



Chapter I  
**History of *Pansori***

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### **Pansori's Origins and Formation**

According to different documentary records, pansori has been identified by multiple appellations such as *bonsaga*, *taryeong*, *jabga*, and *changgeukjo*. The term *pansori* seems to have been generally used since the 20th century. Because of its elusive history, it has been difficult to determine *pansori*'s origins, yet it is commonly believed to have been established by the common people in the late 17th century. Based on the latter, it is safe to say that *pansori* has a history of at least three-hundred years or more.

There are two different views on the origins of *pansori*. First, some say that *pansori* has its foundations in the southwestern Honam area. The primary reason for this assumption is deeply related to the fact that many of the people who perform *pansori* are from that specific region. Second, others – most specifically those of the *Junggoje* School in Gyeonggi and Chungcheong Provinces say that *pansori* originated from all over the country. Thus, what they are saying is that *pansori*'s origins derive from various regions, but *pansori* styles eventually converged in the Honam area and its development has been concentrated in that region to the present day.

Discussions about the origins of *pansori* vary according to disagreements as to which aspects of the genre truly formed the foundation for *pansori*. Thus, the possible origins of *pansori* are numerous: traditional tales, shamanic epics, professional entertainers (also known as *changu* or *gwangdae*) and *gangchang* (storytelling) literature. The theory that it originated from traditional tales tells us that there is a literary root of each *pansori* song. For example, it is known that the plot of *Chunhyangga* is based on the *Tale of a Royal Secret Commissioner*, *Tale of Ugly Woman*, *Tale of a Virtuous Woman*, among others. The understanding that the genre possibly holds root in traditional tales is weighted on the similarity of *pansori* plots to traditional tales. However, there are problems particular to this explanation of the origin of *pansori*. I believe that, in order for this theory to become persuasive, it must be accompanied by sufficient evidence of interaction between the two separate genres. The theory that *pansori* originated from shamanic epics is based primarily on the fact that the original performers of this genre were shamans. *Gwangdae* with their roots in shamanic practice, were known to perform *pansori*. In addition, the performance style of *pansori* is very similar to that of shamans. Nevertheless, *pansori* these days cannot accurately be described by the above similarities, and there remains very little historical evidence to support the idea that the origins of the genre rest in shamanic practice. Many who place *pansori*'s origins among the repertoire of the *gwangdae*, argue that *pansori* was one of the performances from the *pannoreum*, or stage play, that developed into an independent type of performance later on. However, this explanation focuses more on the formation of *pansori* than on figuring out the root of it. In the *changu* performances, stories were told in the form of songs. But these songs were so popular that performers developed distinct artistic characteristics in the performance of the songs, which in turn developed into a separate performance genre. Last, but not least, the theory that *pansori* originated from the *gangchang* literature asserts that *pansori* was founded based on the Chinese *ganchang* literature. But there is an absence of solid evidence of the influence, thus, it lacks credibility. Among the theories discussed above, the most supported, and thus strongest, theory is the one that puts its origin on the shamanic epics.

It is difficult to say what the earliest form of *pansori* was like. Nevertheless, it was most likely performed as a form of *uhui*, an impromptu play performed by street entertainers, and then gradually

transformed into an independent form of performing arts. At first, *jaedam*, or puns, formed the main content of *pansori*, and the rhythm seems to have been in a simpler form compared to that of today. However, as time went by, each work was able to be completed through the accumulation of *deoneum*, or special melodies. The process of the expansion of *pansori* shows continuous changes in the social class of the audience as well as the intensification of richness in the narration caused by the accumulation of *deoneum* and subsequent variations in musical phraseology. There are no known facts about the *gwangdae* during the era of the formation of *pansori*, but some scholars have set their attention on Pak Nam, an entertainer who participated in the *narye*, a royal ritual of chasing away evil, held in the fourth year of King Injo (1626). These scholars conjecture that Pak Nam sang *pansori* in the ritual as an entertainer, but there is not any remaining specific evidence.

### The Expansion and Transformation of *Pansori*

The history of *pansori* from the 18th century can be broadly divided into four periods; the Period of Growth (18th century), the Period of Prosperity (19th century), the Period of Decline (early 20th century) and the Period of Preservation and Rebirth (late 1960s and beyond).

#### (1) The Period of Growth (18th Century)

During the 18th century *pansori* was developed into a distinct form of performing art. Folk tales and shamanic epics were merely songs with simple rhythms and stories, yet, *pansori* became comprised of various melodies and rhythms so that it could be described as a long story in a dramatic manner. This establishment of intricate musical and dramatic aspects seems to have been fully realized during this period.

It was during this period when the twelve repereries of *pansori* were founded.

The names of each repereries are as follows: *Chunhyangga*, *Simcheongga*, *Heungboga*, *Sugungga*, *Jeokbyeokga*, *Byeongangwe-taryeong*, *Jangkki-taryeong*, *Baebijang-taryeong*, *Onggojip-taryeong*, *Gangneungmaehwa-taryeong*, *Musugi-taryeong* and *Gajjasinseon-taryeong*. *Chunhyangga* is a love story that details the complications that arise due to the different social classes of the protagonists. *Simcheongga* is the song of self-sacrifice and salvation. Poverty and human trafficking, the buying and selling of a human, are prominently featured in the story. *Heungboga* tells of human greed; reflecting concern over the social problem of materialism during that period. *Sugungga* is a fable about wisdom, and details the conflict between the ruler and the ruled. *Jeokbyeokga* is a re-creation based on the Chinese novel *Sanguozhi yenyi*. This story not only concerns the feats of heroes, but also communicates the pain of common people epitomized in the character of the soldiers. An optimistic thread connects these five pieces, represented through a positively depicted main character and a balance of humor and tragic beauty. *Byeongangwe-taryeong*, *Jangkki-taryeong*, *Baebijang-taryeong*, *Onggojip-taryeong*, *Gangneungmaehwa-taryeong*, *Musugi-taryeong* and *Gajjasinseon-taryeong* are connected through a rather negative main character. The twelve repereries contend with social phenomena during the latter part of the Joseon Dynasty(1392-1910), often exploring a variety of themes through humor.

During this period it seems that the social class of *gwangdae* was not high, and, in addition, diverse skills or styles were not firmly in place. *Gwangdae* did not keep records of their achievements,

and scholars at that time as well did not chronicle their achievements. All we know is that Ha Heon dam, Chwe Seondal and U Chundae are known to be the master singers of this period.

Sin Gwangsung passed the civil service examination in 1750. During his *yuga* (a parade in which a person who passed the national test met his acquaintances and cousins before beginning work) he gave a poem and wrote to a *gwangdae* named Won Chang. In that poem, he states, “As I hit the red folding fan and my sleeves are dancing, the *Ujo Yeongsan* is the best in this era. Right before the farewell I sing the *Chunmyeongok* again, I go back, crossing the river in a time when flowers fall.” Written here, *Ujo Yeongsan* refers to a short *pansori* song. In *Songnamjapji* by Jo Jaesam, it is written, “Later, as the actor went into the inner garden of the Royal Palace and sang, the king saw the folding fan and gave Sin Gwangsung a government position immediately.” According to these documents, it can be proven that during the mid-18th century when King Yeongjo ruled Joseon, *pansori* was performed even in the royal palace.

In 1754, while Yu Jinhan was traveling the Honam area, he made a record of the *Chunhyangga* that he saw. This is the so-called Manhwa[pennam of Yu Jinhan] version of 200 phrased *Gasa chunhyangga*. The fact that he recorded this *pansori* as a *yangban*, a high class man, is significant. Until then, the main audience of *pansori* was common people. However, this record tells us that the audience of *pansori* had begun to expand to the *yangban* class.



<Figure 1> Manhwa version of 200 phrased *Gasa chunhyangga* (© Seoul National University Library)

In short, the 18th century was a time during which *pansori* was growing into a professional performing art. After the mid-18th century the audience also consisted of *yangban* classes and royalty.

## (2) The Period of Prosperity (19th Century)

*Pansori* prospered greatly during this period. The main features of this period included performance of all twelve of the repertoires, audience expansion, increased respect for performers which translated into a new level of professionalism, and achievement of a higher level of artistry.

During this period, *yangban* audiences and the wealthy middle class began to enjoy *pansori*. The latter were few in number yet they acted as patrons so that they were able to bring great advancements

in the development of the genre. Nevertheless, we cannot say that the main audience of *pansori* had changed from the common people to high class men. The transmission of *pansori* still depended on the common people and their points of view, yet people such as *yangban* were intrigued by the performances.



<Figure 2> Master singer Mo Heunggap sings *pansori* in the painting of “Pyeongyang Governor’s Party” (© Museum of Seoul National University)

As the audience demographics expanded, changes occurred in the aesthetic standards of *pansori*. The beauty of *pansori* was expressed through a harmonious combination of narration, voice, rhythm, tone and *neoreumsae* (gestures) all together. The style of narration shapes the aesthetic nature of the genre. Pun, vulgar talk, slander and parody all play a part in forming the humor that is so crucial to performance. The humor in *pansori* can be divided into wit and satire. Wit functions to poke fun at both noblemen and common people. However, satire is employed primarily to mock noblemen. Tragic beauty is shown in scenes in which a positive character goes through pain or when that character is in danger. A solemnity dominates when the braveness and heroism of a positive character is displayed. But the tragic beauty and solemn beauty are developed fully through musical sound rather than by the narration itself.

The main esthetic property of *pansori* rests in the intersection of the humorous and the tragic. Sometimes, the beauty of both humor and tragedy are not always directly revealed. Rather, they might superficially express humor while the underlying current is that of a tragic beauty. For example, a tragic situation might be expressed in a humorous way. This can be called “tragic humor” or “humorous tragedy”.

There are some other aspects shown in *pansori* outside the boundary of humor and tragedy. For instance, in the ‘*Gogocheonbyeon*’ part of *Sugungga* when *the tortoise* comes out of the water and sees the world, *pyeong ujo* melody type is used thus creating a peaceful mood. This type of scene conveys neither humorous nor tragic sentiment, expressing instead a sort of elegance. A number of parts, such as ‘*Jeokseongga*’ (*jinyangjo*+*upyeongjo*), ‘*Baekbaekhonghong*’ (*jungmori*+*upyeongjo*), ‘*Jajin Sarangga*’ (*jungjungmori*+*gyemyeonjo*), ‘*Gisanyongsu*’ (*jungjungmori*+*upyeongjo*) and ‘*Beompijungryu*’ (*jinyangjo*+*ujo*) are some more examples in which elegance takes precedence. These parts are in most cases characterized by having been formed mainly using traditional fables and phrases.

The humorous aspect seems to have been the most preferred factor at the time the twelve repertoires of *pansori* were established. Nonetheless, as we go towards the late 19th century, the transmission of humorous works decreases whereas works that contain a mixture of tragedy and humor

as well as common themes are continuously transmitted. Also, there is a distinction in taste that can be observed between common people and *yangban* audiences. In *Joseon changgeuksa* (The History of Korean *Changgeuk*, 1940) written by Jeong Nosik, there is a comparison of the two master singers Pak Mansun and Yi Nalchi. According to Jeong, Pak Mansun's songs were popular only to the high class people, yet Yi Nalchi's songs were popular to everyone. This can be rephrased to state that Pak Mansun sang in a manner which the intelligent people preferred, whereas Yi Nalchi sang in a style the common people liked. This phenomenon occurred because the preferences towards the beauty and esthetic characteristics differed according to which social class they were in. In other words, the *yangban* liked the elegant and serious stories, of which the idea is related to temperance. Therefore, elegance, tragedy and solemnity were the main characteristics they valued and pursued. By contrast, the esthetic values preferred by the common people were those that communicated sincerity, directness and pureness; values conveyed mainly through humor and tragedy. But as we come to the 19th century, the esthetic values preferred by *yangban* become intensified. New developments in musical phraseology such as the completion of *jinyangjo*, and the application of lied-like *ujo*, among other developments, lead us to conclude that the aristocratic tastes were slowly reshaping *pansori* esthetics.

By looking at the characteristics of *deoneum* accumulated in the 19th century, we can clearly see that the taste differed among social classes. The word *deoneum* not only indicates a melody, but also conjures up the act of songwriting and the skill specializations of a *myeongchang* (master singer). The *deoneum* of eight master singers in the former and the latter period, respectively, are listed below.

#### **Eight master singers of the Former Period**

- Gwon Samdeuk : ‘*Song of Hunting Swallow*’ in *Heongboga*
- Song Heungrok : ‘*Okjungga*’ (Song of Prison Life) in *Chunhyangga*
- Yeom Gyedal : ‘*Sipjangga*’ (Song of Ten Raps) in *Chunhyangga*
- Mo Heunggap : ‘*Ibyeolga*’ (Song of Farewell) in *Chunhyangga*
- Go Sugwan : ‘*Jajinsarangga*’ (Fast Love Song) in *Chunhyangga*
- Song Gwangrok : ‘*Ginsarangga*’ (Slow Love Song) in *Chunhyangga*
- Sin Manyeop : ‘*Tokki Yoksaseol*’ (Song of Rabbit’s Abuse) in *Sugungga*
- Kim Jecheol : ‘*Song of Sim Cheong’s Birth*’ in *Simcheongga*
- Ju Deokgi : ‘*Song of Cho Jaryong’s Shooting an Arrow*’ in *Jeokbyeokga*

#### **Eight master singers of the Latter Period**

- Pak Yujeon : ‘*Ibyeolga*’ (Song of Parting) in *Chunhyangga*, ‘*Saetaryong*’ (Song of the Birds) in *Jeokbyeokga*
- Pak Mansun : ‘*Sarangga*’ (Love Song), ‘*Okjungga*’ (Song of Prison Life), ‘*Song of Going to the Royal Tomb*’ in *Chunhyangga*
- Kim Sejong : ‘*Song of Reading Cheonjamun*’ (thousand character text) in *Chunhyangga*
- Yi Nalchi : ‘*Dongpungga*’ (Song of East Wind) in *Chunhyangga*
- Song Wuryong : ‘*Song of Rabbit in the Crisis*’ in *Sugungga*
- Jeong Chunpung : ‘*Sosangpalgyeongga*’ ( Eight Views From Sosang River)
- Jeong Changeop : ‘*Song of a mark comes Along*’ in *Simcheongga*

- Kim Changrok : ‘*Song of Crow and Magpie*’ in *Jeokbyeokga* and ‘*Song of Sim Cheong Taken to the Indangsu*’ in *Simcheongga*
- Jang Jabaek : ‘*Jeokseongga*’ (*Song of Jeokseong*) in *Chunhyangga*
- Kim Chaneop : ‘*Song of Portrait of the Rabbit*’ in *Sugangga*

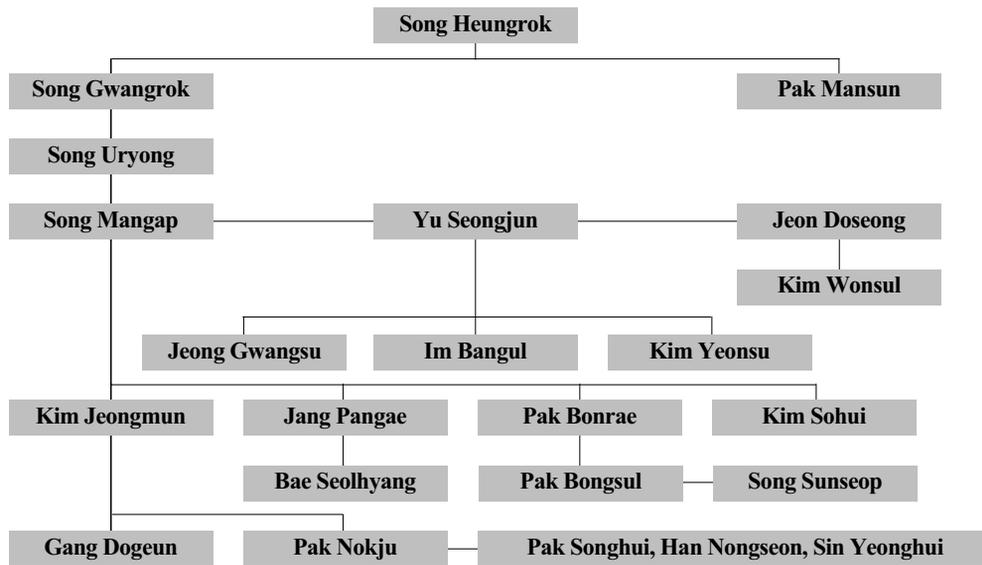
As we can observe from the above lists, there is a considerable number of slow, solemn, peaceful or tragic parts. These kinds of *deoneum* were practiced and were to be perfected by master singers. The emphasis on *deoneum* indicates that changes in song presentation seem to have been inclined towards the *yangban* group’s preference. In addition, *aniri* (spoken text), pun and vulgar talk, which were elements of performance through which humor was communicated, had gradually lost their importance or become shortened. These patterns of transition in *pansori* style continue throughout the 19th century.

As the esthetic form of *pansori* shifted to suit the tastes of the aristocratic class, the master singers’ social reputation rose, which can also be said to be the most important change in the 19th century. *Sorikkun*, or singers, had different names according to their social status or their level of skill. These were the names of the singers according to their different characteristics: *jaedam-gwangdae*, *aniri-gwangdae*, *ttorang-gwangdae*, *myeongchang*, *eojeon*(palace)-*gwangdae* and *bigabi-gwangdae*. *Jaedam-gwangdae* is a singer who is good at *jaedam*, or pun. *Aniri-gwangdae* singers were best in performing *aniri*. *Ttorang-gwangdae* is a singer who is unskilled thus can only sing on small stages in a town. By contrast, if someone is very skilled and sings very well, he was called a *myeongchang*. At times, *myeongchang* were invited to the royal palace to perform, and, in these cases, the appellation *eojeon-gwangdae* was applied.

Originally *pansori* were performed only by males, but towards the mid-19th century, there also were female singers. According to *Joseon changgeuksa*, Jin Chaeseon describes the first recognized female *pansori* singer. Jin Chaeseon was born in Gochang, Jeollabukdo Province and she learned *pansori* from Sin Jaehyo. However, in *Geumokchongbu* written by Ahn Minyeong in the 19th century, there is a record of a *gisaeng* (female entertainer) named Geum Hyangseon who sang *pansori*. Therefore, it can be assumed that women singers started to appear gradually during the mid-19th century. Based on the fact that women started to sing, we have to highlight two factors related to this change. First, *gisaeng* were the main audience of *pansori*, and among them there were *gui-myeongchang*, or audiences with a high level of skill who were able to judge if a performance was good or bad, thus they were selective listeners. It was natural for *gisaeng* to become *gui-myeongchang* since they had artistic talents. The second factor we should highlight is the change in performance context. *Pansori* was normally performed outdoors, yet, as *yangban* became the main audience, *pansori* performances shifted to the indoors to accommodate *yangban* patrons. These changes indicate that, while at first *yangban* were attracted to the outdoor *pansori*, the *yangban* brought the singers into their homes. Because of the change of performance context, *pansori* itself also went through many changes. The seriousness and temperate beauty of *pansori* were intensified and this style became more musically fashionable. When singing indoors, it was possible, albeit necessary, for the singers to sing in a variety of ways without shouting out loud; singers thus were able to communicate a song’s sentiment in a less sonorous fashion. This feature also influenced the increase in the appearance of female singers, and even ones who were merely potential singers among *gisaeng* now began to surface as professional singers.



*Junggoje* was transmitted both through a variety of families and *sorije*. The main focus of this argument is that as *Dongpyeonje* appeared starting from Song Heungrok, while *Junggoje*'s transmission appears to have been concentrated in a particular locale as it was mainly transmitted in the Gyeonggi and Chungcheong areas. In other words, as the new form of singing style, Song Heungrok's *Dongpyeonje* became the dominant form of *pansori* due to its adaptability. We are not sure about the exact transmission process and the previous style of *pansori*'s musical phraseology or narration style. Given this situation, this discussion of *Junggoje* can merely be a hypothesis. But the important matter is that we can take a look at the historical expansion of *pansori* through an examination of these *pansori* schools; their boundaries and scope.



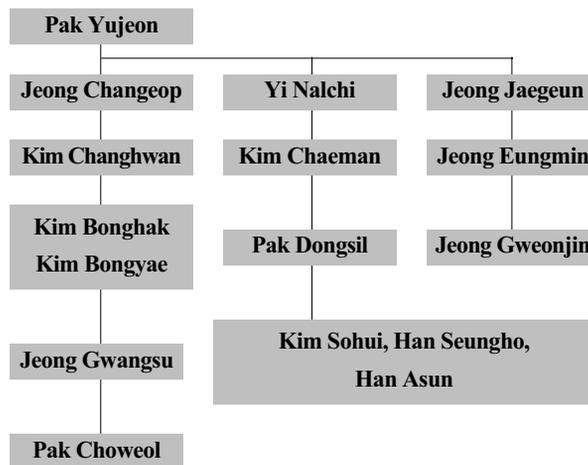
<Figure 4> Genealogical Table of Transmission

Below are the historical charts of the representative genealogical line of transmission divided by each *yupa*.



<Figure 5> Genealogical Table of Transmission for *Dongpyeonje*

In *Dongpyeonje*, there are three different branches such as Song Heungrok style, Kim Sejong style and Jeong Chunpung style.



<Figure 6> Genealogical Table of Transmission for *Seopyeonje*



<Figure 7> Genealogical Table of Transmission for *Junggoje*

However, the genealogical tables representing each school do not have an ultimate meaning regarding style and contribution because the individuality, family and degree of study should also be considered. Therefore these genealogical tables should be only understood as representing the flow of the history of *pansori*.

Of the history of *pansori* during the 19th century, we should pay attention to the profound influence of Sin Jaehyo(1812-1884). Beginning in his childhood he liked studying traditional Chinese, thus he was fluent in Chinese literatures and novels. He was originally born in Yangju, but lived in Seoul and became an official with the central municipal office of Gochang where he founded a government pharmacy. Sin Jaehyo worked as a secretary and then was promoted to a high official. The fact that he was of the middle class could be seen as a reason why he became interested in *pansori*. Middle class men of the time were able to work as a civil servant or as an engineer. Thus they were able to have positions of power, yet there was a glass ceiling to their achievements. That explains why middle class men held ambivalent attitudes regarding the aristocratic class and its trappings. Some tried to fit in with the noblemen of the highest social status whereas others held negative opinions towards the current social ruling system, and most middle class men lived daily with the antinomy of their positions. It is difficult to assert what type of person Sin Jaehyo was. But according to the *pansori* narratives and short songs he wrote, he, like other middle class men, most likely held an ambivalent point of view toward the social structures of the day. He wanted to become like one of the *yangban* but knew that was something he could not accomplish since *yangban* status was achieved through birth. This became a source of agony for Sin which was revealed in his works. Through *pansori* he explored this internal conflict and perceived social injustice.

Around the age of forty, when he was working as a secretary, he already had become a wealthy landlord capable of harvesting a thousand rice bags a year and ruled over more than fifty families. The inheritance from his father and his own assets were plentiful, and based on this economic power he was able to become a supporter of *pansori*. He provided patronage for famous singers of that time such as Yi Nalchi, Pak Mansun, Kim Sejong, Jeong Changeop and Kim Changrok. Pak Mansun and Kim SeJong were good at theory as well as singing of *pansori* by learning from Sin Jaehyo and became proficient at both practicing his theories and criticizing *pansori* with that theory. In addition, the first recorded female singer Jin Chaeseon learned from Sin Jaehyo. During that time, *pansori* was only for men, thus it must have been a shock when a female singer appeared. The appearance of a female singer provided an opportunity for change in *pansori* style, contributing a sweet melody which became the popular *gyemyeonjo* style and influencing a division of *pansori* into pieces. Moreover, in performance, it was now possible for the female character within the play to be sung by a real female master singer.



<Figure 8> A Portrait of Sin Jaehyo(© Pansori Museum of Gochang)

One of Sin Jaehyo's great achievements was the revision of the narratives of *Chunhyangga*, *Simcheongga*, *Baktaryong*, *Sugungga*, *Jeokbyeokga* and *Byeongangswega*, which were six of the twelve repertoires of *pansori*. That is why among the *pansori* songs that still exist, the six repertoires that Sin Jaehyo had written down, in words, are priceless. The six repertoires that he wrote down are not the versions that were sung during that period. Rather, these are his versions. Sin Jaehyo actively inserted his opinions into the songs and even asked the audience how good he was at writing songs. In addition, he made different versions of *Chunhyangga*, such as a *namchang* (male singer) version and *dongchang* (child singer) version. The child singer version of this song ends at the farewell part at the *oriyeong*, thus it is not known precisely whether it intentionally done or mistakenly undone. If there is a *namchang* and a *dongchang*, there might also be a *yeochang* (female singer) version, yet there has been no evidence to its existence. The amount of effort he put into revising *pansori*, such as making different versions according to the singer and their skills, shows us how much he devoted himself to this particular artistic genre. The narrations that he adapted are said to be too strong to sing, thus thought as inappropriate for performance, but continuously influenced future versions of the narrations. His adjustments are seen as both positive and negative. A negative opinion is that his insertions of his personal desires for *yangban* status eliminated a considerable amount of the joyful and healthy aspects of the songs, thus decreasing the humble energy or spirit in the songs. On the other hand, others view his changes positively, enriching *pansori* and adjusting its level to that of a modern consciousness. But his amendments cannot be explained in a simple way. A refined and upright style, vulgarity, *yangban* ambitions and the humble spirit are all mixed in his adaptations.

Sin Jaehyo not only readjusted the six repertoires of *pansori* listed above but also wrote many *danga* (short songs) and poetic works. A total of thirteen pieces including *Heoduga*, *Seongjoga*, *Eobusa*, *Honamga*, *Gwangdaega*, *Myeongdangchugwon*, *Chisanga*, *Sipboga*, *Gwonyuga*, *Oseomga*, *Bangataryeong*, *Dorihwaga*, *Guguga* are such examples of his compositions. Most of these, however, cannot be said to be his creations, but rather, they are reproductions of pieces that already existed. Nevertheless, among these, *Dorihwaga* is a pure creation of his. *Dorihwaga* was created in 1870 when he was fifty-nine. At that time he sent his female student, Jin Chaeseon to a party at Gyonghweru (pavilion in Namwon city) to sing *Seongjoga* and *Bangataryeong* since the Daewongun (royal regent) asked him for it. But when she did not return, Shin Jaehyo felt sympathy towards her by symbolizing her as a *dorihwa*, a type of flower. He expressed sympathy freely by describing the twenty-four-year-old girl Jin Chaeseon as "Twenty four times of wind and complete spring is in the air." This kind of expression was adopted from ancient Chinese poems, and similes were also used indirectly. Although they were teacher and student, he was not able to handle his compassion towards Jin Chaeseon when she did not return from her performance for the Daewongun. In these cases we can acknowledge how humanistic he was. There is little known about Sin Jaehyo's personal life, but it is said that he was rich and had a sorrowful life. His first wife's name was Kim, from Jinju, who died in 1838. His second wife named Pak from Hamyang died in 1840. And his third wife named Kim from Dangak died in 1868. Thus *Dorihwaga* was made shortly after when he lost his third wife and trying to forget his loneliness through his attentions focused on his student, Chaeseon.

Sin Jaehyo was also brilliant in the theory of *pansori*. He well expressed his thoughts in one of his creations, *Gwangdaega*. In *Gwangdaega*, there were basic theories explaining the meanings of

historical aspects of *pansori*, containing the meaning of the name *gwangdae*, explanation of the name *gagaek*, *sigimsae* (vocal utterances), *jo* (mode), *jangdanron* (rhythm theory), *yeongiron* (acting theory) and the four conditions a *gwangdae* should have; *immulchire* (appearance), *saseolchire* (text), *deugeum* (vocal quality) and *neoreumsae* (gesture). *Pansori* have all of the literary, musical and performative factors; if you consider the actor and the *neoreumsae* to be the dramatic factors, *saseol* can be that of literature, and *deugeum* that of music. After all, this means that Sin Jaehyo was able to look through the true meaning of *pansori*, yet it is very unique that he considered the actor to be the foremost factor.

In short, Sin Jaehyo is a very important person in that he supported *gwangdae* and taught them, nurtured the first ever female master singer, made readjustments to six repertoires of *pansori*, and contributed much to *pansori* theory and criticism. Because he devoted much of himself to *pansori*, this genre was able to be continuously developed.

### (3) The Period of Decline (1900~1960)

At the turn of the 20th century, the transmission methods of *pansori* changed from those typical of the past. The major changes include: the foundation of indoor stages, *pansori* staged in a manner similar to Western operas, the introduction to new types of performances such as *jaedangeuk* (performance of pun) or *sinpageuk* (performance of common people's sad love stories or stories of daily life) and numerous appearances of female singers. Followed by these changes, the formation and musicality also changed. Moreover, *pansori* faced the danger of competing against many other sorts of performance arts. *Pansori* singers realized that it was not possible for them to survive by themselves, thus they gathered in groups, and a group formed in 1934 was named *Joseon seongak yeonguhwe* (Korea Vocal Music Study Association). The early 20th century is called the era of the five master singers of modern times. They were Song Mangap, Yi Dongbaek, Kim Changhwan, Pak Gihong, Kim Changryong, Jeong Jeongryeol and Yu Seongjun. Among these master singers, Song Mangap, Yi Dongbaek and Jeong Jeongryeol contributed the most in establishing the group mentioned above, and raised many students to contribute to the continuous transmission of *pansori*. There also were master singers who thrived in and spread *pansori* throughout provincial areas. Yu Seongjun and Yi Seonyu in Hadong city, and Jeon Doseong in Gimje city are the representative examples.

During this period, the *yupa* (schools) of *pansori* tend to become more diversified compared to the past. Now, the relationship between the teacher and student was the most significant factor. Trends were established with the tendency to make an independent *yupa* for one teacher, thus the *yupa* now could be said to be decided by the master singers. The students of Song Mangap followed their master's idea of putting importance on each person's individual singing style. Later on this trend became more generalized. For instance, there was a tendency to call the singing style of Kim Yeonsu the *dongcho* style or to name a singing style *Boseong-sori* or *Namwon-sori* based on its specific region.

There were also esthetic changes made to the *pansori* at which we should take a closer look throughout the history of *pansori*. The mediocre tragedy was intensified in *pansori*. Because of the distinctive feature of that period, that is the Japanese occupation (1910-1945), people developed stories of desperate entreaty. Because they appealed to the audience, the songs using sorrowful tones such as the *gyemyeonjo* style were popular. This was when '*Chuweolmanjeong*' of Yi Hwajungseon and '*Ssukdaemeori*' of Im Bangul became blockbusters. As you can see, the tragic style had become very

popular, yet it is the humble type of tragedy distinctive from that of the *yangban* or the noblemen's style. This is due to the characteristics of the time period as well as the fact that there were a lot of female singers.

Female master singers began to consistently appear toward the end of the 19th century, and in the 20th century the number grew rapidly. *Gisaeng*, and the *gisaeng johap* (organization of *gisaeng*) or *gwonbeon* (organizations that raised and managed *gisaeng*) played a strong role in nurturing the talents of these female master singers. As they formed, these organizations actively produced female singers, becoming a major route to producing and taking care of the transmission of female singers. In 1909, the law for *gwangi* (*gisaeng* supported by the government) was nullified, so *gisaeng* who belonged to the municipal offices were set free. Because of that, *gisaeng* tended to move towards big cities such as Seoul. Thus, there were many *hyanggi* (*giseang* of the provincial area) who became *gyeonggi* (*gisaeng* in Seoul), and some people became *gisaeng* when they were originally a *danggol*, or shaman. But we must not fail to notice that the *gwonbeon* were supported and expanded by the Japanese. The Japanese made an official announcement regarding legal prostitutes called *changgi* or *changnyeo*, but it was difficult to figure out the difference among *gisaeng* and this created a cultural distortion that 'liquor, *gisaeng*, traditional music and prostitution' were the same. The *gwonbeon* brought famous *myeongchang* as teachers and taught the students how to write traditional poems, classical songs for women, epical poems, how to sing *pansori* and how to play the *gayageum* (twelve-stringed zither) during the fixed educational period. But as the *sampae gisaeng* (the ones who merely worked as prostitutes) joined the *ilpae gisaeng* (high class performers of singing and dancing), people started to look down on *gisaeng*. During the Japanese occupation, *gwonbeon* contributed in the continuous transmission of female master singers until they were forced to separate during World War II, but the negative view towards the female singers remained, thus creating an environment in which their skills were neglected.

The first *gisaeng johap* was the *Dadong Johap* founded in 1911 by Ha Gyuil, a master singer. Within the decade other *gisaeng johap* appeared and sponsored the performances of *pansori* given by *gisaeng*. In February, 1917, thirteen of the *gisaeng* from the *Dadong Johap* independently founded the *Hannam Gisaeng Johap*. Also some changed their names and continued their business; in January 1918, *Gwanggyo Johap* changed its name to *Hanseong Gwonbeon*, *Sinchang Johap* to *Gyeonghwa Gwonbeon*, *Dadong Johap* to *Joseon Gwonbeon* and *Gyeonghwa Gisaeng Johap* to *Daedong Gwonbeon*. There also were *gwonbeon* founded in the provincial area such as Pyeongyang, Gwangju, Namwon, Dalseong, Gyeongju, Gaeseong, Hamheung, Daegu and Jinju. As it is observed above, the *gisaeng johap* active during this period provided a foundation for *gisaeng* and their performances. Moreover, they made it possible for the popular *pansori* performances to be held on indoor stages, so the number of female singers increased incredibly.



<Figure 9> *Gisaeng* are learning pansori in *Gwonbeon*(© Yi Donsu)

Another major change during this period was the difference in the transmission environment of *changgeuk*, such as the development of a Western opera-style *pansori*. In 1902 the first indoor stage, *Hyeopryulsa*, was built by the support of the royal family. In 1907 it was called the *Gwanin Gurakbu*, and in 1908 it changed its name to *Wongaksa*. *Hyeopryulsa* not only served as an indoor stage, but also as the place to recruit and educate *gisaeng*. We are not sure if *Hyeopryulsa* hosted *pansori* instruction for *gisaeng* but records indicate that *gisaeng* in *Hyeopryulsa* only danced. At that time *pansori* was performed as part of a whole traditional show, but not independently. And during the show, there were professional male singers brought into the show to sing *pansori*. The time when *gisaeng* actually started to sing *pansori* was approximately in 1907 in Seoul when privately established theaters such as *Gwangmudae*, *Danseongsa* and *Jangansa* were founded. These theaters were mostly founded by rich merchants or the wealthy, and in some cases there were Japanese investors. They supported and taught *gisaeng* as they were revising the custom. Kim Changhwan and Song Mangap, among the five master singers of the modern era, also taught female singers. Jeong Jeongryeol, especially, contributed the most. Jeong Jeongryeol overcame the handicap of a bad voice and became one of the master singers. He made many contributions to *pansori*, including a revision of *Chunhyangjeon*. Thus people claimed, “After Jeong Jeongryeol came *Chunhyangga*.” He became a famous teacher of that time, teaching a huge number of female singers. The importance he placed on the singing skill and *gyemyeonjo* style made it easier for women to practice.

The *gisaeng* were listed in the following theaters at the time: Okyeop, Sanok, Yeonhyang, Yeongweol, Geumsun and Dohwa in *Gwangmudae*; Geumhong, Hongdo, Haeseon, Geumseon, Ryeonryeon, Chohyang and Gyeongpae in *Jangansa*; Chaeran, Yihwa, Hongdo, and Chaeheui in *Danseongsa*. Among the people talented in singing and dancing, these were people who were good at *pansori*.

It is very interesting that female master singers were mostly from the Gyeongnam area, the southeastern part of Korea. It has been a common phenomenon that *gisaeng* differ according to the regions from which they came. In *Joseon haeohwasa* (The History of *Gisaeng* of Joseon) written by Yi Neunghwa, there is a record saying, “*Gisaeng* from Yeongnam [Gyeongnam] were skilled in singing the *gwangdae*’s short songs.” Based on the fact that most of the master singers were from the Honam area, the southwestern part of Korea during the former eight master singer period, it is of interest that there were a lot of singers from other areas, especially female singers from Gyeongnam, in the more

recent period. In Gyeongnam, there are towns, such as Jinju, known to traditionally bear a lot of beauties. But this phenomenon might have been occurred since there were big cities such as Masan, Changwon and Daegu, as they entered the Japanese occupation period, which meant they had a significant material base.

Yi Hwajungseon (1889-1943) was the one who actually created a turning point in the reputation of female singers. She did not sing from her childhood, but during her marriage she had a chance to see a performance in Hyeopryulsa and decided to become a singer. She learned *pansori* from Jang Deukju in Namwon, and came back to Seoul, and there learned *pansori* from Song Mangap and Yi Dongbaek and, thus, became a master singer. Her voice was beautiful and powerful which made her very popular with audiences. In 1923, she sang the '*Chuweolmanjeong*' in *Simcheongga* at the National Pansori Competition funded by the Joseon Mulsan Jangryeohoe. Recordings of her performances were sold by a hundred thousand of copies for gramophones. The gramophone enabled an exquisite and continuous artistic experience to unspecified individuals. The fact that many of her records were sold tells us that she had become a popular star who, perhaps, provided energy and comfort to the weary common people living through the Japanese occupation period. She demonstrated that even a female singer could become a master signer and also contributed in making *pansori* popular. She expressed well sentiments through a sorrowful voice, which made her popular during that period.



<Figure 10> Yi Hwajungseon, female *pansori* singer in Japanese colonial (© Yi Jeonggyu)

Western-style operatic performances of *changgeuk* became popular because of the appearance of numerous female singers. In an opera, female roles were of course cast by females, thus the percentage of female singers exceeded that of male singers. Among the representative female singers between 1930 and 1940 were Pak Nokju, Kim Yeoran, Kim Sohui, Im Sohyang, Jo Nongok, Kim Okryeon, Oh Yanggeum, Kim Gyeongja, Kim Bong, Seong Mihyang, Kim Sunhui, Pak Choweol and Han Yeongsuk. Followed by the active performances of operas, there came the establishment of numerous opera groups. In 1936, Dongil Changeukdan was founded by Im Bangul, Pak Choweol and Pak Guihui, and after independence, *Kim Yeonsu Changgeukdan* and *Joseon Changgeukdan* were also established.

Female singers as skilled as male singers continued to appear. Based on this experience as well as a string of successful opera performances, Yeoseong Gukak Donghohwe (The Organization of Women Performers for Traditional Korean Music) was established in 1948, with women members only. This organization was founded by Pak Nokju, Kim Sohui, Pak Guihui, Im Yuaeng, Im Chunaeng and Kim Gyeonghui, and forged the beginning of women's traditional performance arts. It is true that the Japanese *takavazuka* theater influenced the formation of the group mentioned above, yet, nonetheless, it can be said that the experience of female performers until that period permitted an increased desire to make their own organization. In the same year that the *Okjunghwa* was revised from the original *Chunhyangga*, but was not a success. But in the following year, they performed *Haetnim dalnim* (*The Sun Prince and the Moon Princess*) at the Seoul Municipal Theater, which became popular. Pak Guihui acted as the Sun Prince and Kim Soheui acted as the Moon Princess, Jeong Yusaek as the Queen, and Pak Nokju acted as the Father of the Sun Prince. This performance was notable for the huge stage set and the luxurious costumes and materials, as well as the fact that it was performed only by women. According to the records by the Ministry of Culture and Education's Performance Department, there were about fifteen female opera organizations listed during 1955-1958. These organizations were popular for their interesting and numinous features since they staged performances of folk tales, mostly about love stories. But their popularity did not last for long. As the female organizations became popular, males comparatively lost their popularity and *pansori* was narrowed into a form of *changgeuk sori*, the name for performances 'cut into pieces' or 'like a play.' As opera types were not yet settled as an independent field of *pansori* performance, the primary difference between the *changgeuk* and *pansori* during this time period can be said to be that of a cast of many versus a singer. The *changgeuk sori* were preferred by general audiences and they achieved great popularity. While *changgeuk* became common, the original prominent esthetic features of *pansori* weakened. The play-like features in *changgeuk sori* were thought to be more important than the vocal performance, and thus the actor or actress only had to be good at his or her own part instead of performing the parts of all characters, as in a standard performance of *pansori*. The artistic weight that was given to the original *pansori* was diminished as a result. In *pansori*, all you had was your voice to express the happiness, anger, love and joy of human life, and, thus, the performer needed to develop great vocal skills, which was something born of endless practice. In this aspect, *pansori* can be a form of art which explores the limits of humans. But the vigorous competence so central to the genre was weakened as women began to appear as master singers and as *pansori* became like *changgeuk*.

*Pansori* achieved popularity through an intensification of its play-like feature. The introduction of the *changgeuk* form can be a good example. Also there were efforts made to insert contemporary issues and perspectives into the works of *pansori*. The Joseon Seongak Yeonguhwe, which consisted of famous singers such as Song Mangap, Yi Dongbaek and Jeong Jeongryeol, had the idea that they needed a new form of *pansori*. So in 1935, they opened a master singer competition with newly created *pansori*. This was executed based on the idea that they needed a new form of *pansori* to match up with the new audience in the new era. The following lists the newly made *pansori* at that time.

- Pak Weoljeong : *Danjongaegok*
- Jeong Jeongryeol : *Okrumong, Sukyeongnangjaeon, Baebijangjeon*
- Pak Nokju : *Janghanmong*

*Danjongaegok* is based on the real historical story of King Danjong (r.1452-1455). Jeong Jeongryeol's newly made *pansori* are based on the traditional novels, and Pak Nokju's *Janghanmong* was also based on a novel. Because the newly made *pansori* songs were normally based on traditional novels or historical stories, it cannot be said to reflect the ideas of the time. There were cases where they revised the old version of the song a little bit and put the prefix *sin* (newly made) to stress the difference between the old version and the revised version. Prefixing *sin* to a title was a method of coinage when people wanted to indicate a new flow or mode distinct from the past, such as used in the *sin soseol* (newly made novels), *sin minyo* (newly made folk songs) and *sin yeoseong* (new types of women). The same style of coinage was applied to contemporized *pansori*.

*Yeolsaga* (Song of a Patriot) was a famous piece of *pansori* that expressed the then-contemporary desire for independence. That was the time during which people fought to overcome the Japanese occupation and establish self-sovereignty, as well as overcome the difference between the two separate ideologies. For this reason, people craved a super hero, which was most likely the motivation behind creating *Yeolsaga*. *Yeolsaga* was not formed as a single piece. At first it was written about a patriot of the time, but as time went by, pieces that contained the story of a historical hero also were made. Thus, all these separate pieces were contributed by individuals as independent pieces that eventually formed a complete piece after a certain amount of time. That is why the *Yeolsaga* consists of *Yi Jun Seonsaeng Yeolsaga*, *Ahn Junggeun Yeolsaga*, *Yu Gwangsun Yeolsaga*, as well as sometimes including *Yi Sunsin jeon*, *Gwon Yul Jangggun Jeon*, and *Nokdu Jangggun Jeon Bongjun Jeon*. *Yeolsaga* is a piece of work expressing a strong sense of nationalism. Therefore it cannot be thought of as being transmitted based on a specific social class, which makes it distinct from the standard *pansori* of earlier times. Yet, it retains similarities to the traditional transmission method because many people participated in the formation of the work.

#### (4) The Period of Preservation and Rebirth

In the 1960s, people were concerned about the identification of national culture. Thus, in 1962 the Cultural Properties Protection Law (*munhwajae bohobeop*) was passed, and as one of the methods to protect cultural property, the Intangible Cultural Properties Law was made in order to set a steady transmission system in the performing arts. From that point on, *pansori*'s transmission was determined by this legislation. There have been some problems with the transmission regulated by the Intangible Cultural Property Law, but it has contributed greatly to achieving the self-transmitting power of *pansori* to some degree.

It was 1964 when *pansori* was nominated to be an Intangible Cultural Property. Five repertoires of *pansori* were nominated for this status, and the reasons were written clearly in the *Report on Intangible Cultural Treasures* published by the Cultural heritage Administration.

① *Chunhyangga*, 1964 (Research by Pak Heonbong, Yu Giryong)

Cultural treasures are in need of preservation and development, and *pansori* is facing a crisis of extinction. The former masters are passing away, one by one. Thus we should record and preserve the songs and also use them as educational materials for future singers. This form has been preserved closely to the traditional version, and corresponds as closely as possible to the late masters' *deoneum*.

② *Gangsanje Simcheongga*, 1968 (Research by Pak Heonbong, Hong Yunsik)

*Gangsanje* is a sound from a specific region named Boseong. It is a sound with tradition, and especially the *deoneum*'s tradition remains limited to *Simcheongga*. It is worth preserving the *Gangsanje Shimcheongga* because of its unique and traditional aspect.

③ *Sugungga*, 1970 (Research by Gang Hanyeong, Yu Giryong)

There are only three people left who practice this type, thus it is endangered. In *Sugungga* there is a considerable percentage of elements of *Junggoje* and *Gyeongje* which does not normally appear in other *pansori* songs and which makes it valuable for research. Therefore, this should be preserved and should be nominated as an intangible cultural treasure for the sake of *Junggoje* and *Gyeongje*. Moreover, in *Sugungga* a lot of animals and oceanic creatures are introduced, different from other songs, thus it is an important work for researching the songwriting, lyrics, and development of *pansori*. In addition, the melody of *Sugungga* is a strikingly joyful melody compared to those of other songs that contain the general *gyemyeonjo* and *jinyangjo jangdan*. This is another reason that it is important material for us to research in the study of songwriting.

④ *Jeokbyeokga*, 1971 (Research by Yu Giryong, Gang Hanyeong)

*Jeokbyeokga* is a representative piece of *Dongpyeonje*. Thus in order to preserve *Dongpyeonje* and to continue the analysis of *Dongpyeonje*, this song must be preserved. The stylistic features and the powerful voice needed to perform this piece make it a difficult song most appropriate for male singers. We must preserve this song in order to prevent the extinction of the presently remaining four to five male singers. To preserve the original form of *pansori* and also to preserve the five remaining repertoires of *pansori*, we must nominate *Jeokbyeokga* as an intangible cultural treasure.

⑤ *Heungboga*, 1971 (Research by Hong Hyeonsik, Jeong Hwayeong)

Due to the isolated nature of traditional music, the transmission of *Heungboga* faces danger. *Heungboga* is a rare song that represents the stage, characters, customs, and spirit of humble people which are a part of the Korean tradition. It is one of the three grand *pansori* works which contain satire and wit.

Based on the reasons presented above, the five *pansori* repertoires were all nominated as Intangible Cultural Properties. The reasons behind each piece becoming an Intangible Cultural Property differs slightly according to each piece, however these all share in common the sense that *pansori* is worth preserving as a Cultural Property because it faces the danger of extinction in addition to other traditional forms of art. Performers of these properties were designated as so-called "human treasures."

After Kim Yeonsu, Pak Nokju, Kim Sohui, Kim Yeoran, Jeong Gwansu and Pak Choweol became human cultural treasure for their performances of *Chunhyangga*, more people (listed below) became human treasures.

- 1970, Jeong Gwonjin(*Simcheongga*)
- 1973, Pak Nokju (*Heungboga*), Pak Dongjin (*Jeokbyeokga*), Pak Bongsul (*Jeokbyeokga*)
- 1974, Jeong Gwansu (real name : Jeong Yonghun, *Sugungga*), Pak Choweol (*Sugungga*)
- 1976, Han Seungho (real name : Han Gapju, *Jeokbyeokga*)
- 1988, Gang Dogeun (real name : Gang Maenggeun, *Heungboga*)
- 1991, Oh Jeongsuk (*Chunhyangga*), Seong Changsun (*Simcheongga*),  
Jo Sanghyeon (*Simcheongga*)
- 2002, Seong Uhyang (real name : Seong Panrye, *Chunhyangga*),  
Pak Songhui (real name : Park Jeongja, *Heungboga*),  
Han Nongseon (real name : Han Guirye, *Heungboga*), Song Sunseop (*Jeokbyeokga*)

Among these people, the ones who are still actively performing are Han Seungho, Seong Changsun, Jo Sanghyeon, Seong Uhyang, Pak Songhui and Song Sunseop. The drum accompaniment was nominated as the 59th Intangible Cultural Treasure, yet has been included in the *pansori* in 1991. Until now, Kim Myeonghwan (1978), Kim Deuksu (1985, real name : Kim Yeongsu), Kim Seongrae(1991) and Jeong Cheolho(1996) were also nominated as human treasures, and presently Kim Seonggwon (real name : Kim Seongrae) and Jeong Cheolho are actively working skill carriers. The fact that most famous singers were in their fifties created a sense of urgency in ensuring future carriers of the tradition.

The common feature of the nominees for human treasure is that they learned *pansori* by the apprentice system. This does not mean that they sang exactly the same as their teachers. Each master singer learns a style from their teachers and goes through the process of inserting their own individuality into the singing style, thus creating their unique style. This is pretty natural for *pansori* for which improvisation is intrinsic. At first, the nomination was done mainly based on *deoneum* (special melodies), but later on it was mainly done according to *badi* (the unique characteristics of a singer's work). The reason that *Chunhyangga* has become an Intangible Cultural Treasure is that it was the most popular piece of the five transmitted pieces of *pansori* from the past until today. But in these cases, the mixed version of *deoneum* of the master singer Kim Yeonsu, Pak Noju, Kim Sohui, Kim Yeoran, Jeong Gwansu and Pak Choweol was made, and then each master singer was nominated as a human treasure. The commonly used method of singing in series was the *tomak sori* (singing in parts). In other words, each master singer had his or her own unique parts and that was called the singer's *deoneum*, thus a singer presenting his or her *deoneum* in performances. The *wanchang*, or singing the whole song, which will be mentioned later, became a performance standard after Pak Dongjin sang the whole story of *Heungboga* in 1968. In fact, when human treasures began to be nominated in 1964, the general form of performing *pansori* was *tomak sori* and the Intangible Cultural Treasures were nominated mainly according to their *deoneum*. But that standard has been changed into a method of considering the whole specific *badi* when nominating a specific master singer to human treasure after 1967.

The fact that the importance of *yupa* was stressed was also one of the major characteristics of a historical transition in *pansori* during this period. In 1968 when *Simcheongga* was nominated as an Intangible Cultural Treasure, it was limited to *Gangsanje*. Moreover, *Jeokbyeokga* was nominated because it represented the *Dongpyeonje. Sori* that had a unique style based on school or family tradition was thought to be more valuable, and the unique style was adapted to the specific *badi*. For example, when they nominated the *Jeokbyeokga*, they revealed the names as “Pak Bongsul - successor of Song Mangap *Jeokbyeokga*,” “Park Dongjin - successor of Jo Hakjin *Jeokbyeokga*,” “Han Seungho - successor of Kim Chaeman *Jeokbyeokga*.” But in *pansori*, *yupa* was divided in the process of making different *sori* styles. Thus rather than thinking the list of teachers and successors carry real meaning, it should be thought of ideologically. For instance, Pak Bongsul and Song Mangap are both singers of *Dongpyeonje*, but it is not precise that Pak Bongsul was the direct successor of Song Mangap. Pak Bongsul learned most of his techniques from his father Pak Manjo and his second elder brother Pak Bongchae, and the actual period he learned from Song Mangap was very short. Therefore, it would be more correct to say that Pak Bongsul inherited the ‘sound of the Pak Family’ rather than the ‘Song Family’s sound starting from Song Heungrok to Song Mangap’. Of course, Pak Bongsul had actually learned from Song Mangap thus it can be said that he inherited Song Mangap’s sound, as it can be seen in the connection between Song Mangap to Pak Bongsul in the genealogical table of transmission (figure 1), thus it is reasonable. But it would be better explained if we think of Pak Bongsul as having created his own unique style.

It is true that the cultural properties legislation has contributed greatly to the preservation and transmission of traditional arts. This also applies to *pansori*, because *pansori* practitioners built a strong basis of transmission and preservation on behalf of the law. The apprenticeship rule, which determines the method for picking a certain person to directly become the successor of a unique singing style based on the family or school, added much to the execution of achieving the system mentioned above. The name *Boyu sinbun*, or the status of possession, was revised to the name ‘Skill and Art Possessor,’ then to ‘Transmission Education Assistant,’ and finally to ‘The Person Who Completed the Course’ according to the Cultural Treasure Protection Execution Law legislated on October 7th, 1994. As a result, the names which were used before the revision of law, ‘Candidate for Possession’ (also called ‘Associate Possessor’), ‘Teaching Assistant for Transmission Education’ (‘Teaching Assistant’ in short), and ‘Musician’ were all united and revised into the name of ‘Transmission Education Assistant.’ But in reality, some concerned actually like the previously given names and use those names. The name ‘successor’ is merely an administrative term used for fundraising by cultural offices in the past, thus it is not a legal name.

The government nominates a master singer to be a human treasure and the master singer, in turn, receives a monthly stipend. They are responsible for the continuous succession of the unique style of singing based on a family or school, have obligations to teach students and take care of the transmission, and submit the Transmission Activity Report and the Critique on the Completion Certificates, among other responsibilities.

The cultural properties legislation has undergone several revisions. The 2001 revised version of the law states, “The nominee should be the one who learned and can realize the original style and form of the important intangible cultural treasure’s style of art or technique, by experience, and thus be able

to preserve the exact format." But it is a difficult matter to decide whether it is in the original format. Because it is transmitted by word of mouth and it remains as a type of art based on tempo, some sort of change is inevitable. So the conditions to becoming nominated may confront the very nature of *pansori* which includes improvisational, ambient and dynamic features. In the Intangible Cultural Properties Report written in 1971, there were many singers, including Pak Nokju, listed as the Candidate for Possessor, and among them were Gang Dogeun. Gang Dogeun, after going through a series of hardship, finally became the human treasure of *Heungboga* in 1988. According to one opinion, several mistaken words sung by Gang Dogeun delayed his nomination. This indicates that there were most likely some legislative factors as well as artistic factors in consideration as part of the nomination process.

As the tendency to stress the importance of the *yupa* and *beopje* grew, the ambience and dynamic features of *pansori*. In other words, the artistry of *pansori* diminished in comparison to the importance of having a specific format and a typical style earned more power. Terms such as *sajinsori* “photograph sound” and *bageumsori* (fixed sound) and the phrase “Hear the sound of May and June again in September and October” emerged because people only tried to copy the original form and did not focus on the creative ad-libs. To describe the trend of people trying to perform only with the good parts learned and collected from various teachers, the term *saekdong jeogori* (a traditional shirt that has a colorful sleeve which is made by numerous cloths of different colors) was used. For example, master singer Kim Sohui’s *Chunhyangga* is a mixture of Song Mangap and Jeong Jeongryeol styles. Also, in *Simcheongga*, Pak Dongsil style and Jeong Eungmin style are mixed. In fact, these kinds of cases are easily observed in the 20th century and so these were called the *saekdong jeogori*. In this terminology, there is a sense of disparagement, implying a frustration with the lack of unique styles from specific families or schools. Looking at it from a different angle, however, the practice of learning iconic *pansori* passages can also be thought of as having created a new style by learning from various teachers. Kim Sohui has been said to have created the unique *manjeong* style. Nonetheless, the tendency to use the word *saekdong jeogori* reflects new formations in *pansori* heavily influenced by the intangible cultural property law stressing the importance of a unique style of sound.

The singer earns a high grade when he or she can sing the whole series of songs within a particular *pansori* in a row. This standard was settled because of the trend that emphasizes the *yupa*. The one who set the model for singing the whole series of song, or *wanchang*, was Pak Dongjin. He started with *Heungboga* in 1968, and sang *Chunhyangga* in 1969, *Simcheongga* in 1970, *Jeokbyeokga* in 1971 and *Sugungga* in 1972. These performances of *pansori* in their entirety happened after the government enacted the Intangible Cultural Property Legislation. Pak Dongjin’s intensions for singing the whole series during this period might have been influenced directly or indirectly by the law. At that time, Park Dongjin had performed a series of *wanchang* and, thus, gained a reputation, which led to a nomination for Holder of *Jeokbyeokga* in 1973.

Transmission became officially organized after the Intangible Cultural Treasure Protection Law was enacted, but that only applied to the *badi* of specific items. There are several cases in which one master singer had been nominated for all five repertoires of *pansori*. That happened because the practice of *pansori* was focused mainly on *badi* that had already been nominated as an Intangible Cultural Property. Thus the transmission of other *badi* happened to be endangered. For instance, Jeong

Gwangsu was nominated for the Holder of *Sugungga*, but since his other songs were not nominated, the transmission of his other songs, *Chunhyangga*, *Simcheongga*, *Heungboga*, and *Jeokbyeokga*, are facing extinction.

It is true that *pansori* is one of the most vigorously transmitted forms of traditional arts. Yet this is in comparison to other traditional arts, and it is difficult to assert whether *pansori* would have gained self-generating power strong enough to survive without the help of the legislative system. While it is true that the Intangible Cultural Property Protection Law played a significant role in the survival of *pansori*, because it emphasized the importance of a fixed format and typical style the law is criticized for diminishing the dynamic spirit of *pansori*. Now is the time that we take a closer look at the law and examine some of the criticisms that have been leveled at the system in terms of its negative effects on the development and transmission of *pansori*.

After the 1960s *pansori* was continuously created. The features of each period are written below.

### 1) 1960s - 1970s

It was the 1960s and 1970s when a steady and organized system of preservation and transmission of *pansori* forms was developed, thanks to the legislative system such as the Intangible Cultural Treasure Protection Law. This was also when, starting from the late 1960s, people started to acknowledge the importance of Korean traditions as important to national identity and as an antidote to inflow of occidental culture, representatively, that of the United States. Because of that, interest grew towards the traditional mask dances and *pansori* which were said to contain the strong spirit of the populace. And as interest grew more and more, efforts followed to reproduce or re-create traditional culture to reflect the nationalist ideology. There were active discussions on ‘Creative Mask Dance’, *madanggut* (outdoors ritual performance of chasing away evil ghosts), *madanggeuk* (outdoor play-like performances), as well as the traditional mask dances. Although *pansori* was considered within the boundary of the traditional arts, there was not a concerted effort put into revising *pansori* while the preservation of the traditional and fixed format of specific styles based on a family or school was emphasized. Figuratively speaking, as social change can be revealed more rapidly and frequently in poems compared to novels, *pansori*, being an epic form of art and carrying a strong emphasis on transmission, faces difficulties in absorbing social changes compared to mask dance, a play-like branch of performing arts.

Pak Dongjin, however, showed considerable talent in performing newly created *pansori*. In 1969 he created the *Pansori Yesujeon* (*Pansori Jesus Story*), and in 1973 he composed the *Chungmugong Yi Sunsinjeon*. In addition, he also sang *Byeongangswega*, *Baebijangjeon* and *Sukyeongnangjajeon* by inserting contemporary melodies into the pieces. These are not compositions based on historical stories, but contain newly sung melodies, thus contributing to the expansion of re-created *pansori*. It is important that Pak Dongjin, contrary to other professional *pansori* singers, sought the revival of *pansori* through expansion in the repertory and creative *pansori* performances. At the same time, it is difficult for us to think of Pak Dongjin’s works as having a specific ideological inclination in that his work is similar to the newly made *pansori* by preceding singers such as Jeong Jeongryeol and Pak Nokju.

### 2) 1980s - 1990s

During this period, the urge for social change throughout the Korean society was strongly expressed as ideological conflicts were revealed within the political field. A contributing factor to this social change was the expansion of the popular culture movement. While the movement was, at the time, a marginal movement, contemporary views on it assert its significance. It is now considered to be one of the major contemporary movements, and contemporary creative *pansori* finds its roots in the movement with Im Jintaek as the main focus.

Im Jintaek was an outstanding *bigabi gwangdae* (literally, outside performer) of this period who focused on the transmission of creative *pansori*. He graduated from Seoul National University majoring in Foreign Affairs, and, although it had no relationship to his major, learned *pansori* from Jeong Gwonjin. This was because he thought *pansori* could be used in the popular movement. He first started by singing Kim Jiha's ballad in the *pansori* version. He presented '*Ttongbada*' (*Sea of Manures*) in 1985, and he also sang *Ojeok* (*Five Enemies*) and *Sorinaeryeok* (*History of Songs*) as *pansori*. In 1990, he presented his own composition *Ohweol Gwangju* (*Gwangju in May*). People were interested in his performances not because of the musical aspects, but for his narrations that commented on contemporary matters. The created *pansori* songs Im Jintaek sang were based on the popular movements, thus gaining a reputation among college students, highly-educated people, and common people of consciousness who were also interested in social change. After the 1990s, however, when the ideological conflicts were overcome by a certain degree, his works wavered in their popularity.



<Figure 11> New created *pansori* by Kim Jiha

Although Kim Myeonggon was not as prolific in creative *pansori* as Im Jintaek, the fact that he wrote and sang his creative work in 1988, *Geum sugungga*, must be noted. Kim Myeonggon was an actor in *Geukdan arirang* (street performances presented by dissent groups). *Geum sugungga* is both a reproduction of the traditional *Sugungga* and a parody of contemporary politics that changed the original in significant ways. First, it excludes all expressions that are difficult to understand and written in Chinese characters. Second, since the title of his work claims to be the modern-day version of *Sugungga*, his song employs metaphorical expressions borrowed from the original *Sugungga* to illustrate the contemporaneous political reality in a direct manner. Third, at the conclusion, not only do both the King of the Ocean who wanted the rabbit's liver and the tiger who attempted to eat up that

rabbit die, but also democratization takes place on the land and in the underwater palace. Although Kim Myeongon's *Geum suggunga* is not entirely a new story, it still contributes significantly to the history of *pansori*. As mentioned, difficult Chinese expressions found in the conventional *pansori* repertoire were replaced with relatively easy-to-understand Korean ones, and Kim Myeongon also presented a new interpretation of the core message in *Suggunga*. His work is important because it contributed to the modern adaptation of the traditional *pansori* genre.

Until recently, newly-produced *pansori* songs have not gained enough attention from the general public, because most of the respected *pansori* singers (with the exception of a few, including Pak Dongjin) have been performing only traditional versions. Hence, it is important to note that several talented *pansori* singers sang *May the Day Last Forever* (1993) that deals with the Gwangju Democratization Movement in 1980. This song was composed by Jeong Cheolho, and such talented performers like Eun Houijin, Ahn Sukseon, Pak Geumhui, Kim Suyeon and Kim Seongae sung it part by part.

Yun Jincheol deserves special attention, because he is one of the most talented singers in contemporary times and deeply interested in re-making traditional *pansori* songs. His interest is precious because most singers have not been as interested in the reproduction of and new trends in *pansori*. Based on his experiences in composing *changgeuk*, Yun Jincheol already composed a new *pansori* song during the late 1980s. As a Catholic, he sang *Kim Daegeon jeon* (Song of Kim Daegeon), a modern *pansori* production. In 1989 at the ninth ceremony of May 18th (the first day of Gwangju Democratization movement,) held at the Namdo Art Center, he sang *Mudeung jinhonga* (Mudeung Requiem) that is based on a poem by the poet Kim Juntae. At the same location on the occasion of May 18th in 2000, he sang *Oweol Gwangju* (Gwangju in May) composed by Im Jintaek. These attempts clearly prove his political consciousness. The fact that Yun Jincheol also sang *Oweol Gwangju* is very important, because it showed that well-known singers like him also joined the movement in making new *pansori* songs, which was the trend dominantly led by so-called *bigabi* performers (those from higher social class who voluntarily chose to become *pansori* singers, a profession considered one for the lower classes) so far. Although the Gwangju song was new and not as well-known as traditional *pansori* songs, many audiences actively enjoyed Yun Jincheol's performance. This shows the potential that new and modern *pansori* songs can gain more popularity if well-known, talented singers take part in making and performing them. In short, during this period, Im Jintaek, a good example of a *binari* performer, was at the center of new *pansori* repertoires, and the participation of well-known singers like Yun Jincheol in performing new *pansori* showed its potential for success.

### 3) 2000 - present

In the wake of new millennium, the interest in newly-produced *pansori* has grown significantly, and it is not an exaggeration to say that new *pansori* repertoires are pouring out. One of the possible explanations of this sudden growth is that people have a great deal of fear of losing the *pansori* tradition. On the surface, *pansori* seems to be thriving, but in reality, *pansori* has been struggling to gain popularity and appeal to a broad audience. The resurgence of modern *pansori* productions reflects this widespread concern about the lack of popularity and the continuation of the *pansori* tradition. However, only young *pansori* singers own this apprehension and, still, many experienced performers are not

participating in developing and promoting this new trend in *pansori*.

The following *pansori* performers have shown a great interest in making new *pansori* and continuing the *pansori* tradition: Chae Sujeong, Jo Yeongjae, Jeong Yusuk, Kim Sumi, Yi Jaram, Pak Taeoh, Kim Myeongja and Kim Yonghwa. Beyond singing traditional *pansori* repertoires, these singers are very passionate about telling their own stories. They bring like-minded performers together and create *pansori* singer groups such as *Panse* (the abbreviation of the Korean expression that means "the world where *pansori* can be found everywhere"), *Sori Yeose* (Let's Begin to Sing,) *Taru* (the term means 'skills' in *pansori*), *Badak Sori* (the sound of the floor/ground). The similarity among these groups is that they take action in making the *pansori* stage more audience-friendly, participatory, and dynamic.

*Sori Yeose*, established in 1998, is a group of young people who majored in *pansori* in college. They are interested in discovering *goje sori* (*pansori* that is no longer taught and transmitted), exploring the core nature of *pansori*, and re-making the music. Since the performance of the restored *Dongpyeonje pansori* at their launching event on February 26th in 2002 at the Uri Sori (meaning "our own sound") Theater, the group has had seven regular performances. In particular, their seventh regular performance on July 5th in 2003 at the Byulorum Auditorium in the National Theater of Korea consisted entirely of newly-produced *pansori* repertoires.

The group *Taru* emphasizes theatrical elements in their plays. On October, 2003, as a part of The Jeonju World Sound Festival, the First Creative *Pansori* Self-Teaching Contest was held and this event is significant since the establishment has publicly accommodated creative *pansori*. Even though the tournament was supervised by the establishment and there were prizes, the number of participants and the quality of the works were not satisfactory.

There is no doubt that "The Ddorang Ggangdae Contest" has potential significance in garnering increased popularity for the genre, as well as gaining access to wider audiences and encouraging more creation of the new *pansori* repertoires. However, whether to keep the title of the contest as such is debatable. Traditionally, the term *ddorang ggangdae* was normally understood as a not-so-qualified singer, rather than the performer who is audience-friendly. Thus, coordinators of this contest should take into account that the negative image of its title would discourage some singers from participating in the event. The format of competition would also be problematic. Monetary awards to winners can motivate participants and make the audience remain curious about final outcomes of the event. Yet, this competitive structure would conflict with the very characteristics of *ddorang ggangdae* who had been known and adored for freestyle lyrics, wit, satire, creativity, realism, amateurism, and keeping the *pansori* tradition.

The Ddorang Ggangdae Contest coordinators also started the "Insa Dong Street *Pansori* Performance" to meet the increasing demand of new *pansori*, in particular in Seoul where street *pansori* performance is rare. Yi Gyuho and Pak Heungju took special roles in integrating ideas and opinions from young performers from groups such as *Panse*, *Sori Yeose*, *Taru*, *Badak Sori*, and other groups into their planning process. The outcome of this concerted effort was "The Lightening Sound Street

Performances” that simultaneously took place in Insadong, Jongro, in various subway stations, in the Chogye Buddhist Temple and other popular venues on May 19th in 2002. All the performing groups at the different locations gathered together for the closing performance at Insa Dong, and afterwards, they shared foods and liquors with the audience, a common ceremony in concluding traditional street performances. This type of street performance seems to be most similar to the “Guerilla Concert,” a popular TV program where famous Korean pop singers had street concerts without any announcements. However, the performance is derived from the idea of 1980s-era street demonstrations designed to widely spread demonstrators’ causes and to actively seek ordinary citizens who would support their causes. The only difference is that these *pansori* performances provided the audience with information sheets to learn more about the performers instead of the flyers validating their fights for democracy in Korean society. At “The Lightening Sound Street Performance,” the playful imagination and courageous spontaneity of young *pansori* singers performing both traditional and new repertoires impressed random audiences, which is surprising and promising. This enthusiastic response from the audience shows young *pansori* performers the possibility that *pansori* can thrive as an art that has strong emotional responsiveness from the audience. As a result, “Insa Dong Street Singing Performance” was born and is running as a recurring event.

Above all, there is typically no participation by *myeongchang* with professional talents in these events, which presents us with the problem of coming up with ideas to encourage master singer to participate in *pansori* performances. Works that have been introduced by such groups or soripan like “*Insa Dong Street Singing Performance*,” “*Sori Yeose*,” “*The Ddorang Ggangdae Contest*,” “*Badak Sori*,” “*Taru*,” “*Creative Pansori Self-teaching Contest*” can be catalogued as the following:

- ㉠ Kim Myeongja *Candy taryong* (*Song of Candy*)  
*Superdaek sireumdaehwe chuljeinggi* (*Superman’s Korean Traditional Wrestling Debut*)
- ㉡ Kim Sumi, short song *Urideuleui sae daetongryeong* (*Our New President*) (a poem of Im Bo)  
*Naneun ttorai-iljido moreunda* (*I Might be a Fool*)
- ㉢ Kim Jeongeun *Hokburi Yeonggam* (*A Man with a Lump*)
- ㉣ Ryu Sugon, *Haetnim dalnim* (*Sun Prince and Moon Princess*)
- ㉤ Pak Taeoh *Zerg First Rush Part of Starcraft League*
- ㉥ Yi Gyuho *Ddongbada Miguk Version* (American version of sea of manures)
- ㉦ Yi Deokin *Ahppaeui beolgeum* (*Dad’s Fine*)
- ㉧ Yi Jaram *Misun, Hyosuneul wihab chumoga* (*A memorial song for Misun, Hyosun*),  
*Guji Daehanminguk*
- ㉨ Jeong Yusuk, short song *Geureon sesang* (*Such World*) (poem of Im Bo)  
*Nunneon bueongyi* (*Blind Owl*)
- ㉩ Jo Yeongjae, Jo Yeonghui *Jangkkijeon* (reproduced *pansori*, by Kim Yeonsu)
- ㉪ Choi Yongseok, Pak Aeri’s co-written, *Tokkiwa geobugi* (*The Rabbit and the Turtle*)



Creative *pansori* that have been introduced to this day be categorized by subject matter or thematically: 1) Stories based on fairytales or novels; 2) Stories dealing with the dreams and pains of the petit bourgeois class; and 3) works with strong political satire.

There has been much effort to establish and spread new *pansori*, as we enter the 21st century and this cannot be compared to the past. This phenomenon reflects paradoxically the crucial moment that *pansori* is facing today, and the new emergence of *pansori* can be explained as a desperate result of critical overview that unless *pansori* finds a new path, and not holding stubbornly onto traditional pieces, *pansori* cannot remain viable as a “living” art. Even though the quantity of creative *pansori* that are being newly introduced is growing, it is hard to say that the quality of these pieces is getting better proportionally.

These experimental works tried from different perspectives to contain both possibilities and limits. The critical mind that points out that *pansori* needs to have a zeitgeist and seriously consider interacting with the audience is very important. If *pansori* with artistic excellence can emerge with these critiques in mind, the history of *pansori* in the 21st century will be rewritten.

