experiences in Korea have since enhanced his performance skills and repertoire, ranging from the Ansŏng namsadang to the Honam udo style. Since founding his own group in 1989, his interest lies in theatrical performance. Thus, he has sought to learn and perform the namsadang and udo style which is known for its virtuosity and for performers’ gymnastic movements. He has also taught Korean drumming ensemble classes as part of the world music ensemble classes at the Wesleyan University in Middletown, Connecticut, until 2008.\(^{64}\)

\(^{62}\) Interview with Ko Ch’ăn-hyŏck, October 6, 2007.

\(^{63}\) The Nori Company has been affiliated with the KCON since 2008. Yuk Sangmin, the director of the Nori Company, serves as a principal director of the KCON.

\(^{64}\) The Korean drumming ensemble class was later taken over by Kang Kyŏng-hŭi, a vice director of KCON, since Yuk moved far from the school.
Indeed, more diverse groups shape the current *p’ungmul* soundscapes in the States. In the next section, I will investigate various professional performance groups and institutes that actively stage *p’ungmul* performances in LA and NYC.

4.2.4. Professional Performers and Performing Arts Institutes in LA and NYC

In addition to collegiate *p’ungmul* groups and *p’ungmul* groups affiliated with social organizations, there are a few professional performers. They majored in traditional Korean performing arts in college or they had been involved in professional traditional performing groups in Korea before coming to the States. To name a few: Kang Tae-sŭng and Yun Se-jong in LA, Pak Pong-ku and Kwŏn Ch’il-sŏng in NYC, and Sebastian Wang in Maryland. Each of them directs particular performance groups and teaches students as
well. As an isuja (a person trained by the Individual Holders of the Important Intangible Cultural Asset 이수자) of Hwanghaedo Kangryŏng Talch'um (the mask dance naming the Kangryŏng in Hwanghae province 황해도 강령 탈춤), Kang Tae-sŭng in LA was a member of Turep’ae, one of the earliest samulnori groups in Korea. His samulnori group was well known in Korea and the group’s performances had been featured on TV. Since his arrival in the States in 2000, he has participated in various cultural events and provided lessons for Catholic Church members and for children. Yun Se-jong had newly organized his samulnori group and prepared the first performance at USC when I first met him in 2007. He graduated from one of the universities in Korea, Ch’ugye University for the Arts, majoring in traditional Korean percussion. Interestingly, both Kang Tae-sŭng and Yun Se-jong use the same rehearsal place, U.S. Performing Arts Troupe (Miju yesulwŏn 미주 예술원), in Koreatown LA.65

Pak Pong-ku was a performer at the Preservation Society for Ansŏng Wandering Troupe (Ansŏng namsadang p’ungmulnori pojonhoe 안성 남사당 풍물놀이 보존회) and the Chungang National Music Orchestra (Chungang kukak kwanhyŏnakdan 중앙국악관현악단) in Korea. Both groups are famous for high quality performances in Korea. Pak also had studied with the masters of Iri nongak and Ansŏng namsadang before coming to the States. In order to earn money as a student at Brooklyn College, he performed p’ungmul and samulnori as a street performer on Broadway St. in Manhattan.

65 The place is also used by other performance groups for their classes and rehearsals. It is similar to those in New York. The Korean Folk Arts Troupe (Hankuk minsok yesulwŏn 한국 민속 예술원), a dance institute led by Choe Myŏng-sun is also shared by Hanool, one of the P’ungmul groups in Flushing, New York. The space of the institute was also used for the 2008 P’ilbong Workshop sponsored by two p’ungmul groups, Hanool and Teoh.
He has performed for Music on the Way which is a street performance program supervised by NYC. All performers must pass an audition in order to do their performances on Broadway. He has performed sólchanggo (a solo changgo performance in standing position) with turning sangmo (tasseled hat) in Times Square and Columbus Circle and in front of the Virgin Records store. He also served on an audition panel for Music on the Way. In addition to street performances, he has presented experimental music in which he combines changgo rhythms with jazz in numerous clubs in NYC. He had collaborated with the Korean Traditional Performing Arts and some of important figures of the KCON like Ko Ch’an-hyŏck before founding his own group. However, he no longer cooperates with them because they have different aesthetics and goals.  

Figure 4.4. Pak Pong-ku at his house

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66 I will demonstrate in Chapter 8 how different troupes and performers develop different aesthetics and goals.
Furthermore, numerous dance institutes provide *samulnori* classes, although the instructors are not professional musicians. The classes are a good means for making more money, owing to *samulnori*’s popularity. In LA, there are a lot of traditional Korean dance institutes on Western Avenue. Among them, the Ko Su-hui Dance Institute has taken part in the annual Korean American Festival with traditional Korean dances and *samulnori* performed by young students, even children under age 10. Ko Suhee also cooperates with the Korean language class of the Berendo Middle School by providing *samulnori* classes. Some students in the language class also take traditional performance classes at the institute as an extra-curricular activity. *P’ungmul* or *samulnori* classes taught at dance institutes in NYC are not as significant as those in LA. It seems that dance institutes in NYC contribute more to staging and teaching traditional dance performances, such as the fan dance, *t’aepyongmu* (태평무), and *salp’uri* (살풀이).

Despite several dance performers’ active participation in the *p’ungmul* parade for the Korean American Festival in Manhattan in the late 1980s, dance institutes in NYC tend to offer dance classes. Two associations for Korean traditional performances—the Korean Traditional Performing Arts Association and the Korean Traditional Music and Dance Institute of New York (*Kukakwón* 국악원)—provide *p’ungmul* or *samulnori* performances though they function in different ways. Affiliated with associations in Korea, both of the associations promote traditional Korean performing arts in the U.S. by providing traditional performing arts classes and workshops.

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In addition, several affiliated associations of the Korean government play important roles in supporting local performers, holding workshops and performances. Among them, the role of the Korean Cultural Center in LA and the Korean Cultural Service in NYC are most notable for their support of *p'ungmul* or *samulnori* performances. Although they currently do not offer any traditional music classes, they are cooperating with local performers and they keep local performers’ contact information. Whenever they have requests for traditional Korean performers or troupes for various cultural events, they contact the local performers who are the most suitable for the events. Also, they sponsor workshops held by Korean performers. For example,

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68 The Korean Cultural Center in LA had provided *samulnori* classes and Nam Chang-u was one of the teachers.
the Korean Cultural Service in NYC supported a *samulnori* workshop provided by the National Korean Traditional Performing Arts Center in the summer of 2007. Moreover, the Korean Education Center in LA has hosted traditional performing arts including *samulnori* as one of the education programs for Korean Americans. Nam Chang-u and Kang Tae-sŭng were the leaders of the performance groups in the spring of 2007.

The transnational history of *p’ungmul* between Korea and the States influences the means of *p’ungmul* transmission in the States. In the next chapter, I will elaborate on ways of teaching and learning *p’ungmul* in the States.
Chapter 5

P’ungmul Transmission in the United States

The means through which p’ungmul is passed on in the United States are unique and rarely found in other forms of displaced performances. In turn, these methods and means of p’ungmul transmission are crucial for understanding the performance practices for p’ungmul in the States. In the first part of this chapter, I will examine modes of p’ungmul learning and the different cognitive implications involved in a personal changgo learning experience, drawn from my own observations and fieldwork in LA and NYC. Given that p’ungmul teachers, including my own teacher, encourage students to take notes and make audio/video tape recordings, p’ungmul can no longer be seen as a purely oral tradition. Whereas it was originally transmitted by oral and aural means, without written notation, the way it is transmitted now involves a combination of oral and recorded methods. In fact, at present it is hard to find a purely oral culture anywhere because of the ubiquitous influence of writing, regardless of the long history of oral transmission without writing systems (Ong 1982). Along with the rhythmic recitation of vocalizations of instrumental sounds, two additional media are used in p’ungmul transmission: written notations and recordings using digital media, such as CDs/DVDs and audio video files found on the internet. Each of these media and the techniques
involved show different dimensions and possibilities for transmitting *p’ungmul*. In other words, the oral and writing systems used for learning *p’ungmul* include different cognitive implications for performance, and the use of each system affects the other.

In the second part of the chapter I will describe and analyze a *p’ungmul* workshop in which I participated in 2008. The workshop shows the extent to which Korean American *p’ungmul* performers have been in touch with Korean performance troupes and have built rapport with Korean performers. Also, I will examine the means by which Korean American performers are able to obtain instruments and costumes from Korea and maintain up-to-date performance styles through visits to Korea. Through examining ways in which *p’ungmul* is learned and resources such as costumes and instruments are obtained, this chapter demonstrates that *p’ungmul* transmission and performance styles in the States are structured and influenced by on-going transnational exchanges between Korea and the States.

5.1. Various Notation Systems

Despite the value of purely oral *ip changdan*, today’s performers often learn *p’ungmul* with rhythmic patterns written out more permanently. *Karakbo* (가락보) literally means a document (*bo*) for rhythmic patterns (*karak*) and it would include various types of notations for *p’ungmul* if one were to apply the term strictly. *P’ungmul* practitioners in the U.S., however, do not use the term for the western-style notations, but for the written form of the vocalizations of instrumental sounds, or for the written form of
*ip changdan* incorporating *chŏngganbo*, which I will examine in the later part of this section. Because the cognitive processes implied in these two types of *karakbo*-s are so different, I will separate the written form of *ip changdan* from the written form of *ip changdan* that includes the *chŏngganbo* system. I will call the former *karakbo*, following *p'ungmul* practitioners, and the latter *karak chŏngganbo*.

Many troupes in the States distribute *karakbo* as part of their training. For example, Hanool distributes a set of *karakbo*, which adopts *chongganbo* to newly joined members and students who take *p'ungmul* lessons from Hanool members. They also post their own *karakbo* on the online bulletin board connected to the troupe’s website. Other troupes, who do not distribute printed *karakbo* music sheets, often write *ip changdan* on a board during a *p'ungmul* class or the performers write down *ip changdan* for themselves. My *changgo* teacher also advised me to write the vocalized forms of instrumental sounds along with using videos as memory aids. The *p'ungmul* performers I met in LA and NYC also employed written notations of vocalized forms of instrumental sounds. In the educational or practice sessions I observed, a teacher gives the vocalization of the instrumental sounds and sometimes just says the name of the rhythmic pattern. When students memorize complex rhythmic pattern, they transcribe every single sound onto paper. For them, something that was initially an orally transmitted genre is combined with a writing tradition, as vocalized forms of instrumental sounds are not only recited rhythmically but also written down as mnemonic aids.

The cognitive function that occurs when vocalized forms are recorded on paper and read, remembered, or played is a new one. Writing down vocalized forms on paper
gives performers different references to look at when they have forgotten parts of the performance. Performers who have *ip changdan* written out can go back to exactly where they have forgotten parts. However, those who learn rhythmic patterns by reciting *ip changdan* without any kinds of external representation usually recite a few phrases before the one they have forgotten in order to resume and play through the forgotten parts. For example, my *changgo* teacher sometimes made mistakes when giving me sequences of rhythmic patterns, or he forgot some of the parts that should be given as a sequence. Whenever he found that he had forgotten parts, he would not resume exactly from where he had forgotten. He usually needed to recite *ip changdan* beginning a few phrases before in order to give the sequence without any mistakes.

In addition to transcribing *ip changdan* in words, there are three additional kinds of notation used in *p'ungmul*: *changgo* notation, *karak chŏngganbo* and western-style rhythmic notation. There is no specific term for the notation that incorporates various symbols for different drum strokes into *chŏngganbo*. I will call it *changgo* notation in this study.69 *P'ungmul* practitioners also use the form for a combination of the *karakbo* and the *chŏngganbo* notation systems. In this case, each syllable of the vocalizations of instrumental sounds is put into a square. Although, *p'ungmul* practitioners in the U.S. call this form *karakbo*, with no distinction from the written form of verbalizations of instrumental sounds, I will refer to this type of notation as *karak chŏngganbo*. Western-style rhythmic notation follows a modified single line staff notation proposed by Provine.

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69 If the notation has symbols of drum storkes for *kkwaenggwari*, I would call the notation *kkwaenggwari* notation. However, in this dissertation I emphasize on the *changgo* based on my personal training experiences. Therefore, I will examine soley the *changgo* notation here.
All these notations give visual representation to the relative timing of sound events. According to Will, once writing systems are invented, they create “their own momentum for further development and dissemination of the way they are applied and how one ‘thinks with’ and ‘thinks about’ them” (1999: 1). Notation is a symbolized presentation; it conveys no real sound inherent in itself. It is an abstract form of sound representation in the visual-spatial world. Since writing cannot “capture” something like the physical aspects of sound, notation is “primarily a symbolization of action not a representation of abstract events” (Will 1999: 7-8). In other words, what is written down and what is actually produced in sound are different from each other, because every transformation undergoes reconstruction in an attempt to represent sound in visual codes. For example, the visual depiction of bars, that have no acoustic existence, introduces the idea of pre-existing time slices or time frames in music writing that creates a special way of mentally organizing musical time. On the other hand, symbols of drum strokes in the *changgo* notation and verbalizations of instrumental sounds in *karak chŏngganbo* indicate concrete events and give an idea how to execute them. However, these two notations are different. While *changgo* notation focuses on the ways to play various drum strokes based on the descriptive form of how one hits the drumhead, the *karak chŏngganbo* emphasizes the actual sounds produced by different drum strokes through verbalizations of instrumental sounds. For example, in the *changgo* notation the symbol signifies *tta* that marks a rebound stroke with a stick. Whereas *tta* in *karak chŏngganbo* not only shows a way to produce the sound but also sounds like the production a clear rebounding sound, while the symbol only gives a clue how to execute it. That is
analogous to writing, which is also “not a simple ‘transcription’ of speaking, it affords us a conceptual model for speech” (Olson 1994: 108).

These notation systems utilized in p’ungmul performance (see figure 5.1. to figure 5.4.) focus on rhythmic configuration and the way of playing the instrument. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, note stems below a horizontal line on a musical score indicate to hit on the left side of the drum and those above to hit on the right side. The changgo notation and karak chŏngganbo are “holistic” in the sense that one sign can stand for a complex sound or even a series of sounds as well as the way in which those sounds are executed. On the other hand, the western system is more analytical and takes things apart. All changgo notation, karak chŏngganbo and the western-style notation emphasize how to play the instrument and measure time value. Since the visual codes in the changgo and the western-style notation need to be interpreted, performers have to be “trained to perform according to notation, to ‘read’ notation” (Will 1999: 9).

![Figure 5.1. Kutkŏri in western-style notation](image)

![Figure 5.2. Kutkŏri in changgo notation](image)
In performing from notation, the visual code or written words of verbalizations of instrumental sounds turns into a reference that performers should follow as closely as possible. In other words, notations do not suggest deviations from what has become a fixed text. Lord (1960) demonstrates the effect of fixed text on singers in Yugoslavia; when Yugoslavian performers started to use songbooks, their oral tradition became influenced by the songbooks and oral creativity diminished considerably. This is because young performers perform what they memorize from the songbooks without any changes during the performances. From this observation, Lord argues that those singers who
accept the idea of a fixed text have lost the essence of the creative oral processes, which means death to oral tradition and the rise of a generation of “singers” who are reproducers rather than re-creators (1960: 137).

The spread of the concept of a fixed reference among the carriers of oral epic traditions is one aspect of the transition from an oral society to a literate society. Following a comparable trajectory, p'ungmul practices have changed with the introduction of notation. Current performances do not, or are not supposed to, deviate from the notation on paper. When performers want to make any variations and changes, they write them down for future reference. For example, one could create variations on the basic rhythmic pattern of kutgōri as follows:

Rhythmic pattern of kutgōri: tŏng-kidŏk-kung-tŏrrr-kung-kidŏk-kung-tŏrrr

Variation 1: tŏng-kidŏk-kugung-tŏrrr-kugung-kidŏk-kung-tŏrrr

Variation 2: tŏng-kidŏk-kung-tŏrrr-kugung-kungdŏk-kung- tŏrrr

There could be more ways to make variations on the basic kutguri rhythmic pattern; a performer can create as many variations on the kutgōri as he or she can think of and there are no strict rules on variations for the basic rhythmic pattern. In the oral tradition, performers improvise the variation parts during performances. However, performers with writing aids tend to write down new forms of variations and changes in the rhythmic pattern onto paper ahead of time. I observed that students in the p'ungmul workshop of 2008 in NYC wrote down verbalizations of all the specific variations, which were given
by their teacher. Colleagues in my p’ungmul class at the annual p’ungmul camp in 2008 also wrote down all verbalization of instrumental sounds onto paper during the classes. When the rhythmic pattern was too complex for students to follow, the teacher would instruct them to change the pattern to a simpler one. Then, the students re-wrote the new material.

5. 2. CD/DVD and YouTube

In addition to recording notations by hand on paper, due to technological developments, the contemporary world allows performances to be fixed or recorded on audio and video. There are a variety of digital recordings and audio-video clips available through the internet (on sites such as YouTube) that are used for p’ungmul transmission. Korean American p’ungmul practitioners are able to purchase recordings in Korea when they visit, or they can obtain recordings at recording shops in LA and NYC. The record shops in LA and NYC have a variety of recordings, ranging from Korean contemporary popular songs to traditional songs and original soundtracks from Korean films. When I was in LA for the purpose of learning to play the changgo, I visited one of the largest record shops in the area and purchased a samulnori CD set performed by Kim Duk Soo’s troupe, a pinari CD performed by Yi Kwang-su, and a DVD set of Korean films directed by Yim Kwŏn-t’aeck.70 The shop announced the top ten famous recordings on a large

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70 Yim Kwŏn-t’aeck is one of the most influential film directors, known for his endeavors to express Korean identity, or Koreaness, in his films. In his films he has taken many Korean arts such as Korean storytelling (p’ansori) and fine arts as subjects. He is also well known for
board hung up on the wall behind the cashier and had most of the recently released CDs in traditional Korean music in stock. Thus, Korean immigrants can easily purchase what they want to listen to.

In addition to digital recordings, *p’ungmul* practitioners in the U.S. try to record different *p’ungmul* performances from Korea. Whenever Korean American *p’ungmul* performers watch *p’ungmul* and *samulnori* performances through satellite television or local TV channels, which regularly air Korean shows, news, and soap operas, they make videotape recordings. For example, KCON has recorded several performances: various *samulnori* performances, the P’ilbong *p’ungmul* performance for the 55th anniversary of Korean Independence Day, Kim Duk Soo’s *SamulNori*, Seoul P’ungmuldan, and *Miryang paekjung nori*, to name a few. Kim Ch’i-jung has also made various video recordings: Kim Duk Soo’s performance in Japan, Seoul Namsadang Nori in 2007, Seoul P’ungmuldan and so forth. Those videotapes are particularly helpful when the Korean American troupes learn use of space and body movements during *p’an’gut* (entertainment-oriented performances), while audio recordings are help when expanding repertoires.  

Additionally, Korean American performers refer to audio-video files found on the internet. Those who run websites for performance troupes often post those files online. There are a number of audio-video files of Korean master performers that can be found showing landscapes of rural villages, rivers, mountains, and the old style of Korean architecture in his masterpieces.

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71 Interview with Ko Ch’an-hyŏk, October 6, 2007.
on different Internet portal services from Korea like Daum, Naver, and Korean Yahoo.\textsuperscript{72}

At the P’ilbong p’ungmul workshop in 2008, Yang Chin-hwan recommended to look for audio-video files of his sŏlchanggo performance using Daum. A few blogs on Daum post the files of his performances. Moreover, in recent years YouTube has emerged as a good resource to look up audio-video clips. Kim Pan-ya remarks that YouTube has become a good source for resources to learn p’ungmul among p’ungmul collegiate performers in the States:

I can see there are performers who look up performance clips on YouTube and refer to them (…) there are so many these days. Some of them are class sessions that are taught by anonymous performers. (…) If I look up clips with different spellings like pungmul and poongmul in English or in Korean, I get even more than looking up with one spelling. I have observed many more such video clips on YouTube over the last two years.\textsuperscript{73}

There are indeed a huge number of clips on YouTube ranging from samulnori to p’unmgul and from Korean masters’ historical performances to performances by immigrants and students in Europe, Australia, Japan, and the States. In addition, I found clips from various cultural events, like Korean Culture Night, where p’ungmul was staged. YouTube also has clips that were filmed decades ago: i.e. Kim Duk Soo’s SamulNori troupe’s 10\textsuperscript{th} anniversary performance in 1989.

\textsuperscript{72} Daum is one of the leading internet portal services in Korea on the grounds that it creates virtual community for hobbies, interests and etc. For example, there are virtual communities about p’ungmul, popular music, food, films, and so forth. Internet users, when they join any type of virtual communities, can obtain information in the form of documents, audio-video files and pictures.

\textsuperscript{73} Interview with Kim Pan-ya, July 22, 2008.
YouTube provides a platform for collecting and sharing resources for learning. Hanool, in NYC, collects and posts video clips of selected *p’ungmul* and *samulnori* performances. The majority of the video clips are performed by the P’ilbong *p’ungmul* troupe, as Hanool is strongly influenced by the troupe in Korea. Hanool has posted different clips from the “P’ilbong *P’ungmul* Festival” in 2005, the “Full Moon Festival” in 2003, a *p’an’gut* performed by Yang Chin-sung, and others. In regards to *samulnori*, Hanool posted a clip by the original members of *SamulNori* which is performed by Kim Duk Soo, Ch’oe chong-sil, Yi Kwang-su and Kim Yong-bae. Members of Hanool have publicly commented on the clips about how they miss performers with whom they had studied.

The most significant feature of audio-video recordings and files is that they not only record performances but also allow individuals and groups to reproduce audio and visual images of the performance. A recording is “not a visual-spatial transform of music and it is not a transcription by means of a graphical symbol system” (Will 1999: 16). In contrast to notation on paper, which conveys only symbolic graphic representation instead of actual sound, an audio or audio-video recording is able to preserve the performance in as much as it has been captured by the recording devices as data and permit the auditory and visual images of the actual performance to be reproduced. One does not need to interpret codes nor learn how to read the codes in order to reproduce the sound. Any novice performer can directly access the performances preserved on CDs.

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74 See Chapter 6 for a more detailed discussion about the history of Hanool and its close association with the P’ilbong troupe in Korea.
and DVDs or online clips, without the burden of having to know or learn how to read codes.

Digital recording media makes it possible to learn specific performances through those digital media (Will 1999). These resources can compensate for the unavailability of professional teachers in the sense that a digital medium contains data that can be reproduced as audible and/or visible events that the performers can refer to or imitate, independent of the location and the time of the recorded performance. Many p’ungmul performance groups in the U.S. refer to sound and video recordings of p’ungmul performances by professional performers in Korea, since many groups in the U.S. do not have enough teachers. Novice performers can imitate professional performers’ gestures, body and even facial movements that cannot be learned from recitation of instrumental sounds or paper notation. The visual images of actual performances transmitted through online clips, DVDs, or videotapes show the body movements and facial expressions of performers, which cannot found in audio recordings.

Although digital recordings are different from notations in several ways, notations and such recordings share common consequences and possibilities: 1) standardization and normalization; and 2) the possibility to learn at distance. Above all, writing and recording systems bring standardization and normalization to performances. Since performances become based on fixed texts and fixed texts do not allow deviations from the original text, nor alterations of it, the performances within the same genre are ideally identical. Lord asserts, “the change has been from stability of essential story, which is the goal of oral tradition, to stability of text, of the exact words of the story” (1960: 138).
Performers are required to “reproduce” the performances “rather than to recreate” (Lord 1960:137). Additionally, writing systems have enabled forms of knowledge to be distributed much more widely and subsequently, people anywhere might learn the same performance practices as long as they have the same written references.

In p’ungmul performances in the States, this aspect of standardization of the performance practice is explicit. Particularly, the groups in the eastern area of the States have practiced and exhibit highly standardized performance styles. Those groups have the same scripts and share video materials to learn p’ungmul. What they do is imitate performers using video material and interpreting visual codes through notation. Those phenomena generate the standardized and normalized format of p’ungmul in the eastern part of the States.

In addition, transforming oral knowledge and practices to writing media allows for “a structuring of communication and knowledge at distance” (Will 1999: 5). Will states that,

 Writing transforms aural-temporal events into visual-spatial structures. (…) The contrast between the temporal and the spatial mode is at the base of different communicative functions of oral and literate discourse. Writing allows for a communication at a distance, in space as well as in time. In the absence of elaborate analytic categories that depend on writing to structure knowledge at a distance from the lived experience (performance), oral cultures must conceptualize and verbalize all their knowledge with more or less close reference to the life-world and the immediate, familiar interaction of human beings. (ibid)

While oral cultures are limited in time and space, and oral tradition requires people to encounter one another in order to learn p’ungmul, the availability of written and/or recorded material makes it possible to learn even under circumstances when teachers are
not or not permanently available. *P’ungmul* groups in the States do not have enough professional teachers. Among the members in the groups, those who have more experience often take charge of teaching other members. Writing enables Korean American *p’ungmul* practitioners to learn *p’ungmul* without time and space limitations. In addition, Korean American performers can learn up-to-date *p’ungmul* performance styles from Korea as long as they obtain notation transcripts, CD/DVD recordings, or audio-video files.

5.3. P’ilbong Workshop in NY in Summer 2008

As I mentioned in the previous chapters briefly, several workshops and master classes by Korean masters have been offered in the States. For example, the performance troupe Hanoolim led by Kim Duk Soo, and performers of the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts have visited the States several times and given workshops and lectures on traditional performing arts including *p’ungmul*. Among the Korean performers, representatives of the P’ilbong *p’ungmul* troupe have constantly stayed in touch with Korean American performance troupes. From July 21 to August 2, 2008, a P’ilbong workshop was held in Flushing, New York, hosted by Hanool and Teoh. As Hanool uses a rehearsal room at the Traditional Korean Dance Institute (*Minsok yesulwôn* 민속 예술원), the *p’ungmul* workshop was held there. I participated in the workshop. Some other Korean American participants came from places even further away, like Boston, Ithaca and even Oakland. Flushing has a large Korean community, and many
Korean homeowners often make some additional money by leasing a room to temporary visitors for tours or business and to students. Thus, participants from further away rented rooms nearby the dance institute and stayed there for the duration of workshop. The workshop offered p’ungmul, sŏlchanggo, t’aept’yŏngso, and sangmo classes. Yang Chin-hwan and Yang Sun-ju were the main instructors. Yang Chin-sŏng, the leader of the P’ilbong p’ungmul troupe, briefly visited the workshop and taught p’ungmul for two days before leaving for Baltimore, where another P’ilbong workshop was concurrently being held.

The daily schedule of the workshop is recorded below (times are pm):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Mon</th>
<th>Tue</th>
<th>Wed</th>
<th>Thurs</th>
<th>Fri</th>
<th>Sat</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4:30 - 6:00</td>
<td>T’aept’yŏngso</td>
<td>Sŏlchanggo Beginner (Hwimori)</td>
<td>T’aept’yŏn-gso</td>
<td>Sŏlchanggo Beginner (Hwimori)</td>
<td>T’aept’yŏn-gso</td>
<td>Sŏlchanggo Beginner (Hwimori)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6:00 - 7:00</td>
<td></td>
<td>Dinner</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7:00 - 8:30</td>
<td>P’ungmul Beginner</td>
<td>P’ungmul Advanced</td>
<td>P’ungmul Beginner</td>
<td>P’ungmul Advanced</td>
<td>P’ungmul Beginner</td>
<td>P’ungmul Advanced</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9:00 - 10:30</td>
<td>Ch’aesangmo</td>
<td>Sŏlchanggo Advanced (kutkŏri/Chajinnori)</td>
<td>Ch’aesangmo</td>
<td>Sŏlchanggo Advanced (kutkŏri/Chajinnori)</td>
<td>Ch’aesangmo</td>
<td>Sŏlchanggo Advanced (kutkŏri/Chajinnori)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 5.1. The daily schedule of the P’ilbong workshop in 2008

Yang Sun-ju was in charge of teaching t’aept’yŏngso, advanced p’ungmul and ch’aesangmo. Yang Chin-hwan taught beginner p’ungmul, beginner sŏlchanggo and advanced sŏlchanggo. The teachers stayed in Hanool members’ houses during their visit.

The first and second day of the workshop were led by Kim Kyŏng-jin, Kang Chi-yŏn and Yi Sang-yŏl, who are Hanool members, instead of P’ilbong performers, as the P’ilbong
performers’ arrival was delayed. For those attending the workshop, there was no limit to
the number of classes one could take. However, due to space limits, those who took
beginning sŏlchanggo could not take the advanced sŏlchanggo class and vice versa.
Subsequently, most of the performers took all the sessions except sŏlchanggo. Kim
Kyŏng-jin suggested that if several participants from a performance troupe attended the
workshop together, some members should take beginner sŏlchanggo and rest of them
attend the advanced sŏlchanggo sessions, so that the group could learn the repertoire of
both. I took the beginner and advanced p’ungmul and beginner sŏlchanggo sessions.75
Upon registration, all of the participants were given a karakbo, which is a score that has
vocalizations for the instrumental sounds of the kkwaenggwari and the changgo. This
was the same one that P’ilbong Intensive Training Center in Korea distributes to its
students. Some of the workshop participants also made video recordings during the
classes.76 Also, Yang Chin-hwan informed students of a website which has video files of
his sŏlchanggo performances.

75 I could participate in the sŏlchanggo session when it was taught in sitting position. As I was in
the third term of pregnancy, and sŏlchanggo often requires jumping in standing position. I could
only observe how to do it when it was taught in standing position.
76 For example, a performance troupe from Cornell University, Shimahte, and Do Sung-hŭi from
Boston made video recordings of all the sessions they participated in. Also, Amie from Oakland
took sound recordings of her t’aep’yŏngso class. Instructors did not mind if participants took
audio-video recordings.
Figure 5.5. One of the $p \text{’}ungmul$ classes at the Pilbong workshop in 2008

Figure 5.6. One of the $s\text{’}olchanggo$ classes at the P’ilbong workshop in 2008
Interestingly, I had already met some of the participants in this workshop during the KCON annual p’ungmul camp in May of 2008: the performance troupe from Cornell University, Shimtah, and Do Sŏng-hŭi’s family. They participated in the P’ilbong p’ungmul workshop as well as the KCON annual p’ungmul camp. Do Sŏng-hŭi is a teacher at the New England Korean Language School which teaches not only the Korean language but also traditional Korean customs related with the Lunar New Year Day or Korean Thanksgiving Day and Korean performing arts and traditional children’s songs. He teaches the samulnori and p’ungmul to children that he has learned from various workshops in U.S. and even in Korea. For the P’ilbong workshop in Flushing, he drove from Boston with a car full of supplies and equipment. I had not expected that they might participate in the P’ilbong p’ungmul workshop as well. Since we had met before, we were more familiar with each other and we had in common the fact that we had come in from other regions, while the rest of the participants lived in or near by Flushing.

All participants and instructors had dinner together every day. During dinner, participants were able to spend time with instructors in a casual manner and ask any questions they might have. In addition, participants from different regions and troupes had the opportunity to build friendships with others. Having dinner together has a special meaning at the P’ilbong workshop, as p’bilgong p’ungmul emphasizes “being together (taetongsŏng 대동성),” which refers to being in harmony with others by playing and

77 Kim Kyŏng-jin of Hanool suggested that all participants bring side dishes (panch’an 반찬) to share while Hanool would be in charge of making rice (pap 밥) and purchasing spring water or soda for every one. Some participants made side dishes by themselves and some of them purchased side dishes from Korean grocery stores, which are easily found in Flushing. We all shared the side dishes with other participants as Koreans usually do. Choe Myŏng-sun, the director of the dance institute, sometimes cooked stew or pulgŏgi (beef marinated in soy sauce) in a large pot for everyone.
celebrating together. P’ilbong instructors have meals with all of the participants of the workshops whenever they come to the U.S. and it seems that participants of prior workshops have learned how much being together is important for P’ilbong p’ungmul performers. Accordingly, we had dinner all together everyday.

On the last day of the workshop we performed a p’an’gut and had a big feast. For the p’an’gut, we made a big circle and played instruments in a standing position. Some of the participants played the sogo, although there was no session to teach this skill. The p’an’gut lasted more than one hour. Some of the participants played t’aep’yôngso and played what they had learned from the workshop. After the p’an’gut, we had a feast together. The director of the dance institute and other members, who came from Teoh, prepared some typical food that would be found at a Korean banquet like pulgŏgi (beef marinated in soy sauce 불고기), chapch’ae (chop suey 잡채) and kimbab (rice rolls in dried Korean seeweed 김밥).

The workshop was significant in many aspects. First, the workshop was part of the cultural politics of the Chŏlla province. The title of the workshop was “Globalization of Chŏlla Provincial Traditional Culture: Feeling Your Heartbeat” and it was sponsored by the Chŏlla province and organized by the Preservation Society for the Imsil P’ilbong Nongak (Honam Chwado Imsil P’ilbong Nongak Pojonhoe). It took place in collaboration with various t’aekwŏndo (Korean martial arts 태권도) associations in the States and in the Chŏlla province. The purpose of the workshop was to introduce Korea and Korea cultural artifacts. As t’aekwŏndo and p’ungmul are well-known abroad, the Chŏlla province selected these practices as a way to generate interest and further spread
knowledge of Korean cultural practices. The Preservation Society of Imsil P’ilbong Nongak had sent the P’ilbong p’ungmul instructors as representatives to seven states in the States. By design, the workshop was intended to hold both t’aekwondo and p’ungmul sessions together. However, in Flushing, New York, only the p’ungmul session was offered.

Not only the P’ilbong workshop in 2008 but also numerous master classes and workshops of traditional Korean performing arts have been offered in the U.S. as a consequence of Korean cultural politics to promote Korean traditional customs and performing arts abroad. The Korean government has sent performance troupes in various genres of traditional Korean performing arts abroad since the 1960s. The genres encompass court music, folk music, instrumental, and vocal music. A yearbook published by the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts (NCKTPA) lists many performance genres and troupes in Korea, including performance troupes sponsored by the NCKTPA, which have performed abroad since 1990.\textsuperscript{78} The document also lists performances and workshops which are supported by the NCKTPA. The center is supervised by the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism which means that the support by the NCKTPA is associated with Korean cultural politics. Among the various performance genres, workshops on p’ungmul and samulnori are some of the most famous ones in the States. This practice has stimulated the formation of many more performance

\textsuperscript{78} Refer to the web site (http://www.ncktpa.go.kr/html/jsp/ncktpa_2006/d00_scholarship/d00_yearbook.jsp) for more detailed information about which performance troupes have been sent and which performance genres performed there under the auspices of the NCKTPA. The official name of the center in English has recently changed from the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts to National Gugak Center.
troupes in the States. Workshops by Korean masters in the States demonstrate how much Korean American can be continually influenced by Korean cultural politics.

The P’ilbong workshop in 2008 was also significant because the majority of the participants had practiced P’ilbong performance styles and met P’ilbong performers before, either in Korea or in the States. For instance, some members of Shimtah had participated in a P’ilbong Intensive Training Center since 2005. Thus, Shimtah is well known to other collegiate groups in NYC in that it has been particularly inspired by P’ilbong p’ungmul. Do Sŏng-hŭi’s family has also attended the Intensive Training Center. Amie from Oakland, California had previously met the P’ilbong performers when representatives of P’ilbong p’ungmul visited Oakland to provide a workshop. She was involved in Jamaesori, a performance troupe which has practiced the P’ilbong style for a few years since the group first met the P’ilbong performers (Kwon, Donna Lee 2001). In addition to the participants who regularly attend workshops, there were several visitors who came to the workshop and gave their regards to the P’ilbong instructors: Yi Chong-hwan, Kim Ch’i-jung and Kang Kyŏng-hŭi. All of them had attended the P’ilbong workshop in 2001 and 2003 and were familiar with the P’ilbong representatives.

This sense of community and respect shows how much P’ilbong p’ungmul is acknowledged by the p’ungmul troupes in NYC. Moreover, one of the episodes from the workshop proves how much the P’ilbong performers have built friendships with p’ungmul performers in the States. Kang Kyŏng-hŭi attended the workshop on July 28, when the leader of P’ilbong p’ungmul, Yang Chin-sŏng, came to the workshop. Kkwaenggwari players usually sat in the first row during the two-week workshop.
However, Kang Kyŏng-hui, a regular kkwaenggwari player, sat in the last row one night when he arrived late from work and did not go to the front. Yang Chin-sŏng called Kang Kyŏng-hŭi’s name in the middle of his lecture and said, “Kyŏng-hŭi, come to the front row (Kyong-hŭi ya, apuro nawa 경희야 앞으로 나와).” Choe Myŏng-sun, the director of the dance institute where the workshop was held, joked with Kang, “are you sitting in the back because that you haven’t improved much? (silryŏgi an nŭlŏsŏ kŭrŏn kŏya? 실력이 안 늘어서 그런 거야?)” Kang Kyŏng-hŭi then went to the front row and sat beside the instructor, saying that “because I was afraid of being reproached by the instructor (sŏnsaengnimhant’e hon nalkkabwa 선생님한테 혼날까봐).” Everyone laughed at the witty exchange between Choe, Yang, and Kang. One thing that stands out about this, though, is that Yang Ching-sŏng and Choe Myŏng-sun remembered Kang Kyŏng-hŭi’s name. Although Kang Kyong-hŭi showed up one week after the workshop began, they knew him. He had attended 2001 and 2003 P’ilbong workshops and become familiar with the P’ilbong performers and some of the participants like Choe Myŏng-sun.

Additionally, the workshop was noteworthy in that it provided a class in t’aep’yŏngso, which has rarely been found in p’ungmul performances in the States. I have observed that the Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe has a t’aep’yŏngso player; for the Korean American parade of 2007 in Manhattan, New York, the troupe marched while playing the t’aep’yŏngso as well as the changgo, puk, ching and kkwaenggwari. The Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe gave an entertainment-oriented performance (p’an’gut) with Hanool after the parade. One of the performers did play the t’aep’yŏngso to the melody of a hymn. Not only for the p’ungmul parade, but also for other cultural events
when *p’ungmul* is performed, this troupe is always accompanied by a member performing *t’aep’yŏngso*. However, the Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe is the only group that has a *t’aep’yŏngso* player and I had not observed *t’aep’yŏngso* players among Korean American *p’ungmul* practitioners except in this the group. Traditionally, *t’aep’yŏngso* is one of the *p’ungmul* instruments. As I mentioned in Chapter 3, there are two wind instruments in the traditional *p’ungmul* performance: *nabal* and *t’aep’yŏngso*. However, young Korean American practitioners tend to have no experience with *t’aep’yŏngso*. To my knowledge, there is no troupe that includes either *nabal* or *t’aep’yŏngso* in the States. Moreover, it is difficult to find traditional performing institutes at which the *t’aep’yŏngso* is taught in the States. In 2006, however, the KCON annual *p’ungmul* camp provided a *t’aep’yŏngso* session, but there has not been another *t’aep’yŏngso* session at the camp since then. Also, previous P’ilbong workshops in the States did not always provide the *t’aep’yŏngso* sessions. On the grounds that *t’aep’yŏngso* playing is rarely found in the States, the *t’aep’yŏngso* session at the P’ilbong *p’ungmul* workshop in 2008 is an extraordinary one. Most of participants in the workshop took the *t’aep’yŏngso* session.

5.4. Visits to Korea

In addition to attending Korean masters’ workshops in the States, Korean American performers sometimes visit Korea in order to study *p’ungmul*. Performers are able to acquire a range of regional styles on these trips that have not been transmitted to
the States. Some of them attend intensive training centers (*chŏnsugwan*) in rural areas, and some of them take lessons at various institutes. I have met several Korean American performers who have visited Korea with the aim of learning *p’ungmul*, including Kim Pan-ya, Yi Sŏk-jae, Ko Ch’an-hyŏck, performers of Shimtah and Nori Company, to name a few.

Kim Pan-ya of NYC emigrated to the U.S. with his parents when he was in middle school. His parents went back to Korea a few years after they came to the States. He first learned *p’ungmul* when he was a freshman at Syracuse University. One of friends invited him to see a performance of Cheonjiin, a *p’ungmul* troupe at Syracuse University. The performance attracted him and he soon joined the performance troupe. He had practiced *p’ungmul* for five years at the time I met him in 2008. Interestingly, he has been learning new *p’ungmul* skills whenever he visits Korea. As his parents are in Korea, he has had many opportunities to spend time in Korea. During his four college years, he has visited Korea during every summer break. His first experience learning *p’ungmul* in Korea was studying with Yi Tong-jun. Yi Tong-jun is a performer in a *samulnori* troupe led by Kim Duk Soo. Yi and the performance troupe had previously come to the States and given a performance at Syracuse University. Kim Pan-ya first met Yi when he attended his performance and obtained his personal contact information. When Kim visited Korea, he called Yi Tong-jun. Yi Tong-jun invited Kim to a *sangmo* performance that he was giving during a *samulnori* performance. When Kim Pan-ya attended the performance with his friends, the *sangmo* performance attracted them and Kim Pan-ya learned how to do a *sangmo* performance from Yi Tong-jun. Since then,
Kim Pan-ya has practiced this form and shared how to perform it with other members of Cheonjiin. In addition to sangmo, he has learned the sŏlchango and some popular samulnori pieces in Korea. Since he has learned the sangmo, he has been in the first line of the p’ungmul parade in Manhattan, New York. At the 2008 KCON annual p’ungmul camp, he served as a main instructor of the sangmo session.

Yi Sŏk-jae (Cliff Sŏkjae Yi) was born in the States. His parents had often bought him traditional Korean instruments like the tanso (an end-blown bamboo flute) in an attempt to teach him Korean cultural practices during his childhood. This prompted Yi to be interested in Korean performing arts. He learned p’ungmul when he attended college and joined a performance troupe, Sorimori, in Philadelphia. Sorimori was founded in 1997 under the sponsorship of the Korean American Community Center, part of the National Association for Korean American Service Education Consortium. Sorimori is well known to be influenced by the minjung cultural movement (Gwak, Sung Youn Sonya 2006). As Yi Sŏk-jae was a leader of the group, he had been strongly influenced by the minjung cultural movement as well. When he visited Korea, he took classes in minjung theology, which was a part of the minjung cultural movement. He has visited various regional rural areas such as P’ilbong, Miryang, Kosŏng, Koch’ang and Chindo. He learned Koch’ang sogo ch’um (a dance with a small hand drum in a region of Koch’ang), Kosŏng Okwangdae t’alch’um (a mask dance from a region of Kosŏng) as well as various other regional styles of p’ungmul. He transmitted what he had learned in Korea to other members of Sorimori. He has recently moved to LA to study herbal medicine and has

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79 As I mentioned in Chapter 4, many scholars and activists in the field of theology also took part in minjung cultural movement and urged that religious people should be engage with social issues.
joined the Korean Resource Center, which is affiliated with the NAKASEC in LA. The Korean Resource Center includes the Hannuri p’ungmul troupe and Yi is closely associated with the group.

In addition to individual members training in Korea, some performance troupes also visit Korea together. As mentioned above, Shimtah, a troupe from Cornell University, has visited the P’ilbong Intensive Training Center for multiple consecutive years. The group has generated reports in regional newspapers of the Chôlla province for coming from the States to participate in this training. The Nori Company in New York, led by Yuk Sang-min who is a president of Korean Cultural Outreach Network, has also attended different Intensive Training Centers in rural areas. The troupe’s visit in 2005 consisted of Yuk Sang-min, Ko Ch’an-hyŏck and three American performers. In particular, the three American performers were financially supported by the Korean Cultural Center in New York. They learned Wŏlp’o maulgut (a village ritual in Wŏlp’o) at the P’ungmul Intensive Training Center in Kohŭng, Miryang paekjuk nori in Miryang, Namsadang Paudŏki in Kyŏngki, and Pongsan T’alch’um at the Intangible Cultural Asset Training Center in Seoul. Miryang paekjuk nori has been designated as Important Intangible Cultural Asset No. 68, and Pongsan t’alch’um as No. 17. Wŏlp’o maulgut has been nominated as Important Intangible Cultural Asset No. 27 in the Chŏlla province. Yuk sang-min and Ko Ch’an-hyŏck also attended the P’yŏngkt’aek Nongak Intensive Training Center in the summer of 2007.

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80 Ko Ch’an-hyock is involved in Hannoori as well as the Nori Company. He is one of the founding members of the Korean Cultural Outreach Network.
Kim Ch’i-jung, a leader of the Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe, is a well-known senior performer in New York. He has been evaluated as one of the best *kkwaenggwari* players in New York. His experience is somewhat different from other Korean American performers as he has visited Korea in order to participate in competitions like those sponsored by the National Korean Folk Performing Arts and the Chŏnju Taesasŭp Nori. Partaking in competitions in the homelands demonstrates the performer wants to be evaluated on his performance skills and techniques by Korean professionals. The validation his performance skills have received mark Kim Ch’i-jung as one of the best performers in the Korean immigrant community of NYC.

Learning *p’ungmul* in Korea is not easy for Korean American performers because it costs lots of money and time and some performers have visa issues. For example, Kim Kyŏng-jin could not go outside of the U.S. as she was in the process of obtaining permanent residence. She told me that as soon as she obtained a green card, she was planning to attend the intensive training center in P’ilbong and observe the P’ilbong Full Moon Festival, the festival which is held on the first through the fifteenth day of January in Lunar calendar. Although it is not easy to visit Korea, many Korean American *p’ungmul* performers are able to find opportunities to study with Korean masters whenever they visit Korea for various other reasons like business trips, family visits, and holidays.
5.5. Instruments/Props directly from Korea

There is only one Korean instrument shop in LA and none in NY. Counting stores that sell *p’ungmul* instruments in addition to other items, there would be more, including Korean department stores and gift shops. Some stores that sell sports gear and clothes imported from Korea offer a small number of instruments for sale. However, they are not a major item for these shops. In addition, in many cases, the instruments are very expensive, almost two times the price in Korea. Thus, many Korean American *p’ungmul* practitioners do not purchase instruments at those stores and the stores are not always equipped with instruments for sale. When I learned the *changgo* in LA, my teacher bought a *changgo* for me from a shop that sells sports equipment. Given that there are various *p’ungmul* troupes and other types of traditional Korean performance troupes in the U.S, the limited number of instrument shops is important to note. It suggests that Korean American performers often obtain instruments and supplies for a performance through online stores or other means.

The instrument shop in LA, Koreana Gifts and Arts, is run by a 3rd generation Korean American. It is rare to meet third-generation Korean Americans in places other than in Hawaii. The owner of Koreana Gifts and Arts, Billy Yun, was born in Hawaii and moved to LA for college. He has run Koreana Gifts and Arts since 2004. It had

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81 As I mentioned before, there were many Korean immigrants who came to the Hawaiian sugar cane fields as laborers between 1903 and 1924 and majority of them settled in Hawaii. This was the first influx of Korean immigrants into the States. Then a span of time elapsed between the first influx and the next. The second influx occurred after the U.S. Immigration Act of 1965. Most Koreans who came to the U.S. after 1965 first settled in LA and NY. Consequently, most places other than Hawaii have a relatively short immigration history for Koreans.
previously been located on Wilshire Blvd. where the Korean embassy is located, but recently moved to Washington Blvd. and reopened in October 2009.

When I visited the shop at the old location in 2007, I was surprised by the variety of items the shop sells. The shop sells gift items such as ceramic and porcelain wares, postcards of beautiful scenery in Korea, wedding ducks as well as Korean language books for children, CDs, and cassette tapes of Korean performing arts. The items are those easily found in souvenir shops in Korea, such as in Insa-dong, Chongno-gu in Seoul, which is one of the most famous tourist places with souvenir shops and traditional-style Korean restaurants. In addition to gift items, Koreana Gifts and Arts sells shoes, costumes, and instruments for traditional Korean performances. The shop has almost all kinds of Korean instruments, regardless of size, volume, and price. At the time of my visit, the shop occupied two suites and one of them was used as a warehouse for different items. In the shop, Billy Yun displayed one of each of the items he had in stock. He regularly takes business trips to Korea and purchases items in bulk and imports them in containers. He told me he has purchased the instruments from several instrument shops in Chongno in Korea, where a lot of traditional instrument shops are located. He sells them at his shop as well as through the shop’s website. Although, the shop has been open for a while, many of my informants in LA still obtain performance supplies directly from Korea. Furthermore, they did not know that there is such a shop in LA.

82 The wedding duck is one of the famous gift items for newly married couples in Korea, as a couple of ducks is believed to bring connubial bliss.
Figure 5.7. Inside of Koreana Gifts and its range of gift items in LA

Figure 5.8. *Changgo* (left and right side) and *ching* (the middle) sold at Koreana Gifts in LA

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The most convenient way to obtain instruments and supplies for Korean American performers is to ask to someone else who plans to visit Korea to make the purchase. The KCON, whose aim is also to distribute p’ungmul instruments at lower costs, purchases bulk instruments when Ko Ch’an-hyŏck goes to Korea. KCON is then equipped with enough instruments and sometimes even donates instruments to newly created p’ungmul troupes, and gives instruments to performer as gifts at the Christmas p’ungmul party. Moreover, there are a few online instrument shops in Korea which are able to deliver instruments to the States. One of the most famous online shops is Hanullim, which collaborates with Kim Duk Soo’s troupe, Hanullim. The shop delivers a changgo to the U.S. at a lower cost through the Express Mail Service of the Korea Post than other online shops. For example, it charges 74000 won (approximately 74 U.S. dollars) for shipping per changgo. Through the website, performers in the States can purchase an instrument in a few days at a comparatively inexpensive delivery rate simply by clicking a mouse. When I attended the chisinbalpki rehearsal in LA in 2007, one of the college performers informed his colleagues of the inexpensive delivery prices of Hanullim and all of them were surprised at how well the fees compared with other places.

In many cases, Korean American performers classify instruments by condition: instruments in good condition are used for performances and instruments in bad condition for rehearsals. For example, a kkwaenggware might be broken and a drumhead of a puk and changgo might be torn. Then, performers will use them for rehearsals. The performers do not use instruments in good condition for practices and rehearsals and keep them in a warehouse or in a particular cabinet. A performance troupe which has
relatively long history usually has enough instruments in their own warehouse to supply their performances and rehearsals, as the troupe has purchased one to two instruments every year. For instance, Hanool in NYC has more than twenty changgo-s in a warehouse and was able to lend instruments to participants in the P’ilbong p’ungmul workshop who did not bring their own instruments.

5.6. Transnational Transmission of P’ungmul

The pivotal roles of audio-video recordings and files in the process of performance transmission can be easily seen among a variety of ethnic groups in the U.S. (see Wong 2004&2005; Zheng 2010; Guiuriati 2005). For example, Su Zheng points out that “the presence of so few Chinese professional musicians in the United States rendered a traditional face-to-face teaching method impossible” (2010:212). As I pointed out above regarding the roles of audio-video recordings and files for p’ungmul performance practices in the States, she also claims that recordings are used as “models” when Chinese American performers learn new pieces and as aids for “correction and improvement” and “points of reference” during rehearsals (2010: 213). Wong elaborates on the roles of websites for taiko ensembles; the websites enlist databases of taiko groups, provide historical and cultural background for taiko ensembles, and allow aficionados to stay in touch through the internet (2005: 83). Additionally, she mentions the role of a biennial summer Taiko Conference as a place for widened dissemination of taiko material, similar to the role of the p’ungmul annual camp in the States. Indeed,
technological developments and various forms of media have challenged and extended the means of performance transmission in diasporic spaces.

As I discussed in this chapter, the means of *p’ungmul* transmission in the States demonstrate the continuous transnational connections between Korea and the States and it has become easier to meet and study with Korean masters in the States. *P’ungmul* practitioners in the large Korean immigrant communities of LA and NYC have many chances to participate in master classes and workshops by Korean professional performers because most Korean masters visit those cities and hold master classes and workshops there. The various structures and connections create a process of performance transmission that enables *p’ungmul* practitioners in the U.S. to learn extended repertories and to have standardization/normalization of performance practices and styles among different Korean American *p’ungmul* troupes. Also, the means of transmission allow *p’ungmul* practitioners to learn up-to-date performance styles from Korea.

Nevertheless, every performance has its own unique aspects in repertoire, use of space and time, overall format, etc. Despite the standardized performance styles, Korean American performers still make changes and even rearrange pieces. This is because all performances have different performance contexts, including performance venue, audience, performance purposes and goals in staging *p’ungmul*. In the subsequent chapters, Chapters 6 and 7, I examine how *p’ungmul* adapts to various performance contexts.
Chapter 6

Hanool and Hannoori

Although there are numerous p’ungmul troupes in the U.S., it is not easy to find a troupe that has more than 10 years of history. This makes it difficult to discuss characteristics of a performance troupe either from a historical perspective or to examining the development of performance practices in detail. Many p’ungmul groups in the States were founded during the 1990s and have since disbanded due to lack of funds to pay rental fees for rehearsal space or to purchase equipment for performances. Groups affiliated with volunteer organizations in the Korean American community, however, tend to have fewer problems with funding. This is because such performance groups are often able to use space provided by the organization as their rehearsal room and can save on rental fees. For example, the group Hanool, which I will discuss in this chapter, used the large basement in the Corean Center as their rehearsal room until they seceded from the Corean Center in 2007. Although the Korean Cultural Service in NYC has supported local p’ungmul troupes by providing new p’ungmul instruments and endowing funds for cultural events, support has not been continuous. Membership fees are a major funding

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83 I provide a detailed explanation as to why the organization calls itself the Corean Center instead of Korean Center in the later part of this chapter.
source for most groups. Moreover, members of a performance troupe change frequently. Many performers have their own full-time jobs and participate in p’ungmul groups as a hobby or for personal interest. Being too busy with their jobs often leads performers to withdraw from the groups. Also, sometimes members separate from a troupe and found their own performance troupe.

This chapter will examine two important p’ungmul troupes in NYC: Hanool (한울) and Hannoori (한누리). They are similar in many ways. Among the various troupes, Hanool and Hannoori have stable memberships and have continuously participated in numerous cultural events since their foundation, both in 1997. They hosted the P’ilbong p’ungmul workshop together in 2001, have cooperated and performed for various cultural events, and also provided p’ungmul classes for other p’ungmul performers in the area. Both of the groups are composed of 1.5 generation (born in Korea and raised in the U.S.) and second generation Korean Americans. Hanool consists of high school students and college students. Hannoori is made up of post-college students. Interestingly, some Hannoori members like Yun Yŏng-sam participated in Hanool when they were younger. Despite the commonalities between Hanool and Hannoori, there are differences in performance styles and practices: Hanool adheres to one particular regional p’ungmul style, P’ilbong, and Hannoori does various forms of performance practices. As a result, Hanool and Hannoori have different repertoires and costumes. Also, Hannoori

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84 In fact, Hannoori has a rehearsal room in Englewood, New Jersey. However, I identify Hannoori as a p’ungmul troupe of NYC. As I stated in Chapter 2, I follow the concept of the Consolidated Metropolitan Statistical Area (CMSA) that refers to an area that comprises two or more interlocking urban communities with populations of at least one million. For example, the NYC CMSA includes the New York, New Jersey, and Long Island areas. People often reside in one of the areas and commute to other areas for work. Thus, it is not easy to clearly divide these areas. For that reason, I include Hannoori as a NYC CMSA performance troupe.
has provided workshops for p’ungmul groups at colleges in New York and New Jersey. Since several groups have learned from Hannoori, the troupe has become a center that networks different p’ungmul groups in the NYC area.

In this chapter, I will first look at the history of Hanool and its performance practices in regards to repertoire and costume. Hanool has been influenced by the minjung cultural movement as well as by P’ilbong p’ungmul. By looking at Hanool’s history, I will identify which aspects of the minjung cultural movement and of P’ilbong p’ungmul have changed in the context of the performance practices of the group. Then, I will look at Hannoori. I will present the history of Hannoori and two affiliated groups, which have effectively become one large group since 2002. The history of a performance group is decisive for a group’s performance practices, as is indeed the case for Hanool and Hannoori, and I will examine its performance practices through analysis of various sessions that have been offered during the annual p’ungmul camp. The camp shows how Hannoori enlarges its repertoire and develops performance skills and techniques.

6.1. Hanool

6.1.1. History of Hanool

Hanool was formed in 1997 as one of divisions of the Service and Education for Korean Americans (SEKA) in Flushing, New York. The SEKA, founded in 1996, is a non-profit organization whose purpose is to serve the Korean American community and to transmit Korean cultural practices to young Korean Americans. The SEKA is an
affiliated organization of the Korean American Voter’s Council (KAVC). Kim Tong-ch’an and Kim Tong-sŏk are the founding members of the SEKA and KAVC. Kim Tong-ch’an came to the U.S. in 1994 and Kim Tong-sŏk in 1985. Before coming to the U.S., both participated in the minjung cultural movement as well as in student protests in Korea. Particularly, Kim Tong-ch’an was vice president of the student association in 1989 while he attended Kŏng’uk University. From the 1970s to the early 1990s, involvement in student associations at universities signified that a person was one of the active participants in the student protests that were part of the minjung cultural movement. As I discussed in Chapter 4, participants in the minjung cultural movement were the intellectuals and university students of the time and they often took part in protests and demonstrations.

As Kim Tong-ch’an and Kim Tong-sŏk were engaged in bringing the concept of the minjung cultural movement to the U.S., Kim Tong-sŏk observed one of the LA riots on April 29 of 1992. The riots were initiated by the acquittal of the white policemen who were accused of the brutal beating of the African American Rodney King. The riot was concentrated in the South Central Los Angeles area which is made up of mostly African Americans and Hispanic and where many Korean Americans run businesses for African American residents. The riot caused disaster and there were many victims among Korean Americans. Approximately 2,300 business were lost (Min, Pyong Gap 1996: 1) and the property damage among Korean Americans comprised about half of the estimated $850 million (Kim, Elaine 1993: 215). It is said that while LAPD or local/state

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85 This event is often called Sa I Gu, referring to 4, 2, and 9 respectively, based on the date that the riot occurred.
officials ensured the protection of affluent whites, Korean Americans in the Koreatown and South Central Los Angeles were not protected despite calls for assistance and protection (Cho, Sumi 1993: 201). A few days after the riot, on May 2, a peace rally at Ardmore Park in the heart of Koreatown occurred, calling for racial harmony as well as protesting the lack of police protection during the riot (Chang, Edward 2003: 65). The participants in the rally also held a march through Koreatown and it is notable that they accompanied the march with p’ungmul, as many political protests in Korea did during the 1970 and 1980s (Tangherlini 1999: 156).86

In the aftermath of the riot, there was no criminal punishment and no compensation for the victims, despite the rally on May 2. Through the riot, Korea Americans realized that they had little political power. Accordingly, this event motivated the foundation of many more socio-political organizations to speak out for Korean Americans and to enhance their political power in the host society. The National Korean American Service and Education Consortium was founded in 1994. The purpose of the association was to protect and advocate for civil and immigration rights for Korean Americans in the host society (http://nakasec.org/blog/english/about/history-and-mission). Kim Tong-sŏk created another non-profit political organization in the aftermath of the riot, founding the KAVC in 1996 with the help of Kim Tong-ch’an.87

The stated purposes of KAVC are as follows:

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86 There is a widespread disagreement about the estimated the number of participants. Edward T. Chang (2003) estimates there were over 30,000 attendees while Timothy R Tangherlini (1999) notes that there were 10,000 attendees.

87 As the 4.29 riot in LA motivated Kim Tong-sŏk to found the KAVC, the first official event of the KAVC was a commemoration of the riot and a seminar about the foundational reasons for the
KAVC’s goal is to educate Korean Americans about the importance of exercising their voting rights, to increase their accessibility in exercising the right by removing the language barrier and to promote informed/educated decisions pertaining to current issues. KAVC has been playing an important role in promoting civic participation among Korean Americans, immigrants and new citizens through community education, voting rights advocacy and technical assistance to Korean community-based organizations.

When the KAVC was founded, Kim Tong-sŏk and Kim Tong-ch’an also established the SEKA, an affiliated organization that takes charge of youth education. The purpose of the SEKA is to teach Korean cultural practices as well as the Korean language. The SEKA has two cultural divisions—the Saturday Youth Culture School and the Hanool p’ungmul group—under the supervision of Hant’ut yolin madang, a governing board of the SEKA.

Korean American Voter’s Council

SEKA

Hantttŭt yŏlin madang

Saturday Youth Culture School	Hanool p’ungmul group

Figure 6.1. Organization of the SEKA

As can be seen in figure 6.1, Hanool and the Saturday Youth Culture School exist under the supervision of the KAVC, which has led both groups to be a part of various riot and the necessity for solidarity with non-Korean American communities. The commemoration was held on 4.28, 1996.

activities of KAVC. According to the chronology of the KAVC (http://kavc.org/previous/history.php), students of the Saturday Youth Culture School participated in the Census Campaign Walking Rally on Oct. 13, 1999 and Hanool participated in a promulgation ceremony for the Day of Census Recognition on Nov. 2, 1999. Also, students of the Saturday Youth Culture School and Hanool had cooperated and performed at the annual briefing of the SEKA and KAVC (Nov. 27, 1999 and Dec. 16, 2000). In addition, Hanool did a p’ungmul performance as a part of a symposium, which was hosted by the KAVC. The title of the symposium was Becoming Together (Hamkke hanūn uri 함께 하는 우리) and there was a guest speaker who talked about seeking identities through traditional Korean cultural customs and practices. More importantly, Hanool has been a part of the political activities of the KAVC. Political campaigns held by the KAVC were often accompanied by p’ungmul performances by Hanool. For instance, while the council conducted a campaign for voter registration in front of a big Korean grocery store and church, Hanool members performed p’ungmul. Also, Hanool did a p’ungmul performance at the 18th International Cultural Expo while KAVC did a campaign for voter registration. In addition to p’ungmul performances, Hanool participated in campaigns in other ways; members of Hanool informed Korean Americans about the election process and ways of participating in it through phone calls to members of the KAVC. While being a part of the political activities of the KAVC, Hanool gave annual performances and participated in various cultural events like the Korean parade at Manhattan with the support of the KAVC.

89 The International Cultural Expo was held by the International Immigrants Foundation, one of the non-government organizations of the United Nation.
In 2006, the SEKA separated from the KAVC and at the same time changed its name to the Corean Center. The term Corea refers to the name of ancient Korea that existed from B.C. 1 century to A.D. 7 century. The term Corea is often used when emphasizing the long history of Korea. This in particular is the case among participants of the minjung cultural movement. Changing the organization’s name connotes that future activities of the organization would be more oriented toward teaching the history and cultural practices of Korea and the Korean language for the young generation Korean Americans. Kim Tong-ch’an, who served as president of the SEKA for several years, said that “the KAVC will devote itself to lobbying to advance the political power of Korean Americans and the Corean Center will make every effort to conduct identity education for second generation Korean Americans” (Yi Chin-su 2006).90

Also, the Corean Center has re-organized its affiliated groups: the Hanttŭt yŏlin madang, the Korean School, and the Hanool p’ungmul group. The Hanttŭt yŏlin madang took charge of the governing board and the Korean School serves the role of the former Saturday Youth Culture School.

Figure 6.2. Organization of the Corean Center

90 Identity education (chŏngch’esŏng kyoyuk 정체성 교육) is a unique term that is easily found among Korean Americans. Many Korean Americans believe that teaching the mother tongue, history and cultural practices of Korea helps young Korean Americans to feel proud that they are of Korean descent.
Although there were changes in names and organizations, the overall role of the Corean Center is similar to that of the SEKA. As the SEKA had done, the Corean Center aims to house education programs for young Korean Americans to teach Korean cultural practices and history. Moreover, the Corean Center provides services to help newly emigrated youth with adapting to the new school system and reducing discrimination and unfair treatment at schools (Yi Chin-su 2006). All of the affiliated groups still collaborate in cultural events and annual performances. Hanool taught young Korean Americans p’ungmul and under the support of the Corean Center, Hanool gave its 4th annual performance and participated in the Korea parade in Manhattan in 2006.

However, Hanool broke with the Corean Center in 2007 and has had no relations with the organization since then. This was because the members of Hanool no longer wanted to perform politicized p’ungmul or to participate in political campaigns. Even after the Corean Center separated from the KAVC, many activities of the Corean Center were still influenced by the KAVC because Kim Tong-ch’an, the past president of the SEKA, serves as a mentor for activities of the Corean Center and many of the volunteers of the SEKA also participate in the Corean Center. More importantly, the Corean Center uses spaces at the KAVC. For example, while affiliated with the Corean Center, Hanool had its rehearsal room in the basement of the KAVC. When Hanool held its 5th p’ungmul class (Yōlin p’ungmul kangsŭphoe 열린 풍물 강습회) in 2006, the group used a lecture hall at the KAVC. This collaboration led Hanool to be involved in different activities of KAVC even after the separation of Corean Center from the KAVC.
Members of Hanool wanted to be free from the socio-political organization’s influence and thus they separated from the Corean Center and all of the members agreed to secede and form their own performance troupe.  

The break with the Corean Center brought several changes in activities of Hanool. Since Hanool’s separation from the Corean Center, the troupe has participated in the Immigration Festival, the Korean American Festival, and Korean Thanksgiving Festivals as it did before, but they have had no cooperation with any kinds of social organizations. Another change in Hanool is that they have had to give up their rehearsal room at the KAVC and to find alternate financial sources to operate the troupe. When Hanool was a part of the Corean Center or the SEKA, the group has been financially supported by the organization and used one of the rooms for their rehearsal space. The troupe moved its rehearsal room to a dance institute (*Hankuk minsok yesulwŏn* 한국 민속 예술원), led by Ch’oe Myŏng-sun, in Flushing. Hanool has held *p’ungmul* classes at the institute during weekday evenings and weekends when there are no dance classes. Although Hanool had hosted *p’ungmul* classes before when the troupe was a part of the Corean Center and SEKA, since the troupe has broken with Corean Center the *p’ungmul* classes have become an important funding source. They charge students lesson fees of fifty to one hundred dollars per month depending on student’s level. In addition to lesson fees from the classes, they collect membership fees, fifty dollars per year, from the all members of Hanool. They also welcome donations from outsiders. Also, if they hold special events

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91 Attempts not to be involved in socio-political issues are commonly seen in most young Korean Americans, as discussed in Chapter 4.

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like the annual *p’ungmul* workshop they collect registration fees from the participants and the money is spent for operating the troupe.

Many of the senior members and founding members of Hanool are not actively involved in the group, although they keep in touch with the rest of the members. For example, Yi Chong-hwan, who participated in the formation of Hanool, does not serve as a mentor or instructor at all. Instead, he has hosted his own *p’ungmul* class and provided private *changgo* lessons to young Korean Americans. Yun Yŏng-sam, who was involved in Hanool, began performing with different troupe, Hannoori, when he moved to New Jersey. Currently, the core members of Hanool are Kim Kyŏng-jin, Yi Sang-yŏl, and Kang Chi-yŏn. They actively participated in the troupe and serve as instructors and mentors for newly joined performers. Kim Kyŏng-jin is known as one of the best *changgo* performers in NYC. She has been involved in Hanool since 1998. Although the troupe selects a president whose tenure is one year, Kim Kyŏng-jin is actively involved in important decision-makings like establishing annual plans and selecting which cultural events and performances Hanool would participate in. Due to her virtuosity, skill, and technique, she often gives solo *changgo* performances in which Hanool participates. Yi Sang-yŏl serves as the first *kkwaenggwari* player, *sangsoe (상쇠)*, of the group. He has been involved in the group since 2003. He was the president in 2006 and often takes a role to publicize the group’s activities to Korean American communities in NYC through distributing posters and posting information on online message boards of sites such as www.heykt.com, one of the Korean American sites in NYC, and www.koreanculture.org, a website of the Korean Cultural Service of New York. He also contacts members who
join the Hanool website and informs them of important events and workshops Hanool is involved in. For example, I am one of the members of the Hanool website and he informed me of the P’ilbong workshop, which was supported by Hanool in 2008, by leaving a note in my blog. Kang Chi-yŏn has participated in Hanool since 2002 and she is a rising star of the changgo players. She played a solo changgo performance at the entertainment-oriented p’ungmul performance (p’an’gut) of the P’ilbong p’ungmul workshop in 2008; playing a solo repertoire implies that the performer is considered one of the best performers of the instrument in p’ungmul. She also taught the sŏlchanggo class when P’ilbong teachers could not lead the class due to their late arrival in the States.

Although Hanool has no official relations with the KAVC and Corean Center these days, many of activities of the troupe are reminiscent of the minjung cultural movement in Korea. This is because participants in the minjung cultural movement like Kim Tong-sŏk and Kim Tong-ch’an were involved in the formation of Hanool. The influences of the minjung cultural movement can be seen in various ways. First, they appear was seen in the statement concerning the purpose of Hanool. The group states its goals and aims on its website, as follows:

Hanool follows ancestral wisdom that p’ungmul brings harmony and unity to a community (kongdonch’e). As instruments like the kkwaenggwari, ching, changgo, puk and sogo, and chapsaek (various characters) come together and make harmonious sounds in p’ungmulgut, Hanool strives to transcend colors and nationalities, to create a good nori (play) culture, and to transmit the nori culture.\(^\text{92}\)

The statement above shows that one of aims of Hanool is to create nori culture through $p\text{'ungmulgut}$. The mingjung cultural movement paid a lot of attention to nori (to play 놀이) and kut (a shamanistic ritual 곡) and the choice of those terms illustrates that Hanool is influenced by the mingjung cultural movement. As I mentioned before, when the minjung cultural movement spread through university campuses during the 1980s in Korea, university students came to be interested in taedong nori (literally meaning taedong for “solidarity” or “doing something together” and nori for “play” 대동놀이). Taedong nori is any kind of community participatory activity and the minjung cultural movement sought for an activity that minjung (referring to common people) could enjoy. In Korean folk arts the term nori is often used for an emphasis on community participation. It is used in opposition to the term perform (Park, Shingil 2000: 67). The students during 1970s and 1980s attempted to find something that could be enjoyed by everyone. Mun Ho-yŏn states that during university festivals, various forms of taetong nori like tug-of-war, $p\text{'ungmul}$, madanggŭk and competitions gained popularity with students (1985: 68). In terms of $p\text{'ungmul}$, Mun says, “$p\text{'ungmul}$ groups in which more than 100 students participated, went around the university campus” (1985: 69). Even if it is not used as taedong nori, nori in many cases is inclusive of doing something together in the minjung cultural movement. In this vein, creating nori culture, which is an aim of Hanool, means to find something anyone can participate in and enjoy together. Hanool welcomes any novice member who cannot play $p\text{'ungmul}$ instruments at all. The novice members participate in Hanool performances as actors (chapsaek), whose roles are to

93 In the phrase nori culture, culture refers to atmosphere, or context. The minjung cultural movement often uses the term culture that can be interchangeable with atmosphere or context.
dance, to sing and to encourage the audience to be part of a performance. In Hanool performances, characters encourage audience members to come on to the stage and the audience enjoys a performance by singing and dancing along with Hanool performers.

The nori culture is embodied through p’ungmulgut for the Hanool troupe. Literally, kut (-gut) is a ritual which is mediated by a shaman. However, this is too limited a definition of the term kut. Kim Wŏl-dŏk defines kut as a consequence of the ritual practices that chase away bad luck and pray for peaceful life, whether it is done by a shaman or not (2009: 236). Donna Lee Kwon explains, “one of the effects of the minjung cultural movement was to recontextualize or “re-claim” p’ungmul as a shamanistic as opposed to a purely musical practice, thus highlighting the spiritual and transformative qualities of this tradition” (2005: 68). In fact, the term kut in a discourse of p’ungmul has very complex usage. Kwon remarks that:

In the context of p’ungmul specifically, kut or –gut can be grouped according to the following contexts: (1) as a synonym for p’ungmul evident in the expression “kut chinda” or “to play kut”; (2) as a suffix morpheme to delineate a particular type of location dependent ceremony or performances as in “saem-gut” or “village well ceremony”; (3) as a suffix morpheme to delineate a particular grouping of cyclical rhythmic patterns that are played in a specific order as in “p’ungryu-gut” or “och’ae chil-gut”; (4) as a suffix for an individual cyclical rhythmic pattern, as in “insa-gut” or “chajin hoho-gut”; and (5) as a suffix morpheme for a segment of a p’ungmul performance as in “norae-gut” (song ceremony) or “dodukchaebi-gut” (a dramatic character play about a thief) (Kim Ik-tu et al. 1994: 259, quoted in Kwon, Donna Lee 2005: 67-68).

Members of Hanool make use of all five contexts outlined as above. Particularly, the troupe focuses on the term kut as a synonym for p’ungmul. This is also shown in the title of the annual performance of Hanool in 2006, “Make the Sound of kut (Kut sori ulryŏra
Also, Hanool uses the term gut in a motto that states the fundamental spirit of Hanool: “gut that resonates in harmonious life (tōburō sanūn sam sok-esō ulryō p’ōjinūn kut)" under the logo of the performance troupe’s website.

Another influence of the minjung cultural movement is also seen madanggŭk (an inventive form of outdoor situational play), which is another form that spread through university campuses during the 1970s and 1980s as I mentioned in the previous chapter in more detail. Hanool staged a madanggŭk in 2005. The title of the madanggŭk was “The Day for Founding a Road Idol (Changsŭng seunŭn nal 장승 세우는 날)” and it was the annual performance of Hanool of the year. It involved satirizing Korean American community as reflected in the eyes of 1.5 and 2nd generation Korean Americans and trying to solidify the Korean American community. A form of madanggŭk is not frequently performed in the States. However, Hanool gave a theatrical version.

Hanool also uses the term mokkoji (모꼬지). The word refers to membership training that is often held during summer and winter breaks in Korea. In some circles, the term MT, an abbreviated form of membership training, is used. However, intellectuals and students who were involved in the minjung cultural movement use the term mokkoji instead of MT, because the participants in the movement were inclined not to use foreign languages. University students during the 1980s went to rural areas (nonghwal 농활) and factories (gonghwal 공활) and helped farmers and laborers. They also had seminars and forums, and they went for membership training during holidays and summer/winter breaks and developed friendship with other members and had more intensive seminars.
During these trainings, members make annual or monthly plans for the next term. If the circle was related to performing arts, they also had special training sessions. The choice of the word *mokkoji* signifies influence by the *minjung* cultural movement. Hanool has held winter *mokkoji* and announced them through the troupe’s website. In addition to intensive training sessions, they include recreation sessions to play games.

In terms of their attire, members of Hanool wear *kaeryang hanbok* (literally meaning reformed traditional Korean clothing 개량 한복). According to Rebecca Ruhlens, “the new *hanbok* styles were part of a repertoire for the performance and consumption of nationalist identity, available to all Koreans but used especially by cultural activists” (quoted in Gwak, Sung Youn Sonya 2006: 237). A traditional *hanbok* for men is made up of a waist-length jacket (*chŏkori* 저고리) and trousers (*paji* 바지) and the trousers are tightened with ribbons around the ankles. The traditional outfit for women consists of a very long skirt (*ch’ima* 치마) and a short jacket (*chŏkori* 저고리). However, the *kaeryang hanbok* now exhibits some functional alterations. Instead of ribbons around the ankles, buttons or elastic strings are attached and men’s garments are tightened with zipper instead of ribbons. Unlike the traditional form of *hanbok* in which women wear long skirts with jackets, women also can wear trousers with the advent of *kaeryang hanbok*.

The *kaeryang hanbok* that Hanool members wear is often worn in everyday life. Hanool members call it *saenghwal hanbok* (생활 한복). In 2007, one of the members posted an announcement on their online site (www.nyHanool.cyworld.com) that Hanool would have a uniform of *saenghwal hanbok*. All members were supposed to select their
preferred colors and then the two most popular colors would be ordered for their uniform. Dark pink and yellowish green were selected as the colors of the *saenghwal hanbok*. The uniform for male and female members is composed of a waist-length jacket and trousers secured with buttons around the ankles. Particularly, Kim Kyŏng-jin, Kang Chi-yŏn, and Yi Sang-yŏl, who are the important figures of Hanool, wear *kaeryang hanbok*. For example, they wore their *kaeryang hanbok* during the P’ilbong *p’ungmul* workshop in the summer of 2008. They also wore it during the winter *mokkoji* in 2007. As they wear it, they are distinguishable from other groups and intentionally show that they follow a tradition. As Soung Youn Sonya Gwak points out, clothing style is a “socially contextualized form of expression that makes a public statement about ones’ identity” (2006: 230).

In addition to the *minjung* cultural movement, Hanool is very tightly associated with the Pilbong *p’ungmul* practice. P’ilbong *p’ungmul* teachers have visited the U.S. and taught a few *p’ungmul* performers including Hanool. I will next elaborate on what P’ilbong *p’ungmul* is and how the performance practice has brought changes in the activities of Hanool.

6.1.2. Continuous Contact with P’ilbong in Korea

P’ilbong is a representative form of east side of Chŏll province of the five regional *p’ungmul* styles—the left side (*udo*) of Chŏlla, the right side (*chwado*) of Chŏlla, the upper part (*uttari*), the north-eastern part (*yŏngdong*) and the north-southern part...
P’ilbong was designated as an Important Intangible Cultural Asset in 1988. P’ilbong p’ungmul originates from Imsil county, Kangjin subcounty, and P’ilbong village in Chŏlla province. P’ilbong is surrounded by a mountainous area and due to its locality, P’ilbong has been one of the poorest regions and is behind in technological development.

Consequently, there have been few new residents in the village, the young villagers of P’ilbong tend to move to big cities, and the village population is composed of mostly seniors. There were 50 households with 148 residents during the 1970s, 38 households with 148 residents in 1987 and 24 households with 74 residents in 1999. As of April 2008, there are 22 households with 60 residents in the village (Yang Chin-sŏng 2008: 14). At the entrance of P’ilbong village, there is a tree, tangsan namu (당산 나무), which is believed to protect the village from the bad spirits and bad fortune. Most of the residents still hold shamanist beliefs and, for example, they conduct communal village rituals to pray for good fortune in front of the tree (Yang Chin-sŏng 2008: 15). Due the lack of contact with others, P’ilbong p’ungmul is perceived to maintain an “authentic” form of traditional communal village practices, so called maülgut (마을굿) (Kwon, Donna Lee 2005: 143; Yang Chin-sŏng 2008: 238). According to Yang Chin-sŏng (2008), the P’ilbong p’ungmul troupe has been composed of residents of P’ilbong even after collapse of agricultural society; many other regional p’ungmul troupes consist of performers who live in different places and come together for performances.

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94 Refer to Chapter 4 for discussion of where the regional division is derived from.
95 See Chapter 4 for more detailed information and background on the Important Intangible Cultural Asset structure and its influence on practices of traditional Korean performing arts.
Communal village practices involve *madangbalpki* (a ritual that involves stepping on the earth 마당밟기), *maegut* (a ritual to chase away bad spirits 매굿), *tangsanje* (a ritual operated in front of village shrine 당산제), *ch’albab kótgikut* (a ritual of collecting sticky rice 찰밥 걷기굿), *nodi kosa kút* (a ritual of stepping stones 노디 고사굿), *kögung kút* (a ritual to collect grains 걸궁굿), and *ture kút* (a performance during the work activities 두레굿). Currently, all of these practices except *ture gut* are done as part of the celebration of the Lunar New Year’s First Full Moon (*chŏlwŏldaeborŭm kut* 정월대보름굿), which is one of the most important and biggest events for the P’ilbong *p’ungmul* group.

The first leader of P’ilbong *p’ungmul* was Pak Hak-sam and after his death Song chu-ho took leadership for a short period. Yang Sun-yong became the third leader of the P’ilbong *p’ungmul* troupe at the age of 14. P’ilbong *p’ungmul* obtained national recognition under his leadership. From 1973, he endeavored to transmit *p’ungmul* to children, to youth and young adults in their twenties, while the P’ilbong troupe participated in various performing arts and *p’ungmul* competitions. The P’ilbong troupe earned prizes at the Chŏnbuk *Nongak* Competitions (1974), at the Chŏnju *Taesasŭp* Competition (1977, 1978) and the National Folk Performing Arts Competition (1980, 1982). As P’ilbong earned recognition, college students from various regions came to

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96 Traditionally, these ritual practices are performed on the basis of the lunar calendar: *madangbalki* (for fifteen days of New Year), *maegut* (New Year’s Eve), and *tangsanje* (on 9th of January) are to invite good luck and to chase away bad luck. *Ch’albab kógi kút* (on 15th of January) is to collect sticky rice and what is collected is used for making rice wine (makgolli). After *kögung kút*, all villagers and performers drink the rice wine together. *Nodi kosa kút* (on 15th of January) is to celebrate having enough water and that villagers have not drowned in the river.
P’ilbong in order to learn $p\text{'ungmul}$ from Yang Sun-yong. At the time, there was no intensive training center where students could accommodate and practice. Yang Sun-yong used the assembly hall of the village as well as empty houses. In particular, many college students and intellectuals who were involved in the *minjung* cultural movement visited P’ilbong. They were fascinated by P’ilbong $p\text{'ungmul}$ as a communal village practice because at the time the *minjung* cultural movement was seeking for a communal participatory activity. Because of the participation of social activists, college students, and intellectuals, Yang Sun-yong’s family was watched by the police and the government. P’ilbong villagers felt uncomfortable because of police supervision of Yang’s activities. Consequently, the family moved from P’ilbong to Namwŏn and founded an intensive training center. The police presence remained strong:

At the time, $p\text{'ungmul}$ teaching to college students was supervised by police, and even military authorities, and had to be reported in advance of the teaching. Before and after 1987, when political rallies by college students for democratization approached their peak, the supervision was much strengthened. Police always attended $p\text{'ungmul}$ classes during summer and winter breaks and all students had to report their personal particulars, such as social number and address, to the police (Yang Chin-sŏng 2008: 30).

The statement above illustrates not only that many students learned P’ilbong $p\text{'ungmul}$ but also that how closely P’ilbong was associated with the *minjung* cultural movement. There are several important figures among the students: Kim Pong-jun and Kim Myŏng-kon. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, Kim Pong-jun, a fine artist, founded social organizations like the Korean Youth Cultural Center, taught $p\text{'ungmul}$, and talked about its significance in social activities while visiting the States during the 1980s. He

97 Interview with Yang Chin-hwan, July, 26, 2008.
has kept in touch with social organizations in the U.S. like the Our Cultural Research Group (*Uri munhwa nanumhoe 우리 문화 나눔회*), an affiliate of the Korean Immigrant Work Advocacy. When he visited the U.S., he also met with members of the organization. Kim Myŏng-kon became a minister of Culture and Tourism in 2006. Yang Sun-yong transmitted *p'ungmul* to over four million general public during his life.

After his death in 1995, his son Yang Chin-sŏng took over the leadership of the P’ilbong *p’ungmul* troupe. Yang Chin-sŏng and the Yang Chin-hwan, the second son of Yan Sun-yŏng, have taught *p’ungmul* to students and the general public. They also have devoted themselves to publicizing P’ilbong *p’ungmul* abroad. In 1997, the intensive training center was moved from Namwŏn to P’ilbong, with the goal to restore the original place of P’ilbong *p’ungmul*. In 2000, the new P’ilbong intensive training center was established. The newly equipped training center is able to accommodate two hundred students and provides a “Tradition Experience School (*Chŏnt’ong ch’ehôm hakkyo* 전통 체험 학교)” as well as *p’ungmul* training courses. The center is one of the largest and newest among the *p’ungmul* training centers in Korea. Also, the website of the P’ilbong troupe has various types of documents such as newspapers, interviews, audio-video files and pictures showing the history of P’ilbong and their activities.

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98 Yang Chin-sŏng obtained the title of Holder of Important Intangible Cultural Asset (*poyuja 보유자*) for P’ilbong *p’ungmul* practice in 2009. This title is endowed to the master of the performance genre which is designated as the Important Intangible Cultural Asset. The holder is only endowed if he or she is over 50 years old. Although he became the first leader of the P’ilbong *p’ungmul* troupe in 1995, he was not eligible to be the holder for his young age. Yang Chin-sŏng has recently achieved a Ph.D degree and published numerous articles in folklore journals. His scholarly works are supported by detailed archival research, interviews, and comparative studies on the P’ilbong style and are valuable in that he has corrected wrong information and data from earlier works.

The significant influence of P’ilbong p’ungmul on p’ungmul troupes in the U.S. can be seen through Hanool in Flushing, New York. Hanool has been closely related with P’ilbong p’ungmul troupe since their first meeting in 1999. The Preservation Society of P’ilbong in New York invited one of the P’ilbong performers to visit in 1999 and Hanool had an opportunity to have one month of intensive training with him. Since Yi Chong-hwan, a director of the preservation society, participated in the creation of Hanool and served as a mentor for young members of Hanool at the time, he introduced the P’ilbong performer to Hanool first. The performer from Korea was Yi Chŏng-u, a director of an intensive training center (chŏnsugwan) in Seoul. He has been involved in p’ungmul since the 1980s when he attended college. When he went to Japan for studies he founded p’ungmul groups. It seems that his experience in Japan might have led the P’ilbong p’ungmul troupe to have frequent workshops and performances in Japan. Yi also visited Oakland in San Francisco and taught p’ungmul at Sister’s Sound (Jamaesori 자매소리) and the Korean Youth Cultural Center (KYCC). In 2000, he came to the U.S. with Yang Chin-sŏng, the leader of the P’ilbong p’ungmul group and they provided a

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Learning with the P’ilbong performers affects the repertoire of p’ungmul groups, as I will point out in the next section, “Repertoire and Costumes.” Also, Hanool is different from other troupes in the sense that Hanool follows the spirit of P’ilbong p’ungmul: abundant kut and abundant life (p’ujin kut, p’ujin sam 푔槿 굿 푔槿 삶). The word p’ujin is an adjective form of p’ujida and means being full and abundant. The webpage of P’ilbong p’ungmul states:

The aesthetics of P’ilbong p’ungmulgut is to be abundant and something to share with others. I don’t mean full of rice, nor full of money. Abundant people, speech, music and liquor are needed. Particularly, people’s life and mind should have abundant benevolence. P’an is composed of all of abundant things and p’ungmul is to share those abundant things.100

The phrase abundant kut and abundant life (p’ujin kut, p’ujin sam) is used as a catchphrase to represent the aesthetics of P’ilbong. The phrase was used as the title of the P’ilbong P’ungmul Festival and the P’ilbong Lunar Full Moon Festival. Hanool shows that the group has been influenced by the aesthetics of P’ilbong as well as by its

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performance practices. One of the members of Hanool, Yi Sang-yŏl, has posted the phrase “abundant kut and abundant life” on his minihompy at Cyworld, a Korean version of a social networking service similar to facebook. He has also included the phrase “p’ungmul as life” on myspace. On Hanool’s website, nyHanool.cyworld.com, Hanool describes its activity as kut: “doing kut and sharing life (kut chi’ko salmūl nanunūn 치고 삶을 나누고).” Such expressions demonstrate how deeply Hanool is rooted in P’ilbong p’ungmul.

Figure 6.3. A kkwaenggwart hangs in the Hanool rehearsal room. The phrase “p’ujin kut, p’ujin sam (abundant kut, abundant life)” is written on it.

6.1.3. Repertoire and Costumes

Influences of P’ilbong p’ungmul are also seen in the repertoire and costumes of Hanool. Before they had several workshops with the P’ilbong troupe, Hanool was
playing *samulnori* and *udo* style *p’ungmul*. This is similar to other *p’ungmul* groups in NYC. As I previously mentioned, *samulnori* and *udo* performance practices and their repertoire have gained popularity among the performers of the U.S. because of the availability of various resources, like scores and audio-video aids, to learn them. However, Hanool has practiced P’ilbong *p’ungmul* since the group learned these practices from the P’ilbong teachers for many consecutive years, though the group sometimes still performs *samulnori* pieces as needed. Hanool distributes the same scores as the ones that the P’ilbong troupe in Korea provides to students. For example, the score they gave students for the P’ilbong *P’ungmul* Class in 2006 was the same as the one I had been given during the P’ilbong *P’ungmul* Workshop in 2008 that P’ilbong teachers provided in Flushing, New York. The P’ilbong *p’ungmul* repertoire consists of *naenŭngut* (*내는굿*), *oimach’ichilgut* (*외마치질굿*), *ch’aegut* (*채굿*), *hohŏgut* (*호허굿*), *p’ungryugut* (*풍류굿*), *kajinyŏngsan* (*가진영산*), *noraegut* (*노래굿*), *ch’umgut* (*춤굿*), *subakch’igi* (*수박치기*), *tŭngjigigut* (*등지기굿*) and *t’almŏrigut* (*탈머리굿*). Hanool practices all these pieces. Particularly, Hanool plays *ch’aegut*, *hohŏgut*, and *p’ungryugut* very often, both in performance and also in *p’ungmul* classes they provide.

According to the group’s website, nyHanool.cyworld.com, the *p’ungmul* classes they hold are divided into five different levels and require different tuition fees, as follows:

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Beginner 1  Two times  
Beginner 2  Two Times  
Ch’aegut  Two Times  
P’ungryu  Four Times  
Hohŏgut  Four Times  

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*Special class: ch’aesangmo, sŏlchanggo

Table 6.1. P’ungmul classes provided by Hanool

The above pieces, including folk songs, comprise the majority of the repertoire for Hanool. The P’ilbong troupe has played ch’aegut not only for p’an’gut but also for various performance contexts like work, ritual, and fund-raising. Since work and fund-raising have disappeared as contemporary performance contexts, P’ilbong plays ch’aegut for p’an’gut and various types of rituals including madangbapki (stepping on the earth). Ch’aegut ranges from ilch’ae (one stroke) to ch’ilch’ae (seven stroke). It is played as a whole piece and each ch’ae can be also played as a separate piece. A lead kkwaenggwari player gives a cue to move one to another ch’ae. Hohŏgut is in ŏnmori rhythmic patterns and has a call-and-response form between two groups of performers. While playing rhythmic patterns, half of the performers shout hoho (_hold). Then the other half of the performers respond to it with hŏhŏ (_hold`). During these rousing shouts and calls, p’ungryugut serves to stir up the audience. It starts with a slow tempo and end with a fast tempo. In regards to sŏlchanggo, Hanool practices sŏlchanggo in kutkŏri and hwimori

Refer to Chapter 3 for more detailed descriptions on rhythmic patterns, including ŏnmori.
rhythmic patterns. Hanool also practices spinning the ribbon of chaesangmo as it is transmitted by P’ilbong.

In addition, Hanool uses the same costumes as P’ilbong. All P’ilbong performers, except the kkwaenggwari player, wear a blue vest over white trousers and a coat. Three-colored cotton sashes (tti) are tied over the performer’s shoulder and waist. The colors are red, blue, and yellow, standing for the sky (blue), the earth (yellow), and the human (red). Although many p’ungmul groups in Korea have no strict rules about how to position the sashes, P’ilbong troupes have a unified way to position them. When one faces a performer, the yellow sash should be positioned over the right shoulder and the red one over the left shoulder. The blue one should be positioned over the waist. The P’ilbong performers who play changgo, sogo, puk and ching wear kokkal-s, white triangular hats with five paper-made flowers. On the top of the hat, a red flower is positioned. On the left and right side a white flower is attached and on the back and front side a yellow one. Kkwaenggwari players wear black outer jackets (tŏgŏri 더거리) over the white trousers and coats. The jacket has half-length sleeves with multi-colored strips. Yang Chin-sŏng, the current leader of the P’ilbong troupe, remarks that the former leader Yang Sun-yong wore various colors of outer jackets (Yang Chin-sŏng 2008). The three-colored sashes are hung on the back of the kkwaneggwari players. In this case, the sashes are called tŭrim (드림). Yellow, red, and blue sashes are hung down from the performers’ shoulders to their ankles.

103 Some of the sogo players wear a kokkal while some of them wear a chaesangmo (a rounded-top hat with a ribbon which is 3.24 inch in length).
Most P’ungmul practitioners in the States wear black vests with different lengths of sleeves. This is because the groups in U.S. are influenced by samulnori costumes. When Kim Duk Soo’s SamulNori first staged their performances, all performers wore black vests. Thereafter, black vests became the typical uniform for samulnori but also for p’ungmul performances in Korea.\(^{104}\)

All the performers of Hanool except the kkwaenggwari players wear blue vests. Hanool performers also follow the same way of positioning the three colored sashes that the P’ilbong troupes do. Some performers position two sashes on one shoulder together and the other on the waist. Hanool members also wear a kokkal, which is hardly found among U.S. p’ungmul practitioners. However, the positioning of their colored-paper-made flowers is different from that of P’ilbong. Hanool positions two red flowers on the left and right side and the yellow one on the back and front side. On the top of the hat, a white flower is positioned. The kkwaenggwari player of Hanool wears a black outer jacket with multi-colored strips. Also, the player wears a pudŭl sangmo (rounded-top hat with a tuft of white feathers). Because it is not easy to move a tuft of white feathers, there are few skilled pudŭl sangmo performers in the States. I observed only two groups in which the kkwaenggwari wear pudŭl sangmo in the U.S.: Hanool and the Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe.

In traditional P’ilbong practice, there are eight characters: taep’osu (hunter), ch’angbu (actor), chorijung (buddhist monk), yangban (aristocrat), kaksi (bride), halmi (old female 할미), hwadong (flower child), and mudong (dancing child). They heighten

\(^{104}\) For example, the front cover of p’ungmul written by Nathan Hesselink has a colorful picture of Kumnŭng Pinnae Nongakdan. All performers in the picture wear black vests.
the festive atmosphere and to encourage audience members to sing and dance. Junior members of the P’ilbong troupe are in charge of the chapsaek-s. Many P’ungmul groups have little knowledge about what these performers should do and how to manage their roles in a performance. Kim Kyŏng-jin, one of the senior members who has participated in the group since 1998, notes “the role of chapsaek is the most important part in p’ungmul. They give fun gestures and dance for audience so the audience comes onto the stage and joins the performers.”

Her remark shows that how important the chapsaek-s are for the troupe. During Hanool’s annual performance, the troupe usually has one chapsaek, specifically a hunter. For example, the annual performances in 2005, 2004, and 2003 had a hunter and kaksi. The performers who served as chapsaek-s wore costumes and typical make-up for the characters. On the Hanool website, there is a list of members’ names and their roles in the performances. One of the members serves as a hunter and two of them are enlisted just as chapsaek-s.

6.1.4. Hanool Mokkoji

I participated in Hanool winter mokkoji (모꼬지) from December 28 to 30 of 2007. As I explained earlier in this chapter, the term mokkoji refers to Membership Training. This event was held at the Gretna Glen Retreat Center in Pennsylvania. Seven members of Hanool participated in the mokkoji. All of the important figures in Hanool including Kim Kyŏng-jin, Kang Chi-yŏn and Yi Sang-yŏl came to the mokkoji. Because

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105 Interview with Kim Kyŏng-jin, October 6, 2006.
there were only a few participants, I was able to build more intimate friendships with the members. Being present at the **mokkoji** as a participant and as an observer was a very good opportunity to look at what they practice, how they practice, and how they build relationships with each other as members. During the **mokkoji**, I learned the **changgo**, **kkwaenggwari** and four kinds of **minyo** (Korean folk song 민요), and played **puk** and **ching**. Because I had only learned the **changgo**, it was very exciting to learn how to play **kkwaenggwari** and to have opportunities to play **puk** and **ching** during the entertainment-oriented performance (**p’an’gut**).

Together with other Hanool members I was assigned to a team for meal preparation. Each team prepared meals in turn. All the meals provided during the **mokkoji** were Korean food, including **miyŏk kuk** (seaweed soup 미역국), **sujebi** (a soup with wheat flakes 수제비), and **kimch’i tchigae** (kimch’i stew 김치찌개). Although there were different teams for meal making, Kim Kyŏng-jin served as head chef and all final seasoning was done under her direction. Because she is one of the oldest members and has the longest experience performing **p’ungmul**, all of the final decisions, not only for a performance but also for the operation of the performance troupe are done with her supervision.

We learned some Korean folk songs (**minyo**) the first night: “**Sandokkaebi** (산도깨비),” “**Sarangga** (사랑가),” “**Chejudo t’aryŏng** (제주 타령)” and “**Chindo arirang** (진도 아리랑).” Among them, “**Sandokkaebi,”** “**Sarangga**” and “**Chindo arirang**” are routinely taught during the **p’ungmul** class led by Hanool. I had no knowledge of how to sing the songs except “**Chindo arirang,**” which I had learned in
elementary school. Interestingly, I had heard “Sarangga” when I conducted field research in LA. I had observed a rehearsal of chishinbapki and Nam Chang-u sang the song with his wife in front of the college students to whom Nam Chang-u was teaching p’ungmul. The text of Sarangga was the same as the one I heard at the rehearsal in LA. Also, I was later able to find the text of each song via the internet using a resource was from the Korean Youth Cultural Center (KYCC) that I previously mentioned. I compared the text that I found online with the text Hanool sang at the mokkoji and they were the same. More importantly, the kinds of songs the KYCC and Hanool sing and teach students are the same. Both the KYCC and Hanool sing and teach “Sandokkaebi,” “Sarangga,” “Chejudo t’aryong” and “Chindo arirang.” It seems that Yi Chŏng-u taught the songs to members of Hanool and the KYCC when he visited the States. As I mentioned in the earlier part of this chapter, whenever he came to the U.S. he also flew to Oakland, where KYCC is located, and taught traditional Korean performing arts. As a result, the two performance troupes share the same repertoire of folksongs and p’ungmul performance practices. Moreover, Nam Chang-u was one of the members of KYCC and it is believed that he learned “Sarangga” from KYCC and brought the song with him when he moved to Los Angeles and distributed it to college p’ungmul students.

Figure 6.4. Text of “Sarangga”\textsuperscript{106}

\begin{center}
사 사랑을 하려면 요 온렇게 한다
da~sarang-o1 hallyomyon yo~yorok ‘e handanda
In order to love you must do like this
\end{center}

\textsuperscript{106} \url{http://www.forsythia.net/~patchew/kycc/kasa/sarangga.pdf}, accessed October 10, 2008.
Figure 6.4. continued

요네 사랑 변치 말자 군게 군게 다진 사랑
yone sarang pyonch’i malja kutke kutke tajin sarang
Don’t allow your love to change (make it a) tightly packed, burning love

여화 동등 내 사랑
öhwadungdung nae sarang
öhwadungdung my love

동당가 동당가 동기동당기 내 사랑
dungdangga dungdangga dunggidungdanggi nae sarang
dungdangga dungdangga dunggidungdanggi my love

꽃과 나비 너울너울 춤을 추고
kkot-kwa nabi nōul nōul ch’um-ūl ch’ugo
the flowers and the butterflies are swayingly dancing

우리네 사랑은 아이가이가 두둥실 좋을씨고
uri ne sa–sarang–ūn aigaiga dudungshil choūlssigo
As for the love of our household aigaiga, floating up in the air, choūlssigo

2.
다 당신은 내 사랑 아이 알뜰한 내 사랑
ta–tangsiin–ūn nae sarang ai alttūran nae sarang
you, you are my love ai, my earnest love

일편 단심 변치 말자 군게 다진 사랑
ilp’yōn tansim pyonch’i malja kutke kutke tajin sarang
A faithful heart that won’t change a tightly packed, burning love

여화 동등 내 사랑
öhwadungdung nae sarang
öhwadungdung my love

동당가 동당가 동기동당기 내 사랑
dungdangga dungdangga dunggidungdanggi nae sarang
dungdangga dungdangga dunggidungdanggi my love

너를 보면은 신바람이 절로 나고
nō–rūl pomyon sinparami chōllo nago
When i see you a happy breeze blows by

너를 만나면 아이가이가 두둥실 좋을써고
nō–rūl ma–mamnmyōn aigaiga dudungshil choūlssigo

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When i meet you *aigaiga*, floating up in the air, *choülssigo*

I learned *changgo* and *kkwaenggwari* on the second day. Particularly, I learned how to make the *okūm* (오금) movement that is a crucial part of *p’ungmul*. To do *okūm*, a performer lifts up his/her heels with inhaling and bends the knees with exhaling. In learning this movement, I was able to understand better why *p’ungmul* performers make such unique body movements and how to judge a performer’s movements. Also, I was able to utilize *okūm* when I played *puk* and *ching* while going around in a circle with other performers outdoors.

During the second night we prepared several things to have during the *p’an’gut*. We made some dishes that we would have during the *p’an’gut* and made *kokkal*. All members of Hanool already knew very well how to make *kokkal* with colored-*hanji* and they instructed me how to fold *hanji* (한지) in order to make *kokkal*. The way of positioning the three colored flowers is the same as how they position the *kokkal* for their performances. All of us made our own *kokkal* and wrote New Year’s wishes inside of them. Nobody wanted to show their New Year’s wishes to others because it is believed that revealing secrets would make them not come true. While preparing things for the *p’an’gut*, we put the *kokkal* on the top of fireplace. Members of Hanool provided a few

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107. *Hanji*, Korean traditional paper, is very thin. However, multi-layered *hanji* is very strong and hardly tears. The frames of windows and doors of traditional Korean houses are covered with multi-layered *hanji*. It has been widely used for making various types of artifacts, which are sold at souvenir shops in contemporary Korea. Members wrote their New Year’s wishes inside of the *kokkal* with each of our names. They were thrown in the fire when we had the entertainment-oriented *p’ungmul* (*p’an’gut*) outdoors. It is believed that New Year’s wishes will come true when the paper one’s wishes are written on is burned.

108. As I mentioned above, Hanool positions two red flowers on the left and right sides and the yellow one on the back and front. At the top is positioned a white flower.
bottles of rice wine (makkŏl 마 הקל리). All of them were planning to get drunk during the p’an’gut as usual.

Finally, we went outdoors for the p’an’gut. We raked up the fallen leaves and piled up firewood to make a fire. There was no light at all except the fire around us. All of us wore kokkal that we made for ourselves and held one instrument. We played i ch’ae, sam ch’ae and o bang chin rhythms. While we played, we waited for the potatoes and sweet potatoes to be cooked in the fire. At this time, I played the changgo in standing position. While playing instruments, we also drank some of the rice wine. At the climax of the p’an’gut, we all threw our kokkal into the fire.

As can be seen from the above described event, Hanool has been influenced by the minjung cultural movement and by P’ilgbong performance practices in many ways. Although Hannoori, which I will examine in the following part of the chapter, had also studied with P’ilbong teachers, the troupe has taken a different path than Hanool.

6.2. Hannoori

6.2.1. History of Hannoori

Hannoori (literally meaning living together in harmony) was founded in 1997 by alumni of the State University of New York at Buffalo (SUNY Buffalo) and Syracuse University. Hannoori consists of post-college graduates and young workers. They practice p’ungmul once a week. Two of the founding members are Ko Ch’an-hyŏck and

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109 Refer to Chapter 7 for more detailed information about makkŏl.
Yun Paek-ch’ŏn. Before the p’ungmul group was created, Korean students at SUNY Buffalo hosted a Korean Cultural Night and the students performed p’ungmul for that event. Mo Se-jong, who organized the event, was involved in the minjung cultural movement in Korea, had learned p’ungmul and later emigrated to the U.S. and served as a mentor for the Korean Cultural Night for a few years. He made the suggestion to found a p’ungmul group at SUNY Buffalo and helped to do so by donating a number of p’ungmul instruments.\textsuperscript{110} Yun Paek-ch’ŏn was one of the founding members of the p’ungmul group and Ko Ch’an-hyŏck joined the group soon after. Unlike Yun, Ko still actively participates in Hannoori, while at the same time he is a member of the Nori Company.\textsuperscript{111} Ko Ch’an-hyŏck is known as one of the best changgo performers of his age and served as a president of Hannoori from 2001 to 2005. Yun Paek-ch’ŏn served as a president of Hannoori from 1999 to 2001.

When Yun and Ko formed Hannoori after they graduated from SUNY Buffalo, a director of the Service and Education for Korean Americans (SEKA), Kim Tong-ch’an, expressed a desire to found a p’ungmul group with Yun and Ko together. According to an interview with Ko Ch’an-hyŏck, Mo Se-jong and Kim Tong-ch’an knew each other very well. It seems that Mo Se-jong introduced Yun and Ko to Kim Tong-ch’an. At the time, SEKA had just been founded and planned to have cultural groups as subgroups of SEKA. However, they declined getting involved in this new venture because they “don’t want to be part of undongkwŏn.”\textsuperscript{112} Undongkwŏn (운동권) refers to the college student

\textsuperscript{110} Interview with Ko Ch’an-hyŏck, October 6, 2007.
\textsuperscript{111} The Nori Company led by Yuk Sang-min is a performance group which consists of American as well as Korean American performers. It holds numerous performances per year.
\textsuperscript{112} Interview with Ko Ch’an-hyŏck, October 6, 2007.
movement, which is a part of the minjung cultural movement. The term undongkwŏn ch’ulsin (운동권 출신) indicates people who have a background in the undongkwŏn or the minjung cultural movement. In Korea, the terms undongkwŏn and minjung cultural movement are often used interchangeably. As I previously mentioned, the SEKA was founded by Kim Tong-sŏk and Kim Tong-ch’an, who are undongkwŏn ch’ulsin. This made Ko Ch’an-hyŏck and Yun Paek-ch’ŏn hesitate to found a p’ungmul group together with the SEKA. Thus, SEKA separately created Hanool.

The purpose of Hannoori is stated this: “with [its] mission [of] spreading Korean heritage and [the] culture of Poongmul, H.N.R. [works] to pass on [to] its next generations the virtue of [the] Korean Ancestral Heritages that we live amongst ourselves helping each other.”113 Hannoori has hosted various types of program, including a p’ungmul camp, leadership training for senior members of different bands, and an upstate trip, which is a workshop for collegiate p’ungmul practitioners in upstate New York. The first p’ungmul camp was held in 1999 and it coincided with the p’ungmul camp hosted by the National Poongmul Network (NPN).114 Since the first camp in 1999, Hannoori has hosted p’ungmul camps for three nights and four days every year and p’ungmul groups not only from New York and New Jersey but also from Pennsylvania, Maryland, and New England have participated in the camp. Participants exchange knowledge and

114 The Korean Youth Cultural Center in Oakland, California serves as a headquarters of the NPN and it hosted the first NPN p’ungmul camp. Some of performers in New York flew to San Jose to participate in the first NPN camp: Kang Kyong-hŭi and Ch’oe Hyŏn-don, who are alumni of p’ungmul groups of SUNY Stony Brook and members of Uri munhwa ch’atkihoe took part in the camp in California.
resources of p’ungmul through the camp. In addition to p’ungmul camps, Hannoori co-hosted a P’ilbong p’ungmul workshop in New York in 2001. Leadership training is to educate leaders of each of the p’ungmul groups in New York and New Jersey as well as to solidify their relationships with each other. Members of Hannoori teach new performance skills and techniques to leaders of different groups and then each leader transmits them to their groups’ junior members. Thus, leadership training is one of the best examples to show how collegiate p’ungmul group in the States transmit knowledge: passing down knowledge from a senior member (sŏnbae 선배) to a junior member (hubae 후배) (Kwon, Donna Lee 2001). The upstate trips or retreats are for p’ungmul groups of colleges located in the upper part of New York like Cornell, SUNY Buffalo and Syracuse. A purpose of the upstate trip is to provide p’ungmul workshops for performers who cannot easily come down and learn p’ungmul from Hannoori. In other words, Hannoori has served not only as an instructor of various p’ungmul groups of colleges but also as a center to network different p’ungmul groups.

In addition, Hannoori has hosted BK parties, annual Christmas parties and participated in the Rainbow Festival. The word BK refers to where the party is held: Brooklyn. The BK party attempted to invite not only members of the Korean American community but also its neighboring communities, particularly the African American and Latino communities. The BK party had been held in Brooklyn, which has a large African American community, during the Korean Thanksgiving Festival (ch’usŏk 추석) for three consecutive years from 2002 to 2004. A few Korean Americans run grocery stores there and a majority of their customers are African Americans. It is known that there have been
racial conflicts between Korean Americans and African Americans in Brooklyn. Hence, the purpose of the BK party is to build friendship with the African and Latino communities. For the BK party, Hannoori cooperated and performed with other p’ungmul troupes in NY like Hanool, Teoh, DDKY and SEKA. However, the BK party is not held any longer for lack of funds to host it. There are other important cultural events every year between October and November, such as the Korean parade at Manhattan on the first Saturday of October. Members of p’ungmul groups in New York and New Jersey make every effort to prepare the parade and p’ungmul twip’uri (after party).

In 2002, a troupe affiliated with Hannoori, 149 place p’ungmul (149 pp), was formed. 149 pp was named after the address of its rehearsal room: 40-11, 149 place, Flushing, New York. 149 pp is made up of alumni of p’ungmul groups of colleges like Hannoori. Ko Ch’an-hyŏck participated in the formation of 149 pp and his participation reflects the strong association between Hannoori and 149 pp. More importantly, the affiliation between Hannoori and 149 pp gave birth to the Korean Cultural Outreach Network (KCON) in September of 2002. Major figures of Hannoori and 149 pp fulfill important roles in KCON and many of Hannoori’s activities have been taken over by KCON: i.e. organization of p’ungmul camps and p’ungmul workshops for p’ungmul troupes of colleges. Since its foundation, an annual p’ungmul camp was re-named the KCON annual p’ungmul camp and Hannoori and 149 members serve as instructors for various sessions of the camp. The Hannoori website says, “Hannoori has hosted
numerous activities and cultural events. KCON has been newly founded, and many of Hannoori’s activities would be performed under the name of KCON.\footnote{www.Hannoori.net/activities.htm, accessed November 15, 2009.}

The aim of KCON is similar in that KCON teaches young Korean Americans Korean cultural heritage. However, KCON more clearly states its role in the network of different \textit{p’ungmul} groups. In a program note for the annual \textit{p’ungmul} camp in 2008, it says:

\begin{quote}
KCON seeks to provide an opportunity for young Korean Americans to come together to share and exchange their thoughts, insights and experiences in order to establish a network of support and communication, so that they can define their identities and become an active voice of awareness within the Korean American and non-Korean communities. Our aim is to promote Korean culture as a medium of access by which to reach Korean American and non-Korean alike, to provide the means for young Korean Americans to take pride and gain ownership of the Korean Cultural heritage.
\end{quote}

KCON has provided \textit{p’ungmul} instructors for various organizations like schools, churches, Buddhist temples, something Hannoori has also done. Also, the organization has helped to create \textit{p’ungmul} groups at colleges. For example, two college students from Colgate University participated in the annual \textit{p’ungmul} camp of 2008. They had no practical knowledge of \textit{p’ungmul} but wanted to have a \textit{p’ungmul} troupe at their college. KCON helped to found a group and gave several classes for the group. Currently, the \textit{p’ungmul} group of Colgate University is a member of KCON. One of the important missions of KCON is to provide various materials for learning Korean cultural practices. This includes translating Korean language resources into English for those who are not fluent Korean speakers. Moreover, KCON has distributed instruments to needy
p’ungmul groups at low cost. Because there are no shops to purchase supplies or instruments for p’ungmul in NY, many p’ungmul performers obtain instruments through KCON. When KCON was formed, it was first comprised of Hanool, Teoh, 149p’ungmul place, Hannoori and DDKY. Teoh is a p’ungmul group whose members are composed of Catholic-church members. The leader of Teoh, Yi Ch’ol-sŏn, has close friendship with a director of SEKA. He had been involved in the minjung cultural movement and served as a president of Preservation Society of P’ilbong P’ungmul in New York. Accordingly, Teoh practices P’ilbong style.

KCON created a college division in 2006 and enlarged its membership in 2008 by consolidating the Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe and the Nori Company into KCON.116 Yuk Sang-min, a leader of the Nori Company, is a president of KCON and Kang Kyŏng-hŭi, a leader of 149 pp, is a vice president of KCON.

Figure 6.5. A collection of T-shirts from different annual p’ungmul camps, hosted by KCON, and from different college groups

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116 See Chapter 4 for more detail on the background and history of these two groups.
6.2.2. Repertoire

In contrast to Hanool, which shows a strong influence by P’ilbong p’ungmul in its repertoire selection and costumes, Hannoori and its affiliated troupe, 149 pp, have learned various regional styles of p’ungmul. Hannoori and 149 pp members do not adhere to one particular performance style. The college groups of KCON learn different regional p’ungmul practices. The types of classes that have been provided during the annual p’ungmul camp hosted by Hannoori from 1999 to 2002 and KCON from 2003 demonstrate that the group has developed p’ungmul repertoires. Moreover, the classes of the p’ungmul camp show the common repertoire of the p’ungmul groups of KCON. The repertoires are often performed for their annual performances. In order to show the different classes of each p’ungmul camp, I present the following figure.

Table 6.2. Organization of the annual p’ungmul camp: year, place, classes and participants

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Place</th>
<th>Classes</th>
<th>Participated Groups</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1999</td>
<td></td>
<td><em>Udo kut</em> (particularly a performance style of Korean Folk Village)</td>
<td>Hannoori KFAC of SUNY Buffalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>PA</td>
<td><em>Udo kut</em> (particularly a performance style of Korean Folk Village)</td>
<td>SUNY Buffalo NYU Philadelphia</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>PA</td>
<td>Dance movement <em>Samul</em> Rhythms in Detail (yŏngnam, uttari)* Some Useful ad.lib beats</td>
<td>SUNY Buffalo NYU Sorimori (Philadelphia) Hanool (NY) Syracuse Cornell Albany StonyBrook Hannoori (NJ) Columbia FIT</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### Table 6.2. continued

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Description</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>Speaker</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| 2002 | | Dance movements  
  *Sangmo*  
  *Sŏlchanggo*  
  *Korean Folk Songs* | Sunny Buffalo  
 NYU  
 Sorimori (Philadelphia)  
 Hanool (NY)  
 Syracuse  
 Cornell  
 Albany  
 StonyBrook  
 Hannoori (NJ)  
 Columbia  
 FIT | |
| 2003 | PA | *Kosŏng okwangdae Basic Dance Moves*  
 *Kkwaenggwari*  
 *O pukch’um*  
 *Basic Rhythm*  
 *Sŏlchanggo* | | |
| 2004 | | Beginner  
 Intermediate  
 Advanced A (P’ilbong style sŏlchanggo)  
 Advanced B (Udo style sŏlchanggo)  
 *Kkwaenggwari*  
 *Nalmae puk ch’um* | Buffalo  
 Syracuse  
 Stonybrook  
 Cornell  
 Columbia  
 FIT  
 Harvard  
 MIT  
 Wesley  
 College of NJ  
 Hanool  
 Hansori (Fort Lee High School)  
 Hannoori  
 ShinUrl (LeLand High School)  
 Madangpae Han  
 149pp  
 Brooklyn Catholic Church  
 NYU (NYURI)  
 Hanpan (Maryland)  
 Georgetown  
 Albany | Guest  
 Speaker: Former  
 Minister of Culture and Tourism Ministry |
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>Courses Offered</th>
<th>Institutions</th>
<th>Additional Information</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2005</td>
<td>NY</td>
<td>Beginners</td>
<td>Binghamton</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Intermediate</td>
<td>Syracuse</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Changgo A&amp;B</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(samdo sŏlchanggo)</td>
<td>Stonybrook</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Buffalo</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Changgo A</td>
<td>Albany</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(udo style sŏlchanggo)</td>
<td>MIT</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Cornell</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Changgo B</td>
<td>Port Lee High School</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(chwado style sŏlchanggo)</td>
<td>NYU</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Kkwaengwari</td>
<td>149 pp</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Beginner</td>
<td>Hanool</td>
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<td>Advanced</td>
<td>Nadraegi</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Nalmae puk ch’um</td>
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<tr>
<td>2006</td>
<td>NJ</td>
<td>Freshmen level</td>
<td>Buffalo</td>
<td>Short sessions</td>
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<td>Sophomore changgo (1 year)</td>
<td>Cornell</td>
<td>Sangmo (limit 12 people)</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>(1-2 year)</td>
<td>Syracuse</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Junior changgo</td>
<td>Binghamton</td>
<td>Chaban</td>
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<td>(3 years: udo style sŏlchanggo)</td>
<td>Boston</td>
<td>twijipgi</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Senior A (3 years: chwado style sŏlchanggo)</td>
<td>Harvard</td>
<td>Minyo</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Senior B (3 years: chwado style sŏlchanggo)</td>
<td>Stonybrook</td>
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<td>Kkwaengwari</td>
<td>Columbia</td>
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<td>Puk A</td>
<td>Hannoori</td>
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<td>Puk B</td>
<td>Hanool</td>
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<td>T’aep yŏngso</td>
<td>149pp</td>
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<td>Teoh</td>
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<td>Hanol kut</td>
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<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>NY</td>
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<td>Stonybrook</td>
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<td>Sŏlchanggo</td>
<td>Binghamton</td>
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<td>Kkwaengwari</td>
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<td>Puk</td>
<td>NYU</td>
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<td>Teoh</td>
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<td>North Calorina, Milwaukee</td>
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<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>NY</td>
<td>Kkwaengwari (Advanced)</td>
<td>Stonybrook</td>
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<td>Sŏlchanggo in standing position</td>
<td>Buffalo</td>
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<td>(advanced/Intermediate)</td>
<td>Syracuse</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>Uttari changgo</td>
<td>Binghamton</td>
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As can be seen from the table above, the annual p’ungmul camp put together p’ungmul pieces of the right side style and samulnori pieces in the beginning. In 2002, the camp offered sangmo, sŏlchanggo and Korean folksong sessions. Since then, a sŏlchanggo session has been provided every year because the sŏlchanggo has an important role in organizing performances. Sangmo sessions were offered again from 2006 onwards. In 2003, Kosŏng Okwangdae t’alch’um (a regional style of mask dance) and o pukch’um(dance of five puks) were taught. Although o pukch’um became one of the most familiar pieces for the p’ungmul groups of colleges, Kosŏng Okwangdae t’alch’um is hardly found in collegiate p’ungmul performances. Mask dance has not appeared in a camp session since 2003. As seen in Chapter 4, the genre of t’alch’um traditionally satirizes the upper class and the ruling class and for the minjung cultural movement the genre was employed to lampoon authorities and the military government. Some of the participants in the minjung cultural movement such as Kim Pong-jun had taught t’alch’um and p’ungmul as an instrument to awaken critical awareness about socio-political issues when they came to the States. However, since the early 2000s, many young Korean Americans prefer non-political activities.

Also, in 2003 the camp offered a kkwaenggwari session for the first time. Since then, the session has been offered every year. The camp has divided changgo sessions into beginner, intermediate and advanced levels since 2004. Moreover, the changgo advanced session has been divided into the right side style (udo) and the left side style (chwado). In addition to changgo, nalmae puk ch’um (nalmae puk dance) was offered for

117 See Chapter 8 for a more detailed discussion about o pukch’um.
two consecutive years (2004, 2005). Along with o pukch’um, nalmae puk ch’um demands virtuosity from the performers. Nalmae pukch’um originated from a puk dance in Taegu city of the Kyŏngsang province and derived from the p’ungmul in the Pisan region. In contrast to o pukch’um, which requires five performers, nalmae puk ch’um requires eight to twenty performers.

In 2006, a t’aep’yŏngso session was taught but is no longer provided. Learning t’aep’yŏngso is more difficult than any other p’ungmul instruments and there are few instructors to teach it. A chaban twijipgi (a practice of flipping in the air 자반뒤집기) session was also provided in 2006 and 2008 as a special lecture. The skill of chaban twijipgi requires use of the sogo (a small hand drum) by performers. Playing sogo while spinning the long ribbon attached to the sangmo (a tasseled hat) at the same time, the performers do chaban twijipgi. Because of its acrobatic movements, it often draws instant reactions from audiences. In 2009, the sangmo session was divided into beginner and intermediate levels for the first time. Sangmo sessions in the camp have attracted more and more performers. Indeed, there were few sangmo performers a few years ago. However, successive sangmo sessions from 2006 onwards have trained a lot of performers.118 Also, samulnori pieces were taught at uttari changgo and yŏngnam changgo classes. In other words, repertoires of the annual p’ungmul camp consisted of samulnori, particularly yŏngnam and uttari, and the left side and right side sŏlchanggo, and puk ch’um. The instruments which the camp emphasizes are changgo, puk and

118 Interview with Ko Ch’an-hyock, Oct 6, 2007.
kkwaenggwari. The camp has recently provided a sangmo session and more performers are now able to do sangmo performances.

In addition, the camp has had special lecture sessions. For example, the camp in 2002 had three guest speakers. A director of the Korean American Voter’s Council in New Jersey, which is affiliated with SEKA, gave a lecture about “Roles of P’ungmul in the Korean American community.” The president of the Korean American community in Fort Lee addressed “Happiness and Identity,” and the leader of the Nori Company talked about “P’ungmul in the States.” In addition to the lectures, a Korean professor at the State University of New York at Geneseo presented a workshop whose title was “Various Forms of Rituals in World and Korean Sound.” In 2004, a minister from the Culture and Tourism Ministry in Korea visited the p’ungmul camp and gave a lecture about the role of Korean traditional culture in the States. The special lectures and workshops during the p’ungmul camp show that the camp is not only to acquire new repertoires and skills but also teach the role of p’ungmul in Korean America. Besides, the fact that the guest speakers and lecturers came not only from Korean American communities but also from the Korean government demonstrates that the annual p’ungmul camp is affiliated with various associations.

Most repertoires, except the traditional Korean mask dance and the t’aep’yŏso transmitted in p’ungmul camp, consists of the core repertoire that KCON plays. Although KCON members have trained in the traditional Korean mask dance and t’aep’yŏso, they do not practice them any longer. Many collegiate troupes involved in KCON have annual performances, but those performances do not include these
components. KCON currently practices various pieces from p’ungmul and samulnori as well as particular techniques and skills for o pukch’um, chaban twijipgi and sangmo. In particular, KCON practices all the famous samulnori pieces, such as “Samdo sŏlchanggo” and “Samdo nongak.” KCON often separates the uttari, yŏngnam, and udo sections from “Samdo nongak” and plays them as separate pieces. In regards to pieces that originated from p’ungmul, they tend to put rhythmic patterns from chwado styles into udo pieces.119 Because the senior members of KCON had participated in the P’ilbong workshop for several years, they know pieces like “P’ungryugut,” “Hohŏgut” and “Ch’aegut.” However, pieces from udo outnumbered those from P’ilbong.120 In the following chapters, Chapters 7 and 8, I will elaborate in greater detail on all the pieces and performance styles KCON members perform in various performance contexts.

6.2.3. Costume

As the KCON seeks to learn performance styles from various regional areas, the p’ungmul groups affiliated with KCON display a variety of repertoires and forms of costume. The basic costume is a black vest and three-colored sashes, which is common for samulnori performers in Korea. The way performers place the sashes is not restricted. For example, all performers at the Korean American parade, which was held in Manhattan in Oct, 2006, tightened the blue sash on the performer’s left shoulder, the yellow one on the right shoulder, and the red one over the waist. However, the way they were arranged in the 2007 parade was different. Performers tightened the blue and

119 Interview with Sebastian Wang, July 9, 2008.
120 Interview with Kim Pan-ya, July 22, 2007.
yellow sash on the right shoulder together and the red one over the waist. Hannoori 
performers sometimes wear black vests decorated with a golden-colored curved line.

In addition, Hannoori members have a tendency not to wear kokkal and 
pup’osangmo mainly because purchasing kokkal in the U.S. is difficult and expensive and 
making it takes so much time. Unlike Hanool, which follows the P’ilbong p’ungmul 
style, Hannoori does not have full costumes according to one particular region because 
the troupe mixes various regional performance styles. Members of Hannoori also have 
practiced the P’ilbong style, since they attended P’ilbong workshops several times and 
hosted the workshop with Hanool. For example, Ko Ch’an-hyŏck attended the workshop 
in 2000, 2001, and 2003. However, Hannoori performs not only udo but also chwado 
performance styles and the annual p’ungmul camp offers sŏlchanggo from the two 
regions. In contrast to Hanool that has various roles of actors (chapsaek), Hannoori does 
not have characters for its performances.

6.2.4. KCON P’ungmul Camp in 2008

I participated in the KCON annual p’ungmul camp in 2008 as one of the p’ungmul 
learners. The camp was held in Hancock, New York from May 22 to May 25 for three 
nights and four days and approximately seventy people participated. Most of them were 
from p’ungmul groups of colleges but there were also a few individual participants, 
including Sebastian Wang and Mr. Do and his two children. As soon as I arrived, I 
registered and got a T-shirt. Camp participants have been given different T-shirts every

121 Interview with Ko Ch’an-hyŏck, Oct 6, 2007.
year. Each of T-shirt has a picture of an instrument and/or the theme of the camp on the front and back. The theme of the camp in 2008 was “Giving Poongmul.”°122

The first day was mainly for registration because most of participants came very late in the evening after finishing school. Next morning we got up early in the morning, awakened by the big kkwaenggware sound. Every morning one of the staffs intentionally hit the kkwaenggware as a morning call. As soon as we had breakfast, all participants were assigned to different classes. As indicated in figure 6.4., the camp had sŏlchanggo at levels beginner, intermediate, advanced and kkwaenggware, puk and sangmo classes. After taking a simple diagnostic test, I was assigned to intermediate changgo.

Except for lunch and short breaks, all of my classmates were advised to practice changgo the whole day. In the class, we were told to tune the instrument because most of our changgo-s had a dull sound. To tune the changgo we unfolded the cords which are extended to each side of the drumheads. We tightened the cords so that the changgo would resonate with a brighter sound which is suitable for a sŏlchanggo piece. After tuning the instrument, we played the kung (hitting the leftside drumhead) stroke for an hour. It made my left arm hurt and I felt my neck and shoulder to be very stiff. I could see all the classmates felt this soreness in their arm, neck and shoulder. A few of them stopped for a few minutes to take a rest. After an hour of practice, we practiced other strokes, like kung-ku-kung-ku. The Ku stroke is a very short kung stroke. The practice was for the very first introduction part of sŏlchanggo piece.°123 During the night, all participants in the camp had a time to get acquainted with each other.

°122 KCON and many p’ungmul groups romanize p’ungmul as either poongmul or pungmul.
°123 The first part of sŏlchanggo repeats the kung-ku pattern eight times.
The next day was full of practices. We had short breaks for lunch and a special lecture. For the lecture, we learned how to do *chaban twijipgi* (flipping into the air). The instructor was Yi Chong-hwan who was a vice president of the Pilbong Preservation Society in New York. After we practiced *chaban twijipgi* all together, the instructor asked all participants to show *chaban twijipgi* in turn. Some participants had already practiced *chaban twijipgi* before coming to the camp because they had practiced *sangmo*, that requires *chaban twijipgi*. After the lecture, we practiced *changgo* again. Because we would present what we had learned during the camp that night, all of us practiced very hard. Whenever the teacher gave a rhythmic pattern, we wrote down what he played or what he recited. During short breaks, we compared what we wrote down with others and double-checked if the written rhythmic pattern was right or not. Since we were recommended to memorize the whole piece of *sŏlchanggo*, we recited sequences of rhythmic patterns even during meals.

At the final night, each class presented what they learned and how much they improved during the camp. The first class presentation was the *changgo* beginner class. The students played *i ch’ae, sam ch’ae*, and *obangjin*, pieces that are easily heard at *p’ungmul* parades in the States. Then, alumni of each collegiate group performed a piece from the *udo* style. Kang Kyŏng-hŭi said, “Because all of us are very familiar with the *uttari* style, we are going to play a *udo* piece for tonight.” After the performance, the class I participated in presented “*Samdo sŏlchanggo*.” Interestingly, most of us brought a sheet of paper where we had written down *ip changdan* (verbalization of instrumental sound) during the class because we could not memorize the whole parts perfectly. While
playing changgo, we glanced at the paper when we had forgotten parts. All the other sangmo, sŏlchanggo, puk and kkwaenggwari classes presented pieces during the p’an’gut (entertainment-oriented performance). The puk class performed o pukch’um, a piece that is very well known to p’ungmul practitioners in the States. After that, all the camp participants sang “Chindo Arirang,” a folk song from the Chindo region, while waving their hands. The class presentation illustrated all the important repertoires that KCON members have practiced: sŏlchanggo in sitting and standing position, o pukch’um, and pieces from uttari and udo. Moreover, it demonstrated that the sangmo (a spinning tasseled hat) practice has become an important part in current practice, as more and more performers have been involved in sangmo.

Figure 6.6. One of the changgo classes
Figure 6.7. Sangmo class

Figure 6.8. P’an’gut at the final night
In this chapter, I examined the history of Hanool and Hannoori and their performance practices. Although they show similarities in that they refuse to be influenced by the minjung cultural movement and having studied with P’ilbong teachers together, they took completely different paths. One of the most distinguishable features is their performance styles. Hanool practices the P’ilbong style. Also, the group still shows traces of the minjung cultural movement in their clothing style and use of terms like mokkoji, nori and kut. I was able to identify some of the reasons why Hanool upholds some of the ideas of the minjung cultural movement, while the troupe separates from the political aspects of the movement and I would argue that on the one hand, this is because Hanool is strongly influenced by the P’ilbong troupe. As I discussed, the ideas from the movement are connected with P’ilbong p’ungmul and this led many of those who were involved in the movement became interested in P’ilbong style. On the other hand, it is because Hanool seeks performances that are grounded on traditional p’ungmul practice. This is seen in particular in how Hanool transformed the ideas of nori and p’ungmulgut. As a way to perform participatory activities, Hanool uses various types of actors (chapsaek-s) in an attempt to stir up the audience and encourage them to participate in the performance, which is very often omitted from today’s performances. Hanool represents traditional performance practices which make no clear distinctions between performers and audience. Furthermore, the troupe sheds light on the role of p’ungmul in a traditional society that considers playing p’ungmul as bringing harmonious communities and good fortune.
On the other hand, Hannoori practices various regional *p’ungmul* styles and even *samulnori*. As seen in classes during the annual *p’ungmul* camp since 1999, Hannoori is open to learning new repertoires and more virtuosic performance skills and techniques. Unlike Hanool, the performance costumes of Hannoori do not follow a particular regional *p’ungmul* style. Taking different paths, the two performance troupes have adjusted to various performance contexts in NYC. Additionally, they provide an audience in NYC with more diverse pieces of the whole puzzle of *p’ungmul*.

The history and characteristics of Hanool and Hannoori lead us to consider the fact that a history of a performance group, the pedagogical process of learning and teaching *p’ungmul*, and the aesthetics that a performance troupe seeks determines its performance styles and practices. These elements are interwoven very tightly and influence the current *p’ungmul* practices. In Chapter 7 and 8, I will look at various cultural events and characteristics of the current *p’ungmul* soundscape which can be illustrated by performance repertoires and styles. In addition, I will examine various conceptualizations related to the terms *p’ungmul* and *samulnori*. 
Chapter 7

*P’ungmul* at Cultural Events

*P’ungmul* is performed at various cultural events in the United States. It is often staged for a variety of purposes and aims, including solidifying the Korean American community, introducing a Korean performing art to the general public, or teaching and representing Korean performing arts to young Korean Americans. This chapter examines four case studies of different cultural events at which *p’ungmul* was performed. Based upon Chapter 4, which examined the history of *p’ungmul* in the U.S., the case studies demonstrate how *p’ungmul* is adapted to each cultural event, showing how different performance venues, audiences, and performance purposes influence the repertoire selection and the overall format of the performance.

I will first look at a *chisinbalpki* event in LA and a *p’ungmul twit’uri* (an after-party performance following a *p’ungmul* parade) in NYC. These two gatherings formed some of the most significant events of the year for college *p’ungmul* groups in the LA and NYC areas. At the *chisinbalpki*, collegiate performers went around Koreatown playing instruments and singing Korean folk song (*minyo*) while wishing good luck and prosperity to Korean businesses. The *p’ungmul twit’uri* I examine here was held during the Korea Festival in Manhattan. After a Korean parade, performers gathered at the
intersection of Korea Way, Broadway and 32nd St. Multiple p’ungmul groups from
different colleges and regions performed and showed their skills in turn and they had a
p’an’gut all together at the end of the p’ungmul twip’uri.

The third case study is the same group’s annual Christmas p’ungmul party in
NYC. The event was mainly for members of the KCON (Korean Cultural Outreach
Network) to gather for a Christmas celebration.\textsuperscript{124} The Christmas p’ungmul party was
free from the kinds of socio-political issues with which p’ungmul has been often
associated. Also, there was no request to demonstrate “real” and “authentic” traditional
Korean performance, as is often desired by performance organizers at such cultural
events. Instead, those at the event seemed to enjoy practicing what they have learned so
far with other members. Performers were allowed to experiment and to try new
repertoire pieces as much as they liked. This case study will illustrate how a traditional
performance form is reconceptualized and repositioned through the overall format of the
Christmas p’ungmul party.

The performance that forms the final case study was held at Los Angeles High
School. It was organized by the Foundation for Korean Language and Culture in the
U.S.A. and performed by Nam Chang-u and his colleagues. It included a short hands-on
workshop for high school students. The discussion of this case study examines how this
event worked to present traditional Korean cultural practices to a group of high school
students from various ethnic groups and cultural backgrounds.

\textsuperscript{124} KCON is a network of different p’ungmul groups in New York and New Jersey. I examined
KCON from various perspectives in Chapter 6.
7.1. Chisinbalpki

The chisinbalpki (literally meaning “stepping on spirits of the earth” 지신밟기), an observance which is traditionally believed to bring good luck (pok 복), wealth, and health and to chase away bad luck (aek 악), is usually performed between the first day and the 15th day of the lunar New Year. While I was on a trip to LA in 2007 for the purpose of learning the changgo, I had an opportunity to observe a chisinbalpki being celebrated just one week after the Lunar New Year Festival in Koreatown, LA. In fact, I had not known in advance about the chisinbalpki and I only heard about the event from one of the performers at the Lunar New Year Festival, which I attended because my changgo teacher was scheduled to perform a samulnori at the festival. There was a p'ungmul performance on the stage following my teacher’s performance and few different groups played together. After the performance was completed, I learned from a middle-aged man in the group that the troupe was made up of different collegiate groups and Hannuri. Also, he mentioned information about a chisinbalpki being planned for the following week.

I had never seen a chisinbalpki in Korea before, although I had heard about what it was and its traditional purpose. It is very hard to see a chisinbalpki in contemporary Korea because, as I pointed out earlier, many of folk practices and customs were tabooed as superstitions under President Park Jung Hee’s regime. President Park initiated the

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125 He was Kim Chun, one of my interviewees. I had a chance to interview him a few days later. From him, I was introduced about several other performers in LA: Yun Se-jong, Nam Chang-u, and Cliff Sŏk-jae Yi. Since all of them are relatively well known performers and still actively engaged in various cultural events, some of them already had been interviewed by other ethnomusicologists, Yu Young-min and/or Donna Lee Kwon.
New Village Movement (Saemaül undong 새마을 운동) as a means to support Korea’s industrialization and urbanization. This movement resulted in the abolishment of symbols of tutelary, such as trees, towers, and rocks, in rural areas and it also prohibited performing any rituals related to myths and superstitions. Consequently, the practice of chisinbalpki has been marginalized in urbanized Korea.

I was very excited to observe my first chisinbalpki performance. On Feb. 24, one day before the chisinbalpki, the chisinbalpki performers gathered together to make pokjori-s and to have a rehearsal at the Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates building (Nodong sangdamso 노동상담소). Approximately forty students from p’ungmul groups at UCLA, UC Santa Barbara, and UC Irvine attended.

A pokjori (복조리), which is made of two bamboo strainers tied together with a ribbon, is traditionally conceived as bringing good fortune when one hangs it at the entrance of the kitchen or one side of the bedroom wall. When chisinbalpki performers visit, a pokjori is traditionally given to the owners of a house, who then donate money, rice, and wine to the performers. The money collected during chisinbalpki would be used for such community-oriented purposes as building a bridge and mending a village assembly hall. The custom had been prevalent in the 1970s but has now almost disappeared in Korea; instead, pokjori-s are now sold at souvenir shops as icons representing a Korean traditional culture and exhibited at the museum as cultural artifacts. In U.S. urban performance settings, a pokjori is given to the business owners and agents who allow the chisinbalpki to be performed inside their businesses and then donate

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126 See Chapter 4 for more detailed background of the New Village Movement and its impact on p’ungmul performance.
money. Because collegiate performers often do *chisinbalpki* together with other nonprofit social associations for the Korean American community, the money is spent for projects related with improving rights of Korean Americans in the States. The collegiate performers at the event in LA in 2005 and 2006 donated the collected money to a charity for the benefit of Korean comfort women; money raised from the *chisinbalpki* in 2007 was used to benefit Korean immigrant workers involved with the Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates.

At the preparation meeting, the college performers made *pokjori*-s while socializing and chatting with each other. Nam Chang-u, who serves as a mentor and *p’ungmul* teacher for the groups, soon gathered them in a small room. He asked them to introduce themselves in turn and to say something about their motives and reasons for participating in the *chisinbalpki* that year. He said, “I believe all of us already know what *chisinbalpki* is for. However, the meaning of *chisinbalpki* is constituted by your different reasons and motives why you are doing *chisinbalpki*.‖ He encouraged all students to find their own personal reasons for doing *chisinbalpki*. This way of setting up the event was different from the ways that many teachers in Korea transmit cultural practices to students; teachers in Korea often hold that traditional practices should be preserved and protected. As a result of the Japanese colonial period we find that Koreans believe they should revive Korean cultural practices, which may have been contaminated or ignored during the Japanese colonial period. These are the circumstances and motivation that has led the Korean government to form and shape cultural policies such as the Cultural Asset Preservation Law. The belief is still widespread in Korea and also found in Korean
immigrant communities in the U.S. and many first-generation Korean Americans have been influenced to teach their children that Korean cultural practices should be maintained in the host society.

However, Nam Chang-u did not attempt to confine the meaning of participation in *chisinbalpki* to simply retaining or reenacting a Korean cultural practice or custom. All of the students at the meeting tried to say something concerning their personal intentions and the themes of their statements can be summarized as follows:

1. Experiencing a Korean cultural practice and practicing it personally
2. Bringing excitement and hope to the Korean American community and supporting them spiritually and emotionally through the performance
3. Bridging a generation gap between the first and 1.5/2nd generations
4. Having fun
5. Seeking his/her own cultural identity
6. Bringing good fortune as the ancestors had believed
7. Representing traditional practices and customs in the community

The statements above reveal that individual young Korean Americans perform *chisinbalpki* for a variety of reasons. They saw themselves as performing *chisinbalpki* not only because of personal interest in learning and representing cultural practices (numbers 1, 4, 5 and 7) but also creating a better community (numbers 2, 3 and 6).

As part of their gathering, the students also practiced how to perform a *tŏktam* (well-wishing remark 德담) and a *ch’uimsae* (interjection of encouragement 추임새) in a more stylized way. *A tŏktam* is a way of wishing someone good luck of the New Year, like “I wish you have abundant good fortune this year.” Also, it is a way of beginning a *chisinbalpki* performance at the entrance of each home—or business, in the U.S.
context—by saying, “open the door, open the door, so that the good luck comes inside your house. Unless you open the door, I will pass your house.” The phrase in Korean is in call-and-response form between a sangsoe (a leader kkwaenggwari player) and the rest of the performers, as follows:

Sangsoe: *chuin chuin mun yǒso, pok dúrōgagyey mun yeoso.*
josin jjeon mun yǒsok pok dúrōgagyey mun yǒso.
(Lord, Lord! Open the door! Open the door! So I can bring good luck for you)

The rest of the performers: *chuin chuin mun yǒso, pok dúrōgagyey mun yeoso.*
josin jjeon mun yǒsok pok dúrōgagyey mun yǒso.
(Lord, Lord! Open the door! Open the door! So I can bring good luck for you)

Sangsoe: *mun anyǒlmyǒn na galayo.*
mun anyǒlmyǒn na galayo.
(Unless you open the door, I will pass your house)

Traditionally this is delivered rhythmically in the Chŏlla dialect and Nam Chang-u specifically advised the students to use the more expressive Chŏlla dialect as they delivered this *tŏktam*. Regardless of their different levels of fluency in Korean, all the students knew how to speak in standard Korean. However, the students delivered this *tŏktam* only in the regional dialect of the Chŏlla province as a standardized formula for their *chisinbalpki*. As part of their preparation, they were supposed to memorize the phrase and deliver it word by word whenever they visit businesses in Koreatown. When the *sangsoe* delivers a *tŏktam*, the rest of performers offer the *ch’uimsae* in a responsorial form. *Ch’uimsae* is a way for a performer to encourage a response by shouting a short phrase like *ŏlssu, chŏlssu, chihwaja, chot’a* (nice 좋다), and *chalhanda* (well-done)
For example, the sangsoe says, “I wish you a year full of good luck,” and in return the rest of performers respond by shouting out phrases like the above to the sangsoe. In delivering these phrases, Nam Chang-u advised the collegiate performers to make variations in the intonation and length of the last syllable, in order to elevate the atmosphere more effectively. For example, the syllable \textit{t’a} of \textit{chot’a} could be three times longer than usual. For the \textit{ch’uimsae chalhanda}, intonation of the last syllable \textit{da} might be slightly raised with longer length.

The performers also practiced folk songs. One of the songs, called “\textit{Aekmaegi t’aryŏng (액맥이타령)}”, is a song to banish bad luck during the upcoming year. The students had already been given the written words of the song in advance and were supposed to memorize it before the \textit{chisinbalpki} performance. Nam Chang-u confirmed that each sangsoe for the performance groups would distribute the written text. The words of the song are as follows:

\begin{verbatim}
어루액이야 어루액이야 어기엉차 액이고구나
ôru aegiya, ôhôru aegiya, ôgi ôngch’a aegiroguna.
1.정월 이월에 드는 액은 삼월 사월에 막고
\textit{chŏngwŏl iyŏl-re tŭnŭn aeg-ŭn samwŏl sawŏl-re makko}
삼월 사월에 드는 액은 오월 단오에 다 막아낸다.
\textit{Samwŏl sawŏl-e tŭnŭn aeg-ŭn owŏl tano-e ta maganandea}
어루액이야 어루액이야 어기엉차 액이고구나
ôru aegiya, ôhôru aegiya, ôgi ôngch’a aegiroguna.

2.오월 유월에 드는 액은 칠월 말월에 막고
\textit{Owŏl yuŏl-e tŭnŭn aeg-ŭn ch’ilwŏl p’arwŏ-re makko}
칠월 말월에 드는 액은 구월 귀일에 다 막아낸다.
\textit{Chi’ilwil p’arwŏ-re tŭnŭn aeg-ŭn kuwŏl kwire ta maganaenenda}
\end{verbatim}

127 Each of the words \textit{ôlsu}, \textit{chôlsu}, and \textit{chihwaja} is a different form of interjection of encouragement and could be translated in English as whoopee, hurrah and what a pleasure. In many other performances, \textit{ch’uimsae} is delivered by audience.
어루액이야 어루액이야 어기엉차 액이로구나
öru aegiya, öhöru aegiya, ögi öngch’i aegiroguna.

3. 구월 귀일에 드는 액은 시월 모날에 막고
kuwol kwii-re tünün aeg-un siwól mona-re makko
시월 모날에 드는 액은 동지 설날에 다 막아 난다.
Siwól mona-re tünün aeg-un tongji sottare ta maganenda
어루액이야 어루액이야 어기엉차 액이로구나
öru aegiya, öhöru aegiya, ögi öngch’i aegiroguna.

4. 정칠월 이팔월 삼구월 사시월 오동지 육조달 내내 돌아가더라도
chōngch’ilwol ip’arwol sasiwol odongji yuksǒttal naenae torakatorato
일년하고도 일두달 만복은 백성에게 잡귀잡신은 물알로
ilha’ón hakodo yöldudad manbok- ún pzechǒng-eke chakwijapso- ún mullaro
만대위전을 비옵니다.
Mandaewich’ón-úl piomnida

In addition to “Aekmaegi t’aryōng,” collegiate performers also practiced two
other folk songs, “Arirang (아리랑)” and “Kkot’aryōng (꽃타령)”. They practiced the
songs along with playing the changgo. The changgo rhythm of Arirang is tǒng tǒng tta
kung tta/ tǒ tǒng tǒng tta kung tta/ tǒ tǒng tǒng tta kung tta/ tǒ tǒng tǒng tta. The last tta
of the whole rhythmic sequence indicates to hit the pyǒnjuk (a rim of drumhead). A
portion of the text of Kkotaryōng includes the phrase “purchase a flower, purchase a
flower (kkot saseyo, kkot saseyo 꽃 사세요, 꽃 사세요).” The word for flower might be
changed to any other object like food, liquor and etc. Nam Chang-u recommended that
the students change the word of the Kkotaryōng to something suitable to the types of
businesses at which the event would be taking place. For example, when the performers
visit a Korean restaurant, they would sing “purchase food (pap 밥), purchase food”.

At the rehearsal, the collegiate performers learned detailed ways to stir up the
atmosphere of the performance and to attract the audience’s attention. As seen above,
they practiced how to deliver the *tŏktam* and *ch’uimsae* effectively and were also taught to change a song’s text in accordance with the types of businesses they visit. Additionally, they were advised about their attire and were instructed that they should wear all white outfits including socks under their *chisinbalpki* costumes, that those with long hair should have ponytails or twists, and no earring at all should be worn.

The collegiate *p’ungmul* performers from UCLA, UC Santa Barbara, and UC Irvine gathered in front of the Hannam Chain, a Korean grocery store at the intersection between Olympic Blvd and Vermont Ave. at 9:30 on Feb. 24, 2007. The store has a very large parking lot, which was enough to allow approximately fifty students to meet there and prepare for their *chisinbalpki* performance. The performers, who were in full costume, were very busy preparing to hold instruments on their shoulders. Many helped each other to tighten the colored cotton sashes on their shoulders and around their waists in an appropriate way, while twisting their friends’ long hair as instructed at the rehearsal. Unlike previous years, the *chisinbalpki* in 2007 was performed only by collegiate *p’ungmul* groups without the cooperation of other social associations such as Hannuri, the affiliated *p’ungmul* group from the Korean Resource Center. Each group had pictures taken before beginning the *chisinbalpki*. Some parents of the performers came to encourage their children and took pictures of their children practicing *p’ungmul*

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128 The Hannam Chain covers a 23,000 square-foot lot including parking space. Although it is not the biggest or largest Korean grocery in Koreatown, LA, its size shows how large both the store and the local Korean American community are. The store also has locations in various nearby cities such as Torrance, Fullerton, Garden Grove and Diamond Bar, where Korean Americans are densely settled.

129 There was no specific reason why Hannuri did not participate in the *chisinbalpki* in 2007. Although Hannuri did not perform with the collegiate groups, Kim Chun, a leader of Hannuri, visited the Korean Immigrant Workers Advocates a day before the performance to encourage the performers and discuss the route of *chisinbalpki* with them.
instruments. Before beginning the chisinbalpki, the groups from the different colleges were divided into two groups. Each group had a different sangsoe (a leader kkwaengwari player) and the first sangsoe of the whole group was Chŏng Ka-hŭi. The role of the first sangsoe is to direct the p’an’gut and be responsible to guide the two groups.

Senior and alumni members of groups were in charge of asking permission from businesses for the performance groups to come by and do a chisinbalpki performance inside or outside their businesses. Senior members of the collegiate p’ungmul groups let the sangsoe know where they should stop by and the performers only visited those businesses whose owners had consented to a performance. After finishing the chisinbalpki at one store, senior members of the group gave a pokjori, which the performers made the day before the chisinbalpki, to the owners. In return, the business owners or staff would donate money, which came up to, on average, 10 dollars per store.

The first place where the group stopped was a location of the Hannam Chain Store, a Korean grocery store. At the Hannam Chain, the two groups did chisinbalpki together. The first sangsoe, Chŏng Ka-hŭi, initiated chisinbalpki by shouting out the tŏktam: “chuin chuin mun yeoso, pok dŭroğagye mun yeoso! (Lord, Lord! Open the door! Open the door! So I can bring good luck for you.)” The loud sound of the p’ungmul instruments caught shoppers’ ears and they stopped by to look at what the students were doing. Students next sang “Akmaeki t’aryŏng.” After concluding the song, the first sangsoe called to the performers the question, “tangsinnedŭl, market ŏdi kalkkŏya? (you guys, which markets do you go to for shopping?). In her phrasing, the sangsoe made use

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130 In traditional p’ungmul, a kkwaenggware player serves as a leader. If there is more than one kkwaenggware player, the first kkwaneggwari player should direct the whole group by giving the signal to start a session and to change rhythmic patterns and tempos.
of the word *tangsinnedŭl* (referring to you) instead of *yŏrpundŭl*, or *nŏnedŭl*, both of which are used much more among contemporary young people in Korea. The word *tangsinnedŭl* is somewhat old-fashioned, used among older people and can be easily found as part of a more stylized way of *tŏktam*. The choice of the word *tangsinnedŭ* demonstrates that the *sangsoe* had memorized the phrase and deliberately selected it as a way to elevate the atmosphere. Performers soon answered by shouting, “*Hannam Chain!*”

![Chisinbalpki performance in front of a Korean owner’s business.
All of the signs behind the performers are written in Korean and they are the names of Korean businesses.](image)

Figure 7.1. *Chisinbalpki* performance in front of a Korean owner’s business. All of the signs behind the performers are written in Korean and they are the names of Korean businesses.
The rest of the *chisinbalpki* on that day at various businesses followed a similar format. Performers sang “*Aekmaegi t’aryông*” followed by a *tŏktam* by the *sangsoe*. The *sangsoe* would ask performers which stores they go to and then all performers would should the name of the store they were currently visiting loudly. The business owners sometimes delivered a *tŏktam* to wish the performers good luck in return.

Meanwhile, some performers held long rectangular shaped flags attached to a pole indicating the names of their performance groups. On one of the flags was written out the phrase: “the year of golden pig: I wish you abundant good luck.” While the pig signifies wealth, honor and health, the year of pig in 2007 was called the year of golden pig (황금 돼지 해) and was believed to be an extraordinary lucky year. In Korea, there was a widespread trend of selling and purchasing dolls and sculptures of golden pigs across the country between the end of 2006 and the beginning of 2007. Interestingly, many parents wished to give birth in that year so that the year of golden pig would bring good luck to their babies. The students reflected this fashion in Korea in their *chisinbalpki* flag. The flag had an illustration of a smiling pig and a phrase wishing everyone to have a pig dream. As the year of pig is believed to contain lots of good fortune, having a dream which includes a pig is said to predict a day filled with good luck. Students chose the yellow color as a way to symbolize gold.

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131 There are twelve Chinese zodiac signs, in which each year is symbolized by an animal such as mouse, cow, lion, rabbit, dragon, snail, horse, lamb, monkey, chicken, dog, and pig, in order. People in the past believed that each of the animal symbols is associated with different characteristics for people born under that particular sign. For example, people born in a mouse year are seen as very diligent and having a talent for making money easily. People born in a tiger year are often said to be gifted with leadership in any field. The year of golden pig only occurs every 600 year and thus the year is said to bring abundant good luck.
Soon after completing the first *chisinbalpki* at the Hannam Chain, the group split up into two groups and proceeded along both sides of Olympic Blvd. Performers passed by hair salons, restaurants, groceries, bakeries, body shops, flower shops, and many other establishments. If the indoor space of the business was large enough that the performance group could come in, they did *chisinbalpki* inside. Otherwise, they performed outside of the business. They walked along Olympic Blvd. and Western Ave., the core streets of LA’s Koreatown, where thousands of Korean-related businesses are located. The performers visited all of the landmarks of Koreatown, including Kim’s Mill (Kim’s *Pangatkan*), Wien (Korean Bakery and Café), the Korean Sauna, the Galleria
(complex shopping mall), and the Korean American Federation Assembly Hall. Those landmarks demonstrate not only the size of Koreatown in LA but also the Korean American lifestyle in LA that is influenced intimately by contemporary Korea.

A: Hanam Chain  
B: 3031 Olympic Blvd. Kim’s Mill  
C: 3035 Olympic Blvd. Wien Bakery  
D: 981 S. Western Ave. Korean American Federation Assembly Hall  
E: Subway Station

Figure 7.3. Routes of chisinbalpki

Kim’s Mill sells various rice cakes, powder of grains, and beans. The mill is known for the fact that all of its machines and equipment were imported from Korea and therefore the store maintains a distinctively Korean taste. Kim’s Mill has allowed p’ungmul performers doing chisinbalpki inside the store for multiple consecutive years. In 2007, the college performers went inside while playing p’ungmul instruments. Passing by large jars that contain different grains and powders and walking around various
electronic mortars, the performers came into the office of the store, where the stars and
stripes and the T’aegeukki (the national flag of Korea 태극기) were both displayed. The
two flags signify the coexistence of two cultures here. Pictures of the Korean Parade in
LA, chisinbalpki, and other kinds of traditional Korean performances were hanging on
the wall. A picture of the first owner of Kim’s Mill, Kim Myŏng-hwan, was also among
various pictures. He was well known for his support of various Korean cultural events,
including the May festival (tano 단 오), and for establishing a fellowship foundation for
Korean American students. Since his death at the age of 103, his grandson has run the
business. As the grandson of the first owner entered the store office, the performers
started to sing the “Aekmaegi taryŏng.” While singing the song, the performers stomped
on the floor, implying stepping on the bad spirits of the earth, so that the shop owner
would have no bad luck from the earth. The sangsoe of the group asked to say a tŏktam
to owner and the owner replied in English that his grandfather had appreciated that the
students visited their store for chisinbalpki every year and if he were still here, he would
feel so again. He continued, “I wish you a lucky year.” He also provided the group with
handful rice cakes (ttŏk 떡) and donated money to the sangsoe. He was the only one who
gave food to the chisinbalpki performers throughout the whole day of the performance,
although this is a fairly wide known traditional practice. All of other business owners
donated money.

The group also stopped by Wien (a Korean bakery and café). It is a branch of
Wien in Korea, which is famous for its western-style cakes and teas. In contrast to the
somewhat old-fashioned architectural style of businesses in LA’s Koreatown, the bakery
exhibits a very recent style. It is a very popular place to meet friends because of its cozy atmosphere. Interestingly, performers did chisinbalpki not only for the shop owners but also for customers sitting at the tables outside. They performed yöungnam karak followed by “Aekmaki t’aryong.” People at the outside tables watched the performance, and for many of them it was clearly their first experience seeing a chisinbalpki performance.

Before having lunch, the performers gave their first p’an’gut (entertainment-oriented performance) at a parking lot of the Korean American Foundation assembly hall. Each group showed their skills with different selections, each of which was shortened to no more than 5 minutes. All of the performances were done standing with emphasis on ch’umsawi (dance movement 춤사위). Since the parking lot is behind the building and it was Saturday, there was no audience for the p’an’gut. They did tchaksoe from uttari and a short version of “O pukch’um (a dance by five puk players).”

When it was time for lunch, senior members of the group served a catered Korean food such as kimbab (Korean maki 김밥) and kimch’i (Korean spicy pickled cabbage 김치). There was no Western style food like a pizza, salad, or hamburgers. Also, they drank Korean traditional liquor called makkŏlli (Korean rice wine 막걸리). Along with soju (a Korean hard liquor 소주), makkŏlli is well known as a favorite drink for farmers or those of lower class. Makkŏlli can be easily spotted in the background of scenes of Korean soap operas and films whenever farmers and laborers take a break from work. The liquor often represents the low social class and their hardships. During the 1970s and 1980s, college students who were would-be social activists enjoyed drinking
makkŏlli as a way to be akin to the common people, minjung. Drinking the liquor was seen as a symbol of involvement with the lower class. The younger generation has a tendency to dislike it and prefers beer and wine instead. Traditionally, p’ungmul performers drink makkgŏlli in between performances when house owners offer it to them. The custom has been retained and p’ungmul performers in Korea still drink it after a performance. For the collegiate performers of chisinbalpki, drinking makkgŏlli can be seen as a reference to past historical practices of p’ungmul. Although the performers had remaining performances in the afternoon after lunch, they enjoyed drinking a few bottles of makkgŏlli.

The afternoon session of the day started from the assembly hall of the Korean American Federation. They proceeded along Western Ave. and dropped by various stores. The climax of the afternoon session was a second p’an’gut at the subway station at the intersection between Wilshire Blvd. and Western Ave. They made a big circle and turned around with playing instruments. They played the ich’ae, samch’ae, and obangjin rhythmic patterns, and other selections. They also gave each group’s performance again while subway passengers stopped to watch the performance.

This context reflected an even more contemporary rendering of a p’an’gut performance. P’an’gut is an entertainment-oriented performance that shows performers’ artistic skills and virtuosity. Traditionally, p’an’gut takes place in an open large circle instead of on a western-style performance stage. The circle creates a so-called p’an or madang, a place for the performance, but also allows the event to dissolve the dichotomy
between the audience and performers. P’an’gut often allows for audience participation through dancing, playing instruments, and doing ch’uimsae (interjections of encouragement) as a reaction to the performance. Sohn U-sūng (2009) argues that, for a number of reasons, traditionally audience easily felt familiar and comfortable in p’an’gut. The first reason is that traditional p’an’gut had no time limit and thus the audience would have enough time to become familiar with the atmosphere; second, p’an’gut would take place in open spaces with which villagers were very familiar, and that feeling of familiarity and comfort could enhance the atmosphere of the performance; third, audiences already knew the rhythmic patterns and how to play instruments since there were no clear distinctions between professional performers and audiences in many cases. Despite existence of professional p’ungmul performers in the past, all the villagers knew how to perform p’ungmul because p’ungmul was an integral part of agricultural life. Hence, audience members could join in p’an’gut, dance and play p’ungmul instruments. However, modern performances limit the range of involvement for the audience due to the professionalization of performers. Sohn compares the traditional and contemporary formats of p’an’gut, and remarks that contemporary p’an’gut much more closely resembles a showcase that is performed on the stage by a professional performance troupe.

132 P’an and madang refer to spaces where something occurs, such as a performance, a formal/informal gathering with villagers, a feast, a ceremony and so forth. Donna Lee Kwon in her dissertation argues that p’an and madang provide a pivotal metaphor to understand the “cultural imaginary” of Korea. She defines them as a “temporal, chaotic, liminal, social suspension and play-related association” (2005: 8).
Table 7.1. Comparison between traditional and contemporary *p’an’gut* as suggested by Sohn U-sŭng¹³³

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Characters</th>
<th>Traditional <em>p’an’gut</em></th>
<th>Contemporary <em>p’an’gut</em></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Performer</td>
<td>A part of <em>maulgut</em> or <em>kŏlgung</em></td>
<td>Show</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Village <em>p’ungmul</em> group or village <em>p’ungmul</em> group along with professional <em>p’ungmul</em> group</td>
<td>Professional <em>p’ungmul</em> group</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Audience</td>
<td>Village tenant</td>
<td>Anonymous</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Time</td>
<td>During the night or from the night to the early morning</td>
<td>During the day time (from thirty minutes to one hour and a half)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Space</td>
<td>Open space owned by a rich citizen in the village or any open empty space in the village</td>
<td>Particular space</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The main *p’an’gut* enacted by the college students was similar to what Son U-sŭng identifies as contemporary *p’an’gut*. The *p’an’gut* was held at the front square of the subway station. The students created a large circle to create a space from which performers could show their performance to their audience. However, the collegiate *p’ungmul* troupes did not allow the audience’s participation in what was happening in the circle. The circle separated the audience from the *p’an’gut*. For example, at one point one of the Hispanic spectators came into the circle and attempted to dance along to the *p’ungmul* playing. Soon after, a performer from the group repeatedly tried to stop the person. This choice was understandable because the space was not large enough for the audience to come in to the circle and to dance with the performers. However, if the performers had considered the audience’s participation when they designed the overall

¹³³ I borrowed it from Son U-sŏng’s figure 3, “use of time and space in traditional and contemporary *p’an’gut*” (2009: 197)
format of their *p’an’gut*, they could have allowed the audience to be in the center of the circle in such a way that that the performers would have enough space and at the same time, the audience could dance with no restrictions. It seems that the performers had no plan to invite or allow the audience to participate in the *p’an’gut*. Thus, even though they seemed to be making deliberate attempts to be traditional throughout the day, they transposed the form of contemporary *p’an’gut*, as characterized by Sohn U-sūng, into an LA subway station. Anyone could stop by to watch a moment of *p’an’gut*, but since audience participation was not allowed the audience members observed passively and remained anonymous.

In summary, at this event the performance troupe went along Olympic Blvd. and Western Ave. where landmark Korean businesses are located. Along the way, the collegiate performers represented the traditional cultural practices and perform *p’ungmul* and *samulnori* pieces mostly for Korean Americans in the community. The *sangsoe-s* spoke Korean when delivering *tŏkdam* and *ch’uimsae*. Given that they talked with fellow performers mostly in English over lunch, speaking Korean during *chisinbapkki* might be interpreted as one of their strategies to attract a particularly Korean American. The other strategy was manifested in the way that they delivered the *tŏkdam* and *ch’uimsae*. Although the performers themselves spoke standard Korean, they learned and practiced *tŏkdam* and *ch’uimsae* in the Chŏlla dialect. Also, they practiced how to make variations in the *tŏkdam* and *ch’uimsae* by using different intonation and changing words.

In addition, they considered drinking *makŏlli* as a reference of past cultural practices by consuming *makŏlli* for lunch. *Makŏlli* is not consumed often among Korean
Americans since it is more expensive than other kinds of liquors. Although it is very cheap liquor in Korea and has been a symbol of liquor for the lower class in Korea, it is expensive in the States as it is imported from Korea. Drinking makŏlli was a way to show their knowledge of the role of liquor in a p’ungmul performance.

7.2. P’ungmul Twitp’uri in NYC

The p’ungmul performance during the Korean Festival on Oct. 07, 2006 in NYC offers an example of strategic adaptations of p’ungmul to new performance contexts in terms of selection of repertoire, organization of the performance, and instrumentation. Every first Saturday of October, the Korean parade is held in Manhattan as part of the events for the annual Korean Festival. KCON performers have taken part in the Korean parade every year and they have had a p’ungmul twitp’uri as an after-party which includes p’an’gut.

The Korean Festival in 2006 began with a parade whose route was along Broadway from 39th street to 23rd street. The parade passed by 32nd street, where Korea Way is and where a number of Korean businesses are located. Broadway is usually crowded by tourists who want to visit attractions such as Times Square and the Empire State Building, and various shopping malls. Not only p’ungmul groups but also various Korean American organizations and groups participated in the procession. During the parade, there were three different p’ungmul processions. The largest p’ungmul procession was led by groups affiliated with KCON, such as Hanool, Hannoori, 149
p’ungmul place, Sorimori (SUNY Buffalo), DDKY (SUNY StonyBrook), Sulpoong (SUNY Binghamton), and Cheonjiin (University of Syracuse). Approximately seventy p’ungmul performers participated in the parade. The groups consisted of participants from the younger generation, between late teens and early thirties in age.

In the first row, several performers held long rectangular flags attached to poles indicating the names of each p’ungmul group. The flags had either blue (Cheonjiin and Sorimori) or red (DDKY, Hanool, Sulpoong and 149 p’ungmul place) borders made up of triangular shapes. The backgrounds of the flags were white (Sorimori, DDKY and Hanool), red (Cheonjiin), yellow (Sulpoong) or dark blue (149 p’ungmul place). It seems that they selected colors from five directions (o haeng 오행) as seen in common costumes for p’ungmul and samulnori performances. Performers have them made by hand and maintain and mend them by themselves as needed.

134 All of groups here except Hanool are current members of KCON. I examined the history of Hanool and KCON in Chapter 6.
135 Traditionally, blue symbolize the east, red the south, yellow the center, white the west and black the north.
Figure 7.4. Flags in the p’ungmul parade on the Broadway, Manhattan. Sorimori, Cheonjiin, DDKY, Hanool, Sulpoong, and 149 pp from the left

Along with the flags, sangmo players were positioned in the first line. They played sogo-s (small hand drums) with moving ribbons on their hats. Some performers put small forms of Taekūkki (the Korean National Flag 태극기) and the American flag on their heads. The flags signify their homeland, Korea, and the host country, the United States. Performers played ich’ae, samch’ae, and obangjin repeatedly. These rhythmic patterns are frequently used for a p’ungmul parade, and because Broadway is always full of tourists and passengers, the exotic loud percussion sound and acrobatic movements of performers in full costume attracted a lot of attention. People stopped by to watch the p’ungmul parade and took pictures of it.
Not only on Broadway but also on Korea Way there was an atmosphere of celebration of the Korean Festival. Korea Way is located on W. 32<sup>nd</sup> street between Fifth Ave. and Broadway. The street is filled with Korean grocery stores, bookstores, small department stores, hair salons, banks, travel agencies, and Korean restaurants, as well as language institutes. For this Festival, Korea Way was blocked. Numerous commercial booths selling food, clothes, and various kinds of merchandise were installed in the middle of the street. At the edge of the street, a main stage was set up. During the procession, a traditional Korean fan dance performance was being staged. Because it was Saturday and the Korean Festival was going on, Korea Way obviously was more crowded than usual.

After lunch, the KCON performers gathered for the *p’ungmul twitp’uri* (after-party 뒷풀이) in a large circle in front of Woori Bank (우리은행), a branch of Woori Bank of Korea. The bank is located at the entrance of Korea Way and Broadway; it faces Macy’s, and is located just one block behind the Empire State Building. In other words, the venue where the *p’ungmul twitp’uri* took place is an intersection where one could meet many representatives of various ethnic groups, not just Korean Americans. Led by Kang Kyŏng-hŭi, groups of performers first played *ich’ae, samch’ae*, and *obangjin* rhythmic patterns, as they had during the parade. The *sangsoe* (the leader *kkwaenggwari* player) of the different groups stood up and the rest of the performers sat on the ground while playing. They repeatedly played the *ich’ae, samch’ae*, and *obangjin* rhythmic patterns for a while. The repeated rhythms made passengers to stop by and

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136 Kang Kyŏng-hŭi currently serves as a vice president of KCON.
become audiences for the p’ungmul twip’uri. Each performance troupe soon began to play in turn. The first group was Hannoori which is made up of the alumni members of different collegiate p’ungmul groups.\textsuperscript{137} They played uttari that starts with ch’ilch’ae and ends with tchaksoe and highlights the interlocking patterns of a pair of kkwaenggwari while a changgo repeats very fast rhythmic patterns. The performers serve as mentors and teachers for collegiate p’ungmul troupes in NYC, and their performance was acclaimed by other performers there. While Hannoori performed, the passers-by in the audience donated money into a ching (large gong) that was turned upside down. The next selection was performed by the Sulpoong from the University of Binghamton. They played yŏngnam, which has the pyŏldalgŏri section.\textsuperscript{138} While they were playing, an elderly person from the audience came to the front and started dancing to the music. Performers from Stony Brook also played the uttari but they did a shorter version of the uttari than Hannoori. All of these groups played in a sitting position and selected pieces from the samulnori repertoire. Kim Kyŏng-jin of Hanool performed “Sŏlchanggo (a changgo solo)” in a standing position. Performers responded to her performance with ch’uimsae like chalhanda (well-done 잘한다), and chot’a (nice 좋다) during her performance.

After the different groups had completed their performances, the p’an’gut (entertainment-oriented moment) started. All of the performers stood up and performed the ich’ae, samch’ae and obangjin again. While playing these rhythmic patterns, they formed a line and moved from the Woori Bank to the nearby Radisson Hotel that is

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{137} See Chapter 6 for more detailed background and history of Hannoori.
\item \textsuperscript{138} See Chapter 8 to refer to famous repertoires.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
located at the corner of Korea Way. The performers formed a big circle to create a space similar to the scene I have described for the LA chisinbalpki above, and the audience gathered around the circle. In the middle of the p’an’gut, the “O pukch’um (a dance by five puk-s)”\textsuperscript{139} was performed. Additionally, Ko Ch’an-hyŏck played the “Sŏlchanggo.” With his solo performance, the p’an’gut was driven to the climax.

Figure 7.5. “O pukch’um” during the p’ungmul twitp’uri

\textsuperscript{139} See Chapter 8 for more detailed information about what “O pukch’um” is.
As soon as his “Sŏlchanggo” performance finished, all of the performers stood up and went around the circle playing instruments and dancing. The performers raised their hands and waved to the beat of the instruments. Some performers encouraged the audience to join the circle and to dance with other performers and some of the non-Korean American audience danced with the performers for a while. It was a moment that created communitas, a term that Victor Turner coined (1982) to refer to groups that form in opposition to structure. He says:

I meant by it not a structural reversal, a mirror-imaging of “profane” workaday socioeconomic structure, or a fantasy-rejection of structural “necessities,” but the liberation of human capacities of cognition, affect, volition, creativity, etc., from the normative constraints incumbent upon occupying a sequence of social statues, enacting a multiplicity of social roles, and being acutely conscious of membership in some corporate group.
such as a family, lineage, clan, tribe, nation, etc., or of affiliation with some pervasive social category such as a class, caste, sex or age-devision (1982: 44).

For me communitas preserves individual distinctiveness—it is neither regression to infancy, nor is it emotional, nor is it “merging” in fantasy (1982: 45-46).

A Korean scholar in Korean literature, folklore, and performing arts, Kim Ik-du follows the concept of communitas proposed by Turner with the second phase of transformational processes in a traditional p’ungmul performance. He argues that a traditional p’ungmul performance has three transformational processes: 1) separation of audience from performers; 2) communitas between audience and performers; 3) transforming roles between the two (2009: 163-164). Following Turner and Kim Ik-du, I consider the moment that audience and performers danced together as communitas because both the audience and performers are liberated from their respective roles and they become equals in a performance.

Soon after, the focus of the p’an’gut moved to the non-Korean American audience’s dance. While the performers played the instruments to accompany the dance, the performers observed the audience dancing. As Kim Ik-du claims, I see the moment when the non-Korean American audience became the main focus of the performance as the third phase in which performers and audience change their roles. In other words, non-Korean American audience members and Korean American performers reached the third phase and members of the audience became performers and the performers became the audience.
I put an emphasis on a correlation between the performance venue and those performance practices that were shown during the procedures of *p’ungmul twip’uri* and *p’an’gut*. As I briefly demonstrated above, the performance was taking place at the intersection of Broadway and Korea Way, a highly public and crowded space surrounded by Macy’s, the Empire State Building, the Radisson Hotel and many other attractions that tourists frequently visit in NYC. In keeping with their roles as tourists, these visitors would conceive Korea Way as a symbol of Korean cultural practices, just as they would do for Chinatown in San Francisco and NYC and Little Italy in NYC. This linking of place with culture is common. For example, “Little Italies are familiar to American tourists (and foreign visitors), usually as somewhat exotic and alien places that are quasi-foreign, where interesting food can be found, exotic people can be observed, and even a lurking danger (as the home of the Mafia) can be sensed” (Conforti 1996: 831). Thus, a cultural event at a particular space, place, and venue in an ethnic enclave often means that the event is closely related with the ethnic population of that particular area. This is particularly prevalent in New York, as Su Zheng observes:

> It is not secret to many New Yorkers that the geographical locations of different avenues, blocks, streets, and squares in Manhattan are not just postal addresses; they reveal or conceal some deep social and political hierarchies nested in power struggles informed by New York’s local histories and politics, as exemplified clearly by the different routes assigned to various New York City ethnic parades. At the same time, the symbolic identities of these public spaces are also constructed and invented by people’s imaginations “in a spatial articulation of values” (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett [1980] 1988:406).” (Zheng 2010: 191).

At the intersection, visitors and tourists might choose to go further on Broadway or take Korea Way and participate in the festival. For the tourists, a performance at the
entrance of Korea Way is an important element to determine whether they stay and participate in the performance as audience members or proceed to various parts of the city. Thus, performers deliberately design effective ways to draw passengers’ and tourists’ attention instantly. As Zheng points out, if the goal is to attract attention, the performance should be related to Korean cultural practices. This goal is manifested in repertoire selection and the instrumentation of p’ungmul twitp’uri and p’an’gut. In order to represent a traditional Korean performance in more effective ways, p’ungmul performers strategically play both samulnori and p’ungmul pieces in their repertoires. Although the performance groups at this event define themselves as p’ungmul groups rather than samulnori groups, and they attempt not to perform samulnori repertoires, what they selected in practice was from samulnori as well as p’ungmul.140 Among the various pieces, sŏlchanggo from p’ungmul, and uttari/yŏungnam from samulnori were employed to generate instant reactions from the audience.141 Samulnori pieces including uttari and yŏungnam are well known for “dramatic content,” and “organization of time for the urban stage of audience” (Howard 1997). The pieces have fast rhythmic patterns that demand virtuosic techniques and fast physical movements, particularly hand movements. Showing rapid rhythmic patterns is one key strategy to elicit instant reactions from the audience for the p’ungmul twitp’uri and p’an’gut.142 I claim that the performers for p’ungmul twitp’uri and p’an’gut intentionally employ fast kinesthetics as

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140 I will demonstrate why the collegiate performers define themselves as p’ungmul groups instead of samulnori groups in Chapter 8. The terms p’ungmul and samulnori reflect the way the performers conceptualize of p’ungmul and samulnori.
well as repeated fast rhythmic patterns. The performers used larger hand and head
movements and extended the fast rhythmic patterns when they played \textit{ch’ilch’ae}. In
addition, “Sŏlchanggo” by Kim Kyŏng-jin and Ko Ch’an-hyŏck showed splendid
rhythmic patterns and spectacular and acrobatic body movements that utilized
movements with hands, feet and head. Particularly, Ko Ch’an-hyock wore a \textit{sangmo} and
spun the tassel while playing the \textit{changgo} and his acrobatic movements received a lot of
audience response.

Barbara Kirshenblatt-Gimblett suggests that the repertoires of folkloric troupes
have “a tendency toward the virtuosic, athletic, dramatic, and spectacular” (1998: 65).
She explains:

Such choices in repertoire and style are ideologically charged. Folkloric
troupes attempt to find a middle ground between exotic and familiar
pleasures and to bring these forms (and their performers) into the
European hierarchy of artistic expression, while establishing their
performances as national heritage (ibid.).

As Kirshenblatt-Gimblett argues, the \textit{p’ungmul twitp’uri} presented ethnic differences by
performing \textit{p’ungmul}, which might be an unfamiliar performance genre for some
members of the audience, while staging familiar pleasures by performing virtuosic and
spectacular pieces. By intentionally emphasizing virtuosity, \textit{p’ungmul twitp’uri} and
\textit{p’an’gut} could successfully draw an audience’s attention and receive acclamation.

Another strategy to elicit enthusiastic reaction from audience is found in the
format of \textit{p’an’gut}.\footnote{Interview with Kim Kyŏng-jin, Oct 6, 2006.} Since \textit{p’an’gut} includes elements that dissolve distinctions
between audiences and performers such as dancing and grooving, it plays an important
role in creating vehement acclamation from the audience. In most cases, performers have more puk-s to produce much more resonant sound, which is useful to draw an audience together from further away.\footnote{Interview with Kang Kyŏng-hŭi, Dec 23, 2006.} For example, “O pukch’um,” a dance performed by five puks (a barrel drum), at the p’an’gut at the New York event was performed by more than five performers. All the puk players from the different performance troupes participated in the performance as a way to generate a fuller and more resonant sound.

The performance venue was an important factor that the performers used to determine their repertoires, performance styles, and instrumentation of twitp’uri and p’an’gut. The performers considered what could be useful ways to attract passengers and tourists to the performance and what these kinds of audiences would expect of traditional Korean performing arts. Hence, the selections of p’ungmul twitp’uri and p’an’gut were made up of fast pieces from samulnori and p’ungmul and more puk-s in instrumentation. The same groups used completely different performance formats at their Christmas P’ungmul Party which was held two month after the public event.

7.3. Christmas P’ungmul Party

The college p’ungmul groups of the KCON held their annual Christmas P’ungmul party on December 22, 2006. The participants were the same as for the p’ungmul twitp’uri and p’an’gut the preceding October. This event has been held on the last
weekend of the year since 2000 as a year-end party. The purpose of the event has been to 
meet and build friendship with other performance groups at the end of the year.

The event has taken place in a club for several consecutive years, though the 
focus of the event has shifted. On the website www.poongmul.com, which is run by 
KCON, the 3rd annual party from 2002 was announced as follows:

3rd Annual Christmas Dance Party. Meet and dance with other Poongmul [P’ungmul] groups, enthusiast and friends. Including Dance contest for a grand prize awards for a new JangGoo [Changgu]. Last year we had near 100 party animals in the house. This year, we're looking forward to have greater number of people from Stonybrook, Buffalo, Cornell, Syracuse, NYU, FIT, Hannoori, Hanool, 149 Poongmul Place, Teoh and etc.145

The announcement gives a clue that the p’ungmul performers in New York and New 
Jersey came together and dancing was literally the main focus of the event. However, the 
event has changed in focus beginning 2004 when the event began to be called the 
Christmas P’ungmul Party. Although the 2004 event was held at a club as it had been 
before, the party began to include a p’ungmul performance as well. The announcement 
of the 2004 event reflects this change:

5th Annual Poongmul Christmas Party is going to rock the house at 
Cocomo, Flushing. (…) If you have been to the Poongmul [P’ungmul] 
party before, you'll know you'll have tons of fun and lots of prizes to win. 
Last year, we gave out 2 JangGoo's [changgu], a bicycle and loads of 
cosmetic items. This year won't be any lesser than last year. Word is 
spreading and Poongmulians are gathering to claim their prizes. (…) Meet 
the Poongmul [P’ungmul] folks from all over the East Cost. A 
performance by the oldies, the founders of American Poongmul 
[P’ungmul] generation will show off their skills. See if they can keep up 
with the Young Poongmul [P’ungmul] Generations. (…) Come and join

the Poongmulians shaking the dance floor at the Cocomo's!!!! Bring your friends. Let the world be seen that you the Poongmulians know how to PARTY!!! Come and join the Poongmulians shaking the dance floor at the Cocomo's!!!

The website shows that the event included a short session for *p’ungmul* performance as a part of the party.

In succeeding years, the event has continued to be called the Christmas *P’ungmul* Party and has included a *p’ungmul* performance session. In 2005 and 2006, the party was held at the centers for Friends of Grace Seniors in New Jersey. One of the remarkable changes in the format was that Christmas *P’ungmul* Party since 2005 has included showcases of *p’ungmul* performances combined with a dance party at the end of the event.

I attended the Christmas *P’ungmul* Party in 2006. I had been informed that Hannoori holds their weekly rehearsals at the center for FGS. Before the party the group had dinner together. The food consisted of *kimbab* (rice roll in dried laver), *chapch’e* (Korean chop suey), and similar foods which are common for Korean feasts. Also, there were different kinds of drinks and liquors that would be consumed during the party. All attendees were required to pay forty dollars. The hall of where party was held had mirrors across the front wall. The mirrors were decorated with pieces of color paper that read “KCON Christmas Party 06.” A few colorful balloons were hanging on the wall along with a big flag with an image of a *tokkaebi* (도깨비), a Korean goblin, on a white background. A *tokkaebi* is known as an imagined being which can take the form of humans or other creatures in different contexts. It often appears in traditional Korean

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storytelling or folklore and is also related to shamanism. It is believed human beings could be possessed by *tokkaebi*. The *tokkaebi* has the contradictory image of being clownish, helpful, and demonic at the same time. The *tokkaebi* on the flag seems to be a symbol that creates an atmosphere of enthusiasm and exhilaration as a reflection of *tokkaebi* figure’s magical power. At the same time, displaying the *tokkaebi* flag also reflects that performers of KCON have knowledge of the cultural tradition of *tokkaebi*.

At the beginning of the event, the light of the hall was dimmed and a spotlight was placed on Kang Kyŏng-hŭi. He stood in front of a microphone and offered opening remarks:

> This is a party, so let’s enjoy ourselves! (...) Also, remember that the more you drink, the more you will enjoy the party. While watching the performances, please feel free to drink beer. Drink as much as you can, forget everything that happened today, and just immerse yourself in today’s performance.

His statement demonstrates that the performers have knowledge of the close relation between drinking and excitement, also called *hŭng* (흥). As stated earlier, drinking liquor during *p’an’gut* is often seen in communal village ritual practice (*maŭlgut* 마을굿) or *chisinbalpki* and traditionally house owners have provided liquor, food, and money for *chisinbalpki* performers. Additionally, a variety of traditional Korean feasts include providing large amounts of liquors to guests as a courtesy. It is not an exaggeration to say that more drinking brings a more exciting atmosphere to a feast in Korea. Donna Lee Kwon and Shingil Park also explain that drinking helps a *p’ungmul* performer to be in more “relaxed and inebriated state” and to realize what *sinmyŏng* (enthusiasm 신명) is (Kwon, Donna Lee 2005: 230) and how drinking is integral part in many *p’ungmul* clubs.
in Korea (Park, Shingil 2001: 154-156) based on their fieldwork experiences. At the Christmas P’ungmul Party the performers considered drinking large amounts liquor as a means to feel more enthusiasm and excitement during the party. However, because it is easier and cheaper to buy beer than Korean traditional rice wine, makkŏlli, in the U.S., the party provided cases of beer instead.

After the opening address, two people took over the microphones. They announced that the first performance would be “Pinari (비나리)” by senior members of the KCON. Meanwhile, several crews placed a straw mat diagonally on the left side of the hall to create a space that performers would sit on and perform on. There was no elevated stage in front of the audience, as would be seen in ordinary auditoriums. Instead, there was a flat floor and wherever the mat was put that section functioned as the stage. All performers sat on the straw mat and Kang Kyŏng-hŭi, as a leader of the group, gave a signal to begin the “Pinari” by hitting the kkwaenggwari. Pinari is a sung prayer to wish good fortune. Performers sing and play instruments at the same time. The piece has two parts. The first part is for chasing away bad spirits and the second one for bringing good fortune. The first section is sung by a kkwaenggwari player while all other performers play instruments. The second part is first done by the kkwaenggwari player and then played by all other performers. Before the “Pinari” performance began, Kang Kyŏng-hŭi told the audience that in the past they had used to play CD recordings for the singing parts and the performers only played instruments without singing the “Pinari” text. However, the “Pinari” this year was their first try at delivering the full text by themselves without playing CD recordings. For the performance, Kang Kyŏng-hŭi prepared a paper
print-out that contained the written texts of the *pinari* and put it on a music stand. He glanced over the paper in the course of the performance in order not to forget parts.

In the middle of the “*Pinari,*” Kang Kyŏng-hŭi went to the front and middle of the hall, where there was a table and another straw mat. The space was for *kosa* (고사). Traditionally, Koreans have used *kosa* for wishing good wealth, property, and fortune. For example, when one opens a new business or moves to a new place, one performs a *kosa*. Also, when Koreans perform *kut* (a practice of Korean shamanism 고희), they first do a *kosa* as a blessing for a successful exorcism and to pray for various desires to come true. On the table for the *kosa*, the head of a pig, various fruits, red-bean cake and liquor are placed. In particular, red beans are believed to chase away bad spirits. During the *kosa*, people bow in front of the table two and a half times and pour liquor into the glass. After putting the glass on the table, they bow two and a half times again. They often put money inside the pig’s mouth. This ceremony has been one of the most prevalent ritual forms in Korea until a couple of decades ago. Although it is less frequently performed with the spreading of urbanization and industrialization in Korea, it is still performed, particularly when opening new businesses and constructing buildings and houses. For the Christmas *P’ungmul* party, the KCON performers also did a *kosa*. Kang Kyŏng-hŭi was the first person to do it. Following him, two or three of the performers and audience members participated. Several of them placed money into the pig’s mouth according the traditional custom. “*Pinari*” performers played instruments throughout the *kosa*.

The next session was “Old Boy’s *Samulnori.*” It was done by the same members of “*Pinari.*” The straw mat was placed in the middle of the floor this time. One
kkwaengwari, changgo, and two puk-s were prepared. The instrumentation is a quite different from standard pieces of samulnori that consist of one kkwaengwari, changgo, puk and ching. Interestingly, in the course of the performance, Kang Kyŏng-hŭi, who played the changgo, asked staff with hand gestures to bring liquor. Two staff members soon brought beer in cups and served it to all of the performers in order while the performers were giving their performance. The performers drank beer several times.

Then, “Sŏlbuk (설복)” was performed by four performers. It was a rearranged form of “Sŏlchanggo.” “Sŏlchanggo” is often played by either a solo changgo or a number of changgo-s. It frequently emphasizes the changgo performer’s virtuosity. Kang Kyŏng-hŭi arranged two puk-s in the middle and two changgo-s on each side. In the “Sŏlbuk,” changgo were in charge of supporting the puk’s rhythm. The overall rhythmic pattern that is performed by the changgo is very similar to those of the “Sŏlchanggo.”

In addition, another new arrangement was performed: “Soenorŭm (쇠놀음).” Three kkwaenggware led the performance by playing a kkwaneggwari rhythmic pattern from three different regions. Three kkwaenggware-s, one changgo and one puk were arranged for this piece. The performance started with a remark by a kkwaenggware player and a response to it by the rest of performers, delivered as in a traditional way:

kkwaenggware player: Kakgan ch’ibae ta moyŏtŭmyŏn, 1 ch’a 2 ch’a 3 ch’a kkŭte haengkun harapsinta (각간 치배 다 모였으면, 1 차 2 차 3 차 끝에 행군한답니다)
If all the performers get together here, they all do a march and perform

the rest of performers: yeh-i (예이)
yes, sir.
In the phrase by the *kkwaenggwari* player, *kakgan ch’ibae* refers to all of the performers and the phrase commands all other players to be prepared to start a performance. For the performance of the “*Soenorūm*” at the Christmas *P’ungmul* Party, the *kkwaenggwari* player led a rhythmic pattern while the other two players filled the gap and ornamented the leading rhythm. They proceeded from the *uttari*, *yŏngnam* including *pyŏldalkŏri* to *tchaktsoe*. Since they did the piece in a standing position, they were free to dance.

Figure 7.7. “*Soenorūm*” performance

The last section of the formal program was the *p’an’gut*. The overall format was also re-created by Kang Kyŏng-hŭi. It was based on musical sections of *p’an’gut* from different regions and put them together in one performance. In the middle of the *p’an’gut*, Ko Ch’an-hyŏk presented a *changgo* solo. While performing, he also attempted to
encourage the audience to offer active reactions to his performance by shouting out *ch’uimsae*. Kim Kyŏng-jin suddenly showed up before him and poured a cup of beer into Ko Ch’an-hyŏck’s mouth. Then, she put money on the side of *changgo*.

The Christmas *P’ungmul* Party was distinguishable from other forms of cultural events in two ways. First, the whole performance session of the Chirstmas *P’ungmul* Party lasted almost two hours and each of the pieces lasted for approximately 20 minutes, which is almost two times longer than other forms of *p’ungmul* showcases that are often seen in the U.S., where most performance showcases would come to an end within an hour. Additionally, the party included innovative approaches by performing a few rearranged pieces and performing “*Pinari*” without an aid of an audio recording. I argue that the different composition of the audience generated this experimental format for the performance in regards its duration and repertoire selection. Approximately 50 people attended the Christmas *P’ungmul* Party. The majority of audience members and performers belonged to KCON. Essentially, the Christmas *P’ungmul* Party is for KCON members and their friends and it is not for the general public. Most performers and audience members knew each other very well and were ready to appreciate rearranged pieces. Helen Rees, in her article, “‘Authenticity’ and the foreign audience for traditional music in Southwest China,” illuminates the differences in the format of performances when the performers stage traditional Naxi performances for “external” and “internal” audiences (1998: 146-148). She identifies external audiences as foreigner tourists and internal ones as village performers, arguing that when a performance is staged for village performers themselves, the performers often run through the entire repertoire for over 5
hours, and innovate their performance by introducing new pieces from other regions or adding Western instruments to traditional Chinese instruments. Likewise, the Christmas P’ungmul Party for “internal” KCON members included innovations such as rearranging pieces and slight changes in length of each piece and overall format. The characteristics of the Christmas P’ungmul Party are completely different from the p’ungmul twipt’uri and p’an’gut at the Korea Festival, despite the fact that the two events were put on by the same individuals.

Moreover, the Christmas P’ungmul Party had a different purpose from the performance of the p’ungmul twipt’uri. Because it is part of Korean Festival, the p’ungmul twipt’uri serves to introduce and represent traditional Korean cultural practices to anonymous audience members. Performers take into consideration which types of pieces, formats, and organization of the overall performance would be suitable to present traditional Korean performances. On the contrary, the purpose of the Christmas P’ungmul Party was to enjoy being together and to celebrate Christmas and end-of-year by playing p’ungmul. It is very common for people to have a number of big end-of-year parties or Christmas parties with their colleagues or friends rather than having time with their families in Korea. Bars, clubs, restaurants are full of people who stay with friends until midnight or the early morning during December. The Christmas P’ungmul Party reflects the atmospheres of those kinds of feasts in Korea. All of the party participants were free from the burden to represent Korean cultural practices and performing arts to the general public. The difference between the vigorous energy of the selections from the public event, p’ungmul twipt’uri, and the more intimate experimentation in the private
one, Christmas *P’ungmul* Party shows the ways that performance is staged differently. The different audience and purpose for each performance generated completely different formats of performances from the same performance group.

### 7.4. “The Sounds of the Korean Soul”

I had an opportunity to observe “The Sounds of the Korean Soul (찾아가는 우리 가락)” at Los Angeles High School on March 8, 2007. The performance was organized as a part of a Korean heritage program, which was held from March 2 to March 30. It was sponsored by the Foundation for Korean Language and Culture in the U.S.A. and supported by the Korean Education Center in Los Angeles as well as by the Korea Foundation. The purpose of the event was to introduce Korean music and cultural practices at schools in 7 different states that have Korean language classes. The event, which I observed, was led by Nam Chang-u. He had informed me of the event when I interviewed him a few days before the event. I arrived there a few minutes before the session began. I had already obtained permission from Nam Chang-u to video-record the whole performance. Soon after, students came into the auditorium. The whole performance session lasted approximately 45 minutes, which is common for a showcase of cultural events. All explanations and addresses were delivered in English. Because the performance was to teach young students, the performance entailed a hands-on workshop that required student participation at some points.
By shouting out the interjection “ulssigu-cho’t’a! (얼씨구 좋다)” the performers began the session with a kilnori (a procession 길놀이). They walked out from a door on the left side of the main stage while playing instruments. They had a short procession from the left to the right side door and appeared on the main stage. Nam Chang-u did “Pinari” and shortly after he shouted “Happy New Year” in English to the students in the auditorium because the Lunar New Year Day was just two weeks before the performance. He began by explaining the lunar calendar and the meaning of sŏlnal (설날) in Korean. He demonstrated sŏl referring to “first,” or “all the best” and nal to day and he asked students to repeat the word after him. Nam Chang-u also explained that a kilnori is “a small parade or procession” while blessing a community, and “Pinari” is “a prayer of a song to purify ground and to bless you all”. Then, he and the other three performers performed a “Samdo Sŏlchanggo” in a sitting position. On the course of doing the performance, the performers exclaimed and shouted sounds like “yah-” which is similar to the sounds heard in a samulnori performance led by Kim Duk Soo. Nam Chang-u and his fellows made very big and fast movements of their arms and heads for the piece, similar to those seen in the p’un’gmul twip’uri and p’an’gut.

147 People deliver New Year’s greetings during the few weeks before and after the Solar and Lunar New Year’s Day in Korea. Thus, it is widely known that people offer New Year’s wishes and greetings to their friends, colleagues, and relatives through cards, emails, and phone-calls from the middle of December to the end of February.
148 Kim Duk Soo would often shout out and exclaim, “yah,” or “iya” while performing very fast rhythmic patterns. When he shouts out, cameras close up to his face, highlighting the sweat on his face, if his performance is aired. Shouting out brings more a dramatic moment in the performance and catches the audience’s attention. Following his performance styles, many practitioners in Korea and the U.S. shout out in the middle of performances.
Nam Chang-u taught students how to encourage a performer and to respond to a performance by *ch’uimsae*. He asked students to shout out “ul-ssu” or *cholssu* in the middle of a performance. Soon after his demonstration of *ch’uimsae*, the next performance, “Kayagūm pyŏnch’ang,” a Korean zither solo, was staged and during it several students from the audience shouted out *ch’uimsae* as they had learned from Nam Chang-u.

Then, another performer, Esther Kim, appeared in full costume with a black vest and three colored ribbons. She asked “can you say kaya’gm (Korean 12-string zither 가야금)?” “can you say haeg’um (Korean two-stringed fiddle 해금)?” very rhythmically, similar to the style of rap singers. She continuously demonstrated how to do *ch’uimsae* like “cho’t’a,” “ŏl-ssu,” and “ŏl-si-gu,” well suited to the beat she was keeping. The other performers played background music to her demonstration. She continued to explain in a rap version what each of the instruments represents: *ching* (wind), *puk* (cloud), kkwaenggwari (thunder and lightning), and *changgo* (rain). Esther Kim solicited students to repeat after her, instructing them, “say kkwaenggwari”, “say *ching*”, and then “everybody says chot’ah”. The students were very excited to learn each instrument’s name in the rap style.

Next the group performed “Samdo Nongak” from *samulnori*. The opening remarks between the *sangsoe* and the rest of the performers were the same as I cited above for the Christmas *P’ungmul* Party. It was the standard opening remark to begin a *samulnori* performance. The performers played the *ch’ilchae*, *yŏngnam* and *tchaktsoe* and they shouted out during the performance. When the performers were playing the
pyöldalgŏri from yŏngnam, which has a text\textsuperscript{149}, the students in the auditorium clapped and applauded. After playing, one performer explained that they were doing samulnori. In contrast to their appearance in white costumes during the first part of the performance, in this section they wore black vests and three colored ribbons.\textsuperscript{150} While shouting out “ŏl-ssu” and “chŏl-ssu” again, he asked the students for help beating the rhythm—tŏng tta tta tŏng tta—on their laps and hands. The sequence of rhythm was as follows: tŏng tta tta tŏng tta ul-ssu/ tŏng tta tta tŏng tta chul-ssu. Soon after the students became familiar with beating the rhythm and doing ch’uimsae, Nam Chang-u appeared on the stage with a mask. He did a mask dance called Kosŏng okwangdae t’alchum (a mask dance from the region of Kosŏng 고성 오광대 탈춤). While students were beating out the rhythmic sequence, his mask dance and student’s clapping were well synchronized. The last session was a sangmo performance. A performer showed up with a sangmo on his head and a sogo in his hand. While all the other performers played instruments, the sangmo performer spun his head to the sogo rhythm. The performers on the stage bowed to the audience and the students applauded.

\textsuperscript{149} See Chapter 8 for the detailed text in Korean and English.

\textsuperscript{150} Although there is no universally agreed upon way to tighten ribbons and different groups have various ways to tighten them, the style and the way of tightening ribbons the Nam Chang-u group uses were the same as those used by the college performers at the chisinbalkki in LA. It can be assumed that because Nam Chang-u serves as a mentor and teacher of collegiate p’ungmul groups in LA, Nam Chang-u’s performance group and collegiate troupes in LA use the same way to tighten the ribbons.
The performance troupe employed three main strategies that helped to catch the attention of the teenaged-audience: length of each performance, demo-concert and hands-on workshop using rap and beating rhythm. Observing Cambodian ritual music in the U.S., Giuriati (2005) notes that that traditional music in a concert format has changed in length of performance, repertoire selection, performance practices, and musical styles and thus music which has been traditionally an integral part of a ceremony and ritual becomes “a part of theatrical performance or a concert, losing or loosening its ties to the ritual context to which it used to belong” (2005: 134). Although the “Sound of Korean Soul” performance was not in a concert format but in a demo-concert, the performance follows Giutriati’s argument. For this performance each piece was squeezed into 10 minutes. For example, the “Pinari (a prayer song)” is originally from a ritual context that prays for
purifying ground and having good fortune. As seen in the “Pinari” at the Christmas
P’ungmul Party, it is performed for a longer time, often more than 20 minutes. However,
Nam Chang-u and his troupe shortened it to 10 minutes so that the young audience would
not feel bored. Additionally, a pinari traditionally is part of a ritual context but here it
clearly became “a part of theatrical performance” (ibid).

While shortening each piece to approximately 10 minutes, the performance troupe
attempted to present different performance genres on the stage. The troupe invited a
kayagûm (Korean 12-string zither) player and also had a session to perform kilnori
(prarade 길놀이), t’alch’um (mask dance) and “Pinari (prayer song)” along with
samulnori pieces. As a demonstration concert, Nam Chang-u and Esther Kim explained
the origin of each performance and taught the teenaged audience about the names of
every instrument. Also, the performance troupe utilized a hands-on workshop that
stimulated the students to do ch‘uimsae orally and to beat the rhythm with their hands.
The troupe actively used elements of rap, so that the audiences could easily repeat the
names of instruments. Rap is a useful tool to catch a teenaged audience’s attention and to
interact with them, as seen above. These performers even planned to employ rap in a
performance of p’ungmul, not just in the introductory section.151

The performance strategies described above are related with performance
purposes and audience. As I mentioned, the “Sounds of Korean Soul” event’s function
was to teach and introduce Korean music and cultural practices to students who take
Korean language classes in high schools. The LA High School where the performance

151 Interview with Nam Chang-u, March 7, 2006.
took place is located less than three miles away from Koreatown in LA. The location of
the school is an indication of some of the characteristics of the audience. LA is made up
of one of the largest Hispanic/Latino American populations in the U.S. and also has the
largest Korean American community in the world. Likewise, the audience for the
“Sound of Korean Soul” event was made up of approximately 100 attendees and I
observed 15 Korean American students, mostly Latino American and some African
American students. Due to the different language/cultural backgrounds of the audience,
Nam Chang-u and his fellow performers spoke English when they explained something
to the audience. The goal of the performance and the makeup of the audience determined
the overall format of the performance as Nam Chang-u and his fellows did their
performance in a demonstration concert format and had hands-on workshop session to
present their culture to a group who would have been largely unfamiliar with it.

7.5. The Performative Tradition

Each performance described and discussed above strategically manipulates a way
to represent traditional Korean cultural practices. Through examining the various
strategies they use to adjust to various performance contexts, my case studies elucidate
the performative nature of traditional cultural practices. The term performativity or
performative is drawn from J. L. Austin’s speech act theory. J.L Austin, however, uses
the term performative utterance and defines this concept as “an utterance that does not
make a statement” but “in fact performs an action” (Bial 2004: 145). According to Henry
Bial, Austin’s concept is often “invoked by those who wish to describe a performance without the connotations of artificiality or superficiality that accompany the word “theatrical”” (ibid).

Since the first use of the term, Austin’s concept of the performative utterance has been used and extended in performance studies and gender/sexuality studies. Particularly, Richard Schechner extends the term performativity to every aspect of life, from ordinary gestures to macrodrama (Schechner 1990: 45), and points out that social, political, economic, personal, and artistic realities take on the qualities of performance (Schechner 2006: 123). In addition, Judith Butler’s article, “Performatives Acts and Gender Constitution,” is often cited as an example of the concept of performativity in gender/sexuality studies and the politics of identity. Butler notes that gender reality is performative, which means that gender is real only to the extent that it is performed (2006: 161) and argues that gender identity is constituted through performative acts.

Following Schechner and Butler, I apply the term performative to traditional Korean cultural practices that are constituted, changed, re-defined, manipulated and reformulated when the cultural practices are performed. Peggy Phelan remarks that the term performative refers to the process of “transformative becoming” that occurs in events where culture is staged (1998: 11).

The performances in the four case studies all included different instrumentation, overall formats, and repertoire selection depending on performance venues, audience and performance purposes. As p’ungmul performance and traditional Korean cultural practices themselves are continually being redefined, reformulated, and reshaped
according to different strategies and devices so that the performances fit into multiple new and changing performance contexts. Traditional Korean cultural practices are not fixed, nor unchanging, but are always in a process of transforming within new contexts.
Chapter 8

*P’ungmul* Here and Now

Despite the variety in performance styles, I have observed many characteristics of repertoire and performance practices that are shared by the different *p’ungmul* troupes. In the first half of this chapter, I will elaborate on the common pieces, instrumentation, and props which are found in *p’ungmul* performances by Korean American practitioners. Donna Lee Kwon (2001) and Jennifer Bussel (1997) examine pieces that Korean American practitioners often perform. This chapter, however, focuses on *p’ungmul* repertoire and practices since 2000 that have not been investigated in those earlier works. This chapter will explain how Korean American *p’ungmul* practitioners expand and change their repertoires and develop new performance practices. Moreover, changes in performance practices and repertoires substantiate a history of *p’ungmul* in the States that is continuously shaped, manipulated, and influenced by performance practices that are currently popular in Korea.

In the second half of the chapter, I will present various conceptualizations about *p’ungmul* by analyzing particular personal narratives. I find that different age groups articulate the definitions and purposes of *p’ungmul* in the States in various ways. There are also differences between the views of professional and amateur groups. While
attempting to construct an oral history of p’ungmul in the States, I found unexpected but important aspects of different conceptualizations about p’ungmul. As Alessandro Portelli emphasizes, oral history “tells us less about events than about their meaning” and “[i]nterviews often reveal unknown events or unknown aspects of known events; they always cast new light on unexplored areas” (1998: 67) and I will argue that the way p’ungmul practitioners describe what p’ungmul is provides us clues that allow us to understand why the practitioners seek different aesthetics. Hence, different conceptualizations of p’ungmul elucidate different aesthetics and performance styles from the different troupes.

8.1. Repertoire

By the end of 1990s, p’ungmul groups in LA and NY tended to play common repertories such as ich’ae (two-stroke rhythmic pattern), samch’ae (three stroke rhythmic pattern) and samulnori pieces. Particularly, as samulnori became more popular in the U.S., samulnori pieces obtained a significant presence in the repertoire of Korean American p’ungmul practitioners. One of the reasons was that the Kim Duk Soo [Kim Tŏk-su] samulnori troupe had released scores, CDs/DVDs of performances, and videotapes of lectures on samulnori. Those materials had been distributed to p’ungmul practitioners outside Korea and the materials helped Korean migrants overseas to learn samulnori at a distance, a process examined in Chapters 4 and 5. Also, performances and workshops by samulnori performers from the National Center for Korean Traditional
Performing Arts, as well as Kim Duk Soo’s group, stimulated Korean American
performers to learn the samulnori repertoire. Learning opportunities with Korean masters
have facilitated samulnori pieces being distributed more widely in the States.

Additionally, the length of samulnori pieces makes them particularly suitable for the
case of a showcase of traditional Korean performances at cultural events. For
example, collegiate p’ungmul performers are often asked to stage performances lasting
fifteen to twenty minutes and they can easily compose a program by compiling samulnori
pieces according to these time constraints (Kwon, Donna Lee 2001; Bussell 1997).

As Donna Lee Kwon (2001) and Bussel (1997) demonstrate, the common
repertoire of Korean American p’ungmul consists of pieces based on rhythms ranging
from ich’ae and sam ch’ae to sŏlchanggo, yōngnam, honam udo, uttari, and miryang o
pukch’um. Basic rhythmic patterns like ich’ae and sam ch’ae are played in marches and
parades. As I already stated, the name of a rhythmic pattern originates from the number
of ching strokes in one cycle. The sŏlchanggo pieces are often performed at the climax
of an entertainment-oriented performance as a kaeinnori (a showcase of an individual
performer’s skills 개인놀이) by one of the most skillful performers in the group. For
example, the p’ungmul party in Manhattan in 2006 included sŏlchanggo performances by
Kim Kyŏng-jin and Ko Ch’an-hyŏk. They are known as two of the most talented and
skillful changgo players in NYC. Their performances effectively drove the overall
atmosphere to a climax. In solo sŏlchanggo, a performer sometimes wears sangmo
(spinning tasseled hat with a long ribbon) and incorporates acrobatic movements while
playing the changgo and spinning the ribbon simultaneously. Since sŏlchanggo shows a performer’s virtuosity, it instantly attracts the audience’s eyes and ears.

Yŏngnam is famous for its pyŏldalgŏri section that has a four-line verse with a call-and-response-like alternation between instruments and the verse lines. The structure of pyŏldalgŏri is as follows:

Verse:  hanŭl pokŏ pyŏrŭl ttako, ttangŭl pokŏ nongsŏ chitko
(look at the sky and take the stars off, look at the earth and do farming)

Instrument:  tŏng tŏng kung ta kung kung ta kung ta kung

Verse:  olnhaedo tap’ungiyo, naenyŏnŏd ᴰᵣ ’ungnyŏn ilse
(this year is a fruitful year and next year will be a rich year)

Instrument:  tŏng tŏng kung ta kung kung ta kung ta kung

Verse:  tara tara palgŭn tara taenat kach ’i palgŭn tara
(moon, moon, bright moon, as bright as the day)

Instrument:  tŏng tŏng kung ta kung kung ta kung ta kung

Verse:  ŏdum sok-ŭi pulpich ’i urine-rŭl pich’yŏjune
(light in the dark, shed a light on us)

Instrument:  tŏng tŏng kung ta kung kung ta kung ta kung

This pyŏldalgŏri section is one of the most famous pieces for samulnori performances. Pyŏldalgŏri is often performed as a separate piece and the verse is always recited in Korean, not in English. The verse part is shouted out in a very fast tempo and often elicits the audience’s warm acclamation.

Tchaksŏe from uttari is another famous piece. As suggested by the name—tchak (two 적) and soe (kkwanggwari 써)—it takes the form of a call-and-response between
two kkwaenggwaris. During the call-and-response section between the two
kkwaenggwaris, a changgo player alternatively hits the left and right drumheads with
the left hand and plays a very fast rhythmic pattern with the right hand. Meanwhile, a
puk player repeats a simple yet fast rhythmic pattern. The puk player sometimes raises
the puk up and down while playing a rhythm. The fast rhythmic pattern and all the
performers’ rapid body movements often lead to applause and acclamation from the
audience during the performance. Audiences often clap to the rhythm till the end of the
tchaksoe.

*Miryang o pukch’um*, a dance by five puk from the Miryang region performed in
a circle formation, is another well-known piece in the States. Miryang is one of regions
of the Kyŏngsang province. The music from this province, the birthplace of yŏngnam
p’ungmul, is known for its frequent use of the puk. Performers go in and out of a circle
while playing the puk. Because of the performers’ aggressive movements, *miryang o
pukch’um* is known as a masculine dance. Traditionally, it is performed as part of the
*Miryang paekjung nori* (밀양 백종 놀이) on July 15th in the lunar calendar. The
*Miryang paekjung nori* expresses satire and lampoons the yangban, the ruling class in
traditional Korean society. Traditionally, while performing this piece barefoot
performers would wear towels around their foreheads and white trousers folded up to the
knee. However, the traditional costume for *miryang o pukch’um* is rarely found in the
States. The Korean American performers wear p’ungmul costumes and do not change
them for the *miryang o pukch’um* because the performance is usually given as a part of an
entertainment-oriented *p’ungmul (p’an’gut)* and performers do not have sufficient time for wardrobe changes.

The current *p’ungmul* repertoire and practices in the States is shaped by an expanded repertoire selection and more varied regional styles. As I explained in Chapter 5, a group’s repertoire largely depends on the learning experiences of the group members. For example, during a summer or winter vacation, some Korean American *p’ungmul* practitioners visit the intensive *p’ungmul* training centers called *chŏnsugwan* in Korea that provide various programs to learn *p’ungmul* for one to several weeks. Coming back to the States, the performers teach the new pieces they learned in Korea to other members of the troupe. Thus, the new pieces they learned in Korea become helpful sources to expand a group’s repertoire (Kwon, Donna Lee 2001). In addition, studying with Korean masters and attending a variety of programs provided by intensive *p’ungmul* training centers also provides opportunities to learn new pieces or techniques and to correct performers’ postures. While they take *p’ungmul* classes, they make video/audio recordings and obtain written scores (*karakbo*) in order to transmit them to other group members in the States.

The number of performers that adapt to using a *sangmo* (spinning tasseled hat) is dramatically increasing in NYC. The annual *p’ungmul* camp in 2008 had the largest number of *sangmo* practitioners to date. Even afterwards, camp participants continue to practice regularly at the KCON office. Major figures in KCON such as Kim Pan-ya and Ko Ch’an-hyŏk had visited Korea and learned *sangmo* techniques and these learning
experiences enabled them to transmit *sangmo* practices to the rest of their group members in NY.

8.2. Instruments and Props

Instrumentation and costumes for *p’ungmul* in the States are similar to those used in *samulnori*, which involves four instruments and a unified costume. Unlike traditional *p’ungmul* performances in Korea, performances in the States often have no wind instruments because there are not enough players. The *t’aep’yŏngso*, or so-called *hojŏk*, for instance, is rarely performed in the States; it is not easy to play the *t’aep’yŏngso* and this makes it difficult to find instructors in the States. Several groups of older performers, like Peace and United Nongak Troupe (*Pyŏngwha t’ongil nongakdan 평화 통일 농악단*) in NYC, play the instrument. However, the younger generations seldom play it because they do not know how to. *P’ungmul* learning in the U.S. has centered mostly on four percussion instruments: *changgo, puk, ching* and *kkwaenggwari*. Therefore, most college groups rarely have the opportunity to learn wind instruments. In addition, they have few sources—i.e. textbook, scores, and audio/video aids—that could enable them to learn the instrument on their own. As I mention in Chapter 5, the P’ilbong workshop in NYC in 2008 provided a *t’aep’yŏngso* class, which is unusual. In Los Angeles, I did not encounter any group that included *t’aep’yŏngso* players at *p’ungmul* performances or parades.

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152 See Chapter 3 for more detailed descriptions of the wind instruments for *p’ungmul* performances.
In regards to the various flags used in a traditional *p’ungmul* performance— the command flag (*yŏngki*), the farming flag (*nongki*), and the dragon flag (*yongki*)—Korean American *p’ungmul* practitioners tend to have team flags that indicate the names of different *p’ungmul* groups. The performers design their own team flags, which are often a rectangular shape with a dark border and held up by a long pole. Each group’s name is written down in Korean and/or in English. Performers sometimes even create these flags themselves for a big event. When I first visited the former KCON office, a group of performers was making their team flag. Using the team flag to identify the group’s name seems to originate from the flag of original *samulnori* team of Kim Duk Soo. The team used one flag that indicated its name, *samulnori*, and placed it near the performers on the stage.

Furthermore, performers in the U.S. rarely wear *pudŭl sangmo* (a black hat with a tuft of white feathers 부들 상모), *yŏltubal sangmo* (a hat with a 14-meter ribbon 열두발 상모) or *kokkal* (a white triangular paper hat with a flower attachment 고갈). It is well known that learning how to move a tuft of white feathers (*pudŭl*) is extremely difficult. In the States, there are few *pudŭl sangmo* performers. However, *yŏltubal sangmo* practice is easier to learn than *pudŭl sangmo*; therefore, *yŏltubal sangmo* is employed by an increasing number of collegiate performers in NYC. Korean American *p’ungmul* practitioners rarely wear *kokkal*. In NYC, only two groups, Hanool and the Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe wear *kokkal*, which they make with colored paper. Other groups

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153 See Chapter 3 for the role and significance of the flags in *p’ungmul* performances.

154 Refer to Chapter 3 for more detailed descriptions of the *sangmo*. 

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have opted not to wear this kind of hat because it is difficult to make and to maintain as the paper flowers are easily torn.

Costumes also offer interesting insight into p’ungmul practices in the States. The majority of groups wear white blouses and trousers, and black vests with tri-color sashes on the shoulder and waist. This unified costume was invented by Kim Duk Soo’s SamulNori group. For the first performance of the troupe, they wore white trousers and vests but they gradually took on a more unified costume. Although the method of tightening the sash and the length of the black vest vary from one group to another, the overall outfit is similar. However, Hanool is distinguishable from others by their blue vests, which are part of the traditional P’ilbong p’ungmul outfit in Korea. As described earlier, the blue vest indicates that Hanool has been strongly influenced by P’ilbong p’ungmul practices, not only in their costumes but also in their music.

Musical pieces or instruments, props, and costumes for p’ungmul in the States demonstrate that p’ungmul in the U.S. is shaped and manipulated by the performance styles of Korea. However, it is not limited to a specific regional style and, rather, Korean American performers compose their performance styles by bringing together all available sources and adapt the styles to the new performance contexts in the States. This is particularly apparent among middle ages and younger generations because each group forms a different conceptualization of p’ungmul. I will elaborate on the conceptualization of the traditional performance genres in the following sections.
8.3. Conceptualization of P’ungmul

In this section, I look at a variety of narratives articulated by p’ungmul performers in the States. The performers describe what p’ungmul performances mean for Korean Americans and the purposes of these performances. Different descriptions are given by different age groups and there are also distinctions between the experiences of professional performers and collegiate performers. Each narrative shows how the performers define p’ungmul in different ways. The conceptualizations and definitions of p’ungmul are also closely associated with the varying performance practices and styles of each performance troupe in LA and NYC. Thus, examining personal narratives provides a way to analyze how and why Korean Americans perform p’ungmul in specific ways. The narratives are extracted from interviews I conducted during my fieldwork in LA and NYC. Although I had not intended to ask questions about how Korean American practitioners define p’ungmul and samulnori, most performers led the conversations in this direction themselves and seemed eager to show how they conceptualize and define p’ungmul and samulnori. The interviews I conducted were composed of structured and unstructured sections and I attempted to allow the performers to speak freely about whatever they wanted to.

First I examine narratives by different age groups, looking at skits that were given by collegiate p’ungmul performers during the KCON annual p’ungmul camp in 2008. Then, I examine the different views of professional and collegiate performers on the definition of p’ungmul and what p’ungmul performances should achieve in Korean American communities.
8.3.1. Generation

*P’ungmul* performance troupes in LA and NYC tend to be composed of similar age groups. I consider three different age groups: older performers in their 60s and 70s, middle-aged performers between their 40s and 50s and young performers in their 20s and early 30s. Each age group describes the performance genre and its practices in distinctive ways. It is notable that each age group even uses different terms to refer to *p’ungmul* and emphasizes different aspects of the performance.

As I mentioned earlier, the Peace and Unite *Nongak* Troupe is a group that is composed of performers in the oldest age group. The members of the group I met still use the term *nongak* to refer to *p’ungmul*. The performers know very well that the term *nongak* was used under Japanese colonial period as an attempt to spread contempt for traditional Korean performing genres and that *p’ungmul* is the term currently more widely used. However, given that the term *nongak* had been used until the 1980s in Korean folklore academia and that the Peace and Unite *Nongak* Troupe was founded in 1976 in the U.S., the elderly members seem to have brought the term with them when they emigrated to the U.S. They are the only performers who still make use of the term *nongak* among those whom I met during my fieldwork; neither the middle-aged performers nor the younger performers employ the term in any way to describe the performance genre. As the term *nongak* had been derived from the agricultural social context of Korea and *nongak* performance played a role in ceremonies for good harvests and harmonious societies, the Peace and Unite *Nongak* Troupe, by employing this term, emphasizes the ritual function of their performance. Kim Ch’i-jung, a leader of the
troupe, remarks that “nongak is originally a ceremony of invocation and the purpose of nongak is to bring peace to the community (nongak-ŭn wŏnrae kido-ŭi haengsako p’yonghwa-ŭi tokuyŏ 농악은 원래 기도의 행사고 평화의 도구야),” and thus a p’ungmul performance would bring “peace to Korea, and peaceful relationships between Korea and the U.S and between Korea and the world.”\textsuperscript{155} In order to put a value on peace, the performers have the word p’yonghwa (referring to peace 평화) in the name of their performance troupe. Another member of the troupe, Pak Chŏng-pae, notes that it would be good for the community if all of the p’ungmul instrumental sounds could resonate loudly in towns.\textsuperscript{156} The performers believe that playing p’ungmul is a means to pray for harmonious relationships with other community members, wealth, and property, as people in old times would do. In this vein, they gave a performance to console the Chinese community in Flushing when the earthquake occurred in the Shichuan region of China in 2008. They collected money (approximately 1,000 dollars) as they performed p’ungmul and donated the raised money to the Red Cross Society.

The members of the Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe are proud of the long history of their troupe. The troupe has played p’ungmul for more than thirty years, which is far longer than any of the other Korean American groups:

We have participated in various cultural events for 10 years including the Independence Festival in Washington DC, at which we had performed for a few years from the late 1970s. For example, we have participated in the Manhattan Parade for 24 years, the Lunar New Year Festival for Chinese and Korean Americans in Flushing every year and the Korean

\textsuperscript{155} Interview with Kim Ch’i-jung, July 16, 2008.
\textsuperscript{156} He told me that “yetnal put’ŏ p’ungmul sori-ga ching sori kkwaenggwari sori-ga kusŏk kusŏk ta tőrŏkayachimian chaŏın kŏya (옛날부터 풍물소리가 징소리 행과리 소리가 구석구석으로 다 들어가야 좋은 거야)”
Thanksgiving Festival for 27 or 28 years (…) We are the best of the best p’ungmul troupes here.\textsuperscript{157}

In addition, the performers of the troupe believe that the troupe was selected for various cultural events due to the outstanding performance skills of members. Because they are proud of their long experience and their performance skills, and because they have learned in the traditional way and think p’ungmul should be learned as they have learned it, they think that young p’ungmul performers should learn from them. The performers state that the performances by collegiate p’ungmul troupes in NYC are not “authentic” nongak because the karak (a rhythmic pattern 가락) of collegiate p’ungmul troupes is just a form of putting together what they know and what they want to play.\textsuperscript{158}

On the other hand, middle-aged performers conceive of the performances of the Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe as turegut (a p’ungmul practice within work context 두레굿) or tongnaegut (communal village practice 동네굿).\textsuperscript{159} Both turegut and tongnaegut were traditionally integral parts of agricultural society and the lives of rural villagers. Yuk Sang-min, the leader of the Nori Company and a current president of the United P’ungmul Groups of New York (T’onghap p’ungmuldan of New York 뉴욕 통합풍물단), says that the performances of Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe are “a typical type of turegut.”\textsuperscript{160} As I mentioned in Chapter 3, there are various terms that refer to p’ungmul: not only turegut, tongnaegut or maülgut, but also p’ungjang, maeku and so

\textsuperscript{157} Interview with Kim Ch’i-jung, July 16, 2008.
\textsuperscript{158} Kim Ch’i-jung notes, “kūke musūn chŏnt’ong nongakinyan mariji (그게 무슨 전통 농악이난 말이지).” Interview with Kim Ch’i-jung, July 16, 2008.
\textsuperscript{159} See Chapters 4 for more explicit definitions and usages of turegut and maülgut. Maül is a synonym of tongnae.
\textsuperscript{160} Interview with Yuk Sang-min, July 19, 2008.
forth. Each of the terms emphasizes different aspects and contexts of p’ungmul performances. For example, turegut is originally derived from p’ungmul that is played during work. As tongnae refers to village and community, tongnaegut is related with shamanistic ritual practice for a community. Since the late 1960s, scholars in folklore, music, theatre and dance have identified synonyms for p’ungmul from different regions and systematically classified each of performance contexts and its performance practices. Because Yuk Sang-min has read numerous articles and papers on p’ungmul, he has learned these different terms to indicate various aspects of p’ungmul. In addition to reading a wide range of articles and books, he has personally met important scholars like Chŏng Pyŏng-ho, a folklorist focusing on traditional dance, who has published several valuable treatises about the p’ungmul of different regions. Yuk Sang-min believes that the concept of turegut does not fit into the urban setting of the host society in the U.S. at all because turegut could not draw an audience’s attention effectively. Instead of turegut, he has sought to showcase performers’ talents and virtuosities. Since he has founded the Nori Company in 1989, the troupe has mostly performed udo (the right side of the Chŏlla), and uttari (the style of the Kyŏngki province). Both regions are well known for performance styles that present virtuosity from the performers and show splendid acrobatic movements.161 Additionally, Yuk Sang-min articulates that the performers in the U.S. should have a mission to promote the traditional Korean performing genres in the U.S.; Yuk remarks that members of the Peace and Unite Nongak Troupe perform

161 See Chapter 4 for more detailed information.
p’ungmul for leisure, not because they feel obliged to promote such performances in the States.\textsuperscript{162}

Likewise, Yi Chong-hwan asserts that having a responsibility and goal to introduce traditional Korean performance genres in the U.S. is important. He points out that a well-known traditional Korean performance can help younger generations of Korean Americans to be proud of the cultural background of their homeland.\textsuperscript{163} Like Yuk, Yi Chong-hwan also puts an emphasis on performers’ virtuosity and techniques as an effective means to attract an audience’s interest in the host society. He believes that performers’ virtuosity is one of the most important aspects of p’ungmul performance. Accordingly, he learnt \textit{chaban twijipgi} (flipping in the air), using the \textit{sangmo} (a tasseled hat with a long ribbon), and playing the \textit{sogo} (a small handled drum) in Korea in 1991. The practice of combining \textit{chaban twijipgi} with spinning the \textit{sangmo} and playing the \textit{sogo} is one of the most difficult techniques and it requires long practices. Because of the impressive acrobatic movements, the audience often whistles and offers applause.

On the other hand, Korean American p’ungmul practitioners in their twenties and thirties focus on taking pleasure in performing p’ungmul itself. Although there are some in their twenties and thirties who have similar thoughts to Yuk and Yi, many younger performers have the tendency to see p’ungmul performance as a hobby. The young Korean Americans believe that performers can modify and adapt p’ungmul practices to the U.S. context. This is very different from the views of the senior members of the Peace and Unite \textit{Nongak} Troupe, who stress traditional forms of performance. It is

\textsuperscript{162} Interview with Yuk Sang-min, July 19, 2008.
\textsuperscript{163} Interview with Yi Chong-hwan, July 26, 2008.
reflected in a statement by Kim Pan-ya and Ko Ch’an-hyŏck, the core members of KCON. Ko Ch’an-hyock states:

> When I teach new rhythmic patterns to collegiate groups, I recommend that they change the patterns based on the characteristics and atmosphere of the groups; a few years after, I will find that every group has slightly different orders of rhythmic patterns and atmospheres of pieces, although I teach the same thing to them.\(^{164}\)

Likewise, Kim Pan-ya says,

> I tell my junior members (hubae) that they might need to change something according to various performance contexts. Every time we have different audience members and performance contexts. Thus, I would not force the junior members to imitate my performance practices and styles.\(^{165}\)

Indeed, young Korean American performers are open to changing any given rhythmic pattern. Despite a given karakbo (a score for vocalization of instrumental sounds 가락보), the collegiate performers are encouraged to modify things, to change the pattern, and to add their own colors. Hence, the \(p’ungmul\) practitioners in their twenties and thirties remark that traditional cultural practices are always in a process of change.

Although the collegiate performers are open to changing performances, they esteem tradition. This is reflected in the fact that the collegiate performers distinguish the term \(p’ungmul\) from that of samulnori. Most performers in their twenties and thirties whom I met prefer to use the term \(p’ungmul\) over samulnori when they indicate the performance genre they perform. Although they often perform samulnori pieces, they describe their performance troupe as a \(p’ungmul\) troupe rather than a samulnori troupe.

\(^{164}\) Interview with Ko Ch’an-hyŏck, Oct 6, 2007.

\(^{165}\) Interview with Kim Pan-ya, July 22, 2007.
This is because that the performers think of *samulnori* as not the “authentic form.” In Chapter 4, I already pointed out that, *samulnori* originated from the genre of *p’ungmul* and was modified for the urban stage entertainment; *samulnori* pieces are forms of music collections from *p’ungmul* in different regions. For Korean American *p’ungmul* practitioners in their twenties and thirties, *samulnori* is not a traditional performance genre because *samulnori* does not have long history and does not reflect the thoughts, spirits, and philosophy of ancestors due to its emphasis on the exclusively musical aspects of the performance. The Korean American performers in their twenties and thirties conceive of *samulnori* as “a show.” The word show is often used with a negative nuance in Korea. For example, “show *handa* (쇼 한다)” means that one does something very ridiculous. Thus, when the performers describe *samulnori* as a show, it has a meaning that throws a negative light on *samulnori*. Despite their concept of the *samulnori* genre, however, the collegiate performers often do put *samulnori* pieces together for cultural events and festivals.

8.3.2. The Skit at the *P’ungmul* Camp in 2008: Giving *P’ungmul*

Giving *P’ungmul* was the official theme for the KCON *P’ungmul* camp in 2008. The camp had five groups, each consisting of members from different troupes. I participated in the camp as a student in the advanced *changgo* class. The groups had meals together to build up friendship and at one point they were asked to discuss what

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166 Interview with Kim Kyŏng-jin, Oct 6, 2006.
167 Interview with Kim Hŭi-jŏng, March 5, 2007.
168 I illustrate the characteristics of *samulnori* in Chapter 4. *Samulnori* is well known for urban performance contexts, particularly for performances in concert halls.
p’ungmul means for young generations of Korean Americans, what p’ungmul gives to participants of the camp and why they do p’ungmul. We presented what we had discussed in turn and were required to create skits based on the discussion. The skits were staged on the last night of the camp. Importantly, the skits illustrated that the collegiate performers see p’ungmul as a means by which they can adjust to life in the host country. Five skits were staged. I found that they showed several common motives for Korean American collegiate performers to be involved in p’ungmul troupes: for example, they are involved in troupes as a way to build up friendship with colleagues and a means to solve communication problems.

One of the skits about a young Korean immigrant gang presented how the gang became nicer after learning p’ungmul and getting involved in a performance group. The skit tells of how a Korean gang took money and p’ungmul instruments from students. Also, they would compel students to use drugs and to smoke. However, the gang came to feel that “p’ungmul performance is so cool” as they first watched a performance accidently. One of the performers talked to the gang: “We are from the team of “Giving P’ungmul.” If you are interested, you are always welcome to join us (unchena pata chulke 언제나 받아줄게).” The skit shows that actors of skits thought that p’ungmul troupes are always open to anyone and p’ungmul brings goodness and peace.

Another skit suggested that p’ungmul transcend language barriers and cultural differences. It had a central figure, Thomas, who just emigrated to the U.S. and could not speak English very well. Thomas tried to make friends but he couldn’t do so effectively because he could not speak English. Thomas said to himself, “It seems very difficult to
make a friend because I can’t speak English.” He gave up on making a friend and started to do ip changdan (vocalizations of instrumental sounds) by hitting his knees with his hands as a way to relieve his loneliness. Soon after, a group of people came to Thomas and asked what he was doing and how to do that. He taught them how to do ip changdan. While the group of people on the stage started doing ip changdan, Thomas spoke to the audience, saying that p’ungmul could provide a way to communicate with others despite different languages, ethnicities, and cultures.

The third skit showed two central figures who were addicted to drugs and alcohol. It had somewhat exaggerated and comic expressions so that the audience laughed a lot. I was in charge of supporting roles for the skit and played yŏngnam karak with three other supporting actresses. The two figures unexpectedly observed a p’ungmul performance and became interested in the performance. Finally learning p’ungmul rehabilitated drug and alcohol addiction and they came back to their ordinary lives. The last two skits were similar to each other in the sense that they dealt with students who had difficulties in the host society as immigrants and in communicating with others because of a lack of fluency in English. The skits depicted that learning p’ungmul is a useful means to help to solve communication problems. In the skits, they got to feel comfortable in the new environment as they learned p’ungmul.

From the skits, I learned why the younger generation of Korean American p’ungmul practitioners prefer to label performance troupes as p’ungmul over samulnori and consider p’ungmul as referring to traditional performance. As seen above, all of the skits demonstrated that the collegiate performers conceptualize p’ungmul as something
that can bring harmony to communities, can lead to friendship with others, helps to transcend language barriers, and forms a useful means to overcome communication problems in the host society. The roles of *p’ungmul* depicted in the skits evoke the function of *p’ungmul* in the past, within ritual performance contexts, as a way to bring harmony to communities, chase away bad fortune, and instead bring good fortune.

Whether they believe that the ritual would come true or not, the younger Korean American practitioners put an emphasis on the traditional practices of *p’ungmul* as a reference to past practices. The genre of *samulnori*, however, does not convey the ritual significance that the Korean American practitioners would like to seek. Thus, for younger generation practitioners, *samulnori* is not adequate to represent ancestral wisdom, thoughts, and philosophies.

Furthermore, the fact that the younger generation gets involved in *p’ungmul* groups as a way to take pleasure through learning the genre seems to be the reason why they think tradition can be changed and modified. *P’ungmul* should be something that younger practitioners feel relaxed, refreshed, and amused through performing. Due to its emphasis on the musical aspect, samulnori could function to delight performers themselves. However, the practitioners do not want to play *samulnori* pieces, because they do not regard *samulnori* as a traditional performance genre. The only thing they can do is to modify and change something in pieces originated from *p’ungmul*. The practitioners might expand the number of repeated parts in sequences of rhythmic patterns, add ornamentations, simplify or complicate body movements or rearrange pieces as seen in the Christmas *P’ungmul* Party.
8.3.3. Professionals and Amateurs

It is difficult to apply the term professional or amateur to Korean American practitioners with any kind of clear distinction. This is because many Korean American practitioners devote their time and money to training for performances, learning *p’ungmul* for long time, staging *p’ungmul* at various performance venues, feeling responsibility to transmit the performance in the host societies, and very often making a bit of income for their performances. Most studies (Provine 1975; Howard 1983; Hesselink 1998) on *p’ungmul* deal with *p’ungmul* masters who hold the title of Human Cultural Assets and are called yein (예인) or *myŏngin* (명인), literally referring to artists, experts and virtuoso. The studies on *p’ungmul* in the States (Kwon, Donna Lee 2001; Bussel 1997) include a number of troupes and practitioners, but they do not provide any distinctions between professionals and amateurs.

Despite the difficulties in defining professionals and amateurs, some Korean American practitioners delineate the concept of the two terms. In this section, I am not going to provide a definition to distinguish professionals from amateurs. Rather, the purpose of this section is to demonstrate how self-defined professionals separate themselves from amateurs, and how the professionals utilize the concept of *p’ungmul* and *samulnori* in defining themselves.

There are a few *p’ungmul* or *samulnori* performers in LA and NY who consider themselves as professionals, including Pak Pong-ku, Kang Tae-sŏng, Sebastian Wang and Yun Se-jong, to name a few. The professional performers emphasize the high quality and skills of their performances. It is notable that the Korean American
performers employ the term “second-hand learners” as a way to distinguish themselves from performers of other performance troupes, who have learned the performance genre from senior members of the troupe, not directly from masters in Korea.\footnote{Interview with Pak Pong-ku, August 1, 2008.} For example, as I already mentioned in Chapter 4 and 5, many collegiate \textit{p’ungmul} troupes pass down \textit{p’ungmul} from \textit{sŏnbae} (literally meaning senior) to \textit{hubae} (lit., junior) members. Members learn \textit{p’ungmul} from their \textit{sŏnbae}, and when they become senior members of the group, they teach their junior members. However, many of those collegiate performance troupes are considered to be “hobby clubs.”\footnote{Interview with Kang Tae-sŭng, September 23, 2006.} Pak Pong-ku remarks, “in my personal opinion, the objective of such performance troupes is to share common interests revolving around hobby. The troupes are just a hobby club. That’s it.”\footnote{Interview with Pak Pong-ku, August 1, 2008.}

According to the performers who self-define as professionals, professionals should have trained in the performance genres with masters in Korea for long periods of time (Kang Tae-sŭng, Pak Pong-ku, Yun Se-jong and Sebastian Wang), or majored in traditional Korean performances in college (Yun Se-jong and Sebastian Wang), or been members of professional performance troupes in Korea (Pak Pong-ku and Kang Tae-sŭng). These are important qualifications for professional performers. The performers who have merely participated in workshops held by Korean masters in the States, or who have visit Korea and studied with masters while on vacation cannot be professionals. For example, Yuk Sang-min and Ko Ch’an-hyŏck are well known performers in NYC. They have collaborated to perform together in the Nori Company and have visited Korea several times to learn \textit{p’ungmul} from the masters. Although they have learned from
masters in Korea, professional p’ungmul performers consider Yuk and Ko to be second hand learners.

Interestingly, the professional performers prefer to label their own performance troupes using the term samulnori rather than p’ungmul. For example, Kang Tae-sŭng named his own performance group Turep’ae Samulnori. Pak Pong-ku has recently changed the name of his own performance troupe from VP Performance Production to VP Stage. Whenever he has a special lecture, he does not hesitate to name the class “samulnori class (samulnori kangjwa 사물놀이 강좌).” The preference for the word samulnori in the name of professional performance troupes or performance classes is remarkable when compared to the names of collegiate Korean American troupes, because collegiate practitioners insist on using p’ungmul rather than samulnori as a way to express that they esteem tradition. I find that professional Korean American performers intentionally distinguish themselves from other amateur practitioners by using the term samulnori. Samulnori is a genre that emphasizes the musical aspects of p’ungmul and p’ungmul often correlates with community participatory activities, particularly during 1970s and 1980 when the minjung cultural movement arose. Hence, samulnori practitioners strive to achieve refined and polished performance skills and techniques and masters in the samulnori genre often show off very fast body movements, while p’ungmul performers attempt to involve more participants in performances regardless of participants’ skills and levels. Additionally, the term samulnori is often used when

172 Before he came to the States, he was a performer in Turep’ae Samulnori in Korea, which was one of the most famous samulnori performance troupes in the 1980s along with Kim Duk Soo’s SamulNori group.
practitioners play the set of *samulnori* pieces which was reformulated by Kim Duk Soo, or other followers. On the contrary, the term *p’ungmul* is used even when practitioners play a short sequence of rhythmic patterns. Although the collegiate performers consider the *samulnori* genre to be a show and put more value on *p’ungmul*, professional performers in the States explicitly exhibit that they can show virtuosic and splendid techniques by using the term *samulnori*.

In other words, professionals see themselves as linked to modern genres rather than traditional ones. Shingil Park attempts to designate senior members of *p’ungmul* clubs as amateurs based on the ground that *p’ungmul* is an integral part of life:

The issue of “performance versus play,” discussed in chapter one, relates to the concept of professionalism and amateurism in *p’ungmul*. Some people at the local *p’ungmul* clubs disliked the term “amateur.” I have employed it for lack of a better term, to describe the tendency of viewing *p’ungmul* more as a part of life, rather than a musical genre isolated from issues of life. Thus the term “amateur” in this study does not dictate a lower or an undeveloped form of art compared to “professionals.” It refers to the inclination to embrace things other than simply music and dance in *p’ungmul*. Therefore, even those senior members at the *p’ungmul* clubs, who have taken their titles as full time and paid occupation at the clubs, I would consider as “amateurs” rather than “professionals” (2000: 220).

As seen in the statement above and the earlier chapters, *p’ungmul* was a part of life: “[L]abor and leisure were not two separate domains but an inseparable whole” (Park, Chan E. 2003: 36). Despite the existence of professional performers in the past, the distinctions between performers and audiences were not clear. However, modern genres of performing arts as performed in concert halls brought the separation audience from performers. The performers are considered as artists and experts. In particular, as *samulnori* emerged and gained popularity, this performance genre formed a passive
audience and performers who seek to be professional and demonstrate brilliant skills and techniques that require long-period practices. Although *p’ungmul* gained recognition due to the Cultural Preservation Law, a number of folk arts competitions, and the *minjung* cultural movement, *p’ungmul* as a stage performance has been widely recognized since *samulnori* gained popularity. The connection between the concept of professionals and amateurs and *samulnori* and *p’ungmul* is also perceived among Korean American practitioners. Most of the so-called professionals are first generation Korean immigrants. They came to the States between the mid 1990s and early 2000s. Thus, they brought the distinction between the two performance genres as they emigrated.

Moreover, professional performers like Pak Pong-ku and Kang Tae-sŭng are proud of their systematic way of teaching that is based on their long period of training and performing. Kang notes that he has had difficulties in correcting wrong postures of students who had learned *changgo* from non-professional teachers and practiced incorrectly. As discussed in Chapter 5, many *p’ungmul* troupes in the U.S. transmit performance practices from senior members to junior member and largely depend on resources like CD/DVDs, scores and audio/video files. Consequently, troupes can easily transmit incorrect postures to junior practitioners and often put together pieces from different resources in a way that is inauthentic. Professional performers are critical of that way of learning and of short-term learning experience.

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173 See Chapter 4 in which I list professional *p’ungmul* performers and their activities in the States.

Thus, *p’ungmul* performances in the States reflect various conceptualizations about *p’ungmul* and different aesthetics based on common repertoires and performance practices. Despite a common repertoire and standardized performance practices, different performance troupes have different conceptualizations about *p’ungmul*. The various conceptualizations signify that the religious-spiritual function and socio-economic purposes of *p’ungmul* performance have decreased in the later generations and the genre has come to be represented as one of traditional practices that can be modified and changed to various performance contexts. Each age group, as well as amateur and professional performance troupes has developed distinctive ways to stage *p’ungmul* performances. It is not possible to describe *p’ungmul* in the U.S. as a unified or homogeneous form. A variety of aesthetics, conceptualizations, and performance styles shape *p’ungmul* in the States.
Chapter 9

Conclusion

Controversial opinions have arisen over the complex implications entangled in the process of organizing and presenting multicultural festivals, which, I would argue, exemplify Homi Bhabha’s elegant statement that “culture as a strategy of survival is both transnational and translational” (1994b: 172). Transnational, because most often the performers at these festivals belong to diasporic communities, have active transnational connections with their home countries, hold plural cultural identities, and present diasporic cultural forms; translational, because their cultural performances are publicly ordered, tailored, and translated according to the unifying frame of the dominant—stated or unstated—American national ideologies (Zheng 2010: 196).

This study explores *p’ungmul* in LA and NYC. In this dissertation, I have shown that *p’ungmul* in the States is in a process of continuous change. It is shaped, influenced, conditioned, and operated through multiple negotiations within and among Korean immigrants’ communities, the larger host societies, and the cultural politics, institutions and ideologies of contemporary Korea.

*P’ungmul* in Korea is shaped by the wider socio-cultural systems and political conditions in Korea. *P’ungmul* was once an integral part of Korea’s agricultural society and functioned in relation to work, ritual, fund-raising and entertainment. However, most of the traditional practices have decreased or disappeared due to changes in the structure
of society, socio-economic conditions, cultural politics, and the history of Korea. Because of these shifts, *p’ungmul* is now usually performed as part of a showcase of traditional Korean performing arts. The emergence of the *samulnori* genre has reinforced and enhanced the place that *p’ungmul* occupies in the domain of the performing arts.

The history and performance practices of *p’ungmul* in Korea have structured the role of *p’ungmul* in the States. Technological developments have influenced the process of performance transmission in the States. The means used in *p’ungmul* transmission demonstrate that *p’ungmul* performance in the States is structured by the transnational movement of teachers, learners and various media between Korea and the States. The result of all of is this is that, “[t]he fast and abundant flows of mediated music have made it possible for immigrant communities to construct in their host country a soundscape similar to what they had in their mother countries” (Zheng 2010: 226).

The two performance troupes in NYC, Hanool and Hannoori, demonstrate on the one hand how *p’ungmul* in the U.S. is influenced by performance styles in Korea and on the other hand how performance styles are adapted to and reshaped in U.S. society. The repertoire, costume, performance styles and practices of Hanool and Hannoori reflect the divergent performance goals and aesthetics of each group. Hanool is largely influenced by a regional *p’ungmul* style, P’ilbong, and Hannoori seeks to engage in learning and staging various regional *p’ungmul* styles as much as they can. These two troupes demonstrated that young generations tend not to be interested in the politicized aspect of *p’ungmul* anymore; rather, they seek to create stage as showcases of traditional performing arts. However, Hanool still includes several aspects that the movement
influenced. This is because that Hanool strongly connects to P’ilbong performance styles that attracted many social activities to the movement.

Each of the different cultural events I observed illustrates that Korean American practitioners adapt *p’ungmul* to different performance contexts. Different performance venues, performance purposes and audiences affect choices about repertoire, instrumentation, performance practices, and overall format. Through these case studies, I examined the performative tradition which is in a process of change. *P’ungmul* is reshaped, reconstructed, and reformed for every single performance.

I was able to show that Korean American practitioners form different conceptualizations of *p’ungmul* according to different age groups, and across amateur and professional performers, and that the performers’ conceptualization of *p’ungmul* manipulates and structures the performance practices and styles of each group. Moreover, the different conceptualizations of the genre clearly demonstrate that *p’ungmul* has lost its former religious-spiritual significance and socio-economic function and been transformed in the urban setting of the host societies. Senior *p’ungmul* practitioners define *p’ungmul* as a means to bless Korean American communities and to play for peaceful communities. Middle-aged performers define senior performers’ performances as a communal village practice and make the criticism that a communal village practice does not fit the urban setting of the host society. Instead, the middle-aged performers seek to develop performers’ virtuosities. Young practitioners claim that *p’ungmul* is in a process of change and performers should have the ability to change their performance practices to fit to different performance contexts. At the same time, young
practitioners emphasize the role of *p’ungmul* as a way to bring harmonious community and to build friendship. While the senior performers grew up and learned the performance genre as it is operated in traditional forms, middle-aged and young performers take a more academic perspective and study the fact that *p’ungmul* had been performed in work and ritual contexts. The young generations make reference to the ritual function of *p’ungmul* but transform it in ways particular to their own situation: they describe themselves as strangers but are adjusting to the new life in the host society.

Colin Mackerras notes, “diasporas will become so assimilated into their new homes that their cultures become completely indistinguishable” (2005: 227). His remark presupposes that displaced people have no influences from or connections with their homelands. However, this assumption does not consider technological and communication developments and their contributions to transmitting cultural practices in immigrant communities. Throughout this study, however, I have shown that the socio-political contexts of LA and NYC illustrate that due to technological developments in communication and transportation, migrants can easily obtain knowledge and information about the homeland and keep in touch with their relatives and friends. Likewise, *p’ungmul* in the States is not isolated from the homeland and the host society. Rather, it is continuously structured, constructed and manipulated by close cultural political relations between the homeland and the host society, by the cultural institutions, cultural policies, and ideologies of the contemporary Korea as well as various socio-cultural contexts of the host society. In other words, continuous exchange between Korea and the U.S. function to construct *p’ungmul* in the States. This study reveals that looking at
transnational connections between the homelands and the host societies is important for understanding immigrants’ cultural practices.

This dissertation does not take into account p’ungmul practices in small Korean American communities. I only examine p’ungmul in LA and NYC, the two largest Korean American communities in the States. Closer examination of p’ungmul in small communities would shed light on other pieces of a big puzzle surrounding the function and purposes of p’ungmul in the States. Due to the smaller number of Koreans in those communities, the performance genre would likely be staged as a way to represent Asian performing arts, not just as a Korean performance genre. In addition, there would be different political dynamics between the larger host societies and the small Korean American communities and socio-cultural conditions of the immigrant communities. I assume that these contexts could shape different performance aesthetics and performance styles. Also, further field research could be done in relation to Korean drumming ensemble courses at different universities that teach p’ungmul and samulnroi repertoires: the University of Maryland, College Park, the University of California, Los Angeles, and Wesleyan University, to name a few. Unlike the p’ungmul troupes that I examined in this study, the classes have many more non-Korean American students. Since students in the class would not have much previous knowledge about Korean cultural practices, those ensemble courses would uncover various ways in which the performance genre is represented to non-Korean American practitioners, and how it is received and transmitted by them.
As I reach the final phase of writing this dissertation, I have heard that Kim Kyŏng-jin of Hanool and her husband stayed at Chŏnju, a city of Chŏlla province, for a few months after she obtained her permanent residency. She had told me that she would like to visit Korea and learn P’ilbong in depth as soon as she could obtain her green card. Since I left the site of my fieldwork in NYC, I have had contact with her via Facebook. Her dream finally came true. The transnational percussive journeys will not stop as long as the Korean American performers remain eager to study with Korean masters.


*Website


*Interview

Chang Hŭi-jŏng 2007.03.05
Kang Kyŏnghŭi 2006.12.23
Kang Tae-sŭng 2006.09.23
Kim Ch’i-jung 2008.07.16
Kim Chun 2006.03.05
Kim Kyŏngjin 2006.10.06
Kim Pan-ya 2008.07.22
Nam Chang-u 2007.03.07
Pak Pong-gu 2008.08.01
Song Chi-na 2008.07.22
Wang, Sebastian 2008.07.09
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