



Chapter VI
Recording *Pansori*

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It seems particularly appropriate to explore recordings of *pansori*, a genre that comprises speech (*aniri*) and song (*sori*), since the earliest recordings made by the man credited with being the first to succeed in recording and reproducing sounds – Thomas Alvin Edison – were of speech, not music. Music recordings came later, and some twelve years after the earliest known, made by the pianist Josef Hofmann in Edison’s laboratory at Newark, New Jersey, in 1887 (Benko 1999: 12),¹ a single 1899 advert published in a Korean newspaper, the *Hwangseong sinmun* of 13 March 1899, marks the earliest reference to music recordings (in this case, Western music) for sale in Korea (reproduced, with modern Korean transliteration, in No 1995: 657). At that time, debate continued in Europe and America about whether music could be adequately recorded. In London, Waldo Selden Pratt told members of the Musical Association in 1895 that music was best studied as literature; much the same was said by the Music Teachers’ Association in their 1908 charter (Day 2002: 76–7). Indeed, Percy Grainger famously argued with other folksong collectors and notators who refused in their notations to incorporate all the details preserved ‘in the grooves’ of records (see Harker 1985: 207–09).²

In the following pages I explore recordings of *pansori*. I begin by looking at the early years of music recording in Korea, and suggest that recordings were initially designed to stimulate sales of hardware – gramophones – and were produced for markets beyond Korea as much as for local consumers. I detail some of the recent re-releases of early SP recordings before shifting attention to the 1960s and 1970s, two decades in which the Korean music industry began to shake off the strictures and poverty of the war years and its aftermath. This was the time when the performance of *wanchang*, complete repertoires of *pansori* of several hours in duration, became important, and by the 1970s *wanchang* began to be released on multiple LPs. The 1960s was the decade when efforts were made to halt the decline of *pansori*, and when scholars, journalists and others involved in the preservation of the genre as a state-appointed Intangible Cultural Property began to work to establish distinct repertoire versions and lineages of singers. Emerging from this work, and in particular from a group of scholars within the Pansori Hakhwe, come the landmark recordings of *pansori* published by the Deep-Rooted Tree; these form my focus for my fourth section. Then, I explore the 1990s – a decade that in Korean music recording terms belonged to the CD – and in a final section discuss developments in repertoire and evolutions in performance style, as *pansori* was recorded with jazz, rap, and hip hop fusions, and as the genre was reinvented, not as an exclusive genre belonging to heroic singers, but as ‘songs of the people’.

Shellac: Early Recordings

In Korea, the recording industry began as something foreign. Early advertisements in the press are predominantly for imported gramophones; below are adverts from *Mansebo* published in March and April 1907 and from an August 1909 copy of the *Daehan minbo*. To sell gramophone equipment required a supply of recordings to play on them and, much as the industry operated elsewhere (as documented by Prentice (2002) in respect to the Gramophone Company’s 1909 expedition to the Caucasus), a strategy to record local music, which could be sold both at home and abroad, was soon in place. The first documented recordings of Korean music to be published were contemporaneous to early gramophone adverts. They were made by foreign companies: the Columbia Graphophone Company in 1907 recorded a series of popular folksongs³ sung by Han Ino (with catalogue numbers

from Columbia 2275 to 2299).⁴ Next, sometime after 1908 but before 1911, the Victor Talking Machine Company of New Jersey made three Korean recordings – the labels state they were recorded in Korea but, since prices are printed on their labels in dollars, they were presumably sold in the United States. Of these, Victor 13510 has a trio of gisaeng courtesans singing the southwestern popular folksong, ‘*Yukchabaegi*,’ Victor 13528 has an excerpt from the *pansori* repertory of *Jeokbyeokka/Song of the Battle at the Red Cliff*, and Victor 13530 a vocal duet with drum accompaniment, ‘*Yusanga*’. More, often undated, recordings followed, again with prices printed in dollars, featuring *pansori* excerpts (*Simcheongga/Song of the Filial Daughter* on Victor 49286, *Chunhyangga/Song of Spring Fragrance* on Victor 42988, and *Heungboga/Song of Two Brothers* on Victor 43226) as well as popular folksongs (*Seongjupuri* on Victor 42971 and *Ibyeolga* on Victor 42984). By this time, Korea was falling further under the yoke of Japanese expansionism, hence the Japanese label Nipponophone released its first recordings of Korean music in 1911 – the popular folksongs ‘*Gase taryeong*,’ ‘*Gyeongosan taryeong*,’ ‘*Jebiga*’ ‘*Seongjupuri*’ and so on – most likely intending them primarily for the Japanese market.⁵



<Figure 1-3> from *No Dongeun Hanguk keundae eumaksa* 1995: 659]

Adverts for gramophones (Top: *Mansebo*, 19 March – 4 April 1907; bottom left: *Mansebo*, 14-25 April 1907; bottom right: *Daehan minbo*, 4 August 1909. Source: *No Dongeun* 1995: 659).

Following the agreement between major Western recording companies to divide up global territories, Victor set up a Japanese subsidiary in 1927. This resulted in a renewed interest in recording local musics, including the music of Korea. A number of recordings were released in January 1929, among them nineteen SP recordings made in June 1928 that featured members of the forerunner to today's National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts, the Court Music Bureau (Yiwangjik

Aakpu) (numbered Victor 49801 – 49820, but no 49814 was released; Bae Yeonhyeong 1994: 288–90). Also in 1928, Victor recorded the celebrated *pansori* singer Yi Dongbaek (1866 – 1947) singing excerpts of ‘Filial Daughter’ (Victor 49025 and 49033) and other *pansori* repertory sung by well-known singers of the time: O Taeseok, Baek Unseon, Kim Gyeseon and Kim Sangsun (Victor 49015, 49018, 49019, 49051), the celebrated female singer Yi Hwajungseon (1898 – 1943; Columbia 49004, 49005, 49045), and others. It is possible that the Japanese musicologist Tanabe Hisao had something to do with the Court Music Bureau recordings.⁶ It is notable though that, in contrast to these Court Music Bureau releases, until that time most recordings, reflecting local tastes but also technical reasons, had been of vocal music. At the local level, many singers were celebrated, as is clear from the biographies that feature so strongly in *pansori* histories (such as in Jeong Nosik’s *Joseon changgeuksa* (1940)). In contrast instrumental ensembles of the court and literati were known to only a small percentage of the population, and few if any instrumentalists had fame anywhere near comparable to that of vocalists. From a technical perspective, the process of acoustic recording, which lasted until the development of electrical amplification around 1925, strongly favoured the voice. Since energy was needed to actuate the sapphire cutter that made the grooves in a disc, energy, in the form of soundwaves, needed to be concentrated. This was most easily done by a vocalist singing into a horn: no similar mechanism existed to capture the acoustics of an orchestra or the resonance of a piano, let alone Korean *gayageum* or *geomungo* zithers. Further, acoustic recording captured frequencies up to 2,000 Hz, an octave above the soprano range, but well below many of the harmonics that provide the timbral distinctiveness of instruments.

Until the mid twentieth century, discs were limited to about four minutes per side. This particularly suited the popular folksong repertory, but presented difficulties for the recording of longer *pansori* episodes. Hence, many discs featured only favourite songs from each *pansori* story. Shellac, a tree insect resin native to India, was the primary material used for discs, and this yielded best results where discs spun at speed (that is, at 78rpm) and where there was reasonable distance between grooves; hence the limited time available.⁷ Despite the resultant restrictions, Nipponophone was one of the earliest labels to release multiple discs featuring extended performances of *pansori*. The daily newspaper *Maeil sinbo* announced in September 1925 that a second Japanese label, Nitto, had recorded extended excerpts from both *Filial Daughter* and *Spring Fragrance*; additional Nitto releases appeared over the next few years (the label’s releases are charted by Bae Yeonhyeong 1993: 15 – 76). Japanese companies, and the foreign companies that set up Japanese subsidiaries, had their main studios in Japan, hence many recordings of Korean music were made there rather than in Seoul. Beyond *pansori*, Yun Simdeok’s celebrated *yuhaengga* (‘song in fashion’), ‘*Saui chanmi/Adoration of Death*’ (1926), is a particularly tragic example. Yun, with her married lover, drowned as they returned by boat to Korea from recording the song in Japan; it is presumed that the couple, knowing that they would be unable to stay together in conservative Korea, jumped overboard.

In the mid 1920s, Seoul’s first department stores opened, providing ready sites for the promotion and sale of luxury goods such as gramophones. Given that at this time department stores also multiplied in Japan, recording companies became more active in order to provide a steady stream of recordings for consumers who had invested in gramophones. Columbia, along with Victor, returned to the Korean music market in 1928, making extensive recordings of Yi Hwajungseon singing folksongs,

danga vocal warm-up songs, and excerpts from three pansori repertoires (*madang*), *Filial Daughter*, *Battle at the Red Cliff* and *Spring Fragrance*. (During her career, Yi made many SP recordings, taking songs from all five standard *pansori* stories.) Along with Columbia, Victor, Nipponophone and Nitto, the short lived Deer and Eagle began issuing Korean recordings in 1931, King/Kirin, Polydor, Chieron and Taihai in 1932, Okeh in 1933, Regal in 1934, and New Korea and Shochiku/Star in 1935.⁸

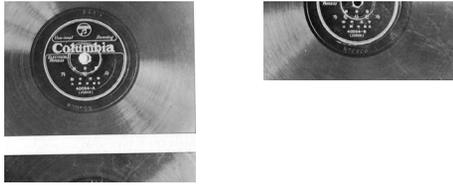
Even though recordings were promoted to wealthy Koreans, it is clear that Japan remained a major market, as a recent article on the best-known Korean folksong, ‘*Arirang*’, brilliantly shows (Atkins 2007). Indeed, throughout the Japanese occupation of Korea, gramophones remained a luxury item. The pansori singer Jo Sanghyeon (b.1939) related to me in interview in August 1992 that:

Only the richest people in our village were able to afford gramophones. Everybody would gather in the evenings to hear the sound such a machine produced. We were very curious, and when I was really young I thought there must be people inside the machine itself. We put old SP recordings on, produced in Japan, and these lasted about three minutes per side. I enjoyed listening and singing along to the songs. We have a saying, ‘near ink one is stained black’, and so, since I liked listening to music, it was my destiny that music would become my life.

By 1945, more than 5,000 discs of Korean music had been produced.⁹ These early recordings today provide a treasure trove for researchers. That they should do so is partly a reflection on the nature of Korean musicology, which has developed a methodology that is both historical and comparative. Comparison both delineates difference between versions of the same musical piece and demonstrates the development of repertoire over time (Howard 2002); historicism tends to seek the oldest version of a piece, or the earliest recording. In 1988, to make some of the early twentieth-century SP recordings more available, three enthusiasts, Bae Yeonhyeong, Yang Jeonghwan and Jeong Changgwon, decided to reissue some on LP, featuring five celebrated *pansori* singers. Their compilation was reviewed enthusiastically on TV, by five newspapers and in two journals (Sheen 2001: 171). It was released as *Pansori 5 myeongchang* (LP, Sung Eum SEL-RO 135, 1988; CD, Synnara SYNCD-004, 1992) and featured Song Mangap (1865–1939), Kim Changhwan (1854–1927), Yi Dongbaek (1866–1947), Jeong Jeongryeol (1875–1938) and Kim Changryong (1872–1935).¹⁰

That first LP led to the formation of the Society for Korean Discology (Hanguk goeumban yeon-guhwe), inaugurated in March 1989 at the home of the folk music scholar Yi Bohyeong with a small initial membership of just eight. Since 1990, the society has held annual conferences and exhibitions of SP discs; in its 1990 exhibition, it presented 145 discs of court music, folksongs, *pansori* and more. Since 1991, it has published an annual journal, Korean Discology (*Hanguk eumbanhak*). Society members have created a series of re-issues, starting with Yi Hwajungseon – regarded by many as the foremost female pansori singer of the early twentieth century¹¹ – including excerpts from all five standard *pansori* stories as well as the southwestern folksong ‘*Yukchabaegi*’ (taken from Columbia 40029, 40044, 40054, 40063 – all recorded in 1928–, and the later Columbia 40100, Regal C274 and C321, and K800). This first album was released on LP in 1989 (Sung Eum SEL-RO 0219) and in 1992 on CD (Synnara SYNCD-012). Next, they assembled recordings of Yi’s elder, Kim Changhwan (LP, Sung Eum SELRO 598, 1990), then recordings of a younger singer, Im Bangul (1905–1961) (LP, Sung

Eum SEL-RO 597, 1990; CD, Synnara SYNCD-010, 1992).¹² Im is famed as much for his repertoire (for which, see Jeon Idu 1986) as for his travels throughout the southwestern Jeolla region. Follow-up volumes began with additional SP recordings by Yi Hwajungseon, including a warm-up *danga*, a further version of the folksong ‘*Yukchabaegi*’ and additional excerpts from three *pansori* repertoires (taken from Okeh 1697, Victor KJ1002, Columbia 40028, 40030, 40034, 40043, 40044, 40062, 40063, and Regal C122), This was issued both on LP and CD in 1992 (King Records KO-002, Synnara SYNCD-012). Another Im Bangul album followed four years later (Synnara SYNCD-150, 1996).



<Figure 4, 5>Labels of Columbia SP recordings of Yi Hwajungseon.



<Figure 6>Polydor SP boxed set, *Chunhyangjeon/Story of Spring Fragrance*



<Figure 7>Booklet note for Columbia 40028 featuring Yi Hwajungseon

The reason why so many SPs have survived is because of collectors. One is the folk music scholar Yi Bohyeong, who in the 1960s and 1970s travelled the country conducting fieldwork for the Cultural Properties Management Bureau (Munhwajae gwalliguk). He simply asked people he visited if

they had old SPs. Other collectors included the founder members of the Korean Society for Discology, and members of the company Synnara. Synnara, formed in 1980 and linked to a religious group, states its aims as set down by its founder, Kim Gisun, the second of which is ‘to preserve traditional Korean music, to restore it and to promote it to Korea, East Asia, and the world.’ The company identifies three areas of activity, the first of which is to collect and archive SP recordings made during the Japanese occupation, while the others are to profile contemporary great musicians and great singers (as I will discuss below), and to enhance the quality of Korean compositions (the subject of another paper yet to be written).¹³ A museum and archive of SP recordings has been established at the company’s Yongin headquarters, the holdings of which are catalogued by Kim Jeomdo (2000).

Since 1990, Synnara has been the primary publisher of SP compilations. It has issued albums featuring single singers as well as extended *pansori* renditions sung, in the early twentieth-century popular quasi-operatic style of *changgeuk*,¹⁴ by multiple singers. The re-releases include:

- *Cheokpyeokka/Song of the Battle at the Red Cliff* from 1935 SPs (3 CDs, SYNCD-007, 1992) featuring Yi Dongbaek, Jeong Jeongryeol, Kim Changryong, Jo Hakjin, Im Sohyang and Mun Yeonhyang, with the drummer Han Seongjun;

- *Chunhyangga/Song of Spring Fragrance* from 1936 Victor SPs (3 CDs, SYNCD-009, 1992) featuring Jeong Jeongryeol, Im Bangul, Kim Sohui, Yi Hwajungseon and Pak Nokju, with the drummer Han Seongjun;

- *Spring Fragrance* from 1935 Columbia SPs (3 LPs, Sung Eum SELRO-594, 1990, and 2 CDs, Synnara SYNCD-013, 1993) featuring Kim Changryong, Yi Hwajungseon, O Bichwi and Gwon Geumju, with the drummer Han Seongjun;

- *Spring Fragrance* from 1927 SPs (2 CDs, SYNCD-106, 1996) featuring Yi Dngbaek, Kim Chuweol, Sin Geumhong and the drummer Yi Heungwon;

- *Simcheongga/Song of the Filial Daughter* from 1935 Polydor SPs (3 LPs, Sung Eum SELRO-600, 1989) featuring Yi Dongbaek, Jeong Jeongryeol, Kim Changryong, Jo Hakjin, Im Sohyang and Mun Yeonhyang, with the drummer Han Seongjun;

- Four CDs under the title ‘Great Female Voices of *Pansori*’ (*Pansori yeoryu myeongchangdeul*) (SYNCD-066, -067, -068, -069, 1994) featuring Kim Chohyang, Gwon Geumju, Kim Sohui, Sin Suk, Pak Nokju, O Bichwi, Yi Hwajungseon, Sin Geomhong, Bae Seolhyang, Kim Sohyang, Pak Sochun and Jo Nongok;

- Four CDs devoted to single male *pansori* singers: Kim Changhwan (1854–1927), Jeong Jeongryeol (1875–1938), Kim Changryong (1872–1934) and Yi Seonyu (1872–?) (SYNCD-080, -081, -082, -103, 1995 and 1996).

Other re-released recordings have appeared from other companies, notably from Seoul Records and their Cantabile subsidiary. Two significant examples are SRCD-1064 (1992) and SRCD-1072 (1992). While the second of these contains more of the SPs recorded by Yi Hwajungseon, the first takes a detailed look at the so-called ‘Eastern School’ (*Dongpyeonje*) of *pansori*, considered masculine and slightly brash and associated with the great singer Song Mangap (1865–1939). Three songs of Song are contained along with excerpts from recordings by five other singers—Song Gideok, Yi Seonyu, Jang Pangae, Kim Jeongmun and Pak Junggeun—all recorded between 1929 and 1934.



<Figure 8>Synnara CD re-release of Victor SP ‘Chunhyangjeon/Story of “Spring Fragrance”’

Wanchang: Recording Complete Repertoires

In 1968, Pak Dongjin (1917–2003) performed a five-hour version of *Heungboga/Song of Two Brothers* at the school then attached to the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts. For this, he is normally credited with re-establishing the notion of performing the *wanchang*, a complete *pansori* story of many hours in duration. In 1969, Pak gave an eight-hour version of *Chunhyangga/Story of Song of Spring Fragrance* at the National Theater. He followed this up with complete performances of the remaining three standard stories over the next three years (Yu Ikseo and Kim Myeonggon 1985: 10; Kim Myeonggon 1993: 58; Jeong Beomtae 2001: 233). The extended recordings on SP sets re-released by Synnara and noted above characteristically feature a number of singers and this, according to the late Kim Sohui (1917–1995), had in the earlier years of the twentieth century been the standard way that *pansori* was performed. But, today, it is widely considered that the multi-singer tradition had been deleterious, leading to a decline in the abilities and expertise of individual singers. Kim Sohui herself came to prominence in staged versions of *pansori* in the 1930s, where she was one of a group (for which, see Pihl 1984 and 1994, and the Synnara re-releases of SPs listed above). However, she was, however, well capable of giving complete performances, for her complete performances of two *pansori* stories, (*Spring Fragrance* and *Filial Daughter* are published. Chan E. Park takes us one stage further in our understanding of the way that older singers had performed, remarking, on the basis of an interview with Seong Uhyang, that the norm had been ‘segmental episodic singing’, much as in Japanese *kabuki* or Beijing opera (Park 2003: 107).

By the 1960s, scholars and aficionados, including the journalist Ye Yonghae in his columns for the *Hanguk ilbo* (Korea Daily News) and his book *Ingan Munhwajae* (Human Cultural Properties), were concerned at the decline of *pansori*: *pansori* lacked popularity. Their concerns can be seen reflected in the appointment of the genre amongst the first group of the government’s Intangible Cultural Properties (*Muhyeong munhwajae*) in 1964. *Pansori* was appointed as Property No.5 (drum accompaniment, *pansori gobeop*, was appointed Property No.59 in 1978, but was absorbed into Property No.5 in 1991).¹⁵ As a Property, lineages were established for each of the five repertoires, known collectively as the *daseos madang*. The need to create an entity for each – with key singers identified and nominated as ‘holders’ (*boyuja*) required to perform, teach and preserve – matched the

move towards *wanchang*. From autumn 1973, the preservation agenda was pushed forward by a group of four scholars and aficionados, Jeong Byeonguk, Gang Hanyeong, Yi Bohyeong and Go Hyeonguk, founder members of an association, the Pansori Hakhwe. Amongst these, Jeong was a Korean literature professor at Seoul National University, best remembered for his book, *Hanguui pansori* (1981). This is still respected by singers, because ‘Jeong listened to *pansori* from the time he was seven years old. He would sit on his grandfather’s knee and listen. Singing and playing the drum accompaniment became his hobby’ (Jo Sanghyeon, interview, August 1992). Gang published the landmark texts of *pansori* compiled in the nineteenth century by the petty government official Sin Jaehyo (1812–1884), a relative, and in later life become director of the National Traditional Opera Company (the Gungrip Changgeukdan). Go Hyeonguk was President of North Jeolla National University, with a campus situated in the city considered the heartland of *pansori*, Jeonju; Yi Bohyeong has already been mentioned, as a folk music scholar born in Jeolla.

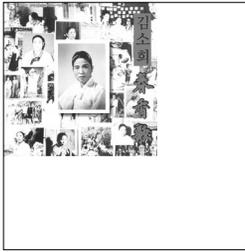
The Pansori Hakhwe promoted complete performances.¹⁶ The association’s members felt that singers’ livelihoods had been gradually taken away, to the extent that they were now invited to take part in less and less events, in virtually no entertainment parties associated with courtesans, and in fewer rites of passage such as the sixtieth birthday *hwangap* celebration. Many singers lived in poverty (and prior to 1974, ‘holders’ of an Intangible Cultural Property did not receive a salary). Many, due to the dedication and long apprenticeships they had served as singers, were unable to find alternative employment. The association suspected that *changgeuk*, which had taken many singers away into touring groups and which had itself been declining since its heyday in the 1950s, had played a part in undermining the popularity of the solo genre. Initially, the association organised one performance event every month, and as audiences grew, so sponsorship was sought. The Deep-Rooted Tree, a journal and associated company where the Jeolla native Han Changgi was president, and the *Hanguk ilbo*, where Ye Yonghae was an influential journalist, became the key sponsors. The frequency of performance events increased until they were held almost weekly. The events were publicised through the journal and newspaper, and only singers who could sing a complete repertoire, a *wanchang*, were invited. Han Changgi once pointed out to me what he called the ‘dualism of the audience.’ Both young and old were attracted, some of the elderly reacting to the singer with traditional ‘shouts of encouragement’ known as *chuimsae*, while younger audience members sat, engrossed, as if they were at a Western music concert. Students dominated the younger contingent, attracted by their search for roots for Korean identity. Each singer also had supporters. Audiences rapidly expanded.

Within five years, one-hundred performance events were held. *Pansori* had returned to popularity. But success also spelt doom. As singers recognized their new status, they demanded higher fees, not least since they were now generously rewarded for performing short *pansori* segments on television or at festivals in major venues, so felt they should apply some form of multiplier to arrive at an appropriate fee for a *wanchang* performance. The Pansori Hakhwe, though, used sponsorship to cover what they were unable to raise at the box office, and found it difficult to increase their funding. Several singers refused to perform when offered what they considered inadequate payments, and criticism began to be levelled at the Pansori Hakhwe itself. The performance events, though, had now showcased the entire *pansori* repertoire as practiced within the major lineages that were now documented, and so the decision was taken to suspend the series. The legacy survived, though, for

many *wanchang* recordings had been or were soon made.

Some recordings were made and archived by the National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts. Excerpts were published on LP on their *Hanguk eumak seonjip/Selections of Korean Classical Music* series, a series issued from 1972 onwards on an annual basis, while extended versions of each of the five repertoires, taken from recordings, were notated by Kim Gisu (1917–1986) and published as volumes of notations in the two series *Hanguk eumak/Anthology of Korean Music (1968 onwards)* and *Gugak jeonjip/Collection of Traditional Music (1973 onwards)*. Note that the first set of these was in Western staff notation while the second comprised transnotations of the same performances into an adapted and updated Korean square box notation known as *jeongganbo*.

In 1976, a series of recordings were funded under the banner of the Korean Cultural Properties Preservation Society (Hanguk Munhwajae Boho Hyeophwe). These were published on a number of labels, notably as part of Jigu Records 50 LP set, *Hanguk jeontong eumak daejeonjip* (Great Collection of Traditional Korean Music), in 1980. Within this set, Kim Sohui's *Spring Fragrance*, recorded in 1976 with the great drummer Kim Myeonghwan (1913–1989), was released on seven discs (vols. 30–36); it had previously been issued on five discs by Sung Eum in 1978, and in 1988 was re-released in the *Chungang ilbo* (Central Daily News) set, *Gugagui hyanggyeon* (*The Scent of Korean Traditional Music*), again on seven discs (vols. 32–38). Later still it appeared on six CDs (Seoul Records, SRCD-1293 – SRCD-1298, 1995). Kim's almost contemporaneous *Filial Daughter*, originally issued by Sung Eum in 1974 on four LPs and in which she was again accompanied by Kim Myeonghwan, was re-released twenty years later as a four-CD set (Seoul Records, SRCD-1299 – SRCD-1302, 1995). The Jigu version of *Filial Daughter* is not by Kim but by Jeong Gweonjin (1927–1985) accompanied by Sin Eunhyu (vols. 37–40) while the *Chungang ilbo* version is by Seong Changsun (b.1934) accompanied by a further celebrated drummer, the Chindo-born Kim Deuksu (1916–1990) (vols. 39–42). *Two Brothers* is given by Pak Nokju (1906–1981), recorded shortly before her death and accompanied by a third celebrated drummer, Kim Dongjun (1928–1990) (Jigu, vols. 41–42; *Chungang ilbo*, vols. 45–46). *Underwater Palace* is given primarily by Jeong Gwangsu (b.1909) on both the Jigu and *Chungang ilbo* set (vols. 43–45 in both sets), although the last section is by Pak Choweol (1917–1978) (vol. 46A in the Jigu set but 46A/B in the *Chungang ilbo* set); both singers are accompanied by Kim Myeonghwan. *Battle at the Red Cliff* is performed by Pak Bongsul (1922–1989) (Jigu vols. 46B–49; *Chungang ilbo* vols. 47–50A); the Jigu set adds a truncated version by Pak Dongjin (1916–2003) (vol. 50A) and two central episodes by Han Seungho (b.1924) (vol. 50B), while the *Chungang ilbo* set only has Han's recording (vol. 50B).



<Figure 9> Kim Sohui, cover of Seoul Records CD re-release of '*Simcheongga/Story of the Filial Daughter*'



<Figure 10> Pak Dongjin, cover of SKC boxed CD of '*Heungboga/Story of the Two Brothers*'

In the 1980s, Pak Dongjin agreed with the technology company SKC to perform all five of the standard repertoires. The contract required him to record one story per year, and he later recalled that to do so he had to rehearse daily from early morning (Yi Ikseo *et al* 1985: 17). All five were published in boxed CD sets in 1988 (on SKC SKCD-K-0249, 2 CDs, SKCD-K-0250, 2 CDs, SKCD-K-0251, 5 CDs, SKCD-K-0252, 2 CDs, SKCD-K-0253, 3 CDs). In his background, Pak had learned all five from celebrated musicians. He began learning *Battle of the Red Cliff* from the drummer Ji Donggeun and the singer Son Byeongdu, then became the disciple of Jeong Jeongryeol in 1934, moving to Seoul to work more closely with Jeong during the last year of the latter's life. Beginning in 1937, he learned *Two Brothers* from Pak Jinheung, then *Filial Daughter* from Kim Changjin, *Underwater Palace* from Yu Seongjun, and *Battle at the Red Cliff* from Jo Hakjin. When I interviewed him in 1990, he commented:

In this head of mine I have some three-hundred hours of music, all of which I carry around with me. All the traditional *pansori* stories, the melodies, the texts and other elements of *pansori*, they are all in my head. I also have about one-hundred hours of new music that I've worked on during my life.... This makes me rather special amongst musicians who tend to specialize in just one story from the five repertoires.... I have also made a lot of recordings, but this is because record companies approach me. I don't approach them. I am content that people will always recognize my name, so when I die and my soul flies away my music will live on.

The Deep-Rooted Tree

By the end of the 1970s, *The Ppuri gipeun namu* (*Deep-Rooted Tree*), a major sponsor of the Pansori Hakhwe's performance events, was controlled by Korea Britannica, a local subsidiary of the American corporation. Under its president, the suave and urbane Han Changgi (1930–1997), the journal did much to promote traditional culture until it was forcibly closed in 1980 by the incoming military regime of Jeon Duhwan.¹⁷ Without a journal, the company found other, often unprofitable,¹⁸ ways to survive. It commissioned potters to make contemporary high quality ceramic tea sets, and set about developing a market for tea grown on the slopes of Jiri Mountain at a time when most tea sold in Korea was imported from elsewhere in East Asia. It commissioned white ceramic and bronze full place settings, weaning buyers away from cheap metal bowls. It produced two landmark book series, the 11-volume *Hangukui balgyeon/The Discovery of Korea* (1983) and the twenty-volume *Ppuri gipeun namu minjung jaseojeon/The Deep-Rooted Tree Oral Histories* (1989–1992). It sponsored potters to reintroduce *jangdeok* – the brown earthenware pots associated with the storage and fermentation of *gimchi*, pickled cabbage – but without the common lead-based shiny glaze.¹⁹ After the departure from office of Jun, and with the separation of the two constituent companies, The Deep-Rooted Tree established a new journal, *Saemi gipeun mul* (*Deep Water of the Spring*).

The Deep-Rooted Tree also published sets of recordings, amongst them two outstanding collections of pansori: *Ppuri gipeun namu pansori* (*The Deep-Rooted Tree Pansori Collection*) (23 LPs; Korea Britannica, Jigu JLS 120162 – JLS 120167, 1982) and *Ppuri gipeun namu pansori daseos batang* (*The Deep-Rooted Tree Pansori Daseos Batang*) (22 LPs, The Deep-Rooted Tree, SELRO 593, SELRO 596, SELRO 668, OL-3225 and OL-3241, 1989-1992).²⁰ Both were lavishly packaged collector's items: the first, with Korea Britannica rather than *The Deep-Rooted Tree* named on its packaging as publisher, was priced at 174,000 *weon* – roughly the average monthly wage when it appeared in 1982.

The first set marked the efforts of the Pansori Hakhwe and was packaged in five separate boxes, each with extensive booklets of 94, 71, 74, 66 and 73 pages respectively; a final disc, giving a sample of eleven *pansori* warm-up songs, *danga*, was packaged separately with a 25-page booklet. The booklets give complete texts but, recognizing that many words in each pansori repertoire, whether indigenous or Sino-Korean in origin, are archaic, a massive number of footnotes clarify the meaning. Cheong Byeonguk, Ha Seongnae and many in-house researchers provided the footnotes: *Spring Fragrance* has 1606, *Battle at the Red Cliff* 1011, *Underwater Palace* 853, and *Two Brothers* 923. This method of annotating texts has become commonplace in *wanchang* recordings. Each booklet in the set has an introduction to *pansori* by the Hakhwe member and folk music scholar Yi Bohyeong (with English translation by the musicologist Song Bangsong), an overview of the development of the specific repertoire, and background notes to both singer and drummer.²¹

Singers were selected by the Pansori Hakhwe. The scholars chose singers with lineage pedigree: singers who had learnt a complete repertoire from a celebrated singer, singers who had not been compromised by over-exposure on the media, singers who concentrated on music and text rather than staging or comedy, and singers who had not been extensively recorded elsewhere. According to Han, an attempt was made to select singers who had concentrated on solo *pansori* in their careers rather than the group *changeuk* style, although this was hardly possible. These criteria explain the absence of some of

the best-known singers, such as Kim Sohui and Pak Dongjin. The four singers chosen comprise two who at the time had been appointed ‘holders’ of pansori as an Intangible Cultural Property (Jeong Gwonjin, 1927–1986, and Pak Bongsul, 1922–1989), one ‘holder’ of a Provincial Cultural Property who was virtually unknown in Seoul (Han Aesun, b.1924), and a young performer who at the time was both popular and well known as a *changgeuk* star (Jo Sanghyeon, b.1939).²² Pak Bongsul recorded two repertoires, *Two Brothers* and *Underwater Palace*. The drummer for all five repertoires is Kim Myeonghwan, at the time of recording the sole ‘holder’ of the then separate Property for this craft. The first two of the singers hailed from North Jeolla Province and the last two from South Jeolla. Amongst the singers, Han was least known. Born in 1924 in Okkwa, South Jeolla, a place known for its *gisaeng* courtesans, she specialised in the *Seopyeonje*, Western School, and had learnt for six years from Pak Dongsil before touring with a troupe (Pak migrated to North Korea following liberation). Following a brief three-year marriage that stopped her singing, she resumed training with Im Bangul, then with Pak Nokju, settling in Gwangju. Not willing to seek her fortune in Seoul, she remained poor but dedicated: training others into the 1980s, she still left the city regularly for retreats in the mountains where she would ‘join the birds in song’. Following *the Deep-Rooted Tree* recording, she gave a full *wanchang* performance during a single trip to France, but then returned to her provincial existence.²³



<Figure 11-12>Booklet covers (cropped) from 1982 LPs, Jeong Gwonjin’s *Jeokbyeokga/Story of the Battle at the Red Cliff* and Han Aesun’s *Simcheongga/Story of the Filial Daughter*

The second set of Deep-Rooted Tree recordings was published between 1989 and 1992. The format remained much the same: lavish packaging, large booklets, and still LPs rather than the increasingly popular CDs. Without the support of Korea Britannica, The Deep-Rooted Tree obtained backing from IBM-Korea, on condition that many of the initial pressings would be distributed by them. Each repertoire was released separately, packaged in its own box. One recording was carried over from those prepared for but not released in the first set, but the others were new, and recorded singers representative of different schools and lineages. Responding to a criticism in reviews of the 1982 set, a few elderly aficionados were present at the recording sessions to provide the characteristic ‘shouts of encouragement’ (*chuimsae*), and the performances were recorded in single take – given that Jo Sanghyeon performed *Filial Daughter* twice in its entirety, the booklet notes how he sang in the recording studio from 7.00 pm one night until 2.00 pm the next afternoon. The singers (with dates, and dates of recording but listed in the order of release) are O Jeongsuk (b.1935; *Two Brothers*; 1989), Chwe Seunghui (*Spring Fragrance*; 1980), Song Sunseop (b.1939; *Battle of the Red Cliff*; 1990), Jeong Gwangsu (b.1909; *Underwater Palace*; 1991) and Jo Sanghyeon (b.1939; *Filial Daughter*; 1991). Four

of these singers were or are ‘holders’ of the pansori Intangible Cultural Property. Note that the three most celebrated drummers – Kim Myeonghwan, Kim Dongjun and Kim Deuksu – all died in quick succession in 1989 and 1990, hence although the first two of these accompany O Jeongsuk and Chwe Seunghui, lesser known drummers are employed on the last three; Kim Seonggwon, Jeong Cheolho and Jang Jongmin.

By now, much more scholarship on pansori had been published, and the selection of singers was assisted by the musicologist and composer Baek Daeung, then a professor at Chungang University and latterly president of the Korean National University of the Arts. In recognition that the set was to contain different versions of each repertoire to the recordings in the 1982 set, Paek chose the indigenous term ‘*batang*’ over ‘*madang*’, providing a justification in an article printed in the booklet to the initial release, *Two Brothers*. He explored distinctiveness in terms of artistic achievement, capturing this with the term *nun*:

Here, our use of the word *nun* does not simply refer to a particular point where the plot of the story generates interest, but instead where the musical structure is outstanding. Aside from this context, *nun* is used in the following ways: ‘*jangdan* (rhythmic pattern) *nun*’ or ‘*gil* (mode or scale) *nun*’.... In other words, those who were great singers had a full understanding of *pansori* and thus knew when they should really exert the most effort.²⁴

Hence, singers were chosen for what they represented. For instance, Jo Sanghyeon, already recorded for the first set, was invited to sing *Filial Daughter* because he had been born and brought up in Boseong, North Jeolla. This was a place famed for the so-called ‘River and Mountain Style’ (*Gangsanje*), a style developed over three generations by Pak Yujeon, Jeong Jaegeun and Jeong Eungmin (1896–1964). Jo had spent seven years as apprentice to Jeong Eungmin, longer than any other contemporary singer.

A major difference within this second set is that the songs of each repertoire are notated – using the Western staff system – thus extending the length of booklets: *Filial Daughter*, for example, runs to 153 pages (and 1153 footnotes), *Battle at the Red Cliff* to 138 pages (1341) and *Underwater Palace* to 142 pages (1214). Each booklet is lavishly illustrated.

Sustaining the Tradition

Any number of single pansori albums, and any number of poorly produced cassettes – often of staged changgeuk rather than solo *pansori* – could be listed. Visitors to Korea through to the 1980s probably stocked up on the latter, not knowing the provenance, the original dates of recording, or whether they were listening to celebrated or little known singers; hence I will pass swiftly on. Abroad, four recordings have received fairly good distribution: *Korea: Vocal and Instrumental Music* (Folkways, New York, FE-4325, 1965), *Korean Social and Folk Music* (Lyricord, New York, LLST-7211, 1970), *Pansori: Korean Epic Vocal Art and Instrumental Music* (LP, Nonesuch Explorer, New York, H-72049, 1972 and Nonesuch Explorer 72049-2, 1988 on CD) and *Simcheongga: The Epic Vocal Art of Pansori* (JVC World Sounds, Tokyo, VICG-5019-2, 1990). While the first two contain fairly short excerpts poorly explained, the third dates back to the 1970s and offers Kim, interspersed with Sohui giving two segments, one from *Two Brothers* and one from *Filial Daughter* instrumental

tracks from the literati and folk traditions. The fourth dates from the 1980s and comprises just the opening scenes of *Filial Daughter* given by the accomplished Jeong Jeongmin accompanied by Pak Jongseon. The sudden cut at the end of this CD indicates that a much longer recording was made, perhaps the whole wanchang, cutting it to length without much concern about the storyline.

In Korea, the 1990s was the decade of CDs. Some publishers returned to vintage recordings of extended or complete repertoires. Oasis revisited SPs, producing Im Bangul's recording of *Battle at the Red Cliff* (2 CDs, Oasis ORC-1568 – 1569, 1996) and a version of *Two Brothers* by a group of singers including Kim Sohui, the sisters Kim Jeonghui and Kim Gyeonghui, and Pak Bongsul (2 CDs, Oasis ORC-1566 – 1567, 1996). Some companies released recordings that had been stored on tape or previously published on LPs, such as Jeong Gwonjin's *Filial Daughter* from 1970 (3 CDs, King Records SYNCD-030 – SYNCD-032, 1992) and Pak Choweol's (1916–1984) late 1960s recording of *Two Brothers* (2 CDs, Synnara NSSRCD-001 – NSSRCD-002, 1998) and the early 1970s *Underwater Palace* (2 CDs, Oasis ORC-1448 and ORC-1449, 1994). Other releases included Kim Yeonsu's (1907–1974) 1966 recordings of *Two Brothers* and *Battle at the Red Cliff*, both contained on single CDs (Jigu JCDS-0455 and JCDS-0458, 1994) and a more extended 1968 staged *changgeuk* version directed by Kim Yeonsu but featuring Kim Sohui, Pak Nokju, Pak Choweol and eight other singers (3 CDs, Jigu JCDS-0577, 1997). Kim Dongjun, normally remembered as a drummer, had in his youth also been a singer, and Synnara released his early 1960s recording of *Battle at the Red Cliff* (2 CDs, Synnara NSSRCD-003, 1999).

Many new recordings of extended or complete repertoires appeared, amongst them Seong Changsun's *Spring Fragrance* (4 CDs, Sung Eum SEM DS0052, 1994) and two recordings of *Filial Daughter* (3 CDs, Sung Eum SEM DS0051, 1994; 3 CDs, Oasis ORC-1445– ORC-1447, 1994), Kim Sohui's disciple An Sukseon's (b.1949) *Spring Fragrance* (6 CDs, Samsung Music SCO-93AHN, 1997), Kim Suyeon's (b.1948) *Two Brothers* (2 CDs, Synnara SYNCD-084, 1995), Yi Ilju's (b.1936) *Spring Fragrance* (5 CDs, Synnara SYNCD-097, 1995), Gang Dogeun's (1918–1996) *Two Brothers* (3 LPs, Sung Eum SELRO-666, 1990; 3 CDs, Synnara SYNCD-027, 1993) and *Underwater Palace* (3 LPs, Sung Eum SELRO-664, 1990), Pak Choweol's disciple Chwe Nansu's (b.1935) *Underwater Palace* (2 CD, Synnara NSSRCD-051, 2002), Han Nongseon's (b.1924) abbreviated *Two Brothers* (2 CDs, Samsung Music, SCO-133CSS – 134CSS, 1997), and the little known 'Western School' (*Seopyeonje*) pansori Property 'holder' Han Seungho's (b.1924) *Battle at the Red Cliff* (2 CDs, Munhwajae gwalliguk, no number or date). O Jeongsuk (b.1935) sought to match Pak Dongjin's earlier rendition of all five standard repertoires when Synnara announced the 2001 release of her five sets: *Filial Daughter* (5 CDs, NSSRCD-043), *Two Brothers* (2 CDs, NSSRCD-044), *Spring Fragrance* (8 CDs, NSSRCD-045), *Battle at the Red Cliff* (3 CDs, NSSRCD-046) and *Underwater Palace* (3 CDs, NSSRCD-047).

Pak Dongjin had effectively already trumped his own and O Jeongsuk's efforts, adding to his recordings of all five standard repertoires a sixth, *Byeongangswega/Song of Byeon Gangswe* (3 CDs, Synnara SYNCD-005, 1990). The outline of this latter had been noted down by Sin Jaehyo in the nineteenth century, and the first track sung by Pak is actually based on a poem left by Sin, '*Gwangdaega/Song of the Entertainer*'. Sin's texts were given life by Chwe Donghyeon, a scholar suitably from Gunsan, close to Pak's own birthplace. Much along the lines of The Deep-Rooted Tree

productions, the texts come well annotated, the 115-page booklet having some 1025 footnotes. By joining Baek Daeung's theory of *nun* in *pansori* to this sixth repertory, Synnara then released an update of The Deep-Rooted Tree's 1994 sampler CD as *Jeonseongui han: Pansori yeoseot batang ui nun daemok* (Synnara Music NSSRCD-005, 1998). This could be translated as 'the suffering of heaven – elucidating the characteristics of the six pansori repertoires'.

Other CDs feature live recordings, or introduce new singers. Seoul Records, on its subsidiary Cantabile, has three live recordings from a 1993 festival, one each for O Jeongsuk, Seong Changsun and Pak Dongin, all published in 1994 (SRCD-1188, SRCD-1193, SRCD-1194). Five young singers, Yu Miri, Jo Juseon, Pak Seonmi, Chwe Jinsuk and Gang Gyeongja, give diverse *pansori* excerpts then all join together in a rousing rendition of the southwestern folksong 'Yukchabaegi' on the misnamed Jeolmeun *sanjo* III (Samsung Music SCO-095CSS, 1996). Winners of the premier *pansori* festival, the Daesaseup Contest held in Jeonju, North Jeolla Province, are featured on a series of four CDs under the title *Deugeum* (Seoul Records SRCD-1382 – SRCD-1385, 1997). The first of these takes listeners from 1975 (when the winner was O Jeongsuk) to 1981 (when the winner was Chwe Jaeseon); the second covers 1982-1986, and the third and fourth bring us up to 1996. Again, members of the Korean Society of Discology, including Yi Bohyeong and Jeong Changgwan, have released their own field tapes and studio recordings of *pansori*.

Developing Audiences, Creating Pansori

Jo Sanghyeon remarked to me in August 1992 that a *pansori* singer must capture 'the reality of life in all its colours', a comment that suggests the condition of *han*, a nationalistic metaphor that at its simplest indicates shared oppression or a grievance founded on invasion, war, and political control (Kim Sangil and No Youngchan 1984; Sasse 1991; Grinker 1998; De Ceuster and Maliangkay 2004). *Han* is prevalent amongst singers, according to the late literature scholar Marshal Pihl: '*Pansori* distinguishes itself as a popular literature by eliciting sympathy through suffering: it gives its audience a means to endure sorrow' (Pihl 1994: 6). *Han* is brilliantly captured in *Seopyeonje*, a 1993 film directed by Im Gweontaek based on a novel by Yi Jeongjun.²⁵ The title refers to the lyrical, emotional and slightly feminine 'Western School' of *pansori*. In the film, a poverty-stricken father (Yu Bong) blinds his daughter (Yu Songhwa) so that she will endure the requisite suffering that will allow her to become a singer. This recap brings me to the soundtrack, created by Kim Sucheol (b.1958), formerly a pop musician and actor who had turned to writing incidental music for TV dramas, films and dance during the 1980s. For *Seopyeonje*, he coupled *daegeum* flute and synthesizer to excerpts of two *pansori* repertoires sung by the young O Jeongbae as the daughter, by former Minister of Culture Kim Myeonggon as the father, and by Kim Sohui's disciple, An Sukseon. Such was the success of the soundtrack that, although previous albums of incidental music had typically featured just theme songs, Kim's was released as a stand-alone CD that quickly sold more than a million copies – which was even 'bought out' by a second label keen to maximize sales (Seoul Records SRCD-3215, 1993, and Samsung Nices SCO-046KSC, 1994).



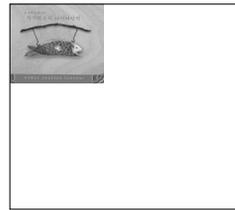
<Figure 13>Seoul Records,
CD of *Seopyeonje* soundtrack,
music by Kim Suchul (1994)



<Figure 14>Pak Dongjin,
cover of SKC boxed CDs of
Yesujeon/Story of Jesus (1988)



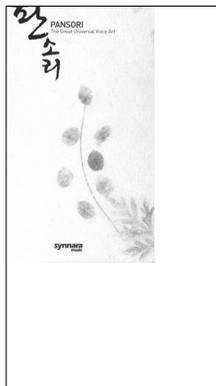
<Figure 15>Synnara CD of
Yeolsega/Song of the Patriots (1994)



<Figure 16>KBS CD
of newly created *pansori* (2004)



<Figure 17>Synnara boxed CDs,
Yujin Jeong's *Heungboga/Story
of the Two Brothers* (2002)



<Figure 18>Synnara boxed set,
Pansori: The Great Universal Voice Art (2003)



<Figure 19>CD issued by
the National Center for Korean
Traditional Performing Arts
to celebrate the appointment of
pansori as a UNESCO 'Masterpiece' (2003)



While evolution and development in pansori during much of the 20th century was primarily a feature of the staged version, *changgeuk*, the 1980s and 1990s saw the solo genre evolve. Pak Dongjin, for example, turned to his personal faith in *Yesujeon/The Story of Jesus* (2 CDs, SKC SKCD-K-0254, 1988). On the recording, he works with his normal accompanist, Ju Bongsin, and in layout keeps close to *pansori* of old, mixing narration, song and dramatic action, characteristic rhythmic cycles (*jangdan*) modes (*jo*), and melodic shapes. The vocal qualities (*seongeum*) are those of the old genre, and the drummer engages in familiar shouts of encouragement (*chuimsae*). If anything, there is rather less narration than in *pansori* of old, although narration still moves the drama along while songs dwell on significant aspects. *Story of Jesus* opens atypically, with a prophecy set to a moderately fast 12/8 *jungjungmori* rhythmic cycle (normally, *pansori* would start with narration), but subsequent rhythmic cycles are selected much as they would be within the tradition.

Much as *Story of Jesus* could be considered ‘traditionesque’ (to use Andrew Killick’s term; Killick 1998), so, but for slightly different reasons, could the creations of Im Jintaek (b.1950). Im is a student of Jeong Gwonjin, the late holder of *pansori* as Property No5. His updated *pansori* are showcased on three albums for Seoul Records: SRCD-3262, SRCD-3263 and SRCD-3285. All three were recorded in 1993 but released a year later, in 1994, after domestic pressure for justice had grown following the departure from office of Jeon Duhwan’s successor as president, his fellow former general No Taewu. Emerging out of campus campaigns for democracy, the first two CDs take three rhapsodic poems of the former dissident Kim Jiha, ‘*Sori naeryeok/Story of a Sound*’, ‘*Tong bada/Sea of Excrement*’, and ‘*Ojeok/Five Bandits*’. Im is said to have performed them in secret 160 times during the 1980s; Kim had inspired much of the student movement’s artistic production, and for this had been arrested and sentenced to death, although he survived (McCann 1980: 1–11). Like Pak, Im retained the *pansori* frame, but unlike him, he attempted to be more immediate, using colloquial speech and enhancing the feeling of suffering through vocal vibrato, glottal stops, and sheer outpourings of emotion. The same techniques are there in Im’s *Oweol Gwangju/wangju*, which is recorded on the third CD. This is a celebration of the May 1980 citizen’s uprising in the southwestern city of Gwangju.

The suppression of that uprising is also remembered by the drummer Jeong Cheolho’s *Geunariyeo yeongweon hara/That Year is Immortal*, premiered in 1990 and recorded in its staged version by singers including Eun Huijin, An Sukseon, Kim Suyeon and Kim Seongae (Synnara SYNCD-051, 1993). It is also there in *5.18, Haneuldo ulgo ttangdo ulgo/18 May, Heaven and Earth Cried*, premiered in 1993. The tradition of social commentary that these represent can be tracked back a number of decades to *Yeolsaga/Song of the Patriots* (2 CDs, Synnara SYNCD-047, 1994). This earlier work is a *pansori* account of five martyrs who fought Japanese invasion and colonialism most probably created before 1945. Although popular amongst singers and a potent symbol of national independence, it had long been suppressed because of its association with Pak Dongsil, a singer encountered above for his SP recordings who migrated to North Korea in the immediate post-war period. The date when *Song of the Patriots* was recorded is again significant, for it marks the seismic political changes of 1993.²⁶ Part of this same repertoire, ‘*Yu Gwansunjeon/Story of the Patriot Yu Gwansun*’, was recorded later by O Jeongsuk (Synnara Music NSSRCD-006, 1999).

The possibilities that CDs offered have been explored in many ways. In 1994, just as the world of pop music exploded with diversity and talent, an album called *Rap chang* was released (Dae Seong,

1994). This contained rap versions of *pansori* arranged by Kim Changgwon and sung by Pak Seonmi. The first track, '*Simtong heungbuga*', proved notorious, since it introduced a description of excrement in base language within the familiar frame of *Two Brothers*. *Pansori* met hip hop on One Sun (Deuk-Young DPKPD-0096, 2001) by Yi Jaram, and is occasionally evoked on rock albums, including one by Sin Haecheol, the musician behind the experimental group N.EX.T.²⁷ It has been mixed with jazz, notably when An Sukseon joined the contemporary percussion quartet Samulnori and the saxophonist Yi jongsik in an episode from *Underwater Palace* renamed '*Rabit Story*' (track 1 on King Records KSC-4150A, 1995). It was even transformed into an Andrew Webberesque stage musical in Baek Daeung's *Yeongweonhan sarang Chunhyangi/Chunhyang, The Eternal Love*, recorded as volume 10 of the Korean National University of the Arts' series *Deutgo sipeun uri eumak/Masterpieces of Korean Music* (2002).

As the new millennium dawned, so an anti-establishment contest took a new direction. Set up in 2001 and held in Jeonju, like the old *pansori* festival, the Ditch Clowns Contest (Ttorang Kkangdae Konteseuteu) soon issued its own recordings and become influential. The contest rejected the dominance of elderly singers who argued for the maintenance of tradition, and announced that the audience would have equal say to judges in who should win.²⁸ They thus moved the goalposts – as the critic and broadcaster Yun Junggang in a 2005 Arirang TV programme quipped – from 'songs of heroes' to 'songs of the people'.²⁹ Both major broadcasters, KBS and MBC, began to feature singers from the Ditch Clowns Contest, and KBS commissioned new pieces with contemporary angles for its '*Gugak hanmadang/Traditional Music One Place*' programme. One notable CD of such performances is KBS Media/ene media ENEC-034, 2004. This features a touching performance by the 11-year-old Kim Haeram, telling of a baby dinosaur, Dulli, and four other creations referring to education cramming, the difficulty of finding suitable spouses, unemployment, and disease amongst the elderly: '*sipdae aeroga/Teenager*' bottleneck,' '*Nochonggak gasigiga/The old bachelor*,' '*Ogong-ssi bulhwang talchulgi/Escape from business depression*,' and '*Hwang seonbi chimae dwichiga/Eliminating Alzheimer's disease*.'³⁰

Finally, *pansori* has been promoted abroad. Synnara has been the company that has experimented with this the most, following the company aim as quoted earlier. Its first significant attempt was in 2002, with the release of recordings by Yujin Jeong (b.1945) of *Two Brothers* (2 CDs, Synnara NSSRCD-053, 2002) and *Battle at the Red Cliff* (3 CDs, Synnara NSSRCD-054, 2002). Jeong had been a disciple of Pak Nokju. She had left Korea to study at the University of Washington in Seattle and then at the University of California, where she gained a doctorate in 1998. A more lavish double CD set, housed in a box fastened by magnets, followed a year later, *Pansori: The Great Universal Voice Art* (2 CDs, Synnara NSC-070, 2003). This features five young singers – Jeong Eunhye (b. 1983), Jang Manhui, Hyeon Mi (b.1978), Im Hyeonbin (b.1975) and Nam Sangil (b.1979) – and juxtaposes episodes from each of the five standard repertoires. I suspect that these releases have, despite the publisher's intention, largely sold within Korea. So, I suspect, has a further album devised ostensibly to celebrate the global attention brought by the 2003 appointment of *pansori* as a UNESCO 'Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Mankind'. For this, American jazz artists combined with junior Korean *pansori* stars – and an SP of one singer who died in 1938 – at the Jeonju festival, creating a crossover titled *Pansori East to West* (recorded as Synnara NSC-083, 2004).

The National Center for Korean Traditional Performing Arts also celebrated the UNESCO ‘Masterpiece’ nomination, taking excerpts from exemplary recordings in a 2004 promotional CD. This took recordings owned by Seoul Records, The Deep-Rooted Tree, the Cultural Properties Administration, and Yejeon Media featuring Kim Sohui, Jeong Gwangsu, Pak Songhui, Pak Dongjin and An Hyangnyeon. This CD, distributed around the world, was issued in 2004 as Seoul Records SRCD-8035. And this takes me full circle back to my introduction. Whereas the recording industry first reached Korea as something foreign, with SP recordings made by Victor, Columbia, and other foreign companies that stimulated sales of the hardware – gramophones –, the industry has become something Korean. Today, it is an industry that designs products primarily for local consumption, but occasionally attempts forays into foreign lands to promote Korean music, including *pansori*.

¹ A recording survives of Brahms playing part of his first G major *Hungarian Dance*, made in Vienna in 1889 (Walker 1997: 24), and fragments are preserved in the Edison National Historic Site of Handel’s *Israel in Egypt* performed at Crystal Palace in London in 1888.

² Dave Harker points out recordings removed the monopoly over style and taste that collectors of folk music had exerted. In Britain, at the time of Grainger’s published collections, Sharp, Kidson and others were producing notations to be used in the teaching of folksongs in schools. Harker writes: ‘Anyone could use a phonograph, and self-styled experts were therefore redundant!’ (1985: 208).

³ In this chapter, following an earlier article (Howard 1999), I distinguish popular folksongs (*tongsok-minyo* or, in some accounts, *sin-minyo*) as ‘songs for the people’ from local folksongs, ‘songs of the people’ (*tosok minyo, yennal sori/norae*). Popular folksongs include, most typically, those songs associated with professional urban or travelling musicians, often with the suffix ‘*taryeong*’ (as in ‘*Gyeongbokkung taryeong*’, ‘*Sae taryeong*’, and so on). Popular songs, rather than local folksongs, provided common fodder for recording studios.

⁴ Kim Jeomdo (2000: 444) lists a number of known additional early and undated Columbia recordings.

⁵ Bae Yeonhyeong (1991: 98?100) states these appeared in autumn 1911; Kim Jeomdo (2000) dates them to 1912.

⁶ Tanabe Hisao’s ‘*Chōsen ongaku-ko*’, published in 1921, considered the surviving court repertory. I was told several times by non-Korean scholars in the 1980s how Tanabe was instrumental in rescuing the dying court repertoire – an idea that in no way matches Korean understandings.

⁷ Supplies of shellac dried up in during World War II. The replacement that was found, vinyl, allowed both a reduction in the width of grooves and could accommodate more data per groove, thereby allowing disc rotation to be slowed to 33 1/3 rpm.

⁸ Here, I am concerned only with recordings of Korean music; my primary source for dates is Kim Jeomdo’s edited volume cataloguing the archives of the Synnara company (Kim 2000). Other companies that released Korean recordings during the colonial period included Shochiko, Corea, Tombo, Million, Corona, New Korea and Lucky Record.

⁹ This is the number given in the first volume of *Korean Discology (Han-guk eumbanhak)* by Jeong Changgwan (1991: 243).

¹⁰ For details, see Yi Taegyū (2003: 28).

¹¹ Kim Sohui (1917–1994), who in many ways inherited Yi’s crown and who as a young girl sang alongside her, provides a heart-felt tribute in the booklet accompanying the first re-release (Sung Eum SEL-RO 0219, 1989).

¹² Synnara bought the rights to these albums, hence LPs with Sung Eum numbers were repackaged with Synnara logos.

¹³ Taken from press releases supplied to me in 2007 by Synnara president Jeong Mungyo.

¹⁴ Or rather, its predecessors, for which we see Andrew Killick’s article in this volume.

- ¹⁵ The craft of making drums for *pansori* accompaniment, *buk meugi*, was initially appointed Property No.63 in 1980, but the skill was in 1995 absorbed into Property No.42, instrument making.
- ¹⁶ The following is based on interviews in 1983 and at assorted later times with Han Changgi, Ye Yonghae and Yi Bohyeong.
- ¹⁷ Jun closed TV and radio stations as well as many publishing houses, claiming that journalists were undermining Korea's moral and political integrity. This gave Han grounds to argue that the forced closure of *The Deep-Rooted Tree* had been a mistake; he made this explicit in the literature accompanying a 1989 LP release, *Ganggangsullae (The Deep-Rooted Tree/Sung Eum SELRO-599, 1989, with documentation in the November 1989 issue of Saemi gipeun mul).*
- ¹⁸ I worked for the company in 1983, editing, amongst other tasks, monthly reports to Britannica's headquarters that sought to explain continuing losses.
- ¹⁹ Lead allowed the kiln firing temperature to be reduced. In discussions and advertisements that followed the reintroduction of *The Deep-Rooted Tree's* unglazed earthenware, the claim was often made that Japanese occupiers had encouraged Koreans to introduce poisonous lead. For a discussion of potters and their craft, see Sayers and Rinzler (1987).
- ²⁰ Other sets of *The Deep-Rooted Tree* recordings were *Ppuri gipeun namu paldo sori (The Deep-Rooted Tree Collection of Korean Folksongs)* (10 LPs, Korea Britannica, Jigu JLS 120166 ? JLS 120176, 1984), *Sanjo jeonjip (The Deep-Rooted Tree Sanjo Collection)* (9 LPs, The Deep-Rooted Tree SELRO 137, 1989), and *Ppuri gipeun namu seulpeun sori/The Deep-Rooted Tree Collection of Korean Songs of Sorrow* (3 LPs) (The Deep-Rooted Tree SELRO 138, 1989).
- ²¹ The texts were brought together in a book (*Ppuri gipeun namu*, eds, 1982).
- ²² Jo was appointed 'holder' in 1991. See Howard (2006: 60– 67) for a list of 'holders' and for a biography and interview with Jo.
- ²³ Interview, July 1983. See Howard (1983: 60– 62) for a more detailed account.
- ²⁴ *The Deep-Rooted Tree* and Synnara later published a separate CD exploring nun, essentially compiling what Baek considered the most distinctive episodes from each of the five *pansori* performances recorded for the 1989– 1992 set (*The Deep-Rooted Tree*, CDD-013, 1994). For Baek Daeung's theoretical take on *pansori*, see Baek 1982 and 1986.
- ²⁵ See Kim-Renaud (1994), and Willoughby (this volume).
- ²⁶ For further details, see Chan E. Park (2003: 127?34).
- ²⁷ http://press.chungbuk.ac.kr/kor/main.php?act=readno&no=3742&title_no=739§ion_no=20 (accessed 4 February 2005).
- ²⁸ www.dorang.org (accessed 2 February 2005).
- ²⁹ This sort of distinction is familiar from Korean perspectives on Western art music (where the composer becomes the Enlightenment hero), or in distinctions between professional and communal music.
- ³⁰ Lyrics by Kim Eungyeong, Kim Sanggyu and Kim Byongjun, music by Pak Aeri, Nam Sangil, Yu Yeongdae and Um Chungil. English titles given here are my glosses.