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Pansori

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PANSORI

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Abstract

The Korean Cultural Preservation Law of 1962 designated *Pansori* an important intangible cultural artifact and a symbol of the national culture of the Korean people. The fundamental objective of Korea government's policy was to promote and to preserve *Pansori*. However, the pervasiveness of western-style performing arts in Korea undermined the achievement of this objective, especially for the younger generation. The purpose of this study is to explore *Pansori*, to understand its history, its importance, the reasons underlying its declining popularity, and the reasons behind the need for preserving and promoting its use in modern Korean society. The methodology of this study involved conducting historical research, the researcher's own experience (taking *Gugak* classes) and interviews with *Pansori* singers and scholars. The study finds *Pansori* was important to the Korean traditional culture because it created an understanding and expression of emotions, taught moral values, promoted community cohesion, and entertained the community. However, *Pansori* is experiencing declining popularity because of inadequacies of Government preservation efforts, the pervasiveness of western-style performing arts and reduced periods to learn *Pansori*. Still, *Pansori* is important to preserve because of social reasons (community cohesion and improved international relations with neighbors), economic reasons (a source of employment and improved tourism performance), and cultural reasons (a means of transmitting culture and cultural values across generations). This study recommends reviewing the Korean Cultural Preservation Law of 1962 to balance between preservation and modification of *Pansori*. The study suggests further study should focus on examining empirical support of the importance of *Pansori* to inspire Koreans to assist in the promotion and preservation of *Pansori*.

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Pansori

Chapter 1: Introduction

The body of literature on Korean culture suggests the western-style of performing arts is influencing the general decline in both the performance and public acceptance of *Pansori*. It is undermining the Korean Government efforts to preserve *Pansori* through legislation and education especially to the younger generation. The purpose of this study is to explore *Pansori* as the quintessential form of Korean traditional performing arts. The specific objectives are to define *Pansori*, its history, its importance to the Korean culture, the underlying reasons for its declining popularity, and the importance of its preservation to modern day Korea. The significance of this study is creating an awareness of the value of *Pansori* and a deep insight into the vital role *Pansori* played in integrating the present Korean communities. *Pansori* is also a significant forum for teaching moral lessons and entertaining Korean communities to give them the enthusiasm to preserve and to practice it.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. The introductory chapter defines and discusses the history, the development, and the master singers of *Pansori*. The chapter also reviews literature on *Pansori*, discusses the importance of this study and briefly comments on the research methodology. The second chapter discusses the importance of *Pansori* to Korean culture and communities between the 18th and early 19th centuries. The third chapter discusses the reasons behind the recent declining popularity of *Pansori*. The fourth chapter discusses the social, economic and cultural importance of preserving *Pansori* to modern day Korea. The last chapter presents a brief overview of the study, its purpose, aims, research approach and findings. The chapter ends with a discussion on limitations to the study and produces a set of

recommendations aimed to improve the effectiveness of the current promotional and preservation methods of *Pansori*.

1.1 What is *Pansori*?

From an etymological perspective, the word *Pansori* is a blend of two words, *pan* and *sori*. *Pan* has several meanings. *Pan* means a gathering place, performance spaces or the venue of performance. Specifically, in the traditional Korean setting, *pan* referred to the traditional houses of Korean aristocrats or, traditionally, straw mats laid out on market places. *Pan* can also refer to performers demonstrating their expertise in front of a large audience or the process of entertaining audiences (National Gugak Centre 13). *Sori* means vocal sound or voice, or a vocal performance that alternates between sung and spoken words (or narrations). Drawing from the multiple etymological meanings, *Pansori* can be defined as a traditional form of performing arts where performers sing in front of an audience for enjoyment and moral teachings (National Gugak Centre 13).

From a cultural perspective, *Pansori* is the quintessential Korean traditional performing art. It is a musical drama consisting of two performers – a singer or soloist (*sorikkun* or *gwangdae*) and a drummer (*gosu*). The singer must be dressed in traditional Korean attire (*hanbok*), uses a traditional prop – a handkerchief or a fan – in one hand, and tells a themed story in the form of music and narration. The performance revolves around the singer, whose vocal performance consists of sung words (*chang*), spoken words or narration (*aniri*), and body language (*neorumsae*) or mimetic gestures (*ballim*). The drummer accompanies the vocal performance with rhythmic drumbeats and shouts of words of encouragement aimed at adding passion to the performance. The song has fixed rhythmic cycles (*changdan*) and a range of

melodies (*cho*). The singer changes the rhythmic cycles and melodies according to the various moods of the text or the audience (Kuh Ja-Kyoung 35).

In the traditional *Pansori* setting, the singer usually articulates the themed story with dramatic facial and body expressions, and melodic or rhythmic improvisations aimed to make the performance livelier. A typical *Pansori* performance often times takes three to eight hours, which makes the performance tiring for the singer and increases the risk of suffering from vocal fatigue. The intermittent use of sung and spoken words aims to reduce the fatigue for the singer. The singer represents all the characters in the themed story through variations in tone and pitch. The drummer enhances the excitement of the performance with rhythmic sounds and words. The audience also participates with cries of encouragement (*chuimsae*) to applaud and motivate the singer (Thomaidis 2). Although this is the basic structure of *Pansori* performance, today the structure has a wide variation mostly depending on the staging strategies (Kuh Ja-Kyoung 35).

The definition of *Pansori* suggests a striking resemblance to Western opera. The two forms of performing arts share two common aspects. They both involve performing in front of an audience, and performance integrates music, drumbeats and dance. Besides these two common aspects, the two performing arts have several features that clearly distinguish one from the other. *Pansori* has roots in the Asia Pacific and performance centers on one singer performing several roles and narrate the story. However, the Opera has roots in Europe and America, and performance centers of many artists performing specific roles (Creutzenberg 1). Table 1 summarizes the main differences between a *Pansori* performance and a Western opera performance.

Table 1: Differences between *Pansori* and Opera

Factor	<i>Pansori</i>	Opera
Origin	It originated from Korean traditional music, dance and folk song.	It originated from the integration of fine art, Western music and theatre.
Performers	It consists of two performers, a singer telling a themed story and a drummer providing rhythmic beats and melodies.	It consists of many performers.
Stage setting	The stage consists of a solo vocalist holding a folding fan and a drummer carrying a drum	The stage consists of a dance troupe, symphony orchestra, a chorus, elaborate lighting and costumes.
Roles of performers	The singer assumes many roles of the characters in the story through use of vocal variations.	Has many performers each performing a specific role and leaves after completion of the role.
Performance	Performance centers on one singer depicting various roles and characters through variation in vocals.	Performance consists of a variety of performing arts – music, literature, poetry, plays and artistic elements from a combination of fine art music.
Pace of music	Pace of Rhythm is slow or varies according to text or the mood of the audience.	Pace of song is fast and goes faster and faster towards a climax.
Vocal production	Performers use abdominal breathing to produce tones through forceful thrust of air in taut larynx. The resulting tonal quality is rough or harsh.	Performers produce vocal using abdominal breathing to draw air through an open voice. The resulting tonal quality is clear.

Source (Creutzenberg 3; Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea, 1)

1.1.1 Changes in *Pansori* Performance

During the late 19th to early 20th centuries, *Pansori* began to be integrated with concepts of western-style opera. During this time, Korea was colonized by Japan. Under Japanese colonization, Korea underwent a social and cultural transformation through the lifting of western cultural bans. Japan forced Korea to open their borders to foreign countries to receive various entertainment like film and western-style of theatre and opera. Korea was exposed to different styles of entertainment than they had ever experienced before. The new entertainment was a novelty to the audiences and their interest moved away from traditional Korean arts to western-style entertainment. The audiences were seeking new forms of entertainment and they did not have an awareness of the value of *Pansori*. This changed the performance style and singing method of *Pansori*.

The most direct influence on *Pansori* performances was the arrival of modern western theater, which was introduced in the process of modernization in the early 20th century. The arrival of western theater changed existing forms of *Pansori* performances. *Pansori* performers, who used to perform in front of aristocrats in the 19th century, changed their singing methods to conform to new audience expectations. *Pansori* performances became shortened like western-style theatre. Western-style theatre also encouraged *Pansori* performers to learn only popular parts. This eventually motivated the development of a ‘mixed style’ *Pansori* performance in the mid-20th century. Due to the conventions of western theatre, the audience also was transformed from active participation into passive (silent) consumers of *Pansori* performance.

1.1.2 Components of *Pansori* Performance

A typical *Pansori* performance has several common components. These are *body*, *deoneum*, *ssookdeameori*, *nundaemok*, *aniri*, *ballim* and *neorumsae*, *chuimsae*, and *naedeureum*.

First, *body* describes the overall structure of a typical *Pansori* performance. It refers to the choice of tools that best describes the theme of the song and the mood of the performance. The *body* also indicates the performance style of *Pansori* and provides the basis for criticism and comment about the quality of *Pansori*. The *body* could also mean a part of a song transmitted from a *Pansori* teacher to a student. In this case, *body* could also be referred to as *deoneum*.

Deoneum refers to modifications or new additions to an original traditional *Pansori* song by a junior singer. The modifications usually reflect local trends – folk songs or shamanic ritual music. If this new version of the *Pansori* becomes widespread or popular among the audience, and is transmitted from one singer to another, it becomes a *deoneum*. For instance, *Ssookdeameori* is a passage referring to the *deoneum* of singer Im Bangul (Hyung 49).

Nundaemok is a component of *Pansori* performance that means the “eye” (*nun*). A typical translation of the term is, “give me eyes” or “locate the eyes” symbolizing the singer communicating with the drummer. The singer is telling the drummer to change or alter the beat of a knot, or the tension and relaxation found in the rhythm used in Korean folk music (Hyung 33). However, in the present form of *Pansori*, the meaning of *Nundaemok* has changed to refer to the most impressive part of a *Pansori* performance.

Aniri is a component of *Pansori* song that means alternating sung and spoken words. It is when a singer sings a part of a passage with tune and melody and another part without tune and melody in the form of a narration. It provides the singer the opportunity to take a rest before the next *sori* and sound.

Ballim and *Neorumsae* are components of *Pansori* performance referring to use of body movement and gesture. The use of *ballim* is limited to dance whereas *neorumsae* are the gestures

that are in accordance with the content of the story. These motions include movements of the entire body.

Chuimsae refers to the participation of audience in a *Pansori* performance. The word is a blend of two words, *chuim*, meaning to attach words and rhythm together, and *sae*, meaning a method or a way. Together, they mean a way to attach words and rhythmic patterns. In singing, *chuimsae* refers to the many ways a singer can combine words and rhythm according to the accompanying drumbeats. In *Pansori*, *chuimsae* means the audience shouting words of encouragement like “sounds good”, or “*la-di-da*”, “*ulssigoo*”, or “good job”. The aim of *chuimsae* is to involve the audience and to give enjoyment to the singer. The role of *chuimsae* is to enhance the dynamics of the sound, to fill a pause, and to bring out sound (Hyung 40).

Lastly, *Naedeureum* is the beginning of a passage in *Pansori*, the *Sanjo Nongak* melody. When a singer begins a *Pansori* performance, the singer suggests a melody or rhythm and develops the story based on the rhythm, breaking and beginning a new story during pauses.

1.1.3 Twelve Specialization Fields (*Madangs*) of *Pansori*

Pansori has twelve specialization fields (*madangs*) founded in the 18th century during the era when *Pansori* witnessed significant growth. The twelve specialization fields (repertoires) are the Song of *Chunhyangga*, the Song of *Simcheongga*, the Song of *Heungboga*, the Song of *Sugungga*, the Song of *Jeokbyeokga*, the Song of *Byeongangswe-taryeong*, Song of *Jangkki-taryeong*, the Song of *Baebijang-taryeong*, the Song of *Onggojip-taryeong*, the Song of *Gangneungmaehwa-taryeong*, the Song of *Musugi-taryeong*, and the Song of *Gajjasinseon-taryeong* (National Gugak Center 1).

Only the first five fields represent the lives of ordinary Koreans and the realities of the Korean communities during the 18th century. These forms have been transmitted orally to date (Kim 5). One of the reason for the loss of seven of the original specialization fields is the Confucian upper class, who were the favorite audience of *Pansori* towards the end of the 18th century and in the 19th century. They deemed the seven fields as vulgar, or morally inappropriate, and prevented their transmission (Lee 74). The five fields that were transmitted, and remain to this date, are *Chunhyangga*, *Simcheongga*, *Heungboga*, *Sugungga*, and *Jeokbyeokga*.

The five specialized fields narrate stories about loyalty to the king, filial piety, fidelity of a wife to her husband, brotherhood, and sincerity to friends (Lee 74-75). Each of the songs tells a themed story as briefly outlined in the next paragraphs. In addition, *Pansori* performance connects these five specialized field in an optimistic tales, epitomized in a positively depicted main character and tragic beauty in a humorous way.

Chunhyangga teaches about love and its tribulations through a story of Chunhyang, a young girl from a low-social economic background married to the son of a governor. The promotion and transfer of the governor separates them. The new governor tries to compel Chunhyang to become his lover but she declines in spite of death threats. The governor then plans for her execution on his birthday but the husband, a newly appointed governor inspector, returns to her rescue. The song teaches the importance of love and a woman's chastity in uniting people from different social economic statuses.

Simcheongga teaches about filial love, piety and perseverance through a story of Simcheong and her blind father. The daughter hears about a monk's promise to her dad to donate a sack of rice to regain his sight. The daughter offers herself for sale to Chinese sailors as a sacrifice to the King of the Sea to afford the sack of rice. The King of the Sea has pity and sends

her back to the surface where the King find her, falls in love, and proposes to her. Hoping to reunite with her father, she organizes a party for blind people. Her blind father struggles and reaches the King's palace. Her deep filial love and piety makes her father regain sight. The song teaches the importance of filial love and piety as important moral characteristics for the well-being of the family.

Heungboga teaches about the perils of human greed through a story of Heungbo, a poor but good-natured man and his rich but greedy and wicked brother. Heungbo and his family live in abject poverty because his rich brother ousted them from their home. A swallow with a broken leg flies into Heungbo's home. He nurses the swallow back to health. In return, the swallow gives Heungbo a gourd seed, which he sows and reaps gourds filled with precious jewels. Filled with jealousy, his wicked brother tries in futility to find a swallow with a broken leg. He breaks the leg of a swallow and nurses to back to health. He sows the gourd seeds given by the swallow but reaps gourds filled with warriors and goblins. The wicked brother regrets his wrongdoing and promises to be a pleasant person. From the song, people learn about the rewards of being pleasant and good-natured and the punishment of materialism and wickedness.

Sugungga teaches about the conflict between the rule and the ruled. The song also teaches a moral lesson in handling conflicts, sorrows and unexpected unfortunate events in a humorous manner. The song uses personified animals, a rabbit and turtle. The Sea Emperor becomes sick. He hears the liver of a rabbit is the perfect antidote. The Emperor selects a turtle called Byeoljubu (the title of a government official) to go to the land to look for a rabbit. The turtle finds and comes with a rabbit to the Sea Palace. The rabbit realizes his predicament and lies to the Emperor that he takes his liver out twice in a month and stores it in a safe place on the land. He needs to return to the land to fetch the liver for the Emperor. The Emperor allows the

rabbit to return to the land. Elated by his escape, the rabbit acts rashly and a trap placed by humans catches him. He saves his life again by asking flies to pee on him. Watching the flies, the men let the rabbit free but an eagle catches him. The rabbit tricks the eagle and escapes into a cave. Coming out of the cave, the rabbit meets the Sea Emperor, now fully recovered, and the turtle. The Emperor reconciles with the rabbit and brings the rabbit to the Sea. This song teaches about behaviors that show loyalty to the king.

Jeokbyeokga, also known as *Hwaryongdo*, teaches about loyalty to friends. The story is about three men, Yubi, Gwanu and Jangbi. The three vow to unite their strength in order to achieve their goals. Yubi visits a man called Jegalgongmyeong three times and persuades him to be his advisor. Jegalgongmyeong engages his enemy, Jojo in a fierce battle. Jegalgongmyeong uses the southeast winds to defeat Jojo's strong troops. Jegalgongmyeong, Yubi, Gwanu and Jangbi chase after Jojo. Gwanu catches Jojo but decides to release him. This story draws from the Chinese novel *Sanguozhi yenyi* (The Tale of the Three Kingdoms). The story revolves around the legendary Battle of the Red Cliffs, a decisive battle fought at the end of the Han Dynasty in 208-9 AD. It was a battle between the Han Dynasty and the Jin Dynasty, which led to a tripartite division of China into Wei, Shu and Wu States.

The other seven specialized fields, *Byeongangswe-taryeong*, *Jangkki-taryeong*, *Baebijang-taryeong*, *Onggojip-taryeong*, *Musugi-taryeong*, *Gangneungmaehwa-taryeong*, and *Gajjasinseon-taryeong* taught moral lessons in a comedy or farce. All the twelve specialist fields reflected the social phenomenon of the Korean people during the latter part of the Joseon Dynasty between 1392 and 1910 (Hyung 4). The seven specialized fields that were not transmitted narrated themes of gluttony, heroism and other key issues the Korean society was facing at during the 19th century. According to Confucian teachings, it was inappropriate to make

fun of the upper classes. The Confucian ruling class therefore regarded the seven fields as morally inappropriate and prevented their transmission, leading to their extinction in the 19th century (Lee 74).

1.1.4 Audience and Relationship with Performers

Pansori performance in the 18th century to early 20th century was an art that required the active participation of the solo-singer, the drummer and the audience. The audience participation was essential. They participated by shouting *chuimsae* (words of encouragement) to the solo-singer and the drummer. *Chuimsae* was important in a *Pansori* performance to encourage and to motivate the solo singer and the drummer. In fact, the audience was an integral part of a *Pansori* performance. *Pansori* performances of today have little audience participation. The audience have little understanding of the responses of the original audiences and difficulties in choosing the right words or moment to applaud. However, the relationship between *Pansori* performers and the audience has not changed significantly. *Pansori* singers now lead the audience's response during performance. The aim is to encourage their response and to remind them of their active role in a *Pansori* performance. In the period between 18th and 19th centuries, *Pansori* audiences consisted of three categories: occasional members, serious audiences and students of *Pansori* (Kuh Ja-Kyoung 3).

Occasional audience members were the aristocrats. They were well-socialized members in the upper socio-economic class in Korean traditional society. They were very familiar with artistic conventions and attended *Pansori* performances for entertainment and education (to learn moral lessons). Although few in numbers, the upper class had the power to influence the development of *Pansori* to satisfy their aesthetic and entertainment needs during the era of affluence in the 19th century. This is also evident in them preventing the transmission of seven

out of the twelve specialized fields of *Pansori* because they mocked the upper class (National Gugak Centre 11).

The serious audiences are professionals in artistic performance. They provide solid support to the performance because of their professional suggestions and constructive criticism. The serious audiences also include experts in *Pansori*. These experts provide education, ideas and direction, all aimed to develop and perfect the singers' performance.

The students of arts audiences are students of *Pansori* who desire one day to be master singers. They come to learn from observation and participation as audience members. Learning *Pansori* does not only include vocal and physical practice. Students also learn *Pansori* by observing response from the audience, and advice of current master singers (National Gugak Centre 11).

These categories of audiences knew each other and participated actively to motivate the solo-singer and the drummer. The audience shouts enliven the mood of the performance (Creutzenberg 4). The audiences have also contributed to the development of *Pansori* through their active participation and empathy. The empathy from the audience is a significant factor in *Pansori* performance. It indicates the tastes and reaction of audience members, which affect the lyrics, *aniri* and the mood of the singer. In so doing, *Pansori* has been able to reflect the sorrows and joys of the public using satire and humor, and teach relevant moral lessons (National Gugak Centre 12). Today, the categorization of the audience has changed. Audience include *Pansori* experts, students, members of the public and tourists. Most members of the audience also do not understand the value or meaning of *chuimsae* (shouts of encouragement). However, expert and students of *Pansori* in the audience, together with the *Pansori* performer, lead the audience in *chuimsae*.

1.1.5 Religious Context of *Pansori*

The root of *Pansori* songs is shamanic traditional music. Shamanism was the initial religious belief in Korea before the advent of other religious faiths like Confucianism and Buddhism. Shamanic music had several melodies, which developed into many different styles of music such as Moodang's *Kut(Gut)*, *Buddhism* and *Gugak(Kuk-ak)*. Shamanic songs provided not only a place of sanctity for the Korean people but served other important religious purposes. The songs were sung during ancestor-worship ceremonies and when moving idols to and from their sacred places. The aim was to pay homage to the idols, and to gather and organize the people attending the celebrations. The songs also provided an avenue to exalt and glorify the splendor and good deeds of the idols, which changed according to season or needs. People would offer sacrifice to pay homage to the deities or to pass on sentiments. In all these religious activities, people sang shamanic songs. Shamanic music presented a form of entertainment for both the people and the idols. Music performances involved the use of instrumental resonance, vocal projection, and plain vocal performances. The tone of the songs was either jovial, sad, or remorseful depending on the function at hand (Creutzenberg 4-6). As a result, Ancient Koreans used music to worship their ancestors and to create a better life. Through these performances, songs and lyrics were transmitted from Mudang, Buddhism, and *Gugak(Kuk-ak)*. *Pansori* is a decedent of *Gugak(Kuk-ak)* music, so the root of music in the *Pansori* came from shamanic songs.

1.2 Development of *Pansori*

The fragmented and scanty documentation of the history of *Pansori* has undermined the accurate determination of its origin and the reason behind the Koreans performing it. The underlying reason for the fragmented history is that the use of the term *Pansori* began in the 20th

century. Until the end of the 19th century, scholars used various terms such as *bonsaga*, *taryeong*, *jabga*, and *changgeukjo* in reference to early the forms of *Pansori* (Hyung 2). The early literature on *Pansori* also presents two parallel views of the origin of *Pansori*.

The first view traces the origin of *Pansori* to the Honam region. This view is based on the argument that the first documented record and evidence of the origin of *Pansori* is a translation in Sino-Korean Poetry in the *Mahwa Book* of 1753-1754 authored by You Jinhan. Jinhan had travelled to Honam region to attend a music performance by the performers of the Emperor (*Manwhabon chunhyangga*). Later in 1810, Song Manjae wrote about a mastersinger of *Gwonsamdeuk Moheunggap* and a few initial mastersingers of *Gapssinwanmun* writing in the *Kwanhoohee* book. The two ancient books trace the origin of *Pansori* towards the end of the 17th century. At the time, *Pansori* was simply the solo performance of a vocalist narrating a story. The primary reason for this view is that many early performers, and even today, many *Pansori* performers are from the Honam region (Hyung 3).

The second view is proposed by the *Junggoje* School in *Gyeonggi* and *Chungcheong* provinces. The view argues that *Pansori* originated from all over Korea. They advocate that *Pansori* is an integration of traditional musical genres and practices from all over Korea, which eventually converged in the Honam region. Since then, the development of *Pansori* has been concentrated in the Honam region (Hyung 3). However, this view provides conflicting details because of disagreements on which aspect of the traditional musical genres formed the foundation of *Pansori*. Some argue traditional tales formed the literary root of *Pansori* songs. For instance, the “*Tale of a Royal Secret Commissioner*”, “*Tale of Ugly Woman*” and “*Tale of a Virtuous Woman*” formed the plot of the *Pansori* song *Chunhyangga*. In addition, the plot of *Pansori* songs have a similarity to traditional folktales. The other theory is that the foundation of

Pansori is shamanic songs because the original *Pansori* performers were Shamans. However, both views trace the origin of *Pansori* to the *Honam* region and its early performers the Shamans in the 17th century. Again, there is a consensus among early scholars that the origin and the development of *Pansori* were during the Joseon Dynasty, which lasted between 1392 and 1910 (Hyung 23).

The development of the concept and practice of *Pansori* has undergone significant transformations over the centuries. The transformations have happened in four different and distinct eras – the era of escalation or formation (18th century), the era of affluence (19th century), the era of declination (early 20th century), and the era of reincarnation (late 20th century).

The Era of Escalation or Formation (18th Century)

The era of escalation, sometimes referred to as the era of formation, in the 18th century, marked the period of the formation of *Pansori* and its specialization into twelve fields. In this era, early performers of Korean traditional music began fusing shamanic songs and folktales into a single musical performance. Shamanic songs were religious songs. They were sung to communicate and to uphold religious values. Folktales on the other hand, were themed stories with fictional characters. They were told to educate and entertain its audience, who were members of Korean traditional societies. Folktales taught moral lessons, promoted culturally acceptable traits and behaviors, and instilled communal values to improve relationships between members of the Korean society. The fusion of shamanic songs and folktales into single performing arts gave rise to the early form of *Pansori*. Shamanic music formed *chang* (sung words), *changdan* (rhythmic beats of the drummer) and *cho* (melodies) while folktales formed *aniri* (spoken words).

In this era of escalation, the twelve specialized fields (*madangs*) of *Pansori* were founded. The main performers of *Pansori* were the *gwangdae*, who were in the lower social class of the Korean society. They had no diverse vocal skills like those of master singers of *Pansori* and there are no records of their performances or achievements. However, towards the end of the 18th century, the audience of *Pansori* had begun to expand from the lower class (common people) to the upper class. A record of *Chunhyanga* written by Yu Jinhan, a wealthy middle class man (*yangban*), attests to the observation that the middle class had begun listening and contributing to the development of *Pansori*. The main significance of the era of escalation is the growth of *Pansori* from a common people's type of entertainment into professional performing arts indicated by the specialization of *Pansori* into twelve *madang* (fields). Another significance is the composition of audience expanding from the common people to include the wealthy middle class, upper class and the royal class.

The Era of Affluence (19th Century)

The era of affluence in the 19th century marked the period when *Pansori* flourished in splendor and glory. During this era, *Pansori* gained unprecedented growth and popularity, which included the development and increased performance of twelve specialized song stories. The audience size and composition expanded and *Pansori* performers received increased respect and admiration, which translated into a new level of professionalism and a mastery of vocal arts. The size of the audience grew because the wealthy middle class began to enjoy and attend *Pansori* performances. Whereas the main audience remained the common people, the wealthy middle class acted as patrons and influenced great advancements in the development of *Pansori*. The expansion of audience to include the wealthy middle class influenced aesthetic changes in the performance of *Pansori*. Performances changed to include a harmonious combination of song,

narration, rhythm and shouts from the audience to poke fun at both the common and wealthy class (Kim and Heyman, 55).

With its popularity, splendor and glory, *Pansori* performers incorporated humor in the form of puns and satires. *Pansori* performers used puns to create intellectual humor that appealed to both the wealthy and the poor in the society, and satire to ridicule the wealthy and the administration system. However, it was clear that the aesthetic tastes of the common and the noble classes were distinctively different. The noble class preferred elegant and serious stories about tragedy and solemnity whereas the common class preferred stories about sincerity, directness and pureness that were communicated through humor and tragedy. Towards the end of the 19th century, the aesthetic tastes of *Pansori* largely reflected the tastes of the noble and aristocratic classes, because they shaped the development of *Pansori*. In fact, it is the noble class who considered seven of the twelve specialized fields of *Pansori* morally inappropriate and prevented their transmission (Lee 74). The noble class also influenced *Pansori* performance by reinforcing the use of song and body movement to communicate and corroborate the theme of the story. For instance, slow music rhythms and intonation underlined a sad and gloomy atmosphere. The varied themes and performance styles of the *Pansori* appealed to varied audiences and influenced the specialization of performers (Kim and Heyman 51).

The Era of Declination (Early 20th Century)

The era of declination in the early to mid-20th century marked significant conceptual changes in the performance of *Pansori*. The most significant changes were in the transmission methods and performance styles, which were influenced by the increasing competition from western-style of performing arts. The Japanese colonial occupation of Korea between 1910 and 1945 opened Korea to western style performing arts. The Japanese also introduced a westernized

Japanese education system. Most students of music were schooled to believe western-style performing arts had more value than Korean cultural performing arts (Kim 2). The education system transformed transmission methods of *Pansori* from informal oral and practical lessons into formal classes.

The original performance style of *Pansori* also underwent significant changes during this period. It became a fusion between the original *Pansori* performance and western-style performing arts. *Pansori* performance began to have more than one singer and performing time reduced. Performance venues and stages underwent major transformations as well: from market and open court performances to indoor stages similar to western opera performance stages. Following the formation of *gisaeng johap*, organizations that nurtured the talents of female master singers, the population of female performers increased significantly and, with time, outnumbered the population of male performers. Because the degree of dexterity of the female body is much higher than that of the male body, the introduction of female performers added physical performance elements to *Pansori* performances. *Pansori* had changed considerably into *Changgeuk sori*, a form resembling western theatre. *Changgeuk sori* significantly differed from the original *Pansori* because it has few spoken parts and incorporated many actors who played different but specific roles.

In the original *Pansori*, the song-story narrator used vocal power to distinguish a wide range of characters and emotions. Therefore, only performers who could use their voices to articulate different types of emotions could perform (Ch'ŏn-hŭng 51-55). The *Changgeuk sori* was less demanding for performers because it was divided into parts, with a different performer for each part. The ability to articulate a variety of emotions was not necessary since performers chose and played the roles to which they were best suited. Since the audience accepted

Changgeuk sori in mid-20th century, *Pansori* had to change to appeal to the audience and to remain relevant to the changing society. The *Changgeuk sori* emerged because of increased competition from western-style performing arts. *Pansori* performers knew they could not successfully compete against the western opera and theatre. They gathered in groups and formed the Korea Vocal Music Study Association. This was the era of the five master singers (Song Mangap, Yi Dongbaek, Kim Changhwan, Pak Gihong, and Kim Changryong) who contributed to the teaching and preservation of *Pansori*. In the era of declination, *Pansori* lost popularity as *Changgeuk sori* became more popular, which assimilated some concepts of the western-style opera performance (Ch'ön-hŭng 51-55).

The Era of Reincarnation (Late 20th and 21st Centuries)

The era of reincarnation in the late 20th century (1960 to present) marked the period of concerted efforts to prevent the extinction of *Pansori*. This was came after the Japanese colonial occupation. The colonial occupation had de-popularized *Pansori* in an entire generation of Koreans. After the colonial occupation, many Koreans did not understand the value and importance of *Pansori* to Korean culture, which created the need to preserve *Pansori*. The most evident effort to preserve *Pansori* as a cultural heritage was the legislation of the Cultural Properties Law of 1962. The law was the result of a growing public perception of the need to recognize and preserve national culture and ethnicity. The objective of the law was to establish a constant communication structure in arts, particularly performance arts. The law increased awareness and recognition of *Pansori* and a few years later was the driver behind the reservation of the right of *Pansori* as non-material asset of the Korean culture (Hyung 3). This era of reincarnation also witnessed the safeguarding and documentation of five *Pansori* songs for future generations as outlined below alongside the year of their preservation (Hyung 20).

The first *Pansori* song to be preserved was *Chunhyangga*, in 1964. It is one of the five specialized fields of *Pansori*. It was recorded and preserved because the *Pansori* masters were passing away. It was preserved in its traditional form to provide educational material for future generations. *Gangsanje Simcheongga* was the second *Pansori* song to be preserved in 1968. The song is from the Boseong region. It was important to preserve because the *deoneum* tradition was limited to this song. *Sugungga* was the third *Pansori* song to be preserved in 1970. By 1970, only three *Pansori* singers who performed this song were still alive, creating the need to preserve it to prevent its extinction. The song consists of *Junggoje* and *Gyeonggi and Chungcheong*, which do not appear in other *Pansori* songs and hence the need for its preservation. The song was important to assist in research of songwriting, lyrics and development of *Pansori*. *Jeokbyeokga* was the fourth *Pansori* song to be preserved in 1971. It had stylistic features and required a powerful male voice making it one of the most difficult *Pansori* song to perform. It was important to preserve to prevent its extinction since only four male singers performing the song were alive. The fifth *Pansori* song to be preserved was *Heungboga* in 1971. It is among the three grand *Pansori* songs that contained satire and wit. The song is rare because it represents the stage characters, customs and spirit of the Korean people.

The identification for preservation of common *Pansori* songs was essential since a significant number of prolific experts in *Pansori* were in advanced ages or dying. The risk of losing such a cultural heritage would be an injustice to the Korean culture. In the same era, the public held *Pansori* performers in high esteem and their names were enshrined in the history of arts among the great contributors to the Korean cultural art. However, even with the re-creation and efforts to pass *Pansori* to the next generation, the current *Pansori* students have incorporated diverse aspects of style that is a clear departure from the *Pansori* that was passed down by their

predecessors. However, the Korean Government continues to put concerted efforts for the preservation of *Pansori*. The Government has enlisted master soloists to manage the curriculum and teaching of *Pansori* culture at schools and families in Korea. They also submit monthly reports about the teaching and learning of *Pansori* in schools and in family arrangements (Hyung 5).

More recently, in the 1980s to 1990s, there was a strong cultural change throughout the Korean society. This changed the effectiveness of the laws and policies on the preservation of *Pansori*. The main driver of the widespread cultural change was the expansion of the popular culture brought by globalization and media. Although the growth of popular culture was not as widespread as it is today, it affected the efforts to preserve *Pansori* in the original form. *Pansori* assimilated some aspects of the western opera-like performance, which led to the development of the contemporary creative *Pansori*, led by a famous contemporary *Pansori* performer *Im Jintaek* (Hyung 25-27).

In the 2000s to the present, the contemporary creative *Pansori* has had a significant growth both in the number of songs and audience. The fear of losing the *Pansori* tradition is one of the main factors driving the growth of the contemporary *Pansori*. This is evident in the themes of the stories of the contemporary *Pansori* revolve around fairy tales, dream and pains of the upper class and political satire similar to the traditional *Pansori* songs. Despite the growth of the contemporary *Pansori*, there is still a concern of preserving and transmitting the *Pansori* tradition. This is a concern because older, experienced *Pansori* singers are not actively participating in the development and promotion of the contemporary *Pansori* because they believe in upholding the traditions of the original *Pansori*.

Western genres of music, which are currently playing on the radio, threaten *Gugak*(*Kuk-ak*) and *Pansori*. Because of this shift in focus, *Pansori* is on the brink of extinction. Current *Pansori* performers believe that the art form is well developed, and should remain as it is. They put no effort in supporting its transmission to the next generation. They perceive transmission of *Pansori* from the current to the next generation is a difficult job because learning *Pansori* requires dedication and many years of practice. Although the preservation of old *Pansori* songs has been successful, there is need for *Pansori* to find a new path. Trying to preserve the traditional pieces of *Pansori* could contribute to the demise of *Pansori* as a living art. *Pansori* has been shaped by many masters to become the present *Pansori*. It had been divided into seven sects with their distinctive own characteristic music style. Preservation of only the traditional pieces of *Pansori* creates the perception that newer pieces are less valuable and does not encourage present performers to develop their own *deoneum*. The history of *Pansori* is also hard to trace, as many documents were lost during the Japanese colonization and many wars. Whereas the quantity of the contemporary *Pansori* is increasing, it is not clear whether they are improving the quality of *Pansori* as a living art or not. The consideration of audience participation is necessary for re-writing the history of *Pansori* in the 21st century (Hyung 28-29).

In each of the eras of *Pansori*, there was the emergence of famous performers (singers) each reflecting the developmental changes in *Pansori*. Table 2 lists the famous singers alongside their songs and the era of their reign.

Table 2: Master Singers alongside their Songs and Era

ERA	MASTER SINGERS	SONGS
Era of Escalation	Gwon Samdeuk	Song of Hunting Swallow
	Song Heungrok	Song of Prison Life
	Yeom Gyedal	Song of Ten Raps
	Mo Heunggap	Song of Farewell
	Go Sugwan	Fast Love Song
	Song Gwangrok	Slow Love Song
	Sin Manyeop	Song of Rabbit's Abuse
	Kim Jecheol	Song of Sim Cheong's Birth
	Ju Deokgi	Song of <i>Cho Jaryong's</i> Shooting an Arrow
Era of Affluence	Pak Yujeon	Song of Parting
	Pak Mansun	Love Song and Song of Going to the Royal
	Kim Sejong	Song of Reading <i>Cheonjamun</i>
	Yi Nalchi	Song of East Wind
	Song Wuryong	Song of Rabbit in the Crisis
	Jeong Chunpung	Eight Views From Sosang River
	Jeong Changeop	Song of a mark comes Along'
	Kim Changrok	Song of Crow and Magpie' and Song of <i>Sim Cheong</i> Taken to the Indangsu
	Jang Jabaek	Song of <i>Jeokseong</i>
	Kim Chaneop	Song of Portrait of the Rabbit
	Sin Jaehyo	Revised <i>Chunhyangga</i> , <i>Simcheongga</i> , <i>Baktaryong</i> , <i>Sugungga</i> , <i>Jeokbyeokga</i> and <i>Byeongangswega</i> (six 12 fields of Pansori)
Era of Declination	Song Mangap	Song of Ch'unhyangga
	Yi Dongbaek	Junggoje Pansori: Song of Red Cliff
	Kim Changhwan	Song of <i>Changgu k</i> 'singing drama'
	Pak Gihong	Song of <i>Dongpyeonje</i>
	Kim Changryong	Song of <i>Chunhyang ga</i>
	Jeong Jeongryeol	Song of <i>Changgeuk</i>
	Yu Seongjun	Transmitted Song of transmitted <i>Sugungga</i>
Era of Reincarnation	Pak Dongjin	<i>Pansori Yesujeon</i> (Pansori Jesus Story), <i>Byeongangswega</i> , <i>Baebijangjeon</i> and <i>Sukyeongnangjajeon</i>
	IM Jintaek	' <i>Ttongbada</i> ' (Sea of Manures), <i>Ojeok</i> (Five Enemies) and <i>Sorinaeryeok</i> (History of Songs)

Source: (Hyung 7, 21, 28)

1.3 Review of Literature

The body of literature on *Pansori* is either patchy or not very recent. This has undermined the accurate determination and understanding of the history and the development of *Pansori* as a traditional Korean performing art. It has also undermined the current efforts by the Korean government and performers to preserve and to promote *Pansori*. In particular, the majority of the recent publications on *Pansori* are from the last 20 years, written in both Chinese letter and Korean. The lack of translations of Chinese publications on *Pansori* into either Korean or English has also denied a proper review of important literature on the history and the development of *Pansori*. However, a few publications such as our literature history book provide translations to the contents or abstracts of some studies on *Pansori* published in either Chinese or Korean languages. In addition, literature from the U.S. focuses extensively on the Western theatre art with little mention of *Pansori*, further denying Western understanding and support of *Pansori*. Despite the paucity of research on *Pansori* and language barriers, a few authors including Haekyung Um, Yoon-Hee Chang, Sheen Dae-Cheol, Jan Creutzenberg, Yon-Ho Suh, Jeong-Ha Kim, Doobo Shim, and Je-Ho Yoo do offer a deep insight into *Pansori*. This review examines publications of these authors in terms of their aims, methodology, strengths and weaknesses, and contribution to the present study.

Haekyung Um is a lecturer and a researcher specializing in classical, folk and popular performing arts of Asia, focusing on Korea and its Diasporas. In 2012, she conducted research on *Pansori* titled, *Performing Pansori music drama: stage, story and sound*. The aim of the study was to examine the changes in three key features of *Pansori*, stage, story and sound through the 18th to 21st centuries. The methodology of the study combines historical research and interviews. The study clearly draws on historic literature to identify sound, stage and story as the key

features defining *Pansori*. The study also clearly documents the changes in the three features of *Pansori* from the original *Pansori* in the 18th century to the modern *Pansori* in the 21st century. However, the study does not examine the cultural impact of *Pansori*. The study is a good source to provide historical understanding of *Pansori* while I supplement the cultural context for *Pansori*.

Yoon-Hee Chang is a lecturer at Chugye University for the Arts, and a researcher with the Asian Music Research Centre at Seoul National. She published, *Pansori, its globalization, and cultural hybridity in contemporary Korean Traditional Music* in 2015. The aim of the study was to explore *Pansori* and its transformation and transmission in the era of globalization. The study adopted an ethnographic research method. The study observes young *Pansori* performers and innovative *Pansori* music groups such as Yi Ja-ram, Kim Bong-yeong, Taru, and Singugagdan Sorea, who aim to globalize *Pansori*. The study clearly indicates that new forms of music can still preserve *Pansori*. Although the new *Pansori* has shortened performance time, different stage setting (theatres and auditorium), and reduced audience participation, performers still use traditional stage names, attire and stories (political satire, and dreams and pains of the upper class), which are similar to those of the original *Pansori*. However, the article does not examine whether the changes in the new *Pansori* are the result of social changes or economic reasons. The study is a good source to provide an ethnographic understanding of the new *Pansori* and an insight into means to preserve *Pansori*.

Sheen Dae-Cheol, a *Pansori* researcher affiliated to the Academy of Korean Studies in Korea, wrote a research article titled, “Korean music in the 19th century”, in 2009. The study’s methodology was archival research. The research draws on primary sources held in archives such as manuscripts, documents, objects, sound and audio-visual materials to document and illustrate

the key changes to *Pansori* in the 19th century. The study finds that the opening up of Korea to western concepts of performing arts through military Bands and protestant church music in the curriculum began in the 19th century. However, the study did not examine the actual impact of western concepts of performing arts on *Pansori*. The study also examines three types of Korean traditional music: literati music, *Pansori* and sanjo. It did not go into sufficient detail on changes in *Pansori* in the 19th century. The study is a good source to provide an understanding of the introduction of westernized music concepts into Korea while I supplement with their impact on *Pansori*.

Jan Creutzenberg, a *Pansori* researcher affiliated to Freie University in Berlin Germany, wrote a research article on *Pansori* titled, “Creating communities: preservation, promotion and revival of tradition in Pansori performance”, in 2010. The study aimed to explore the changing role of tradition and community in different forms of concurrent *Pansori* practice in modern-day Korea. The study’s methodology combined historical research and performance analysis of new *Pansori*. The study indicates the current efforts by performers and the Korean Government (through the Cultural Property Preservation Law of 1962) to preserve *Pansori* have created three forms of *Pansori*: orthodox, touristic and experimental *Pansori*. Each of these three forms of *Pansori* has its own advantages and disadvantages in preserving and promoting *Pansori* to both local and international audiences. However, the study did not examine the role of education and the audience in influencing the formation of these three forms of *Pansori*. Audience participation is an integral part of *Pansori*. This study is a good source to provide an insight into the inadequacies of the current efforts by government and performers to preserve and to promote *Pansori*.

Jeong-Ha Kim, a student of Korean traditional performing arts, wrote a thesis titled, *Korean primary school music education during Japanese colonial rule (1910-1945)*, in 2013. The aim of the study was to examine the impact of the primary school music education during the Japanese colonial rule on Korean traditional performing arts. The study's methodology combined historical research on music textbooks and education policy documents and interviews with elderly Koreans who attended primary schools during the colonial era. The study clearly identifies and outlines four educational policies between 1911 and 1943 enacted by the Japanese colonial masters had a significant impact on the decline of Korean traditional performing arts, especially *Pansori*. However, the study did not examine the influence of Japanese westernized music concepts on Korea traditional performing arts. The study is a good source to provide an understanding on the influence of the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea on *Pansori*.

Doobo Shim, a *Pansori* researcher affiliated to the National University of Singapore wrote a journal article titled, "Hybridity and the rise of Korean popular culture in Asia", in 2005. The aim of the study was to explore the contemporary Korean popular culture and its effect on Korean traditional performing arts. The study adopts an ethnographic research method. The research methodology combines historical research and performance analysis of Korean popular (K-pop) music and artists, and films. The study clear indicates themes from Korean traditional performing arts such as *Pansori* still form the content of some of today's successful Korean films. Exporting these films to neighbouring countries such as Vietnam contributes to improving foreign relations between Korea and Vietnam. However, the study does not look into the effect of western culture on the new *Pansori*. This study is a good source to provide an understanding of the importance of *Pansori* to Korea and the modern-day Korean society.

Yon-Ho Suh, a *Pansori* researcher, wrote an article titled, “The revolutionary operas and plays in North Korea”, in 1991. The study aimed to explore the development of *Pansori* in the 18th century through to the 20th century. The study methodology utilized historical research. The study finds the Confucian culture was prejudiced against trade, thereby preventing Korean communities from accumulating wealth to form a class of prosperous merchants. In China and Japan, merchants were the main audience and drivers behind performances in theatres. Japanese colonization of Korea opened up Korea to foreign cultures and markets influencing the growth of mercantile economy and the emergence of theaters. Theaters were associated with the development of dramatic art forms and passive audience consumption of art forms. However, the study does not look into the effect of the Japanese colonial education on *Pansori*. This study was a good source to provide an understanding of the influence of Japan colonization of Korea on *Pansori* through liberalization of foreign trade.

Je-Ho Yoo, a *Pansori* performer, examined the means of globalizing *Pansori* in a research article titled, “Local characteristics of *Pansori* and means of its globalization: focusing on linguistic and cultural communicability”, in 2007. The study aimed to determine whether translation of the five specialized fields of *Pansori* into foreign language could be a means to promote and globalize *Pansori*. The study methodology was a comparison of the author’s own performances of *Pansori* in Korean original version and in translated French version. The study indicates that translation attracts foreign audiences and creates an international awareness of *Pansori* but loses the original musical, poetic, and narrative contents of *Pansori*. However, the study did not examine the effect of translation in English, which has a larger audience compared to French. This is a good source to provide an understanding into the means to promote and to globalize *Pansori*.

1.4 Importance of the Study

Pansori is an important “Intangible Cultural Heritage” of the Korean people. However, its use and performance has been declining in recent decades. Part of the reason underlining the decline is the lack of knowledge on the importance of *Pansori* to the contemporary Korean people. The findings of this study will be significant to the Korean People and to the performers of *Pansori*. This study seeks to document the important role *Pansori* played to Korean people and its usefulness to the present and future generations of Koreans. This documentation of *Pansori* aims to provide a comprehensive source of information for the contemporary Korean person. This is important since globalization has influenced the decline of most traditional cultures. Art is an important cultural element, such that, its documentation provides comprehensive information to understand the traditional consumption and impact of *Pansori* on the Korean people. Preservation of *Pansori* will only be achieved if the people of Korea understand the cultural importance of *Pansori*.

This study is important to create an awareness and deep understanding of the socio-economic importance of *Pansori* to encourage and promote its preservation. Culture is the new fuel that drives the creative and artistic industries, with the potential of wealth creation and income generation (Bangkok 3). As an “Intangible Cultural Heritage” of the Korean people, *Pansori* has the potential to improve the socio-economic conditions of *Pansori* performers, teachers and students of *Pansori*. *Pansori* also has the potential to earn the country foreign exchange and to improve earnings from tourism. Creating an understanding of the economic importance of *Pansori* aims to encourage the common Korean citizen and create the desire to assist in the preservation of *Pansori*.

This study is also important since it promotes and encourages the preservation of *Pansori*. The findings create a deep awareness about the existing and emergent threats to *Pansori*. By drawing on existing literature and expert opinions, this study documents the factors that influence the decline of *Pansori* to contribute to the current policy debate on potential but effective interventions to preserve and to promote *Pansori*. The modern styles of music are a significant threat to *Pansori* since most modern players try to assimilate the modern styles into *Pansori*, which transforms *Pansori* into a form of entertainment at the expense of the role of educating audiences on moral lessons. The study also illustrates the importance of *Pansori* in promoting and growing the tourism industry. This is achieved by highlighting *Pansori* as an “Intangible Cultural Heritage”, and creating awareness and encouraging local and foreign consumers of traditional art to participate in *Pansori* performances (Chon-hung 51-55).

This study is also important in promoting cultural cohesion of the Korean people. Korea has a diverse set of cultural beliefs and practices. Most Korean people still believe and practice their traditions and culture. Whereas many Korean communities share some common cultural beliefs, each community has beliefs or traditions that distinguish them from the other cultures. In these diverse Korean cultures, *Pansori* integrates various cultural beliefs and practices in one performance. Thus, by creating awareness of *Pansori* and encouraging its preservation, this study promotes cultural integration by bringing members from various cultures – Korean and international – as audiences in a *Pansori* performance. A multi-cultural audience entertained by a *Pansori* performance integrates practices from different cultures thereby increasing tolerance of other cultures as well as providing the opportunity for members of different cultures to interact (Kuh Ja-Kyoung 37). Songs and dances were the dominant traditional forms of entertainment and education of the Korean people. The significance of music varied from one culture or

religion to another. Songs were either sacred songs sung during special occasions or folk songs sung during cultural events such as initiation to pass moral lessons. A *Pansori* performance achieves both purposes because it integrates these forms to entertain and educates the audiences (Kuh Ja-Kyoung 41).

1.5 Statement of Methodology

This thesis is a product of 24 months of research on *Pansori* performance. The research methodology combines historical research, the researcher's own experience learning and performing *Pansori*, and interviews with *Pansori* singers and scholars. The historical research consisted of discovering and appraising existing studies on *Pansori*. The aim of this historical research was to explore the early forms of *Pansori*, its key distinguishing features and its importance to traditional Korean culture and efforts to preserve and promote *Pansori*. The historical research aimed to understand the original *Pansori*, its early forms, its development and transmission, and importance to traditional Korean society. The researcher's own experience involved registering for, and taking part in, a *Gugak(Kuk-ak)* class. The *Gugak(Kuk-ak)* class offered me the opportunity to learn about the original *Pansori* performance, the requirements of a *Pansori* singer and the difference between the original and modern *Pansori*. The *Gugak(Kuk-ak)* class also showed me how singers could preserve and promote *Pansori* using newer styles and themes that are attractive to the modern-day *Pansori* audiences. Finally, interviews with *Pansori* singers and scholars aimed to achieve an ethnographically founded comparison between the original and modern *Pansori*. I also aimed, through interviews, to gather the perceptions of *Pansori* singers and researchers about the means to promote *Pansori* in this era of globalization.

Chapter 2: Why *Pansori* is Important to Korean Culture

This chapter draws from existing literature to discuss the importance of *Pansori* to traditional Korean culture. The discussion focuses on the historical role of *Pansori* rather than on the present role, which is covered in Chapter 4 “Why *Pansori* is Important to Preserve”. This chapter recognizes the persistence of *Pansori* over the centuries as a traditional performing art, which suggests the important role *Pansori* continues plays in the Korean culture. The discussion draws on Alan C. Heyman’s study on the psyche and unique character of Korean traditional dance. The study observed *Pansori* assists Korean people to understand their culture through communicating emotions, teaching moral lessons, and propagating cultural values from one generation to another (61-68).

2.1 *Pansori* Creates a Deeper Understanding of Emotions

Pansori plays an important role of educating the traditional Korean community about different emotions that they usually experience in their day-to-day life to make them appreciate and tolerate one another. *Pansori* performances teach audiences how to express and manage a wide range of emotions. In a typical traditional *Pansori* performance, the singer and drummer use a themed story to convey emotions such as anger, fear, sadness, joy, trust, disgust, love, surprise and anticipation. The specialized fields of *Pansori* – *Chunhyangga*, *Simcheongga*, and *Heungboga* teach about different emotions and lessons (Hyung 4).

Chunhyangga teaches about fidelity of a wife to her husband. Chunhyang was from a low-socio-economic background married to the son of a governor. Despite threats for her execution, she declined sexual advances from the new governor. Her husband, then a newly appointed governor inspector, returns to her rescue. The song teaches the importance of love and a woman’s chastity in uniting people from different social and economic levels. *Simcheongga*

teaches about filial love, piety and perseverance. *Simcheong* offered herself as a sacrifice to the King of the Sea to restore his father's sight but out of pity, the King of the Sea freed her and she meets and marries the King of her country. In a party she organized for blind people, she reunites with his father. Her deep filial love and piety makes her father regain his sight. The song teaches filial love and piety is important for the well-being of the family. *Heungboga* teaches about the perils of human greed. Heungbo's good deeds to a swallow with a broken leg reaps him fortune. His wicked brother also breaks a swallow's leg and shows good deeds but reaps trouble. From the song, people learn about the rewards of being pleasant and good-natured and the punishment of materialism and wickedness.

2.2 *Pansori* Teaches Moral Values

The hallmark of *Pansori* is the involvement of the audience. The audiences are not passive spectators as in western theatre or opera. They participate by shouting words of encouragement, which creates and builds a feeling of empathy between the singer and the audience. The feeling of empathy encourages and motivates the singer, and sets the mood that resonates well with the anticipation of the audience or public (Heyman 10). Moreover, active audience participation means that audience members are not only being entertained but also have a higher likelihood to receive and understand fully the moral lesson the singer is conveying. Indeed, all the five specialized fields of *Pansori* teach a moral lesson and these lessons are the main reason they are still popular to this day. *Chunhyangga* teaches women moral values are more important than falling to the traps of aristocratic men. *Simcheongga* teaches the moral lesson about self-sacrifice and salvation. *Heungboga* teaches the moral story that depicts the disadvantages of human greed and the culture of materialism. *Sugungga* teaches the moral story of wisdom and its importance during conflict resolution between the ruler and the ruled.

Jeokbyeokga teaches sincerity to friends, the importance of deeds that aim to improve the welfare of the entire community, as well as the pain normal people undergo in their day-to-day life (Hyung 4).

Pansori is able to teach several moral lessons because a typical performance contains more than one themed story. Each of the themed stories aims to teach the audience a specific moral lesson. As such, in any one *Pansori* performance, the audience learns more than one moral lesson using real, practical examples drawn from life. For instance, in the song *Chunhyangga*, the audience learns two moral lessons: the importance of love and woman's chastity in a relationship, and the dangers of promiscuous behaviors among the rich. The singer and the drummer have the responsibility of coming up with a theme for the performance that resonates well with the mood of the audience. Given the fact that *Pansori* also conveys different emotions among the audience, the performers are in a position to use this avenue to pass different moral lessons to their audience. Teaching of moral values through active participation of the audience as was done through *Pansori* should be emulated in the current passive teaching methods used to teach moral values in schools. They are not as effective as the active participation of the audience and teaching of moral lessons in a typical *Pansori* performance (Heyman 61-68).

2.3 *Pansori* Promotes the Preservation of Cultural Values

Although the use of the term *Pansori* began in the early 20th Century, it has been an iconic and a dominant form of Korean traditional performing arts since the 17th Century. The persistence of *Pansori* for more than 200 years provides the evidence that it has successfully passed from one generation to the next (Hyung 2). The trans-generational nature of *Pansori* strongly suggests it is both a salient feature of the Korean traditional performing arts and an important avenue for passing Korean cultural values from one generation to the next. Despite its

recent decline amidst the dominance of western cultures in the present era of globalization, concerted efforts by the governments and other key stakeholders such as *Pansori* performers, teachers and students to preserve and promote *Pansori* is a clear indication of its importance as a cultural heritage for the Korean people. By involving famous and upcoming singers from different generational brackets while at the same time focusing on the varying needs and preferences of the different generations, *Pansori* transfers the knowledge and expertise of one generation to the next. As such, *Pansori* plays a key role, both in the past and in the present, to ensure both the preservation and promotion of the culture and cultural values of the Korean people from one generation to the next (King 36-55).

According to Kim Myosin, who reviewed Korean folk music and its engagement in the 20th century and beyond, *Pansori* does not only preserve cultural values of the Korean people but also promotes and revives the traditions of the Korean community (306). Rapid urbanization and modernization has had the significant effect of eroding the culture and cultural values of many traditional societies within the Korean community. The present efforts by the government, teachers and performers of *Pansori* to preserve the art form recognize the important role *Pansori* plays in preserving and promoting cultural values of the Korean community. The teaching of *Pansori* has emerged as an important way to preserve, promote and revive the traditions and cultural values of the Korean community. However, teaching and performing *Pansori* requires targeting the contemporary audiences to create the awareness and the importance of *Pansori* to achieve the government's efforts of preserving and globalizing the Korean culture through performing arts.

2.4 *Pansori* Promotes Community Cohesion

A cultural heritage is a symbol of the history, the tradition and qualities that a community has had for many years. It forms an important and integral part of the character of that community. For the Korean people, *Pansori* represents an artistic cultural performance, which provides the foundation through which different Korean communities come together and share their rich culture. It plays a vital role in bringing together people from different Korean communities or religious affiliations. Indeed, during the era of prosperity in the 19th Century, *Pansori* brought together people from the all socio-economic levels in the Korean community (Suhr 29). During the period of prosperity, mastersingers, with support from the audience, founded the twelve specialized fields outlined in the introductory chapter. The twelve specialized fields, with their wide socio-economic appeal, expanded the audience provided the platform for social integration.

As an integration of various traditional musical and performing arts from diverse communities and regions, *Pansori* it is able to bring members of different communities and classes together and make them appreciate and tolerate their differences (Suhr 29). The earliest form of *Pansori* was *uhui*, an impromptu play performed by street entertainers before developing into an independent performing art. At that time, the main *Pansori* audience were common people, who had little opportunities to meet or socialize with the *yangban* (high-class). In 1754, Yu Jinhan recorded a *Pansori* performance as a *yangban*, which attracted the high class into the audience. From that point onwards, *Pansori* provided an opportunity for the members of the low and high class to meet and interact. It created an awareness of the likes and preferences of members of the low and high class. The awareness increased appreciation and promoted tolerance towards the behaviors of both classes (Suhr 1-20).

In promoting community cohesion and unity, *Pansori* also played a significant role in galvanizing the Korean community into fighting against the Japanese colonial occupation in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The *Pansori* song, *Yeolsaga* (Song of a Patriot) written in the 1930s expressed a strong desire for independence and for the establishment of Korean sovereignty. The Song of a Patriot was different from the earlier forms of *Pansori*, which had different aesthetic values depending on the social class of the audience. It brought together the aesthetic values found in the *Pansori* for the nobles and for the common class, and communicated the urgency to fight as a community to improve the chances of achieving independence. In the later versions, the song identified a hero who was important for the community members to look up upon or to emulate the courage and resilience in fighting the Japanese (Hyung 19).

2.5 *Pansori* is a Form of Entertainment

Whereas *Pansori* provides the platform to teach moral lessons and to pass knowledge from generation to generation, it is fundamentally a form of entertainment in the Korean traditional setting. In its early forms, *Pansori* provided entertainment to audiences from different cultural and religious backgrounds. It is entertaining because it integrates the traditional folk tales (story telling) and musical sounds to appeal to audiences that loved either stories or musical rhythms. Dancing, gestures and drumbeats also entertained the audiences. To ensure a *Pansori* performance is entertaining, the singer and the drummer go through a comprehensive preparation and perfection of their art. Proper preparation requires years of training of the vocal cords. For mastersingers, training includes practicing under a waterfall to train their vocal cords to produce sounds that penetrate the noise of the waterfall (Hyung 53). Proper preparation is essential to ensure they give their best and most passionate performance. During performance, both the

singer and the drummer pay attention to audience involvement. The kind of words the audiences shout in response to the performance guides the singer and the drummer to improvise and ensure the audience remains entertained and educated. Indeed, it is the support of the audience that elevates *Pansori* singers and their performances to greater heights. Most of the famous *Pansori* performers had overwhelming support from the audience, such that their versions became a *deoneum*, modifications or new additions to an original traditional *Pansori* that are transmitted from one singer to another (Haekyung 3).

As form of entertainment, *Pansori* has undergone several developments to remain relevant to the changing entertainment needs of the audience. In the earliest form, *Pansori* was performed outdoors, in the market places. The main content was *jaedam* (humor) presented in the form of vulgar talk, slander and parody made for the common person. With the expansion of the audience to include the *yangban* (high class), satirical content was developed and *Pansori* performance moved indoors. With an increase in high-class audience, the transmission of humorous content declined because it did not fit the entertainment needs of the upper classes. With increasing competition from Western theatre and opera, *Pansori* developed to include female performers to sing female parts and group performances each specializing on a particular part of the song. Group and female performances brought a diversity of talents and styles to improve the entertainment ability of *Pansori* (Hyung 7-8).

2.6 Chapter Summary

Pansori is important to traditional Korean culture in five main ways. First, *Pansori* creates a deeper understanding of emotions to increase appreciation and tolerance for one another. The teaching focuses on the family as a functional unity of society. It teaches the importance of love and filial piety to the wellbeing of the family. Second, *Pansori* teaches about

moral values, including lessons on the importance of woman's chastity, perseverance and self-sacrifice to the wellbeing of the society, and the dangers of vices such as human greed and the culture of materialism, and many others. Third, *Pansori* is a channel of transmission of Korean cultural values from one generation to the next. Fourth, *Pansori* promotes community cohesion. It brings together people from different Korean communities, religion affiliations and socio-economic classes. It also played a role in galvanizing the Korean community against Japanese colonial occupation. Fifth, *Pansori* is a form of entertainment. It uses humor and satire to entertain audiences from both high and low socio-economic classes. The next chapter examines the reasons why *Pansori* has become less popular.

Chapter 3: Why *Pansori* has become Less Popular

Today, the number of *Pansori* performances and singers in Korea show a sharp decline from the numbers in the 19th century. The decline is evident in the significant reduction of popularity of *Pansori*, both in the size of audiences and the numbers of student performers interested in learning *Pansori*. Two of the fundamental reasons for the reduced popularity are: (1) the inadequacies of the methods the Korean government has taken to preserve *Pansori*, and (2) the introduction of western (English) performing arts genres such as opera and pop music.

3.1 Inadequacies of Governmental Methods to Preserve *Pansori*

The Korean Cultural Property Protection Law (KCPP) of 1962 designated *Pansori* as an important intangible cultural artifact and a symbol of the national culture of the Korean people (Yang 89). The Korean government uses the KCPP law to preserve and to promote *Pansori* as a living national treasure in both national and international spheres. Although the KCCP law has good intentions, some *Pansori* performers and scholars are critical of whether the law has really achieved the intended objectives. The objectives of the KCCP law were to preserve *Pansori* as a Korean cultural heritage and to give legitimate mandate to the government as the keeper of the tradition of *Pansori*. Performers and scholars have criticized government efforts to preserve *Pansori* by focusing on the original form at the expense of changes in the modern traditional and cultural practices of the Korean people. The cultural law also does not promote or encourage creativity and flexibility within performances, which was a primary component in the early forms of *Pansori*. In the early forms, singers had the flexibility to be creative. This led to the development of *Pansori* through *deoneum*, where a singer modifies an original *Pansori* to come up with a new song (Hyung 49). The KCCP law places a greater emphasizes on, and even

adherence to, “photo-singing” to replicate the early form of *Pansori* performance. Simple replication of original *Pansori* pieces undermines the creativity of singers to modify and to develop newer forms of *Pansori* to enable them to appeal to modern-day Koreans. Whereas the KCCP law emphasizes the preservation of *Pansori*, the Korean government promotes *Pansori* through three types of *Pansori* performances: orthodox *Pansori*, touristic *Pansori*, and experimental *Pansori*.

3.1.1 Orthodox *Pansori*

The term “orthodox *Pansori*” refers to *Pansori* performances that take place in well-established venues, mostly on classical theatre stages. A piece from the five specialized fields of *Pansori* is performed in full-length by a high-ranking *Pansori* singer. Orthodox *Pansori* re-invents a pre-modern cultural performance as an autonomous work of art. Orthodox *Pansori* is staged as “high art” in the western sense through the setting – an elevated stage raising the singer above the audience – and a full-length performance indicating unity of the piece. Orthodox *Pansori* is a part of the Korean Government’s cultural policy to preserve *Pansori* through re-enacting, re-inventing or re-living the aura and the feelings of the original *Pansori* performances of the 18th and 19th centuries through classical theatres and full-length performances of one of the established specialized fields of *Pansori*. The venues of the performances (*pan*) are well-established theatre stages situated to present the ancient feelings of court and marketplace performances venues. However, these theatrical stages place the performers above the audiences creating the perception that the performers are more important than the audience is. This was not the case in the early forms of *Pansori*, where both performers and audience were of equal importance. Traditionally, the audience sat around singers during a *Pansori* performance (Creutzenberg 4).

Chan Park contends that orthodox *Pansori* preserves traditions of *Pansori* but it decontextualizes the performance from the contemporary Korean community and modern-day cultural practices (107). As a symbol of national culture, the orthodox *Pansori* performances should not only promote a national agenda, but Korean people should appreciate, participate in and feel a sense of belonging with *Pansori*. The performances should also have a communal feeling. Attending the Wanchang Series, Jan Creutzenberg observed that orthodox *Pansori* performance includes little participation of the local community (5-6). The audiences are aficionados of *Pansori*, who consist of *Pansori* singers, students of *Pansori* and serious members, who know and cherish the original form of *Pansori*.

Chan Park also argues the orthodox *Pansori* alienates the local community through the conduct of performers and audience participation (107-108). The performances begin with long lectures of *Pansori* on the need for its continuity and its cultural importance. Most members of the local community find these lectures boring, and more appropriate for students of *Pansori*. Audience participation is implied or practiced. The shouts of encouragement and appreciation (*chuimsae*) from audience are loud and precise, strongly suggesting audience participation is not spontaneous, as in the early *Pansori* performances, but rather rehearsed and performed. The lectures tell the audience what to do and, usually, add their own voices to the rhythm in unison. Although their uniform shouts of *chuimsae* evoke nostalgic feelings of the centuries gone by, to the local community in attendance it provides a sense of alienation because of the lack of knowledge to promote spontaneous participation in the performance. There is need to educate members of modern day Korea about *chuimsae*. The early form of *Pansori* performances had an openness for audience to give feedback and to participate through *chuimsae*. In the orthodox

Pansori, the atmosphere and opportunity for audience participation depends on the attending audience of experts.

According to Yeonok Jang, a *Pansori* researcher, the reluctance of the local Korean communities to attend the modern-day *Pansori* performances is the widening gap between the convention of *Pansori* and the entertainment needs of today's Korean people (108). Further, the introduction of modern and more familiar forms of art such as cinema draws larger crowds because they appeal better to the local Korean communities. The local communities have nothing to learn from the orthodox *Pansori* performance and little to relate to their everyday lives. In addition, audience behaviors are changing, based on western cultures and the convention of appreciating cultural performances in silence rather than through active participation as expected in a *Pansori* performance (Jang 108).

3.1.2 Touristic *Pansori*

Touristic *Pansori* refers to renown *Pansori* singers performing short acts of the original *Pansori* performance alongside other genres, such as religious music. The various short acts are often barely related, such as in the case of combining court music or religious dances with *Pansori*. The main audience are international tourists and tourists from other parts of Korea. The aim is to make *Pansori* accessible to the general audience who are not acquainted with its conventions or its importance to Korean people (Park 235).

The effort of touristic *Pansori* to appeal to its audience requires some modifications to the original form of *Pansori*. The modifications have made *Pansori* lose part of its original aims – to teach moral lessons. The first modification is the performance venues. The performance usually takes place at popular sightseeing hotspots such as Changdeokgung and Gyeongbokgung both of are places in Seoul, locations where tourists frequent. While these sightseeing spots

evoke informal performance venues of the earlier days such as recreated folk villages or ancient palaces, they also distract audience attention from the performance. The audience is reduced to silent spectators who watch passively and only applaud after the performance. The performance also involves several singers performing in turns, rather than one master singer. This choice reduces the performance time from the traditional three to eight hours of a single *Pansori* performance to a mere ten to fifteen minutes. The reduced time means the singer can pass fewer moral messages to the audience. There is also a loss of emotional attachment found in longer performances. Furthermore, the short performances are usually not related to each other, making it difficult for the audience to understand the moral lesson being conveyed. Since the main audience is tourists, the teachings and lessons of touristic *Pansori* are detached from the everyday life of the Korean people. As such, the performances do not reflect or influence their day-to-day activities or influence the audience to be ambassadors who will advocate for its preservation.

3.1.3 Experimental *Pansori*

In contrast to orthodox and touristic *Pansori*, which depend on existing structures of *Pansori* including venues and renowned performers, experimental *Pansori* is low-key performance by young singers, often those still in training. Instead of performing the original five pieces of *Pansori*, experimental *Pansori* attempts to create a new form that speaks about the modern way of life. The aim is to respond to contemporary Korean society.

In a PhD thesis about the preservation, promotion and revival of tradition in *Pansori* performance, Jan Creutzenberg criticizes the role of experimental *Pansori* in preserving *Pansori* as a common unifying cultural heritage. This experimental approach relies on young singers in their twenties and thirties, rather than master singers. Most of them are still undergoing *Pansori*

training. The focus is on communal aspects of *Pansori*, talking about the modern day challenges and tribulations of Korean society. This is designed to increase their appeal to everyday people. The role of the government is to support and facilitate young experimental *Pansori* singers or groups of singers through donations or official recognition. One of the groups of upcoming *Pansori* singers and their supporters is the National League of *Ttorang Gwangdae*. The purpose of their experimental *Pansori* is to assist the government and stakeholders efforts in regaining the spirit and life of the original *Pansori*. They argue that *Pansori* was a living art, which used to speak for the local Korean community, but is now detached from the lives of many Koreans. Their aim is to revive this purpose of *Pansori*, to use the art form to speak about the modern times and way of life and have an influence on contemporary Korean culture (Creutzenberg 7-9).

Experimental *Pansori* is distinct from the orthodox and touristic *Pansori* because of the use of new modern day stories such as sports, as seen in the *Woldeukeop Itallia-jeon* (“2002 World Cup Italy Story”) by Yoo Su-gong. The use of these stories targets contemporary Korean youth. The stories are relevant because they use everyday language, relevant updated puns, pop culture references and a wide range of socio-economic themes. However, the use of new stories relating to a modern way of life departs from the original conventions of *Pansori*. The foundation of experimental *Pansori* is not in a common shared cultural heritage but on audience understanding of the new stories and renewing interest in *Pansori*.

Two common titles of experimental *Pansori* are *Jwiwang-ui Mollakgi* (“The Fall of the Mouse King”) by Choe Yong-seok and the aforementioned *Woldeukeop Itallia-jeon*. *Jwiwang-ui Mollakgi* is a *Pansori* song that chronicles the career of President Lee Myung-bak beginning in his time as a Mayor of Seoul. The song uses personified animals, including a mouse to represent Lee. A mouse has been a satirical image of President Lee in political caricatures. Many Korean

youths know about such political caricatures and are better to understand the themes of the *Pansori* song. *Woldeukeop Itallia-jeon*, on the other hand, is a *Pansori* song that re-tells the story of the quarterfinal match between South Korea and Italy during the 2002 World Cup. Many Korean youths believed a win for Korea was important to improve sports in general. They actively participate in the song with shouts of “*Daehan Minguk! Daehan Minguk!*” (“Republic of Korea!”) when Koreans scored.

Although experimental *Pansori* promotes *Pansori* as a living art, as its stories are relevant to modern Korean society, to some extent it does not assist to preserve *Pansori*. The performers can be one or more, and their performance is more comic, reflecting performance practice of western culture, popularized by western television. Furthermore, experimental performance takes place outside of the art world, meaning the performance sometimes lack serious artistic value. The performance of experimental *Pansori* also lacks the artistic vocal performance of orthodox *Pansori*, such that, while it attracts newer youthful audience, it does not promote *Pansori* in the art world, or as a cultural heritage as proposed by the government (Creutzenberg 8-10).

3.2 Introduction and Influence of Western Music

No single factor has had a more profound effect on the popularity of *Pansori* today than the introduction and the growing popularity of western performing arts and music (Sheen Dae-cheol 1-2). The introduction of western music had a greater impact and influence on Korea musical culture, especially *Pansori*, than any other foreign music and performing arts introduced in Korea. Western music is distinct and different from all the existing traditional forms of Korean music. The process of introducing western performing arts in Korea began in the late 19th century. Jeong Du-won was the first to introduce theoretical concepts of western music to Korea in 1632. He drew his knowledge and theory of western music from the teachings of Catholic

priests in China. However, the influence of western music on *Pansori* and other traditional Korean musical genres in the 19th century begun in 1882 when Lee Eun-Dol, the first Korean who had studied western music in staff sergeant school of Japanese Army, began teaching bugle bands at army bases in Seoul. Another influence was the introduction of religious music, especially the protestant hymns, by Seo Sang-Yun in 1884.

3.2.1 Military Band Music

Sheen Dae-Cheol states that the introduction of western style military band music in Korea in the late 19th Century was the beginning of the influence of western culture on Korean traditional performing arts (11-12). In 1881, Lee Eun-Dol was the first Korean to study Western music. He enlisted in the Japanese Army training school where he studied the bugle. He returned to Korea in 1882 and began teaching military drill and bugle at a newly established western-style army base. Several other army bases, including the stationary troops of the Qing Dynasty, formed bugle bands. Later in 1883, a military band of German Navy officers performed some western music to commemorate the friendship treaty between Korea and Germany in Seoul.

In early 1900s, the Korean minister Min Yeong-Hwan attended a coronation ceremony of Nikolai the first in Russia. The western style military band performance delighted him. Upon return to Korea, he proposed to the Korean Emperor Gojong to establish a western style military band. Gojong accepted the proposal and passed a law to establish two western-style military bands (the Royal Body Guards and Cavalry of Royal Body Guards) that played bugle and western musical tunes. The emperor then invited F. Eckert, a renowned German musician, to train the Korean military band to play western music tunes (Chang, 189-192). Eckert performed in several concerts for Korean courts and government including a birth celebration of the Emperor Gojong. Army bugle bands continued to play more bugle and western musical tunes in

many social events of Korean court or government and solacing citizens. The more the bands played bugle tunes, the more they contributed to the spread of western music in Korea in the early 20th century. However, Korean citizens considered bugle tunes military music by the requirement of the ruling class (such as the Emperor). It lacked vocal appeal of the *Pansori* and this is the reason bugle tunes did not spread to lower class Korean citizens.

3.2.2 Christian Protestant Church Music

Another major inroad of Western music into Korea was the spread of Christianity in the late 19th century. Korean people who became Christians sang hymns in most religious occasions. Seo Sang Yun first performed the protestant hymn, “Jesus Loves Me, This I Know” in Korea in 1884 and made efforts to popularize it. During the 1880s, H. G. Underwood, a missionary of the Methodist Church began to teach hymns to converted Christians in churches. The church also influenced the development of western music education in school curriculum. Protestant hymns were included in the music education as *Changga*, a traditional form of Japanese music. Music teachers at Protestant-run private schools also taught Christian hymns and choruses to students. In 1892, the first hymn book of the Methodist Church, which had 27 different songs, was published in Korea. The teaching and the publication of the Methodist Church hymns introduced functional harmony that continually influenced Korean traditional music (Dae-Cheol 12-14).

Protestant hymns continued to spread into Korea between 1895 and 1908. During this period, more western churches came to Korea – the Presbyterian, the Baptist and the Anglican Churches. These churches published twelve more hymn books in Korea. These twelve books were re-printed to match the increase of Christianity and Western church music. In the first half of the 20th century, the church was the most powerful institution in the spread of western music and therefore the greatest influence of western music on *Pansori* and other traditional forms of

Korean music. Some of the hymns contained secular words, which evolved into secular *Changga*. However, hymns contributed to the spread of western music through the church and education, which had a significant impact on Korean traditional music compared to the influence of military band music, which was restricted to government and court functions and ceremonies (Dae-Cheol 14-16).

3.2.3 Japanese Colonial Occupation (1910-1945)

The 500-year rule of the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) was founded on Confucian philosophy and principles, which promoted and encouraged cultural stability in Korea. However, the Japanese colonial occupation in Korea between 1910 and 1945 had major ramifications on the Korean society and cultural practices. Ki-Ryun Sung argues that the influence of western music on *Pansori* began with the Japanese reign in Korea between 1910 and 1945. The Japanese colonial masters opened Korea to foreign performing arts especially *sinpa-geuk* (western-style performing arts) and Japanese traditional music such as *changga* (Japanese traditional music genre) and *ppongjjak* (translations of Western or Japanese popular songs). During the Protectorate Period (1905-1910), Imperial Japan restricted Korean traditional performances, especially *Pansori*, by levying taxes on theaters where Korean traditional performances were held. After Annexation in 1910, the Japanese colonial masters prohibited *Pansori* performances. They claimed *Pansori* was tainted, and evoked immoral sentiments. This period also marked the era of declination of the *Pansori*.

The introduction of westernized Japanese education system, especially westernized music, also influenced the decline of *Pansori*. Most students of music and the westernized Japanese education curriculum were educated to believe western music was more valuable than Korean cultural music. Westernized Japanese education gradually and systematically eroded the cultural

identity of the Korean people. The missionaries were the first to introduce a western music curriculum in Korea. However, during the Japanese colonial occupation, the entire curriculum was westernized. The Japanese forcefully and suddenly introduced western music in Korean schools at the expense of Korean traditional music. The changes to musical education in Korea made by Japanese colonial occupiers persists to the modern music education curricula. The impact of the loss of cultural identity towards traditional Korean music is evident in the modern Korean youth (Kim 2). This is especially true since Koreans regard formal schools as critical and effective institutions for learning and transmitting knowledge and culture from one generation to another, as well as developing the ability to become a productive member of the society. In this regard, the Japanese use of formal school to introduce westernized ideals were learnt and transmitted to the present generation of Koreans. They therefore have no specifically Korean cultural identity in respect to music (Shim 35).

The Japanese influence and subsequent radical changes made to the Korean educational and music curriculum began with the signing of the Protectorate Treaty between Japan and Korea in 1905 and the establishment of the Japanese Residency General in Korea in 1906. Prior to the Japanese colonization, the Joseon Dynasty had no formal music educational institutions because they believed music did not have a significant effect on empowering locals economically. *Jangaag*, the Music Management Bureau, was the only official institution mandated to teach music and dance. The *Jangaag* was the official body that oversaw the preservation of cultural music through the 500-year period of the Joseon Dynasty in Korea. Following Japan's increasing influence on Korea and the signing of the Japan/Korea Protectorate Treaty, teaching activities of the *Jangaag* significantly reduced the number of students learning music from 772 to 57 between 1879 and 1915. In the same period, Korean cultural music, *Aak*

and *Jeongak*, became virtually extinct. The Japanese increased support for the *Leewanggik* (new name for *Jangaag*) but with strict conditions that its musicians performed the Japanese national anthem on radio broadcasts and at Japanese military hospitals and in the celebration of Japanese Foundation Day (Song 7-9).

The Japanese, in conjunction with the Korean Education Department, introduced formal music education in schools in 1906. Some of the changes to the curriculum were so radical, especially the recognition of Japanese as the national language and Korean as a second language. All music-related teaching resources ranging from textbooks to curricula were borrowed from Japanese curricula. Songs and melodies used in the official music textbooks were also composed by Japanese musicians or borrowed from western concepts. For example, Japanese-style musical components such as duple/quadruple and syncopated rhythm were added to the musical curriculum. The songs and melodies were new to Koreans and appealed to a Korean audience. The Japanese Residency General, who controlled and monitored education and curriculum, purposefully designed the programs to promote westernized Japanese culture at the detriment of Korean traditional music principles. Japan's Governor General in Korea intended that the changes would transform Koreans into Japanese citizens by eroding all cultural identities of the Koreans, particularly music and language. For instance, teaching of Japanese language took 38% of weekly teaching hours compared to 21% of Korean and Chinese languages. Teaching hours for Korean traditional music lessons took only 3 hours each week compared to 12 hours Japanese music (Song 9-10).

Despite forceful changes in the standard music curriculum to promote Japanese music and melodies, Koreans had two other types of private schools – patriotic schools funded by Korean citizens and Christian schools funded by foreign missionaries. These schools presented

an opportunity for Koreans to learn traditional Korean music and dance. However, in 1908, the Japanese Residency General passed the Private School Regulation Act to address the challenge posed by the private schools of creating patriotic Koreans instead of the colonial goal of championing Japanese cultural practices. The regulation included banning the receipt of financial assistance by schools from wealthy donors. This financially crippled many private schools. In addition, the regulation enforced the use of textbooks approved by the Japanese colonial masters, effectively denying Korean teachers a significant part of their teaching material. The result was a sharp decline of private schools from 3,000 in 1909 to 1,000 in 1912 and to 609 in 1919 (Son 12). Koreans had very little opportunity to learn traditional Korean music.

The Japanese colonial occupiers of Korea also used education policies to reduce the awareness, knowledge and transmission of Korean cultural music. The aim was to reduce the popularity of cultural music. This significantly contributed to the decline of *Pansori* during the era of declination in the early to mid-20th century. During the colonial era, Japanese passed education policies with varying degrees of impact on music education and curriculum. There are four major Japanese education policies: the first from 1910-1919, the second from 1922-1938, the third from 1938-1941, and the fourth from 1941-1945.

The First Education Policy of 1910 to 1919 did not recognize the importance of music in school. Music was not a compulsory subject and students could elect to attend music or gymnastic classes. There was only one official music book published for all school levels – *Changga*. *Changga* lacked proper academic definition but many government education officials regard it as a musical genre. It consisted of a variety of musical types – church music, lyrical music, marital arts music and school music. Originally, the word *Changga* referred to a genre of Korean music or literature but its application in music education had no mention or inclusion of

Korean cultural music. In fact, in music education, the word *Changga* had no connection to Korean cultural music or literature. Students were encouraged to read and practice the songs and tunes in the *Changga* book both at school and at home. The purpose was to cultivate Japanese culture in primary school children as well as to popularize the culture to the entire Korean population. The *Changga* book had 27 songs identical to the ones taught in Japanese schools. The songs communicated various lessons or promoted ethical values – encouraged students to study and forming good relationships with friends, teachers and parents. Of the 27 songs, 26 had westernized musical concepts such as beats and tones that Japan had borrowed from western countries. Today, students at churches and schools in Korea continue to sing seven of the 27 songs in the first *Changga* book (Tokita and Hughes 4).

The Second Education Policy of 1922 to 1938 was motivated with cultural interests. The policy directed that the aim of teaching *Changga* was to open children's minds and make them receptive to Japanese culture (90-91). According to this policy, *Changga* should be sung in unison and Japanese National Anthem should be part of music education. The Japanese National Anthem should also be sung at all special national ceremonies. Nine music books were published during this policy, one in the 1920s and eight in the 1930s. The nine books increased content on the westernized Japanese concept of music, lyrics and musical components. For example, the revised books contained 27 Japanese lyrics compared to only three Korean lyrics (Tokita and Hughes 5-7).

The Third Education Policy of 1938 to 1941 gave a greater emphasis to militaristic education. During this period, Japan's main intention was mobilizing the Korean people for the impending war between Japan and China (Seth 294). Music curricula and content changed drastically. Music was no longer about cultural values but preparing Korean children and people

for war. The Governor General and the Education Department had to approve all music textbooks. The approval intended to censor part of the textbooks or prohibited their use in schools altogether that contained Korean cultural values that would discourage Korean's from participating in the war. The censorship and ban on Korean cultural values, including performing arts, disrupted the teaching, learning and transmission of *Pansori* (Kim 108).

The Fourth Education Policy of 1941 to 1945 also had a strong military bearing. The revised music curriculum introduced and greatly emphasized listening skills. The need to develop listening skills was informed by the Japanese Navy. The aim was to develop listening skills of Koreans, not for participation in cultural music performances like *Pansori*, but to be able to distinguish Chinese from Japanese planes based on their engine sounds. All music books and lessons involved Japanese military might and praise to the Japanese Emperor. There was absolutely no content on Korean traditional music (Kim 108-110).

As these education policies demonstrate, the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea had a significant effect of reducing the popularity of *Pansori*. This effect persists to the present day. The Japanese colonial masters removed all references to Korean musical culture in music education and instead introduced Japanese culture, which had aspects of westernized music components. The colonial era effectively denied Koreans knowledge of their cultural identity through music. It also gave a greater emphasis to singing in unison while disregarding listening and audience participation skills. The latter skills are an integral part of *Pansori*. As such, the Japanese colonial masters effectively de-popularized *Pansori* in an entire generation of Koreans, which affected its transmission from one generation to the next. Today, most Koreans do not understand the meaning and importance of *Pansori* because all transmission channels –

education, *Pansori* master singers and ceremonies – were transformed as transmission channels for Japanese cultural music, melodies and performing arts.

3.2.4 Globalization

Since the second half of the 20th century, globalization has had a significant impact on Korean traditional performing arts. The impact is most noticeable in the decline of the popularity of *Pansori*. Globalization has achieved this impact because it has enhanced the pace with which the Korean culture has assimilated western-style musical concepts into its own traditional performing arts. In an article, “What is the “K” in k-pop south Korean popular music, the culture industry, and national identity,” John Lie indicates globalization has increasingly made Koreans aware of foreign culture, especially western culture (1-2). This awareness has influenced the assimilation of components of western culture into Korean music. The growth and the popularity of the contemporary Korean popular music (K-pop) attests to the growing influence of western culture in Korea in the 21st century. K-pop is an offshoot of American popular music. K-pop has serious ramifications for Korean socio-political and economic behaviors, as it emphasizes a culture of materialism. A greater number of Korean youths who engage in performing arts aim to earn income rather than to teach moral lessons or to unify communities, as was the case with the original *Pansori*.

In a related study on the effect of globalization on Korea performing arts, Myung-hee contends globalization has had a significant impact on *Pansori*. In the 1980s, music in Korea occupied a central role in driving communal activities and national development agendas. The government support of *Pansori* during this time allowed for annual performances in order to encourage Korean culture and to reduce the influx of foreign performances. However, the rapid growth of globalization in the early 21st century brought with it foreign musical concepts that

aligned well with the entertainment needs of the youthful Korean population. American commercialized mass music, spread through CDs and DVDs, gained popularity and became the most favored and widespread form of music in Korea as well as in the other parts of the globe.

This western influence on pop culture in Korea has contributed to the declining popularity of *Pansori*. In a study of the rise of K-pop in Asia, Doobo Shim defines popular culture as mass culture, which consists of image, the media consumer and mass consumption cultures (25). The pop culture in Korea is the result of globalization, transnationalism and migration. Whereas the Korean government makes effort to preserve, popularize and globalize *Pansori* as a unifying Korean national cultural heritage, the Korean popular cultural content is gaining immense popularity in Korea and in East and South East Asian Countries, effectively obscuring the efforts to preserve *Pansori*. Unlike *Pansori*, Korean popular culture uses modern and convenient transmission channels such as television dramas, movies, songs and media celebrities.

Doobo Shim goes on to write that in the 1990s, Korea had no pop music (25). Still, young Koreans preferred American music to local traditional music such as *Pansori* and *changgeuk*. Live *Pansori* concerts were few and had a small following, mainly comprised of older Koreans. At the time, the Korean Broadcasting Station was the main source of music for young people. The station controlled music consumption. It played American music and weekly top ten songs to increase awareness and appeal of American music. The 1988 lifting of the foreign travel ban in Korea increased the country's exposure to foreign music. A sharp rise in disposable incomes in the 1990s saw more Koreans purchase satellite dishes to access foreign programs. Koreans had a better grasp of the tunes and trends of foreign music. The demand for local music based on

western models began. Young people began to appropriate western music styles, concepts and trends into Korean local tunes, marking the beginning of Korean pop culture (Doobo 35-36).

In the mid-1990s, a regional television channel, Channel V, began airing Korean pop music videos. The channel got a huge following and fan-base. The boy band H.O.T had a particularly religious following, so much so that even after the band's collapse they continued selling thousands of CDs. In fact, Doobo Shim observes the rising popularity of pop music has usurped many traditional roles of *Pansori*, effectively reducing its demand among the youth (31). In the past, renowned *Pansori* performers were regarded as cultural icons and ambassadors. Today, Korean pop stars are cultural icons. For instance, in 2001, Ahn Jae-wook, a renowned pop icon, had a religious following and huge popularity. His fans copied his behavior: method of dressing, his cars and other fashionable qualities. In a "Meet Ahn Jae-wook camp" weekend in 2001 in Seoul, thousands of Korean youths came. They were willing to pay \$465 to attend the camp, which was above the monthly salary of an average Korean. Korean pop music and videos have had an impact on tourism. In 2003, over 130,000 tourists visited Korea to see the filming locations of various music and video popular television programs. The Korean pop culture has also improved Korea's foreign relations with neighboring Vietnam and Taiwan through exporting music with renowned Korean music and movie stars such as Lee Young-ae, Song Hae Gyo, Kim Hee Sun and Jeon Ji-hyun. These figures are regarded as national heroes in Vietnam, a country which has had diplomatic friction with Korea for decades. These examples demonstrate that the rising Korean pop culture promotes consumerism, image and mass consumption that are alien to *Pansori* and further pushes *Pansori* to the periphery of Korean entertainment (29).

3.3 Shorter Period of Learning *Pansori*

The final factor in the decline of *Pansori* is the shortened timeframe for learning the craft. In the traditional teaching methods, learning *Pansori* took several years. A traditional learning method, mountain study (*san gongbu*) was physically demanding, and involved sequestering oneself for 100 days on a mountain top or waterfall to practice vocal sounds. To become an accomplished *Pansori* singer, the practice of sequestering was repeated numerous times. This training was meant to develop physical resiliency for the three to eight hour *Pansori* performance. It was also meant to develop vocal competence in terms of distinguishing the five tones of *Pansori*, manipulate the six pitches of *Pansori* and sing by means of vocalization from the body (*deugeum*). It takes several years for one to achieve *deugeum*. Mountain study involved aspiring *Pansori* performers to learn in the serene and secluded mountain environment to develop listening and vocal skills for months or years. Today, the time to learn *Pansori* has been reduced to a few months in a classroom setting. This short period is inadequate to produce a professional *Pansori* performer competent in the production of variety of tonal or vocal performance. The reduced professionalism influences performance and the ability of the singer to modify the traditional pieces of *Pansori* or to read the mood of the audience or the happenings in the society to ensure the song is relevant in the modern context (Korean Republic 23).

Another factor affecting the learning and subsequently the popularity of *Pansori* is the audience. The “*gwi-myeongchang*” professional listeners or critics who traditionally formed part of the audience of a *Pansori* performance have largely disappeared. *Pansori* lovers such as students, singers, devotees and cultural tourists have replaced them. This new audience does not provide the criticism that the traditional *Pansori* masters used to receive, which informed corrective interventions to better their performance. The new audience also does not encourage

singers through *chimusae*; instead, they are passive listeners who do not encourage or provide the much-needed sounds to enhance the entertainment provided by *Pansori*. The original *Pansori* was an artistic art relying on vocal prowess of the singer. As such, singers required a degree of expert knowledge as well as constructive criticism from experts in the audience to promote and improve their performance (Suhr 31-32)

3.4 Chapter Summary

The numbers of *Pansori* singers and performances have declined from the numbers in the 19th century for three main reasons. The first reason is the inadequacies of government methods of preserving *Pansori*. The Korean government uses two methods to preserve *Pansori*: to preserve the original form of *Pansori* (orthodox *Pansori*) through the KCCP law and promoting a new form of *Pansori* (experimental *Pansori*) which assimilates concepts of western culture. Preserving the original form of *Pansori* stifles creativity since it emphasizes on re-creation of the original form of *Pansori* while the promoting a new form of *Pansori* does not promote the traditions of *Pansori*. The second reason is the introduction of western culture in Korea through military band music, Christian Protestant Music and Japanese colonial occupation of Korea. Concepts of western music assimilated into *Pansori* differ from its original conventions. The third reason is reduced period of learning, which has affected the quality and professionalism of *Pansori* performance.

Chapter 4: Why *Pansori* is Important to Preserve

This chapter discusses the importance of *Pansori* as a significant cultural heritage to the modern Korean and highlights the need to preserve and to promote *Pansori*. The chapter draws from the 2007 Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) study by John Gordon and Helen Beilby-Orrin to situate the importance of *Pansori* in modern Korea. The OECD study articulates the importance of culture to the economy and to the social welfare of a country and the world to underpin the need for its preservation. It also acknowledges the importance of rigorous quantitative economic measures such as the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) to assess a country's economic performance and to measure the level of wellbeing of its citizens. The OECD study also underscores the importance of culture, espousing it goes beyond the contribution of GDP to assess social and economic wellbeing of a nation.

The OECD study defines culture as, “what is learned as a child, and as children we learned from those around us a particular set of rules, beliefs, priorities and expectations that molded our world into a meaningful whole” (7). This chapter uses the OECD framework of measuring the importance of cultural heritage. The framework consists of eight important segments of culture: social, artistic, technological, scientific, political, religious, educational, and economic. However, of a greater importance and special interest in this chapter is the discussion of artistic culture because of the ability of art to reflect a society and its historical development. In addition, this reflection enables us to understand the past (history in museums) and the future (in science fiction) as well as the present (in documentaries) (Gordon and Beilby-Orrin 7). This reflective ability of artistic cultures contributes to the current Korean government policy on the preservation of intangible arts and cultural heritage as important in the social and economic wellbeing of Koreans. One of the most important cultural artifacts in Korea is *Pansori*. The

chapter discusses the economic, social and cultural importance of *Pansori* as an “Intangible Cultural Heritage”. I particularly focus on the importance of *Pansori* to Koreans in terms of economics, national unity, cultural inheritance, and to tourism and foreign relations.

4.1 Importance to Koreans

4.1.1 Economics

The OECD defines cultural industries as those producing tangible and intangible artistic and creative output with a potential for wealth creation and income generation through the exploitation of cultural assets to create either traditional or contemporary goods and services (Gordon and Beilby-Orrin 7). *Pansori* falls into this definition because, according to the Korean Cultural Property Protection (KCPP) Law of 1962, *Pansori* is an “Intangible Cultural Heritage” and a symbol of national culture of the Korean people (Yang 89). *Pansori* draws from Korean traditional music and folk tales, and currently, from western artistic forms.

The preservation of *Pansori* is important for the development of the Korean economy because it is a major source of livelihood for many Koreans. According to UNESCO Bangkok, artistic culture is a potential source of income for many because it does not discriminate against the illiterate (111). *Pansori*, as an art, does not require formal education for one to become prolific. All an individual requires is interest, patience and practice to learn *Pansori*. Many *sori* festivals held both at local and international venues are paid performances. Renowned *Pansori* singers, such as Isang Yun, earn income from invitations to perform or to lecture students of *Pansori* and other traditional Korean cultural forms. In addition, the Korean government’s policies and initiatives to promote and to preserve *Pansori* have influenced the development of an institutional framework for teaching *Pansori* in educational institutions.

In 2013, the number of professional *Pansori* practitioners produced by the Korean government educational framework reached 4,000. All these professionals earn a living through teaching, instructing and organizing *Pansori* festivals (Baku Azerbaijan 2-3). In 2012, there were 23 university programs teaching and mentoring aspiring *Pansori* performers. These students present a number of Koreans students who will earn a living in future from performing in *Pansori* concerts or from teaching *Pansori* (Baku Azerbaijan 23). The Korean government's policy on the preservation of *Pansori* has also led to the formation of a number of governmental agencies such as the Cultural Heritage Administration of Korea (CHA), the Korean Association for the Preservation of *Pansori* (KAPP), the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts (NCKTPA) and the Cultural Industry Bureau (CIB) within the Ministry of Culture and Sports. All these public agencies provide both direct and indirect incomes to Koreans. Direct income is in the form of salaries and indirect income is in the form of payment for event organizers of *sori* music-festival events. However, these government agencies have not quantified the exact numbers regarding the incomes Koreans earn from them. Through the preservation and promotion of *Pansori*, these public agencies provide a source of livelihood for their members (Baku Azerbaijan 4).

Pansori also earns income for Korea through tourism. Since its proclamation as an "Intangible Cultural Heritage" by UNESCO in 2003, *Pansori* has become one of the main attraction for cultural tourism in Korea. *Pansori* earns income from tourism through performances in international *sori* festivals and through *Pansori* museums. Special *Pansori* tour performances overseas and across Korea are usually organized by four resident companies: the National Drama Company (NDC), the National Changgeuk Company (NCC), the National Dance Company (NDC), and the National Traditional Music Orchestra (NTMO). The four

companies provide a source of income for employees and Pansori performers as well as earns foreign income for Korea. *Pansori* museums such as the Gochang *Pansori* Museum in Jeollabuk-do province, South Korea provide incomes for employees, tour firms, and associated businesses such as airlines. The Gochang *Pansori* Museum charges tourists between one to five dollars in U.S. currency as entry or participation fee. Thousands of tourists visit *Pansori* museums annually (Facts about Korea 56). The exact money Koreans earn from tourism through *Pansori* has not yet been documented.

4.1.2 National Unity

The Korean Cultural Property Protection (KCPP) Law of 1962 designates *Pansori* as a symbol of national culture and unity (Yang 89). In 2000, a conference on cultural tourism in Cambodia recognized the importance of *Pansori* as a symbol of Korean cultural heritage tour in stimulating the national pride of the Korean people. Through local tourism, *Pansori* enhances Korean peoples' understanding of their sub-cultures as well as an appreciation and tolerance of the sub-cultures, which is helpful to ensure peaceful co-existence (Baku Azerbaijan 3). In addition, a *Pansori* performance provides the opportunity for the local Korean people to interact, to share experiences and to learn from one another about their culture. *Pansori* captures the day-to-day activities of the Korean people and the three to nine hour duration provides many opportunities for interaction between members of different Korean sub-cultures, age groups and socio-economic classes (Suhr 29). The interaction of Korean people of different classes and their understanding of different Korean subcultures, promotes tolerance and appreciation of each other, which unites the Korean people.

4.1.3 Cultural Inheritance

Cultural inheritance is the transmission of cultural values and practices from older to younger generations. In this definition, *Pansori*, as an “Intangible Cultural Heritage” of Korea, has been transmitted for several generations since its inception in the 18th Century. The persistence of *Pansori* over the past three centuries is an indication that it is a significant transmission channel of Korean culture. *Pansori* helps to transmit cultural values and activities since its performance encompasses cultural practices such as singing and folk tales about culture and the way of life of the traditional Korean community. In pre-modern Korea, a lower class of traditional folk entertainers (*gwangdae*) transmitted *Pansori* among the common people. The *gwangdae* moved from one town to another in search of audience to performing *Pansori*. During the Japanese colonial era, *gwangdae* included amateur performers who attended *Pansori* in education courses offered by public institutions and private institutes. These amateurs also serve as an important audience in the performance of *Pansori*.

In the modern era, a wide variety of Koreans ranging from professionals to general devotees learn *Pansori*. Aspiring *Pansori* singers study *Pansori* using both the traditional *gwangdae* style and taking formal courses in institutions of higher learning. National and regional bodies such as the National Center for Korean Folk Performing Arts and the Jeollanam-do Provincial Institute for Training Korean Performing Arts also offer courses that promote the preservation of *Pansori* among *Pansori* enthusiasts. The Government also promotes the preservation of *Pansori*, by recognizing it as an “Intangible Cultural Heritage”, and identifying and rewarding renowned performers. The identified modern masters of *Pansori* include Park Song-hee, Sung Chang-soon, Song Sun-seop, Seong Woo-hyang and the percussionist Jung Chul-ho. These masters are a mixture of those who learnt *Pansori* the traditional way through

gujeonsimsu – a teaching method that relies on oral transmission and practice as a natural part of daily life popular during the Japanese colonial era – or professional performing artists who acquired the skills through the school education system following Korea’s independence from Japanese rule. These masters, like in the ancient times, have the responsibility of transmitting the original form of *Pansori* to the next generation (Baku Azerbaijan 21).

Despite the modern approaches to teaching *Pansori*, the traditional way of teaching is still in use. Each of the modern masters of *Pansori* manages a heritage center or a similar establishment. They teach and transmit *Pansori* using the traditional *gujeonsimsu* (Baku Azerbaijan 21). Secondary and higher educational institutions still use the traditional *gujeonsimsu* mode of teaching, strongly demonstrating that the traditional teaching ways are important in transmitting cultural values and activities across generations. In many cases, professional *Pansori* practitioners are members of *Pansori*-related preservation associations and preservation societies, and often serve as lecturers. In these organizations, the younger generation mostly partakes by learning traditional music, but often also takes a leading role in *Pansori*-related activities including performance. The Korean National Research Institute for the Gifted in Arts of the Korea National University of Arts in collaboration with the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism has programs that identify potential master *Pansori* performers and future teachers. These programs aim to ensure sustainable teaching and the transmission of *Pansori* (Baku Azerbaijan 21).

Pansori assists in the transmission of cultural values and heritage because some of ancient *Pansori* songs are still being sung in the present day to entertain people and to remind them of the activities that their ancestors used to do as a culture practice (Suhr 21-29). Today, most *Pansori* performances begin with long lecture about the history and importance of *Pansori*.

Educational institutions also teach the cultural history of Korea through *Pansori*, making *Pansori* relevant today as a channel for cultural transmission and inheritance. This is important since when the current young generation is allowed to perform *Pansori* songs in school it equips them with the knowledge of their culture irrespective of other foreign cultures that may intrude (UNESCO 1). In addition, a series of *Pansori* concerts have focused on celebrating *Pansori* as an “Intangible Cultural Heritage” that elicit enthusiastic responses from the audience. The response indicates a growing awareness and support of *Pansori*. In sum, *Pansori* plays a vital role in the transmission of traditional Korean cultural values from one generation to another. Using both traditional and modern teaching methods, *Pansori* provides the channels and teaching approaches that could be transferred to teaching and transmitting other Korean cultural practices. With the reincarnation of *Pansori*, the government and cultural enthusiasts could use *Pansori* performance spaces and venues to advocate for the preservation of other cultural values and practices.

4.2 Importance to Tourism/Foreign Relations

4.2.1 Development

Additionally, *Pansori* is important to preserve because it contributes to the promotion and development of cultural tourism. According to the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), tourism is an important growth sector for the economy of Korea. In 2013, the contribution of travel and tourism in Korea was 5.8% of the GDP. The WTTC projects tourism in Korea will rise by an average of 2.9% annually in the next 10 years. The sector supports 1,582,500 jobs (6.3% of the total employment in Korea), generated 2.9% of total exports and accounts for 2.3% of the total investment in the country (WTTC 1). The WTTC ranks Korea as 18th out of 184 countries globally in relative importance of travel and tourism's total contribution to GDP (WTTC 1-2).

These statistics demonstrate the economic importance of tourism in Korea. However, revenues from traditional tourist attraction sites and destinations such as parks, flora and fauna, and unspoiled nature have not been improving. The main Korean tourist attractions are traditional performing arts, historic places and architectural buildings. As an “Intangible Cultural Heritage”, *Pansori* contributes to arts as a touristic destination (Jiqing Wang 1).

The contribution of *Pansori* to tourism is both direct and indirect. Direct contribution is through museums, cultural heritage sites and local and international cultural (*sori*) music festivals. One significant direct *Pansori* contribution to tourism is the Gochang *Pansori* Museum in Gochang, South Korea. The museum is one of the top ten cultural museums and attracts thousands of tourists to Korea each year. Opened in 2001, the museum honors great *Pansori* singers and provides *Pansori* performances for visiting tourists. The museum has over 1,000 songs of *Pansori* and lists of great singers on display (Santa Fe Korea 6). *Pansori* also contributes directly to tourism through holding international *sori* music festivals annually in Seoul and in other cultural sites. These festivals are attended by foreign cultural music students and tourists. Famous festivals include the *Jeonju* international *sori* festivals and National Theatre *Pansori* Festivals held between August and October each year in Korea (Broughton Simon 48).

Besides local performances, *Pansori* festivals organized in foreign cities in the U.S. and in Europe is another effective approach of tourism marketing. Each year in New York, the Asian Society organizes the Korean Music Festival, which includes *Pansori* performances. One of the key aims of the Korean Music Festival is to create an awareness of the rich culture of Korea and to encourage the audience to visit Korea as a rising cultural tourist destination (Lim Hyeun-bin 2). In Europe, there are *Pansori* academies, such as the *Pansori* Sound Institute in the Netherlands, where European students can learn about *Pansori*. Most of the students, both

Koreans and Europeans, in these academies practice through competition. A recent competition was in held in Paris, France at the 2014 Nante Festival. In the festival, Kim Kyung Sang, a *Pansori* performer fused *Pansori* tunes with Jazz tunes to create a new form of *Pansori*. This new form appeals to both Europeans and Koreans in Europe indicated by the 150,000 people the festival attracted (Jacqueline Karp 1). Another *Pansori* performer, Ninano Nanda, fuses the traditional Korean vocal art form with modern improvised electronic sounds to communicate with European audience.

Pansori also promotes tourism indirectly; mostly through the contemporary Korean popular culture, especially pop music and movies (Doobo 31). *Pansori* played an instrumental role in the awakening and the sustenance of the current Korean film culture. In 1993, there was very little hope for the revival of the Korean cultural film industry. However, a Korean local movie *Sopyonje*, had unexpected box office success. It was the first Korean movie to reach a viewership of more than one million. The movie was successfully screened in the U.S., Europe and Japan. The main theme of the movie was the tribulations of a family that earned a living performing *Pansori*. It depicted the declining popularity of *Pansori* as traditional performing art and, therefore, as a source of livelihood. Set in a beautiful rural Korean landscape, the movie stirred public interest in culture and its preservation, as the starving family symbolized the fate of *Pansori* and other Korean cultural practices as a source of livelihood (Doobo 31-32).

The success of *Sopyonje*, a *Pansori* themed movie, awakened the government and Korean people to the potential of the cultural industry in contributing to economic development. Today, the film industry uses *Pansori* tunes or stories as well as and other cultural practices and rural landscape to appeal to an increasing foreign audience. These movies have attracted a large number of tourists who come to see the venues of the films, which include *Pansori* performances,

museums and rural landscapes. In fact in 2003, 130,000 tourists from China, Taiwan, Malaysia and Singapore visited Korea to see *Pansori* performances and rural landscapes after seeing their beauty in movies and music videos (Doobo 29-30). Whereas the contribution of *Pansori* to tourism is evident, the Korean government has done little to quantify its contribution to the economy in general and to the tourism sector in particular. Such quantification could go a long way to popularize and preserve *Pansori*, not only as a cultural heritage but also as a significant source of income to the country and its citizens.

4.2.2 Foreign Relations

The role of *Pansori* in promoting social cohesion is visible in the improved relationship between Korea and its neighboring countries such as Vietnam, Taiwan and Japan. In previous decades, Korea had strained diplomatic relationships with these countries. This is because Koreans fought against Vietnam's Liberation Army during the Vietnam War (1955-1975), severed its relationship with Taiwan and established a new one with China (Beijing) in 1992, and suffered from the colonial occupation of Japan between 1910 and 1945. Today, *Pansori* reaches these countries through international festivals and lectures on the need to preserve cultural heritage. Famous *Pansori* singers such as Isang Yun have had a tremendous following and recognition in Vietnam, Taiwan and Japan and are recognized as national heroes. Famous Korean *Pansori* singers and teachers have been invited in several conferences in the neighboring countries to perform or to lecture on the importance of preservation of cultural heritage. The result is an improved and more cordial foreign relationship with Vietnam, Taiwan and Japan (Doobo 30-31).

4.3 Chapter Summary

Culture is important for promoting economic and social welfare of a country. Culture produces tangible and intangible artistic and creative outputs with a potential for wealth creation. As a symbol of Korean traditional culture, *Pansori* is important to Koreans and to Korea's tourism and foreign relations. Preserving *Pansori* promotes Koreans' economic welfare, national unity and cultural inheritance. *Pansori* is a source of livelihood for singers and scholars through paid performances and lectures. Government agencies tasked with preserving and promoting *Pansori* also provide employment to many Koreans. *Pansori* also promotes national unity. It enhances Koreans understanding of their different sub-cultures, and the appreciation and tolerance of another sub-culture to promote a peaceful co-existent. It also provides opportunities for Koreans of different age groups, socio-economic classes and sub-cultures to interact, share experiences and learn from one another as audience. *Pansori* also promotes cultural inheritance. Through learning and performing *Pansori*, singers, professionals and devotees learn about traditional Korean culture. The Korean government's recognition of *Pansori* as a cultural heritage and rewarding renowned performers also facilitates the transmission of traditions of *Pansori*. *Pansori* also promotes tourism and improves foreign relations. *Pansori* contributes to cultural tourism through performances in local and international cultural music festivals, *Pansori* museums and as a theme in Korean film culture. Finally, *Pansori* singers and scholars have performed and lectured in many conferences in Vietnam, Taiwan and Japan. Their popularity in these countries has ensured an improved and more cordial foreign relationship.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1 Overview of the Study

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) contends that culture is fast becoming the fuel that drives the contemporary creative arts industry as well as the socio-economic development of countries across the globe. The Korean government also recognizes the importance of cultural heritage, in particular *Pansori*, demonstrated by the enactment of the Korean Cultural Property Protection Law (KCPP) of 1962. The KCPP recognizes *Pansori* as the quintessential Korean “Intangible Cultural Heritage” and a symbol of national culture. The aim of this study was to explore *Pansori* in order to understand its history, its importance to the traditional Korean culture and society, the reasons for its declining popularity, and the reasons for preserving and promoting its use in the modern Korean society. The study’s methodology combined historical research, interviews and personal experience learning and performing *Pansori*.

5.2 Summary of Findings

Pansori is a traditional Korean performing art involving a singer telling a themed story using sung and spoken words accompanied by drumbeats and shouts of encouragement from the audience. *Pansori* began during the Joseon Dynasty between 1392 and 1910, and developed in four eras: the era of escalation (18th century), affluence (19th century), declination (early 20th century) and reincarnation (late 20th century). During the era of escalation, 12 specialized fields of *Pansori* were developed but only five (*Chunhyangga*, *Simcheongga*, *Heungboga*, *Sugungga*, and *Jeokbyeokga*) were transmitted orally to the present day. The Confucian ruling class deemed the other seven pieces vulgar and inappropriate, and prevented their transmission.

As a traditional performing art, *Pansori* was important to traditional Korean culture to teach moral lessons, preserve cultural values, promote community cohesion and entertain Koreans. Each of the five specialized fields of *Pansori* taught Koreans a moral lesson founded on the Confucian teachings. *Chunhyangga* taught about fidelity of a wife to her husband, *Simcheongga* about filial love and piety, *Heungboga* about brotherhood and bad materialism from human's greediness of fortune, *Jeokbyeokga* about sincerity to friends, and *Sugungga* about loyalty to the king. *Pansori* also promotes the preservation of cultural values. *Pansori* has been passed down from one generation to the next since the 17th century. It has been used as an important transmission channel for passing Korean cultural values across generations. *Pansori* also promotes community cohesion through providing its audience from different Korean sub-cultures, religious affiliations and socio-economic classes the opportunity to interact and to learn from each other. *Pansori* also played a role in galvanizing the Korean community against Japanese colonial occupation. Finally, *Pansori* is a form of cultural entertainment for Koreans during leisure time and in cultural and religious celebrations.

The popularity of *Pansori* began to decline in the early 20th century because of inadequate government preservation policies, the influence of western culture and the lack of correct instructions in *Pansori* teaching. The Korean government's preservation policies focus on two approaches. The first approach simply preserves the original form of *Pansori* irrespective of the changing entertainment needs of Korean people. The second approach focuses on promoting the new form of *Pansori*, which assimilates some concepts from western cultures that differ from the true conventions of *Pansori*. The introduction of the western culture in Korea influenced significant changes in *Pansori* performances. Western influences came through military band music, Christian Protestant music, the Japanese colonial occupation of Korea, and globalization.

Today, *Pansori* has assimilated western performance concepts, such as opera, that differ from the conventions of the original *Pansori*. Finally, the period of learning *Pansori* has been reduced from several years to a few months, which has affected the quality and professionalism of performance.

Koreans should preserve *Pansori* because it is important to their economic health, national unity and cultural inheritance, and also to tourism and foreign relations. For Koreans, *Pansori* provides a source of livelihood for singers and scholars through paid performance and lectures in educational institutions and conferences. Government agencies tasked with promoting *Pansori* are also a source of employment for many Koreans. *Pansori* enhances audience understanding, appreciation and tolerance of Korean subcultures to promote a peaceful co-existence. Through learning and performing *Pansori*, singers, professionals and devotees learn about Korean traditional culture to facilitate the transmission of Korean traditional cultural values. *Pansori* performances in local and international music festivals, *Pansori* museums, and *Pansori* themes in Korean films promote cultural tourism. The popularity of Korean *Pansori* singers and scholars performing and lecturing in conferences in Vietnam, Taiwan and Japan have ensured an improved and more cordial foreign relationship. *Pansori* academies in Europe also teach some European students *Pansori* who participate in competitions, which is another way *Pansori* promotes foreign relations.

5.3 Limitations of the Study

A major limitation was a paucity of recent scholarly literature explicitly examining *Pansori*. Most of the literature on *Pansori* is not recent, that is, many studies of *Pansori* were published more than 10 years ago, and examine *Pansori* in its ancient form. This undermined the determination of the current situation and popularity of *Pansori*, which would have demonstrated

whether the current efforts to preserve *Pansori* have been successful or not. In addition, a majority of the recent studies examines the Korean cultural practices in general with only a commentary about *Pansori* and its contribution to modern Korea.

Another limitation was the lack of empirical researches on *Pansori*, especially its social and economic contribution to the present-day Korea. Most of the recent literature on *Pansori* is qualitative, either phenomenological or case study research, that aims to understand *Pansori* performances as an artistic and creative cultural performing arts, its importance to traditional Korean culture or the need to preserve *Pansori* for the future generation. The lack of empirical findings hampered the accurate determination of the contribution of *Pansori* to the economic development of Korea, especially in terms of its contribution to income and foreign exchange earnings from tourism, and its contribution as a significant source of employment and income to Koreans.

5.4 Recommendations

The KCPP(Korean Cultural Property Protection Law) designates *Pansori* as an “Intangible Cultural Heritage” and a symbol of national culture. Under the KCPP, the government efforts largely focus on preserving the original form of *Pansori*, which undermines the conventions of the original *Pansori*. The original *Pansori* Performances were not static but gradually developed over time as the cultural practices changed. The KCPP should be reviewed to allow *deoneum* (modification) of the themed stories of *Pansori*. The modification will inspire creativity, reflect the current societal leisure and entertainment needs of younger Koreans and attract a larger audience. Attracting Korean youths is important since they are the key to its preservation (Hyung 49).

The current efforts by the Korean Government take two distinct approaches. The first approach is to preserve the original *Pansori* (orthodox *Pansori*) and the second is to encourage creativity (experimental *Pansori*). It is not necessary for the Government to pursue the two approaches independently. Instead, the government should integrate the two to gain the synergy between preservation and promotion of creativity to achieve new forms of themed stories relevant to the contemporary Korean community. This is important since the current successful and widespread Korean pop culture is a creative assimilation of some desirable western artistic elements into Korean traditional practices. In addition, large audiences attending Korean popular music suggests assimilating desirable aspects of other cultures will improve and market *Pansori* to both the local and the global market.

Finally, the current government support for preserving *Pansori* depends on anecdotal and subjective findings. This approach should be reviewed by providing the Korean people with empirical findings on the individual contribution of *Pansori* to the economy and to the social wellbeing of Koreans. The Korean government should provide statistics showing the contribution of *Pansori* in the annual country statistics on tourism and employment. Providing objective statistical support of *Pansori* to tourism and employment will demonstrate to the Korean people the importance of *Pansori* as an “Intangible Cultural Heritage” in improving their social and economic well-being and influence their support.

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