

한국어문학의 심화와 확산
온라인 강의 동영상
가이드북

판소리의 세계 (The World of Pansori)

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이 영상은 2021년 대한민국 교육부와 한국학중앙연구원(한국학진흥사업단)을 통해 K학술확산연구소사업의 지원을 받아 제작되었음
(AKS-2021-KDA-1250006)

강의계획서

- 강의명: The World of Pansori
- 강사명: Anna Yates-Lu
- 구성: 총 10차시
- 분과: Classical Literature
- 수준: 중급
- 수업방식: 강의형

- 강의 목표

To learn about the traditional sung storytelling art form pansori, understand its history and music, and explore aspects of Korean culture expressed through the traditional art form and its modern iterations.

- 강의 계획

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- 수강생 유의사항

1. 학습활동으로 제시된 퀴즈, 토론, 보고서 과제들을 충실히 수행하여야 합니다.
2. 강좌 내용 및 학습 과정과 관련하여 질문 사항이 있는 경우 K-MOOC 강의 게시판 또는 서울대학교 한국어문학연구소 K학술확산연구센터 홈페이지의 질문 게시판을 이용하기 바랍니다.

<Lecture 1> What is pansori?

■ 학습목표

1. 판소리의 특징과 역사를 이해한다.
2. 판소리의 실제 학습 과정을 파악한다.
3. 판소리를 소재로 한 대중 문화 콘텐츠의 사례를 살펴본다.

■ 강의 목차

1. Introduction to course
2. Explanation of pansori and performance practice
3. History of pansori
4. Process of learning
5. Pansori in popular culture
6. Conclusion

■ 강의 내용 전문

1. Introduction to course

Hello, and welcome to the first lecture on the topic “The World of Pansori”. So as this is the first lecture, we’ll start by discussing the topic: what is pansori?

Before we do, let's have a little look at what we are looking at in this course in general, so you can see we're in the first lecture, where I'm looking at what is pansori and how we can understand the genre. Then we're going to lecture 2, where we're going to be looking at the music of pansori. In the third lecture, well, actually the third through seventh lectures, we are going to be talking about the 5 core stories which make up the core repertoire of the genre. So lecture 3 is about Chunhyangga, lecture 4 is about Heungboga, lecture 5 is on Simcheongga, lecture 6 is about Sugungga, and lecture 7 is about Jeokbyeokga. I will explain what each of these stories are, and some interesting elements within each of the stories. In week 8, we're going to be talking a bit about the lost stories - some of the stories that used to be told in pansori aren't told anymore, and we'll look at what they are and why they disappeared. In week 9, we're going to be looking at some new

stories, so stories that have been told since the beginning of the twentieth century in the pansori format. And then finally in week 10 we're going to be looking at various efforts that have been made in modernizing pansori.

Okay, so for this lecture, let's see what we'll be talking about. You've already had the introduction to the course at this point, after that let me introduce the 4 main areas in this lecture: we're explaining what exactly pansori is and what is specific about its performance practice. We'll learn a little bit about the history of the genre, then we'll think a little bit about the process of learning, how does it work. And then finally, we'll take a look at pansori in popular culture, I'm going to be giving you guys a couple of tips for places where you can start looking at some more pansori content if you want to find out more about this area. Now, obviously you will also be able to find more tips on readings, video clips to watch, YouTube channels, a list of films, documentaries, and so on, all of these things will be available in the class materials as well. And then, finally, we'll just have a conclusion, and summary to complete the lecture.

2. Explanation of pansori and performance practice

Okay, so let's start with the first topic, which is giving you guys a bit of an explanation of pansori, as well as the performance practice. What we'll do, this may be a topic that is new to many of you, so we'll start with a short video clip, showing you guys just a little bit to see what pansori looks like, what it sounds like. Let's have a look at that together.

Okay, so what you just saw there was Lee Joo-eun performing 'Saranga', the Song of Love from the pansori story Chunhyangga, and we will be coming back to that later in this course, to look more at what exactly is being sung there. But what you can see in the clip is a pretty standard format of a pansori performance.

Now let's have a look at this, this is a long text, but it covers all of the basics. So what we'll do. We'll go through this text together, and then you can see I've highlighted some of the main points of this definition for us to look at in a little bit more detail.

In performance, the pansori singer, wearing a traditional Korean costume, delivers a dramatic story through songs (sori), dialogue, or narration (aniri) and gesture (ballim) using the symbolic props of a fan and handkerchief. Most performances begin with an introductory song, dan-ga (a short song), to warm up the voice, followed by a prologue. This narration, aniri, then alternates with various songs.

As the performance continues, the singer continually shifts roles and perspectives between that of the storyteller, the narrator in the story, and the different characters.

The drummer, gosu, who also wears a traditional costume, accompanies the singer on a barrel drum (buk) by playing jangdan (rhythms based on set rhythmic cycles) assigned to each song although he may improvise on the basic rhythmic pattern in sympathy with the textual and melodic context.

He also makes calls of encouragement or ch'uimsae at appropriate phrase endings. The expression of ch'uimsae include "eolssigu" (fantastic), "jota" (good), "geureotchi" (perfect) and so on, which in turn should be compatible with the melodic phrase and dramatic situation. For example, the uplifting and energetic "eolssigu" usually comes in the middle of a phrase where the singer sustains a high long note. The gentle soothing "geureotchi" functions as a re-affirmation and is added at the end of a melodic cadence (just as a note here, by the way, that isn't necessarily the case. But it can help you if you're not sure where to add these kind of shouts of encouragement).

The importance of the drummer's role in pansori is emphasized by the old saying "il gosu, i myeongchang" (first the drummer, second the singer).

The audience at a pansori concert actively participate in the performance. They give calls of encouragement and sometimes exchange verbal comments with the performers. Some of the more experienced members of the audience may follow the rhythm by playing mureup jangdan (jangdan on the knees). These interactions between performers and audience are all vital elements of a pansori performance. (Um 2007: 105-106).

Now that was obviously a lot of text, but it really does kind of cover the basics. The pansori singer you saw in the performance video just now was wearing the traditional costume (hanbok). We'll go into some of the things like the the musical aspects, the rhythms and so on in the next lecture, but I think you are starting to get a really nice overview of what we are looking at, keeping in mind that performance video that we looked at just now.

So let's look in a bit more detail. I generally describe pansori as musical storytelling. Other people have called it things like "one man opera" or "epic storytelling through song". What it comes down to is the basic setup of the performance. You have one singer, who's called the sorikkun, and one drummer who's called the gosu. And the singer is singing and telling the story, while the drummer is providing accompaniment on the drum.

In order to tell the story, the sorikkun uses 3 elements: sori (song), aniri (narration), and ballim, which is gesture, like you saw in the video the performer was using a fan. This is the main tool that singers like to use as a prop. They don't really have anything else in terms of props, sometimes a handkerchief but that's it. They need to, by themselves, do all the characters of these stories, including the narrator as well as all the characters, it could be a man, could be a woman, could be a child, could be an old person, could be a magical creature, could be an animal, and all those things need to be portrayed by this one person.

Ok now let's talk in a little bit more detail about the etymology of this term, pansori. It should be noted, this is actually a comparatively recent term for the genre. There were a lot of names used in the past to describe this genre, there really wasn't much clarity as to which term was necessarily the best until the beginning of the twentieth century. Even in the early twentieth century you still see people using other terms to describe this genre. But pansori is the term that we use these days, and it splits into 2 elements: pan, which means open space, like a marketplace, which is where pansori was often performed, outside, the performer would roll out his straw mat and perform, but it can also mean event. You open a pan, you open an event, something is happening, which fits well with the opening up a story, telling an event that is happening now in front of the audience.

On the other hand, you have sori. Now sori, I explained it as a song just now, but in fact, it means a lot more. It can mean singing, yes, and a lot of it is singing but sori itself just means sound. In fact, when you're telling a story, I will explain that in a minute but pansori stories can be very long, and in order to keep things interesting, the singers will actually provide their own sound effects for the stories they are telling. So you might have a wind blowing, urururururu. Or you might have a bird singing, sukkuk, sukkuk. Or ghost sounds, or something flying through the air. Battle sounds, clashing of thunder, all these sounds are produced by the voice of the singer.

That leads me on to performance styles. The probably most representative style of performance these days is what is called the wanchang, which is when you tell a full pansori story from beginning to end, and these can be anywhere between 3 to 8 hours long. The style of wanchang performance was, in fact, popularized by a singer called Pak Dongjin in the 1970s, and we will be returning to him in lecture 9. In fact, this kind of style of performance does not seem to have been that common in the past, from what we can tell. The stories in pansori are all very well known folk tales, and as such it wasn't actually necessary for the performers to tell all of the story, because people knew what would happen before or after a particular scene. So we assume that in fact, a more common style of performance was where you only perform a section of the full piece, which was called tomaksori.

Now there are a couple of other styles of performance as well. So far we've been focusing on the traditional styles with a single performer, accompanied by a single drummer. But there are ways that a pansori performance has also been divided, where you can split the story between various different singers. Now, option one for this is yeonchang. So basically what yeonchang is it's a full story, you're still telling the full story, but it's a lot of work to do that by yourself. So instead, what you do is you split it up. You have multiple performers performing, one after the other, to ease the burden of telling one full story. A slightly different

option is banchang. In banchang you have multiple singers performing at the same time, sort of taking on different characters but it's not quite theatrical in the sense that we would perhaps understand it. There isn't really any sort of stage setting or costumes involved in this, you see. And finally changgeuk is the theatrical version of pansori, with staging and costumes etc. I will in between be showing you some clips of changgeuk to help illustrate certain parts of the stories during the lectures, and we'll learn a bit more about changgeuk as a genre in lecture 10.

Okay, now that's it in terms of the performance styles. One thing that we couldn't see in the first performance video we looked at is the role of the audience, which we saw in our definition is, in fact, hugely important. Now, the reason why there wasn't anyone in that video that I showed you to start was because it was filmed during the peak of the Coronavirus pandemic and as such there was no audience present. But you can kind of see what the drummer was doing, where he was providing shouts of encouragement, the chuimsae, which are part of the engagement led to a certain extent by the drummer, but also engaged with by the audience.

And now, for the sake of seeing what a performance with an audience can look like, and to what extent the audience is actually involved in a performance, we're going to have a look at a different video which I filmed during my field work in 2014. Here you can see the pansori singer Min Hye-sung performing a scene from the story Heungboga. Now let's have a look see how she and the audience are interacting.

Okay, so what you can see in this video is that it's quite rowdy in the way the audience is interacting with the singer. They're laughing, they're joking, and one thing that's quite important in that interaction that you see is how the singer, who is by herself, handles a situation where she needs someone to interact with because she needs to play multiple characters. So what singers often do in these moments is, they'll take someone, either from the audience or the drummer, to sort of act out as their opposite, so that they can have someone to interact with to create multiple characters within a particular scene. Now, in fact, in this particular scene, the audience member doesn't behave as he should within the story, and so there is joking happening about that, but usually this kind of back and forth, this joking, this playing is a real part of what creates the "pan" of pansori. Singers will often say that they really feel the lack when they don't get this kind of audience engagement. It's really, really hugely important also in giving strength to the performers, that they can feel that the audience is involved with what they're doing.

Now just to go over a couple of different types of sorikkun, also called gwangdae, that exist, to help you start to understand some of the aesthetics that are involved in this. Gwangdae means performer, entertainer, it was initially used

for a lot of other styles of performance as well, but yeah, here it's referring to singers. So you could be a sori gwangdae, this is obviously kind of the best of the best, when you have an excellent voice and musical ability. You could be an aniri gwangdae, in which case you'll be great at narration and acting. Now a classification which is not so much about skills, but more about heritage, you could be a bigabi gwangdae, now what this is, it comes from the fact that most pansori performers tended to come from hereditary musical families. This relates to a class system and so on which we will be exploring later in the course. But every now and then you would get singers who came from outside such families, even people from the upper class who basically set down their social status in order to become pansori singers. So cases like that exist as well. Back to skills or more the lack thereof. You can also be a hwacho gwangdae, basically a flower vase, which could be a singer with great looks, but little talent. So they really analyze the types of sorikkun in a lot of different ways.

A lot of where we get our understanding of what pansori should be like, what singers should be like, is from a person called Sin Jae-hyo, who we will come back to in a little bit. He wrote a song, a dan'ga, these are the short songs for warming up the throat before you launch into your proper singing. And he writes this song called Gwangdaega, which is basically saying what a gwangdae should be, and he gives four characteristics for gwangdae. The first one, it is debated, but it's generally understood as good physical appearance, inmul. Sometimes, however, this is interpreted as being a good person, although there are anecdotes in pansori of singers being considered too ugly to perform until they basically had the Joseon dynasty equivalent of plastic surgery done to them, after which point they were allowed to then be successful. So good looks definitely seems to have been part of the requirement here. The next skill you should have is saseol chire, a talent of narration or knowledge of text, the text of the stories. Obviously also incredibly important, is musical achievement, deugeum, when you create your own voice. We'll come back to this a bit in a minute as well. And finally the good skill you should have is good dramatic action, neoreumsae, so the ability to express things with your body, with your actions to help strengthen the story.

Some other aesthetic values that are important in pansori, for the expression of sentiment. One of the ways that sentiment is expressed is through the use of what is called sigimsae, this basically means vocal techniques and ornamentation, and these are used as a way to create what's called geuneul, shadow and shade, so varied artistic expression. Now, a lot of people, if they have heard of pansori at all, they tend to consider it as a very sort of sad and sorrowful thing, and it's true that there can be heart-rendingly sad scenes within pansori. But that is by no means the entirety of what pansori is, you're trying to actually encompass all human experience, which includes sad moments, yes, but balanced with moments of humor or joy. So what we talk about here is a balance between heung, humor

or joy, and han, sorrow or pathos, those 2 sides need to be there for it to be a really good story.

Another thing that's hugely important in pansori is the expression of meaning. You're telling a story, and so you have a text. You are expressing a text in your performance. And so, in order to bring out the text properly, people say you should sing according to the imyeon, the deeper meaning and/or sentiment. You should express the deeper meaning of the story properly, so people say that you should draw out the imyeon in a performance.

Finally, what's very important as well is creativity. When you first start learning, and we'll get to this in a minute, you should emulate your teacher. You first need to be able to copy your teacher, and everything they do exactly. But that's step one of learning, what you should then avoid is sajin sori, this photographic style of singing where you don't develop beyond that imitation of your teacher. Now, in fact, in the way pansori has been preserved, there has been quite a strict preservation system in place, which has undermined this creative impulse to a certain extent, because there's been this focus on protecting what is called the wonhyeong, the original form of musics that were at risk of disappearing. But there have been changes these days in the legislation to allow for more creativity, to return to an art form which is by nature actually quite improvisatory.

Now I'm just going to give you a quick run through of the stories. We will obviously delve into them in more depth as we go through the lectures, but just so you have a rough idea of what we're talking about. So number one story is Chunhyangga, the Song of Chunhyang. This is the love story of Seong Chunhyang, the daughter of a courtesan (a gisaeng) and Yi Mongryong, the son of an aristocrat (yangban). The two fall in love and marry in secret, but Mongryong has to leave for Seoul and leaves Chunhyang behind in Namwon.

The new governor of Namwon tries to force Chunhyang to become his concubine, but she refuses in order to stay faithful to Mongryong, and is tortured and thrown in jail. Mongryong, now secret inspector for the king, returns to Namwon just before Chunhyang is due to be executed, saves her and punishes the evil governor, and the two live happily ever after. So that's this story.

The next story is Heungboga, the Song of Heungbo. Pak Heungbo is a kind and gentle man, but his older brother Nolbo is vicious and greedy. One rainy day, Nolbo, tired of providing for his younger brother and his numerous offspring, summons his brother and orders him to pack his bags and leave. Destitute, Heungbo's family is close to starvation.

Still, Heungbo remains kind, and when he sees a baby swallow fall out of its nest in the eaves of his house, he binds up the swallow's broken leg and nurses it back to health. When the swallow migrates for winter, it tells the king of the swallows about its debt to Heungbo, and receives a gourd seed to give in return.

Heungbo plants the seed, and three gourds grow from the seed. At Chuseok

(Korean Thanksgiving, the harvest moon), Heungbo cuts open the gourds in order to feed his starving family. To his surprise he finds the gourds are filled with money and rice, with precious silks, and even with workmen who rebuild his house as a luxurious mansion.

Nolbo, jealous of his brother's newfound riches, tries to emulate him by breaking a swallow's leg, nursing it back to health and releasing it. However, when he opens the gourds which grow from the seed he received, all manner of evils emerge, leaving Nolbo destitute and on the brink of death. Only the intervention of his kind younger brother saves him, and the two brothers live together sharing Heungbo's riches, while Nolbo swears to mend his ways.

The next story is Simcheongga, the Song of Sim Cheong. Blind Sim Hakgyu's wife dies in childbirth, but their daughter Cheong survives and grows up to become a virtuous and filial young woman. When Sim falls into a river and is saved by a passing monk, he swears to donate three hundred bags of rice to a Buddhist temple, which the monk claims will give him back his sight.

As they are too poor to afford this, Cheong sells herself to some passing sailors as a human sacrifice in exchange for the three hundred bags of rice. When Cheong throws herself into the sea to calm storm, the gods are touched by her filial piety and rescue her, sending her back to land in a lotus blossom that the passing sailors take as a gift to the emperor.

The emperor sees Cheong emerge from the flower, falls in love, marries her and makes her empress. Cheong holds a banquet for all the blind people in the kingdom, hoping to find her father. When he hears her voice calling out to him, Sim is so shocked that he regains his sight, along with all the other blind people in the kingdom.

So Sugungga, that is the Song of the Underwater Palace, is a bit of a special one, because it's about animals rather than people. The Dragon King of the sea is ill after living a life of pleasure and excess, and is prescribed the liver of a hare in order to recover. His faithful servant, the terrapin, sets out to land with a painting of a hare in order to find it and bring it back to the underwater palace.

After various adventures, he finds a hare and manages to lure him back, but on arrival in the palace the hare catches on to the plot for his liver. Giving the excuse that he keeps his liver outside his body for safekeeping, the hare asks to be sent back to land in order to bring his liver to the king.

Despite the terrapin's warnings, the king lets him go, and the terrapin has no choice but to take the hare back to land. Once safely away from the palace, the hare escapes while mocking the terrapin. He encounters further dangers, but due to his quick wit he always manages to escape and lives happily ever after.

Now, the final story, this one's also special in that it's based on an actual novel, The Romance of the Three Kingdoms, Sanguo Yanyi, a classical Chinese novel. So here you've got a battle story. It tells the story of the battle between general Jo Jo

(Cao Cao) and the alliance of Yu Bi (Liu Bei), and Son Gwon (Sun Quan) advised by the famous strategist Jegal Liang (Zhuge Liang), who face each other in battle at the river by the Red Cliff.

Jo Jo is defeated after Jegal Liang's prayers to the heavens give the alliance the favourable wind for battle, and he flees the battlefield, hearing the voices of his dead soldiers in the songs of birds. Gwan U (Guan Yu), a general in Yu Bi's army, catches Jo Jo, but remembering a previous favour, releases him.

So those are the 5 main stories of pansori that have been transmitted down up until today. What's quite interesting is the morality aspect that we can see within these stories, and we'll come back to this later in the course, but just to introduce you a little bit to this, these 5 stories are said to represent the 5 human relations in Confucianism. These are called oryun. So what are the values in each of the five stories? In Sugungga, it's loyalty to your king, in Heungboga it's brotherly love, in Jeokbyeokga it's friendship (predominantly between men), in Simcheongga it's filial piety, and finally in Chunhyangga it's wifely fidelity. Now, on the surface definitely these morals do seem to be well represented. But Park (2003) argues that in fact, these morals are also being subverted at the same time. This has to do a lot with what we'll see with the different social statuses that were watching pansori and what they were getting out of it. We'll discuss this more in further detail as we go through the course.

One final thing on introducing the characteristics of pansori in general, before we move on, obviously the texts of pansori, a very important part as well. One thing that's quite distinctive is that it has a two-level narrative structure. On the one hand it has a fixed structure which provides a sort of stability for the story. So there are lots of different versions of all these stories, but there are certain elements that are always the same in all versions of pansori. On the other hand, you have a flexible structure which allows for independent development of certain details within each story. As I said, these are all very well known folk tales, and so there's no need to maintain a strictly logical order within the story, because most of the audience is familiar with the stories. And so, whether you do one bit first or another bit doesn't actually matter so much.

Now, another thing that's very distinctive about pansori, and probably one of the elements that most people find most difficult about pansori is the language. It's quite an archaic form of Jeolla Province dialect. I mean, for English speakers out there, it's basically if you can imagine someone doing Shakespeare in a thick Scottish accent, that's probably about roughly equivalent for you to understand the level of distance from normal standard Korean.

What's interesting, though, is how a lot of the rules of the Korean language are still incorporated within the way the performers use the language, so superior status or older characters will be spoken about using honorifics, obviously an important part of the Korean language, while people of inferior status or

characters who are younger will be spoken about in a casual style, so that same kind of linguistic hierarchy we see in contemporary Korean is also existing here.

Another thing that's quite specific about pansori is the use of the present tense. So you know normally, perhaps, if we were thinking of a novel or something, we tend to expect it to be in the past tense, but that's not what happens usually in pansori. It's very much in the present tense, so very much in the moment as it's happening, and that obviously adds to a lot of the immediacy of how we feel the events as they are unfolding within a pansori story.

A further distinguishing feature in pansori comes from whether it is sung or spoken. So, as we saw the sori, the song section tends to be in verse, using more stylized language, more uses of Sino-Korean, particularly quoting poems or proverbs, often from classical Chinese literature as well. And then, on the other side, the aniri, the dialogue, the narrations, those sections tend to be more in prose and use a lot more colloquial language. So there's definitely some differences in the use of language there.

Now I've got a long list of various linguistic tricks that can be used to make the pansori texts more interesting, and these, could be word play, rhyme, alliteration, epiphora, which means the repetition of words or phrases at the ends of subsequent clauses, onomatopoeia, so things sounding like what they are, like a drop of water sounds like: "drop". Mimesis, the imitation of nature. Well, basically that's what I did just there, or like what I was telling you about the wind blowing urururururu, these kind of things. A simile is where you say something is like something else, or a metaphor is a similar kind of comparison, but without using the word "like". Then you may be using puns, wordplay or asyndeton, which is the omission of conjunctions between sentences. So lots of strategies for playing with language to make it more interesting.

I'm going to give you one example just where we're going to see how some word play or epiphora can be used in a pansori text. And now this is a section from actually the moment just after the first clip I showed you in this lecture. So it's still part of the Song of Love, the two expressing their affection to each other. You can see here. I've got the Korean text, where you can see this word, jeong, is being repeated. This is the Song of the Letter Jeong, meaning affection, and lots of things sounding like jeong are being used to create actually rather nonsensical phrases, but all sort of coming to this sense of expressing affection, and I'll sing that for you a little bit. Now bear with me, I'm not an expert pansori singer. I've learnt some, and I'll do my best just to give you a little sense of what it sounds like. So this goes:

Damdang janggangsusu yuyu wongaekjeong
Hagyo bulsangsong heoni gangsusu ui wonhamjeong
Songgun nampo bulseungjeong
Muinbulgyeon song-ajeong

Hanam taesu ui huiyujeong
Samtae yukgyeong ui baekwan jojeong
Jueo injeong
Bok eopseo bangjeong

A clear long river flows and a traveller far away from home feels lonely
I cannot say "goodbye" to my love at Ha Bridge and even the river and trees
regret it
My love goes away to Nampo and I cannot hide my sorrow
As I cannot see my love, I can only send my heart
Good is Hanam Governor's intention
There are three senior ministers and six department heads in the government
To give is a kindness
To fail to take is a misfortune

So you can see how this word jeong jeong jeong jeong jeong jeong jeong goes
through all of that text, and this is just one of the ways of showing how they're
playing with language, and rhythm, and sounds of words, and so on in pansori.
It's really wonderful if you really want to start digging into the text, there's a lot
of things to play with there.

3. History of pansori

Now I want give you a very brief introduction to the history of pansori. I'm not
going into this in that much depth, but there's lots of material out there if you
want to find out more.

First I'm going to show you a picture of the famous pansori singer Mo
Heung-gap, this is from the early 19th century. He's one of the first known
pansori singers, and you can see how he's performing. He's stood in the middle,
with the drummer next to him, and the audience sat around him. It's an outdoor
space, and it's actually part of a larger painting with various events that are
happening all around. But you can see what sort of setting we're working with
here.

Now, where does pansori come from? In fact, the thing is, it's a folk art form,
and as such there really aren't that many written records to allow us to know for
sure where it actually came from, a lot of it is conjecture. Various different
theories have emerged, the most popular theories tend to link pansori to
shamanism and popular folk entertainment, particularly because many singers
came from shamanic families, so clearly there's some kind of link there, also
things like the fact that the story of Simcheong is also told in Eastern Coast
Shamanic ritual, for example. So clearly there is some kind of link there, but, and

this is very important, they are not the same genre. The way they use their voices are very different, and so on. They are linked, but they are separate genres.

What you can tell already from these links to shamans is it tended to be that pansori singers were very much of the very, very lowest classes of society in what was during this time the Joseon dynasty, an incredibly stratified system in terms of class. So pansori is at the very lowest level, the cheonmin, performing initially songs that would just be for the general public, but because of that it was really considered a low art form, and it wasn't considered acceptable for nobility to be seen to enjoy it. So there's an anecdote that Yu Jin Han, who lived in the eighteenth century, caused great controversy amongst his peers for translating the story of Chunhyangga from vernacular Korean to classical Chinese verse. At that time when he saw this performance and found it so great that he wanted to write down the story, it was really looked down on to admit that you like this stuff, because as a noble person it was considered beneath you.

Now this changes in the mid nineteenth century. At this point pansori is really standing as an independent art form as well, not linked to any other art forms, and a lot of that is due to this work of Sin Jae-hyo, who we met a little bit earlier. Now he was a middle-class person with social aspirations. He wanted to rise up the social ladder as much as he was able in the Joseon society. And so what he did is he worked a lot to rework the pansori pieces, the stories, to suit noble tastes. He added a lot more literary allusions to the kind of texts that noble people would have been familiar with. He laid the Confucian morals on a lot more thickly, keeping away from some of the satirical content, making that a bit more subtle. The satire of nobility and the like, which had probably been a part of the main draw for the the predominantly common audience who had formed the initial audience of the genre, by toning that down he made it more enjoyable for this new audience as well. Not only did Sin Jae-hyo rework the pieces, he in fact cut 7 pieces from the original core repertoire of 12 pieces. He just removed them from the repertoire altogether, because they were considered "obscene and inappropriate", and we'll look a bit more into why exactly that was the case when we get to the lost pansori stories in lecture 8.

So in this way Sin Jae-hyo helped create a version of pansori that was more acceptable to be seen as a high art form, and he had a school where he trained pansori singers to perform in this style that was more acceptable to the new noble, well-paying audiences, and he was very successful. During this time, even the Prince Regent of the Joseon dynasty was a well-known fan and patron of pansori artists. So it really rose all the way through the ranks as one of the most popular art forms for all social classes.

At this point another thing that changes, is that what was traditionally an exclusively male performance art, there were only male pansori singers before the mid nineteenth century, changed when Sin trained the first female pansori singer

Jin Chae-seon, who was probably born in 1842, and disappeared towards the end of her life, so we don't actually know 100% when she died. And so since that moment there were female pansori performers, and the content of pansori had changed, these two characteristics really affected the way pansori developed and shaped what we now see of pansori as it is performed today.

Now moving into the twentieth century pansori moves from what we saw as predominantly open-air performances, or for the noble audiences being performed in private salons, and pansori moves onto the stage, in concert halls. So you see the genre starting to be affected by the use of technology, lighting, amplification and the like, and matching to the changing tastes of modern audiences. You also see the emergence of new genres like gayageum byeongchang, which is singing extracts of pansori while accompanying yourself on the gayageum zither, or changgeuk, which is this theatrical version that we talked about.

Now, pansori starts to go through a bit of a decrease in popularity due to many factors like Japanese colonialism, the Korean War, rapid modernization, competition from other genres and the like. And so in 1964 pansori is designated as an intangible cultural property by the Korean nation, in order to preserve it and support its transmission. In 2003 pansori is designated as a UNESCO Masterpiece of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity. And so we've got at the international, national as well as the regional level, that pansori is being

protected, preserved, and transmitted in the present day. But it's not just holding on to the old things. In fact, there have been a lot of new developments in fusion and changjak, which is newly created pansori, which we'll be looking at in the final 2 lectures of this course.

4. Process of learning

Okay, let's talk a little bit about the learning process. How do you actually learn to become a pansori singer? Basically, training takes a very long time, usually, you say you need at least 10 years to start to maybe know what you're talking about. I met a pansori singer in her nineties, the now late Pak Songhui, who said, "I think now I've figured out what I should be doing, but my body is no longer capable of doing it." So it's really a lifelong process.

But at least initially when you start training you're learning from your teacher rather than developing your own voice, it's oral/aural transmission, you are just listening to your teacher and repeating what they sing.

Now I'm going to show you a little clip of how this kind of transmission works, this is from the YouTube channel Bonjour Pansori, which provides practical instruction in pansori for a Francophone audience, and we'll see how this back-and-forth between student and teacher works. Let's take a look.

Okay, so that was an example of how you would learn when you're starting out. I want to take this opportunity to also recommend a film called *Seopyeonje* (1993), which is directed by Im Kwon-taek. It features a lot of scenes showing a pansori singer training, which might be of interest to some of you. I will come back to this film at the end of the lecture as well.

Now obviously, you don't just stop with imitating a teacher. At one point you need to start developing your own sound. In the past, this was done through what was called the 100 Days Study (*baegil gongbu*), which, in fact, for many people went on for many, many years. During this time you would live in a cave, live in the mountains somewhere, perhaps find a place in a monastery far away from other people, and you just sing and practice until you developed your own sound. Now these days for most people departing from society for that long really isn't an option anymore. Some such people do exist, Bae Il-dong, for example, lived on Jirisan for 7 years creating his voice. But he is very much the exception, for most other people what they do instead is what's called mountain study (*san gongbu*). You spend somewhere between a week, two weeks to a month per year (or twice per year) in the mountains, just having that time to focus on your singing. And the thing that's very important here is this value of singing in nature. You might sing against your own echo in a cave, trying to overcome it, or against the sound of a waterfall, trying to overcome that. Obviously part of that is to strengthen your voice, to make it loud enough to perform. Remember, pansori used to be performed in the open air, at marketplaces and the like. You need a strong, loud voice in order to overpower the other sounds around it and carry in the open air, and so this is part of the reason why these kind of areas were preferred for training up your voice.

Another reason why these areas are often used for practicing is because of moisture. In places like caves, or near waterfalls, the air is damp, and as such it is actually easier to work your voice for much longer periods of time without causing serious damage to your vocal chords. Now this is a moment where I would like to dispel a misconception which is often held about pansori, which is that you need to spit up blood in order to have done it properly? In fact, that is not the case. It is not indiscriminate destruction of your voice, because if you did that you would run a real risk of never being able to sing again, so obviously you don't want that. Instead, what you're doing, you are actively scarring your vocal chords, this is in order to create that sort of husky vocal aesthetic, which is considered desirable in pansori, but it's targeted scarring. While practicing you sing, you sing, you sing until you lose your voice, then you will continue to sing, but you'll just tone it down a bit, just to sort of keep the voice going until it starts to come back properly. If, for example, you were to lose your voice due to a cold, you need to stop singing straight away, because then you would cause the wrong kind of damage to your throat. I often explain it to people like this, if

you're trying to build up muscle, what you're actually doing to your muscle is tearing it a little bit, and in that tearing you build up these bigger muscles in the end. Basically that's what you're doing, just in the muscles in your throat. You tear them ever so slightly in order to make them bigger, stronger, and be able to then carry on for the up to 8 hours that is a full pansori performance.

Now, just before we move on, I'm going to show you a couple of pictures that I took of what the san gongbu can look like. You can see, in winter everyone finds their own place on the mountain to sit and sing, or stand and sing if it's a bit cold to sit down in winter, to practice.

Then in summer you might sit yourself by a river, stick your feet in the river in order to cool down a bit, as well as have the sound of the water near you, the moisture in the air, so that's what a mountain study might look like in summer. Here you've got a group of people going together but people will often go individually as well.

Another very important thing to address is how to learn the texts. How do you remember eight hours' worth of text? Most people agree that pansori would have been taught exclusively orally and aurally, so from the mouth to the ear. And although there's some debate here as to how illiterate singers in the past actually were, we know some people came from nobility, for example, so they will have probably been able to write, and may have used some sort of writing down of the text to help them remember, but we have no proof of that. Usually you would be learning very short extracts, short little bits, just listening and remembering, which would then gradually build up over time. That actually makes it easier to remember it off by heart, and this is why, predominantly, that way of teaching as you saw in the video clip is still used today. What has changed now however is the added use of recording devices, everyone will be recording their lessons and will listen to them again after class, plus textbooks, you now have your full text of the story that you're learning.

Staff notation of pansori does exist but it's more often used for research or study purposes. For the actual learning of pansori, you won't learn it while looking at staff notation, instead students tend to just use the plain text, perhaps with an explanation of some of the difficult terms at the bottom, or for beginners, you might see the use of box notation (jeongganbo). I'll show you a couple of examples of that in a minute. Basically what you do, after each lesson the students will listen back to their recordings of the lesson, and then write their own symbols over the text to help them remember how the melody goes and which ornamentation is used.

So you can see an example of a textbook containing the text, plus an explanation of some of the Korean phrases here at the bottom. This shows the opening scene from my copy of Min Hye-sung's compilation of the Pak Nokju version of Heungboga. I'll explain what this is in more detail a little bit later in the

course. So you can see, this is the aniri section here, the narration, and then here you start singing (demonstrates briefly). And so you can see the symbols there.

Here we have an example of the box notation called jeongganbo. This is used by Min Hye-sung, full disclosure, she is my teacher, which is why I have a lot of her materials. She uses this for teaching French-speaking learners of pansori. So you can see you've got the original Korean text with an approximation of the pronunciation which would make sense for a French speaking audience. And then this is the rhythm here at the top, more on that in the next lecture, and then you can follow along according to the rhythm how you read it (brief demonstration). So that's the first line.

Now, just to show an example of what can happen as the learning process progresses, when the song is polished further, the notation becomes increasingly complex. So you can see the contrast with the first example, where it was still relatively empty. I haven't done much to that piece, whereas this one, which I've been preparing for a performance, I now have lots of notations for which gestures to do where, where to provide emphasis, and so on, and so forth. And so then it can get really messy. At this point I know the text, I'm not actually looking at the text anymore, it's really more about emphasis.

Now finally, when can you say that a pansori singer knows what they're talking about, how can you measure someone's skill? When singers are widely acknowledged for the skill they're called myeongchang, master singer. Nowadays this title tends to be given to singers who have won the President's Award, which is the highest award an artist can receive in a competition in Korea. In the past, some competitions did exist, but the way singers really gained fame was by adding a song to an existing story, or singing an existing story in a new style, and this was called deoneum. When you add something new to a story, so others can recognize okay, that bit belongs to that person, then you've made it as a singer. And you can tell who you've learned from, and who their teacher is etc. from the kind of deoneum they sing. We'll talk about this more in the next lecture.

5. Pansori in popular culture

Now, just to finish off today's lecture. I just want to give you a quick introduction to some of the places where pansori has been shown in popular culture, these are some resources that you may want to look at by yourselves, during the process of this course, or afterwards, if you're interested. I will be using some of these as sources during the lecture as well, others are just for you to know about, that you can look for yourself.

So first we'll look at pansori in films, there have actually been several feature films made about pansori, or containing pansori. The first one is Seopyeonje, and

it's from 1993, directed by Im Kwon-taek, which tells the story of a family of performers of pansori at the beginning of the twentieth century. Then there's Chunhyang, which is from 2000, again by Im Kwon-taek, and this one brings the traditional pansori story Chunhyangga to life, alternating between a live performance by the master singer Jo Sang-hyeon and a re-enactment of the story. This is the first Korean film to have been featured at the Cannes Film Festival, so it's very well made. Both of these are actually available on YouTube.

More recently, we have The Sound of a Flower, it's from 2015. This is directed by Lee Jong-pil, and it's a heavily fictionalized feature film about the first female pansori singer Jin Chae-seon. I would say, it's acted by an idol star called Bae Suzy. So the singing isn't quite of the same quality as the other films on this list, where the performances are by actual pansori singers, but it's a fun entertaining story if you want to have a look at it. Finally, most recently we have The Singer, this was from 2020, directed by Cho Jung-lae, and this is also heavily fictionalized. It's a reimagining of the creation of the pansori story Simcheongga, and what's interesting about this one is the director himself is actually a pansori drummer, and as such is obviously approaching this subject matter from a very different viewpoint.

So those are some feature films. Obviously they're not based on fact, they're not trying to portray any kind of fact, so I also have two documentaries to recommend to you. The first one is called Pansori: Der Weg zum Klang (2004, dir. Jo Seon-yeong), now this one is very interesting because it's showing the real life training processes of contemporary pansori singers, I mean, I say contemporary, it's 20 years old now, but it's still worth looking at. Unfortunately, it only exists in Korean with German subtitles, but you might want to check it out nonetheless. It's easily available online. And then there's Intangible Asset No. 82 (2008, dir. Emma Franz). This is, in fact, mostly about jazz drummer Simon Barker's discovery of Korean shamanic rhythms, but it also heavily features Bae Il-dong explaining about various aspects of pansori, and as such, could also be very interesting for you.

Finally, recently there have been various TV shows about pansori that have emerged in Korea, which are very interesting. Unfortunately, the content is almost exclusively available only in Korean. So two examples I want to show you here, the first is called Gwangdaejeon, this has been running on MBC Jeonju for 6 seasons so far, and it features pansori singers competing against each other in a variety of different missions. This has the advantage of being available in full on YouTube, so you can watch all 6 seasons of that, if you're curious to see more of what kind of things contemporary pansori singers get up to.

The final TV show I want to introduce to you is called Pungnyu Daejang, this aired in 2021 on jtbc, and it features a variety of traditional Korean artists, not just pansori singers, competing to create various new pieces that would appeal to

contemporary audiences. Now, this isn't available in full on YouTube, but you can see lots of performance videos, as well as some of the judges' commentary - this actually with English subtitles - on YouTube on the jtbc channel, and so it's also worth looking at if you're curious about that.

6. Conclusion

Okay, so that was pretty much it from me for this lecture, just to summarize, we learned about pansori's performance format, we learned a bit about its history, its stories, its language, as well as how it is transmitted, and I gave you a couple of examples of some places where you can look for other pansori materials while you are doing this course or after this course. And in the next class we're going to be focusing in a bit more detail on how the music of pansori works. So that's it for me, see you in the next lecture.

■ 학습활동 (총 108분)

가. 퀴즈 (18분)

O/X 퀴즈 (5분)

1. 판소리의 고수와 청중은 추임새를 넣으며 공연에 적극적으로 참여한다.

정답: O

2. '판소리'라는 말은 18세기 초반부터 판소리를 가리키는 대표적인 용어로 정립되었다.

정답: X

3. 판소리의 소리꾼은 흥(유머, 기쁨)과 한(슬픔, 파토스)을 균형 있게 표현해야 한다.

정답: O

4. 판소리 소리꾼에게는 스승으로부터 전수받은 음악을 변형하는 것이 허용되지 않는다.

정답: X

5. 판소리 텍스트는 고정된 부분과 유연한 부분으로 이루어진 두 층위의 서사 구조를 가지고 있다.

정답: O

선택형 (5분)

1. 다음 중 판소리의 공연 형식(performance style)에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

① 과거에는 일부 대목을 공연하는 '토막소리'보다 전체 작품을 공연하는 '완창'이 일반적인 판소리 공연 형식이었다.

② 여러 소리꾼이 동시에 여러 등장 인물을 연기하는 판소리 공연 형식을 '연창'이라고 한다.

③ 소리꾼은 판소리 공연에서 아니리, 소리와 함께 몸짓을 사용하는데, 이것을 '발림'이라고 한다.

정답: ③

2. 다음 중 판소리 소리꾼의 종류에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

① '아니리 광대'는 내레이션과 연기에 뛰어난 소리꾼이다.

② '비가비 광대'는 음악인 집안 출신의 소리꾼이다.

③ '화초 광대'는 외모는 출중하지만 실력은 부족한 소리꾼이다.

정답: ②

3. 다음 중 판소리의 역사에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

① 판소리는 처음 등장했을 때부터 고급 예술로 인식되었다.

② 청중들의 취향 변화와 기술의 발달에 따라 가야금 병창, 창극 등 판소리에서 발전한 다른 장르들이 등장하였다.

③ 판소리는 1964년 유네스코 인류무형문화유산으로 등재되었다.

정답: ②

4. 다음 중 판소리의 학습 과정에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

① 판소리에 필요한 허스키한 목소리를 얻기 위해서는 산속에서 피를 토할 때까지 연습해야 한다.

② 과거에는 대체로 짧은 대목을 듣고 외우는 방식으로 판소리를 학습하였다.

③ 오늘날에는 녹음기, 텍스트가 적힌 교과서, 정간보를 활용하여 판소리를 학습한다.

정답: ①

5. 다음 중 판소리를 소재로 한 대중 문화 콘텐츠에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

① <서편제>는 20세기 초반 판소리 공연을 하며 살아가던 가족의 이야기를 다룬 영화이다.

② <Pansori: Der Weg zum Klang>은 현대 판소리 소리꾼들의 수련 과정을 보여주는 다큐멘터리이다.

③ <풍류대장>은 판소리에 대한 대중의 관심을 높이기 위해 제작된 퀴즈 프로그램이다.

정답: ③

단답형 (8분)

다음 빈칸에 들어갈 알맞은 말을 답해 봅시다.

1. 판소리 소리꾼은 이야기의 깊은 의미와 정서를 제대로 표현해야 하는데, 이것을 ‘()을 그려낸다’고 한다.

정답: 이면

2. 현재 전하는 판소리 다섯 바탕은 (), (), (), (), ()로, 이 작품들은 각각 유교의 오륜(五倫) 중 하나와 관련이 있다.

정답: 춘향가, 흥보가, 심청가, 수궁가, 적벽가 (순서 상관 없음)

3. 과거에는 기존의 판소리에 새로운 노래를 첨가하거나 기존의 판소리를 새로운 스타일로 부름으로써 판소리 소리꾼들이 명성을 얻었는데, 이것을 ()이라고 한다.

정답: 더늠

나. 토의 (30분)

판소리의 역사에서 신재효가 거둔 성취에 대해 서술해 봅시다.

* 답안 작성 방향

신재효는 19세기 중엽 판소리가 독립적인 예술 장르로 자리 잡는 데 많은 공헌을 한 인물이다. 첫째, <광대가>를 지어 소리꾼이 갖추어야 할 네 가지 자질인 ‘인물’, ‘사설치레’, ‘득음’, ‘너름새’를 규정하였다. 둘째, 양반의 취향에 맞게 판소리를 개작하고 12바탕이었던 판소리 작품을 다섯 바탕으로 정리함으로써 판소리를 상류층도 즐기는 고급 예술로 만들었다. 셋째, 최초의 여성 소리꾼인 진채선을 길러내어 남성 소리꾼만 노래를 하던 기존의 판소리에 변화를 주었다.

다. 과제 (60분)

판소리에 사용되는 언어의 특징에 대해 설명해 봅시다.

* 답안 작성 방향

판소리의 언어는 전라도 방언의 고어형으로, 일반적인 표준 한국어와 거리가 있다. 하지만 판소리의 여러 등장 인물들 사이에는 현대 한국어와 마찬가지로 경어법이 적용된다. 소설과 달리, 판소리에서는 사건을 서술할 때 현재형을 사용하며, 이는 사건이 지금 막 일어나고 있는 듯한 느낌을 준다. ‘소리’와 ‘아니리’에 사용되는 언어가 다르다는 점도 특징적이다. 노래에 해당하는 ‘소리’에서는 운문 형태의, 정형화된 한자어 표현이 많이 사용되는 반면, 대화나 내레이션에 해당하는 ‘아니리’에서는 산문 형태의, 구어적 표현이 많이 사용된다. 무엇보다도, 판소리에서는 언어 유희, 의태어, 각운(脚韻), 두운(頭韻), 연속되는 절의 끝에서 단어나 구를 반복하는 것(epiphora), 의성어, 직유, 은유 등 다양한 언어 기교가 활용된다는 점이 주목된다.

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[Daily Gugak] Day 3 - Pansori "Chunhyangga(Song of Chunghyang) - 'Sarangga(Love song)'" Scene ([영상 보기](#))

Cours de Pansori-Beom nae ryeo on da#1 ([영상 보기](#))

<Lecture 2> The music of pansori

■ 학습목표

1. 장단, 조, 발성의 개념과 각각의 종류를 학습한다.
2. 제의 의미를 이해한다.
3. 판소리의 음악적 표현 기법에 대한 식견을 갖춘다.

■ 강의 목차

1. Introduction and summary of past lecture
2. Jangdan rhythmic cycles
3. Musical modes
4. Vocal techniques
5. Conclusion

■ 강의 내용 전문

1. Introduction and summary of past course

Hello, all, we are now in lecture 2 in the series “The World of Pansori”.

In this lecture, we're talking about the music of pansori. Just as a reminder of where we are, we've learned about the basics of pansori already, this lecture is on music, and then from the next lecture we're talking about the various stories, the content of the stories, and so on.

So here you can see what we're going to be talking about we'll have a brief summary of the past lecture, then we'll be talking about the jangdan rhythmic cycles, the musical modes, the vocal techniques, and that will do for this lecture.

So previously, we discussed pansori's performance format, a little bit about its history, its stories, its language, as well as how it's transmitted, in a general overview. But obviously pansori is also a musical art form, so today we're going to be talking a bit more about the musical characteristics of pansori. I should note at this point, I'm creating this lecture for people who don't have musical training. There's a little bit of music theory, but very, very little in order for this hopefully to be accessible to many of you, so just keep that in mind as we're going through.

Hopefully it won't be too challenging, now try to make it accessible for you as we go. Also to say at this point, obviously you can see I've got a drum here, I will be using this to demonstrate some of the principles I'm talking about today. I've also got some video material that I'll also be using to help demonstrate some of my points, but a lot of it I will be demonstrating for you. As I said in the last lecture. I do learn pansori, I can perform some pieces. I am by no means an expert or a professional, but hopefully even my less than perfect demonstrations will be able to give you guys a bit of an understanding of what's going on. Hopefully also some curiosity to want to find out more yourself. And then, hopefully, you can understand what you're looking at better.

2. Jangdan rhythmic cycles

Okay, with that caveat out of the way, let's get started with the actual lecture. So first we'll be talking about jangdan rhythmic cycles. So what exactly is this word jangdan. Jang (長) literally means long, dan (短) means short.

So simply put you've got a combination of long and short beats which create a rhythmic cycle. Now here this word cycle is important. It's not a fixed beat, in the way we think of 4/4 time, or 3/4 time. So 4/4 time goes 1, 2, 3, 4, 1, 2, 3, 4, 3/4 time goes 1, 2, 3, 1, 2, 3.

But that's not what we have here, rather it's a circle which keeps repeating, so it's going through a process of beginning, rising tension, climax and release, which then starts again at the beginning, and there's all sorts of aesthetic parallels which are drawn here as well. So it's going for the 4 seasons, spring, summer, autumn, and winter, etc. The important thing to know about it is it's cyclical. You're going through this rhythm, rising tension and release, and then the tension rises again and releases. And because of this very often the most emphasized beat isn't at the start of the rhythmic cycle. So if you think of a beat just now, I was doing, you know a 3/4 beat 1, 2, 3, 1, 2, 3. The one is the strongest note. That's not the case in this cycle. It tends to be more, not the very end, but closer to the end. Not always, that's a kind of a simple way of thinking about it but it will do for now.

Now, obviously these rhythmic cycles are beaten by the gosu, the drummer, who is accompanying the sorikkun, the singer. Remember this vocabulary from the last lecture? And we talked in the last lecture about the importance of the gosu, that there's even this phrase "il gosu, i myeongchang" (first comes the drummer, second comes the singer), and the reason why this is important is because of the jangdan. You've literally you just got singing, and you've got a drum. And so that singing that's happening, there's often a lot of interplay that's happening between the drummer and the singer. If that works, if it meshes well, the singing is elevated to a whole new level. On the contrary, if the singer and the drummer

aren't meshing well, if the drummer isn't supporting the singer properly, it can really kill the sound. So this is why the drummer is so important. You really can't have pansori without a drummer.

Another thing to say at this point, in this lecture I'm going to be showing you the basic rhythms or a version of the basic rhythms, just to help you understand the overarching structure, what sort of meanings these rhythms might have etc. Obviously the drummers don't just play the basic rhythms. If you're a professional drummer, you're going to be knowing all sorts of different ways of varying these rhythmic patterns, of adding little details, of just pulling at the rhythm a little bit, or pushing the rhythm a little bit to create that kind of variety, to make it more interesting. Also very important, the drummers, the gosu, are supposed to know the texts. They need to know what's coming so that they can create the rhythm that's most appropriate for that text, because the text is obviously varying in rhythm as well. So it's really an incredibly challenging thing that the drummer is doing.

We mentioned chuimsae last week as well. Now, in terms of chuimsae, I was actually told by one very famous pansori drummer called Jo Yongsu when I interviewed him one time, he told me that when you're drumming, when you're accompanying a singer, sometimes it happens that the singer's pitch starts to drop, and then the drummer will actually pitch their chuimsae to help the singer re-establish where they are actually supposed to be in terms of pitch. So it's really varied what the drummer is doing. We're focusing here on the rhythms, but just so you know that the job description is a lot more than that.

Now returning to the rhythm, obviously these basic rhythmic cycles are known to those who know pansori, who enjoy pansori, and the audiences who watch pansori, if they've had plenty of exposure to pansori they might know those rhythmic cycles as well. We talked about this audience participation last lecture, so the audience will also participate in the performance, or feel the music by playing the jangdan on their knees. This is called mureup jangdan, so you might just be beating along to the rhythm on your knees as a way of feeling the music and participating in the performance as well.

Okay, so that was introducing you a bit to the concept and importance of jangdan, now before we look at it more specifically let's start first of all by introducing you to this instrument here in front of me. It's called a buk, more precisely a soribuk. There are different kinds of buk in Korean traditional music, this one here you can see it's made of a whole piece of wood, one whole piece covered with leather with metal studs. This is the kind of soribuk that's used for accompanying pansori. Usually you will have a stick in your right hand, you play with an open hand on the left here, and you can hit the drum in a variety of different ways.

Now, I've just made a little table for you here, so you can see the basic strokes

and how they're played. A thing to note in general in traditional Korean music is that each of these strokes in the drumming has its own sort of vocalization. You learn the vocalization first, and then you play the music. Similar to if you're learning something like tala in Indian music, you learn the words for the beats first, you can play them with your hands before you touch the instrument, in Korean music you learn the words and you play it on your knees. So even if you don't have a drum available you can follow along with this on your knees, right?

So here you can see the first stroke which tends to be the first note played in a rhythmic cycle: deong. So here you've got the right hand striking the right side of the drum with the stick, while at the same time the left hand strikes the left side. (demonstrates) You can see you have your fingers together, the thumb stays attached to the drum.

Now, obviously, you don't always have to play with both hands at the same time. With just the left hand, this is called kung, striking the left side of the drum.

Then ttak, that's the right hand striking the top edge with the stick. And then you have cheok. Now here again you're using both hands, you've got the right hand striking the top in the middle of the drum with the stick, while at the same time the left hand strikes the left side. Now this is the real emphasis note, this is the one you use for the climax moments. So those are your 4 basic notes. Obviously, there's a lot more variations that can exist, but you don't need to know them to understand the basic rhythms. A general thing to know is that the rhythms tend to be organized in terms of slow to fast, so that's how we'll be doing that today.

So the first rhythm, the jinyang jangdan, is very, very slow. It's subdivided in a variety of different ways. I've got it here as 6 beats subdivided into 3, so technically an 18 beat cycle. The emphasis here falls on the fifth beat, and this can be used in two different ways, it can describe a very peaceful or lyrical scene, or for particularly sorrowful moments. Okay, so what what does it sound like? So you can see we've got deong, kung, kung, kung, cheok, cheok.) Now this is one way to play this cycle. In fact, very often the kung in the middle you don't really play because it's so slow. In this rhythmic cycle the voice usually has a lot of ornamentation, a lot of beautiful things happening there, and so very often you really have almost nothing been played by the drum at all here, in order to let that develop in these very, very ornamented phrases, and then just add little moments in between to help the singer remember where they are in the rhythmic cycle. So you might just go deong cheok... and so on.

So just to give you a very brief example of this, this is a scene from Heungboga, they're cutting the gourd, but they're very hungry while they're doing it, so it's sung in a very sorrowful manner and what you'll hear is the sound of them pulling the saw back and forth.

Now that was just a short example for you, you can see that it's super slow, it's often very hard to catch where you are in the rhythmic cycle, you really need to pay attention if you're not used to it, because there's often so few notes being played here. So that's your kind of very, very slowest rhythm.

One step faster is the jungmori jangdan, which is the most common pansori rhythm, and it's used in the widest range of scenes. They could be descriptive, they could be emotional, and so on. Now this is really the perfect example for showing this sort of increase in tension, the climax, and then the release. You have twelve beats, deong, kung, ttak, kung, ttak, ttak, kung, kung, cheok, kung, kung. You can see you've got the first 3 beats, deong, kung, ttak, and another 3 beats, kung, ttak, ttak, 3 beats, kung, kung, cheok, and 3 beats kung, kung. So each of the 3 beats is part of the process, the beginning, the rise in tension, the climax and the release. (While demonstrating) So we can start at the beginning, then raise the tension, the kung, kung, cheok, that's the ninth beat, that's for the emphasis and the climax, and then relax with kung, kung. Now this is also the jangdan that is almost always used for dan'ga, which are the short songs with which the sorikkun will warm up their voices before beginning their performance. That's one example that you could hear this kind of rhythmic cycle, or like I said, for more sad kind of situations.

We've got a short video clip showing a professional pansori singer, Pak Gyeong-min of the National Folk Gugak Center Changgeuk Troupe, demonstrating this rhythmic cycle. This is from a YouTube video series done by the National Folk Gugak Center, called Oh! Pansori, and it features there's some basic introductory videos, which also feature me, then there are some series of people actually attempting to learn pansori, as well as introductions to regions which are important for the genre, English subtitled extracts of traditional pansori, and some newly created styles of pansori as well.

So there's lots going on in that Oh! Pansori series, it's definitely worth checking out, and I will make sure to have links to all the relevant clips in your lecture notes. Let's take a look at the clip.

Now you'll have noted from the clip that they're using the box notation which we saw in the previous lecture. I also introduced it briefly in the previous lecture as well. This is jeongganbo notation, which was actually designed by King Sejong the Great, he was supposedly inspired by seeing the reflection of the moon in a well, and that inspired him to create this kind of notation which allowed for accurate rhythmic notation, which was important because before that you didn't have notation that allowed for showing rhythm in traditional Korean music. And so that's why they're using this sort of box notation. It's very helpful for following the rhythm. This is obviously also why I'm using it to show you guys the rhythm as well.

Okay, so far we've reached a moderate tempo, let's increase the tempo a little

bit. Now, the next rhythm is the jungjungmori jangdan. Structurally, it's very similar to jungmori, it's made up of 12 beats, you've got the emphasis on the ninth beat, but it's a bit faster, and it's got a much lighter, sort of rolling feel to it. Particularly, very often beats are left out in performance, this is one of these strategies I mentioned which allow for that flexibility, this play in rhythm between the singer and the drummer, the sorikkun, and the gosu, which is such an important element of the way pansori works is music. Jungjungmori tends to accompany mostly cheerful, humorous songs. There are exceptions, but on the whole that tends to be the case. So let's have a quick look at it, it goes deong, ttak, kung, ttak, kung, kung, cheok, kung, kung (demonstrates). I'm doing it a bit slower, just so you can follow along the first time, usually it should be a bit faster (demonstrates). That's how the jungjungmori cycle goes, you can feel it's a lot more cheerful.

Just to note here that this is my version of jungjungmori, people beat in a lot of different ways, and you'll see in the video clip I'm going to show you now how that performer is beating it slightly differently as well.

Okay, so now we'll move on to the jajinmori jangdan, theoretically it's still in threes, it's 4 beats subdivided into 3 again. You've got the ninth beat kind of giving you this sort of syncopated feel. So it goes deong, kung, kung tta kung. I'm playing it slow here. You can have it as a slightly slower jajinmori, or it can be a bit faster. Around this point in the rhythmic cycles is where gradually this sense of threes starts to disappear. It gets too fast, and it's basically almost feeling like twos at this point. This particular jangdan can be used in a variety of different ways. It can portray a sense of urgency, this could be passionate or desperate, but another thing that it does, and this is something that, if you are familiar with other forms of epic poetry might seem familiar to you, is long lists of objects or actions. Now this is something that a lot of epic poems around the world do, and you need to think of this in terms of, back in the day there wasn't TV or anything like that, and these intricate descriptions were basically a way to allow the audience to really imagine what was being sung about as if they were seeing it before them. So this is a very interesting characteristic of pansori as well.

I'm just going to give two quick examples of the ways to use jajinmori jangdan, the first one is from Heungboga, describing all the behaviour of Heungbo's nasty brother Nolbo (demonstrates). So, that's a short example with a least format. Another example that is a more dramatic moment is from Simcheongga, where Sim Cheong, who's been missing her father, finally sees him and rushes out to meet him (demonstrates). So you've seen there at the end I stopped beating the drum, there's two reasons for this. One, I'm not actually a professional drummer. It's very difficult for me to continue performing, gesturing, and so on, while also playing the drums. And the other reason is that in these kind of moments, these dramatic moments, you often see this interplay between sort of fast, hurried

sections, and then these long extended sections where the sorikkun basically just departs from the rhythm for a while, doing these long melismatic sections. During this time the gosu will be just beating the rhythm a bit more quietly, discreetly, while these long, melismatic moments happen, and at some point they'll come back together again, usually with a tta kung, tta kung, kung, cheok, and then they keep going back in the basic jajinmori rhythm. So that kind of moment is very characteristic as well. And this is where you're really testing the interplay between the drummer and the singer. That really has to be very, very good for the jajinmori to work well.

Okay, moving on to faster still, hwimori, that is the very fastest rhythm. So deong, tta, tta, deong, tta, tta, deong, tta, tta. it's super super fast. At this point the threes are still theoretically in there, but they're just so fast you cannot find them anymore. So we generally just look at it as 4 beats subdivided into 2. And this jangdan is for very, very busy scenes, when a lot of things are happening all at the same time.

Now let's have a quick look at an example of that.

Finally, I want to introduce you to this sort of funny one. I should say this is the funny one amongst the official rhythms. There are other rhythms that are used, but these are the main ones, the big ones you need to know about. But this funny one amongst the official rhythms is called eonmori and the word itself, the "eot" there means kind of unbalanced, and that's what this rhythm is. It's asymmetric. It consists of 10 beats, which is subdivided into 3 and 2 beat sections. Here, I've written it as deong, kung, tta, kung, tta, kung, deong, kung, tta, kung, tta, kung. Now, this is variable. It doesn't have to be 3, 2, 3, 2, for example, it could be 3, 2, 2, 3, and then 2, 3, 3, 2, or whatever, you can play, you can shift that around within the rhythmic cycle. And so this sort of whole unbalanced feel is supposed to create a certain feeling of unbalance in the audience, because it's used in scenes that feature mysterious or heroic figures. So you're supposed to feel on edge, a bit overawed by the situation, and that effect is created through this rhythmic cycle.

So let's have a listen to a short example.

Okay, so that was basically a nice and a summary of the main rhythmic cycles that you need to know as well as, what's particularly important for us to know is it's never just the music, it has all these extra-musical associations going with it, various meanings that are attached to whether this is a fast rhythm, a slow rhythm, an unbalanced rhythm, etc.

3. Musical modes

And in fact, it's the same thing once we get into the melodies. So let's start thinking at this point about musical modes. Now in terms of musical modes, the

word you need to know is jo. This is translated as a musical mode, but, in fact “includes a wider range of concepts, such as melodic type, mood, singing style and ornamentation, and these concepts are often used interchangeably and ambiguously” (Um 2013: 78). It hasn't really helped

that in terms of pansori, a lot of the pansori music theory is done by theorists rather than practitioners, although this is changing these days. There's a lot of pansori singers these days who have higher education degrees, they've got PhDs, they're doing a lot of research in this area. But initially, when a lot of these things were being defined, it was done by theorists who were trying to make sense of something which the performers themselves perhaps didn't necessarily give quite as much sense to terms for ornamentations and so on. In many cases, these terms may vary very much between different people talking about them. And in the same way this concept of jo, the way people understand it can be very, very different. So in general, yes, it's notes, you can analyze it in terms of notes. You can analyze it in terms of content, ornamentation, etc., but really it's easiest to understand it as just a feeling, an atmosphere. So if you hear something that feels a particular way, then you can think ah, okay, that's probably this kind of jo.

So to start with the main one, gyemyeonjo. Gyemyeonjo is based on the folk songs of the Jeolla region, which is in the southwest of the Korean Peninsula, this is the region from which pansori is said to have originated. So it kind of makes sense that singers used the musical language of the region in which they were based. For the music theorists amongst you, it's built on a pentatonic scale of mi-la-si-do-re, that's the most difficult level of music theory I'm going to give you. It's the most commonly used mode in pansori. Not the only one, but really the most widely used. Gyemyeonjo tends to be used for sad scenes, these could be melancholic or tragic, it's used to express female characters, or someone from the southwest Jeolla region. So again here you can see these additional meanings being laid on top of the music, right? Gyemyeonjo is further subdivided based on the degree of ornamentation, singing styles, ornamentation, tempo etc. So you can have gyemyeonjo that's really full on sorrowful, and then you can have gyemyeonjo which is mixed a little bit with some of the other modes as well, and a whole spectrum in between.

Now, if that all sounds a bit abstract, I think this is a really nice way of understanding this, This is from Haedong Gayo, which was written in 1763. This is actually an instruction book for gagok singers. Gagok is a different kind of Korean traditional vocal music, which we unfortunately don't have time for in this particular lecture series, but gagok, to a certain extent, with some differences, also uses these concepts of jo, and for gagok singers, when they try to express gyemyeonjo, they were supposed to think of the following scene: “When Wang Zhaojun left the Han court for the north, snow scattered in the cold wind. Its sounds must be sobbing and sad.” Now you can really see the full on sort of

sadness that you can get from gyemyeonjo, right? Just to give you a brief example of gyemyeonjo when it is paired, for example, with the jinyango rhythm, which I told you could be used for very sad scenes. This is from Chunhyangga, when she has to separate from Lee Mongnyong. (demonstrates)

You get a sense. Now moving on to ujo, for the music theorists, it is based on a pentatonic scale of sol-la-do-re-mi, and it's based on the classical vocal genres, gagok, gasa, and sijo. So this is the kind of vocal music that was more actually enjoyed by the upper classes of society, so it's considered more elegant, it tends to use slow jangdan to fit with this very important kind of atmosphere, and it's often associated with grand and majestic scenes, as well as to describe aristocratic figures.

Now, if we take the example from Haedong Gayo again here, this is the image you are supposed to be thinking about: "General Xiang Yu jumps on a horse and bellows with rage; ten-thousand soldiers are frightened out of their senses. Its sounds must be transparent and magnificent." And so I'm going to give you an example for that. Again, this is also in jinyang jangdan, but you can see how different it feels despite being in the same rhythm. So this is from Heungboga, when his new fancy house has been created and he's looking out and admiring it. (demonstrates) You can tell it's a very different atmosphere despite using the same jangdan.

The final kind of jo amongst the big three musical modes to know about to essence in pansori is pyeongjo. Now, in terms of the actual notes that make it up, it's based on the same scale as ujo, but it tends to feel a bit lighter, more peaceful, and cheerful.

Again from Haedong Gayo, the sort of atmosphere that we are supposed to think of is the following: "In the South Fragrance Hall the Emperor Shun (2255-2205 BCE) plays a piece of soothing people's sorrows with his five-stringed qin. Its sound must be upright and placid." I should add it this moment that I am indebted to Jocelyn Clark for her translations of these extracts from Haedong Gayo. So, just to give you an example, this while is not necessarily if you go fall on into the musical analysis, it's not completely pyeongjo from that sense, but you can get a sort of atmosphere of what pyeongjo might be like from a Danga the one of the song called insaeng baeknyen. Okay, so it goes like this.

So you can see it's a lot lighter in terms of tone than the other two. Now, these three are not the only jo used in pansori, there are various other jo (sometimes called je) as well, often using various folk song styles from other regions in Korea. For example, gyeongdeureum is based on the folk music from the Seoul and Gyeonggi region, and this might be used to identify an aristocrat from Seoul, or sometimes an aristocrat who's being ridiculed by commoners, it could go a variety of different ways here. Just to give you an example, this comes from the same scene we encountered just not for gyemyeonjo, before we heard Chunhyang, a

woman from the southwest expressing her sorrow at the parting, and now the perspective switches to Mongnyong, a man from Seoul. (demonstrates)

Now another example of a regional style is menarijo. Menarijo is the musical style for folk songs from the Eastern seaboard of Korea, and in pansori it tends to be associated with lower class and frivolous characters, which, I guess, shows you a bit about the sort of stereotypes that Joseon dynasty people might have had about people from the eastern regions. In terms of songs that I know that contain menarijo, one example is "Sangju Arirang". Arirang is obviously a famous folk song in Korea, some of you may have encountered it before, and there's loads of versions of it throughout all of Korea. But "Sangju Arirang" is a bit of an exception, because it was actually composed by a famous female pansori singer Kim Sohui, about the experiences of the Japanese colonial period. (demonstrates) Now there's one particular moment which shows the characteristics of menarijo quite well, it's this section (demonstrates), when you hear those 3 notes in connection with each other, that's usually a good tip that you're listening to menarijo.

And there's lots of other examples of jo, but I think this is enough information to be going along with.

Just to really confuse things, the word je can also be used to talk about different school and styles of pansori. Now these tend to be separated on a variety of different levels. The first level you will have is the separation between schools, are you Eastern school (Dongpyeonje), or Western school (Seopyeonje). This Eastern and Western is actually not distinguished in terms of East and West of the whole of Korea, but East and West within the Jeolla region, separated by the Seomjin River. There used to be other schools, you used to have the Junggoje, the central school, which is now defunct, it's not being passed on anymore, it went out of fashion. You also have newer schools like Kangsanje and Dongchoje which have also emerged but usually the big differentiation is made between Eastern and Western schools.

Now this is where, if you remember, in the previous lecture we talked about lineage, when you know who founded these various schools, Dongpyeonje was founded by Song Heungnok and Seopyeonje was founded by Pak Yujeon, what then starts to happen is the second level of je, so it's schools and styles, who passed on these various styles, who was the teacher of who, and so on. So you can then start to distinguish it into, for example the Eastern school Chunhyangga in the Song Man-gap style, or in the Kim Sejong style, the badi, sometimes also called ryu.

And this, again just as a reminder, links to this concept of deoneum, the "speciality or composition of a particular individual singer-composer" (Um 2007: 120). So, you can identify who someone has learned from, their lineage, based on the deoneum they use. In fact, these days, and even in the past, singers learn

from multiple teachers who sing in different styles, and as such it's actually become increasingly difficult to separate which style a particular person is singing in, all styles follow fashions as well, but you know, we are painting in very broad strokes here.

From Chan Park (2003) you can see some of the expectations people have of the characteristics of the Eastern school, Dongpyeonje, and the Western school, Seopyeonje, with obviously this big caveat that it is much more subtle in practice. You can see that in Eastern school is considered much more forceful. It's using ujo, this more masculine, more powerful, majestic style. It's considered to have more unadorned vocalism, you're literally just showing things as they are. The tempo tends to be a bit faster and more syllabic, and sentences tend to be ended quite curtly, it's quite decisive and to the point. It's also showing an aesthetic of simplicity as the main aesthetic of the Eastern school. By contrast, the Western school, Seopyeonje, uses much more gyemyeonjo, it focuses more on artfulness, ornamentation, and delicacy, and because of this, the tempo tends to be slower, and the sentence endings tend to be more drawn out as well. It's considered a bit more sorrowful, perhaps more feminine as well. And particularly from the colonial period onwards, when there were many moments of intense suffering for people, this style became very popular, as a way of expressing sorrow and feeling catharsis from the situation.

4. Vocal techniques

So that was a bit about the modes, just to finish up I want to introduce you to some of the vocal techniques as well. I won't go through all of these, but this is just to show you briefly some of the variety of vocal techniques that can exist in pansori.

Chan Park (2003: 192) lists several of these, categorizing them as desirable (*), undesirable (**), trained (***) and dramatically manipulated (****):

tongseong: 'tubular projection' * or ***
cheolseong: 'metallic voice' *
suriseong: 'husky voice' *
seseong: 'falsetto projection' ****
hangseong: 'laryngeal projection' ***
biseong: 'nasal projection' ** or ****
paseong: 'crackly voice' ** or ****
balbalseong: 'tremolo projection' ** or ****
cheon'guseong: 'clear, springy voice' *
hwaseong: 'harmonious projection' * or****
gwigokseong: 'ghostly grieving tone' ****

agwiseong: 'molar tone' ****

From Chan Park's listing, you can see you could have a separation of categorization between desirable voices, undesirable voices, that are trained - some vocal styles might be innate, others you need to practice - and then those that are dramatically manipulated, so vocal styles that you won't use all the time, but might use for dramatic effect. You have things like tongseong, which is about strong projection, you're supposed to produce your voice from the lower belly and send it straight out. You get cheolseong, which is a metallic voice that's a desirable vocal style, suriseong, which is that husky vocal aesthetic we talked about. Seseong, falsetto, is used sparingly for dramatic effect. Things like biseong (nasal voice) isn't considered desirable in pansori, but you might use it when you are playing a particular character, who might speak with a bit of a nasal kind of accent. You're using it for effect.

Paseong (crackly voice) or balbalseong (tremolo projection) might indicate weakness in the voice, perhaps indicating you've strained them too much, but again could be used for dramatic effect. For the latter, while you get very deep vibratos in pansori, what you don't want is a shaky sound like this. Cheon'guseong, a clear, springy voice, is an interesting one. In fact, not all pansori singers have husky voices. Some seem to just have incredibly powerful vocal codes, and keep a clear, fine voice throughout. This is not actually considered a bad thing, you can be a master singer with a clear voice, just to make that clear. Gwigokseong is also a very specific vocal tone, a ghostly, grieving tone. There are moments where ghosts appear in pansori stores, and then you need to use that vocal tone to make you sound like a ghost. Again, note that these are the terms that Park has chosen to describe them. Not every pansori singer would use these words in the same way.

Another thing to know about pansori is that it has a very, very broad vocal range. It's distinguished somewhat based on gender, as men are capable of singing lower than women, but both men and women are expected to have very massive vocal range, male singers go up to 4.5 octaves in terms of range, while female singers are a bit less, around a 3.5 octave range.

Now, this funny diagram I'm showing you is the diagram my teacher uses to teach basic pansori vocalization. It should be noted here that each singer has their own variation of this, which is also to a certain extent influenced by who they've learned from, the styles they're learning. I'll get back to that in a minute, just to go through it bit by bit. You start with the 3 basic tones in pansori, you've got your low, vibrating tone which is very broad, you're basically alternating between two separate notes in order to get sufficient depth of vibrato. (demonstrates) Then there is the straight out tone (demonstrates), and then the breaking tone (demonstrates), those are your basic tones. And then you go to the

high notes, which are basically shouted (demonstrates) before descending (demonstrates) and finally ending back on the basic notes.

Just to note here that there is a separate video in the Oh! Pansori series on pansori vocalization which you can check out as well, this will be linked in the lecture notes. Another thing to note here, in terms of different styles and schools of learning, you can tell from this warm-up already that my teacher sings in the Dongpyeonje style because it has a pushing note in it (demonstrating). That pushing thing is very distinctive to the style. I also learned this kind of warm up from a different teacher, but she went (demonstrates), so it's a different way of descending, just showing the most standard ornamentations that she was more familiar with using in the style that she had learned. So even here in the warm-ups the pansori singers do those slight differences in styles and vocal production are present.

5. Conclusion

Okay, so that was my run through of the rhythm, the modes and the vocal productions of pansori. I think with that you've got a general overview of pansori as a genre, pansori as a musical genre. So, starting from the next lecture, we're going to be looking in more detail at the content of each of the pansori stories that have been transmitted until today, and we'll start with Chunhyangga.

I will see you in the next lecture, goodbye.

■ 학습활동 (총 108분)

가. 퀴즈 (18분)

O/X퀴즈 (5분)

1. ‘일고수 이명창’은 고수의 중요성을 표현한 말로, 첫 번째는 고수이고 두 번째는 소리꾼이라는 뜻이다.

정답: O

2. 중모리 장단은 가장 느린 리듬으로 평화로운 장면이나 슬픈 순간을 묘사할 때 사용된다.

정답: X

3. 우조는 다른 성악 장르인 가곡, 가사, 시조에 기반을 둔 것으로, 주로 웅장하고 장엄한 장면을 묘사할 때 사용된다.

정답: O

4. 동편제는 송흥록에 의해, 서편제는 박유전에 의해 만들어졌다.

정답: O

5. 판소리의 발성법은 통성이 유일하다.

정답: X

선택형 (5분)

1. 다음 중 판소리의 장단에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 장단의 ‘장(張)’은 길다는 뜻이고, ‘단(丹)’은 짧다는 뜻이다.
- ② 진양, 중모리, 중중모리, 자진모리 순으로 갈수록 그 속도가 빨라진다.
- ③ 판소리 소리꾼은 혼자 장단을 치는 동시에 노래를 불러야 한다.

정답: ③

2. 다음 중 판소리의 조에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

- ① 조는 판소리의 리듬과 빠르기를 뜻하는 말이다.
- ② 계면조는 한반도 남서쪽에 위치한 전라도 지역의 민요를 바탕으로 한 것이다.
- ③ 계면조와 우조는 같은 음계를 기반으로 하지만 서로 다른 분위기를 표현하는 데 사용된다.

정답: ②

3. 다음 중 판소리의 고수에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 판소리에서 북을 치는 사람을 뜻하는 말이다.
- ② 상황에 따라 북 외에 악기를 연주하기도 한다.
- ③ 판소리에서 소리꾼과 고수가 함께 음악적으로 교류하는 것은 매우 중요하다.

정답: ②

4. 동편제와 서편제에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

① 동편제는 한반도를 기준으로 동쪽 지역, 서편제는 한반도를 기준으로 서쪽 지역의 판소리를 의미한다.

② 동편제의 다른 이름은 동초제이다.

③ 보통 동편제는 남성적이고 장엄한 느낌을, 서편제는 여성스럽고 섬세한 느낌을 주는 유파로 인식된다.

정답: ③

5. 판소리의 발성법에 대한 설명 중 적절하지 않은 것은?

① 판소리의 발성법은 종류가 다양하며, 많은 연습을 통해 훈련해야 하는 것들도 있다.

② 모든 판소리 소리꾼들은 허스키한 목소리를 가지고 있다.

③ 판소리의 여러 발성법은 극적인 효과를 위해 사용될 수 있다.

정답: ②

단답형 (8분)

다음 빈칸에 들어갈 알맞은 말을 답해 봅시다.

1. (-----)은 판소리 발성법의 하나로, 귀신이 나오는 장면을 묘사하기 위해 사용되기도 한다.

정답: 귀곡성

2. (-----)은 여성 판소리 소리꾼인 김소희가 작곡한 것으로, 메나리조의 특징을 잘 보여주는 곡이다.

정답: 상주아리랑

3. (-----)은 3박자와 2박자로 나뉘어지는 10박자로 구성된 장단으로, 신비로운 인물이나 영웅이 등장하는 장면에 주로 사용된다.

정답: 엇모리 장단

나.토의 (30분)

판소리 제의 의미를 살펴보고, 대표적인 제의 종류와 각각의 특징을 설명해봅시다.

*답안 작성 방향

판소리의 제는 어떠한 창자만의 독특한 선율이나 꾸밈음, 분위기, 혹은 한 지역의 음악적 스타일 등으로 다양하게 해석될 수 있다. 이 중 '다른 지역과 구분되는 한 지역의 음악적 스타일'로 제를 해석한다면, 그 종류에는 대표적으로 동편제와 서편제가 있다.

동편제는 송흥록이 창시한 것으로 우조를 자주 사용하며, 강렬하거나 장엄한 분위기를 자아낸다. 서편제는 박유전이 창시한 것으로 계면조를 더 많이 사용하고, 기교적이며 섬세하고 슬픈 느낌을 주기도 한다. 동편제와 서편제 외에도 제의 종류에는 중고제, 강산제, 동초제가 있다.

다.과제 (60분)

판소리에서 사용되는 장단의 종류와 각각의 성격에 대해 살펴보고, 각 장단이 어떠한 경우에 사용되는지 설명해봅시다.

***답안 작성 방향**

판소리의 장단은 고수가 담당하며 북으로 연주한다. 또한 노래와 어울리면서 노래를 더욱 돋보이게 도와준다. 그 종류에는 대표적으로 진양 장단, 중모리 장단, 중중모리 장단, 자진모리 장단, 휘모리 장단, 엇모리 장단이 있다. 진양 장단은 느린 18박자로, 평화롭고 서정적인 장면이나 슬픈 장면을 묘사할 때 사용된다. 중모리 장단은 12박자로, 장면을 묘사하거나 감정을 표현하는 데에 가장 광범위하게 사용되는 장단이다. 중중모리 장단은 12박자로, 중모리 장단과 비슷하지만 조금 더 빠르다. 또한 경쾌하고 재미난 곡에 주로 사용된다. 자진모리 장단은 4박자의 빠른 장단으로, 긴박한 장면을 묘사하거나 혹은 웃차림, 행동 등 무언가를 나열할 때 사용된다. 엇모리 장단은 10박 장단으로 신비로운 인물이나 영웅이 등장하는 장면에 사용된다.

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[오! 판소리 : Oh! Pansori] 기초-2 판소리 장단 ([영상 보기](#))

<Lecture 3> Chunhyangga

■ 학습목표

1. <춘향가>의 줄거리를 파악한다.
2. <춘향가>의 3개 핵심 대목을 감상하고 각 대목의 의미를 이해한다.
3. 조선 후기의 역사적 배경과의 연관 속에서 <춘향가>의 의의를 탐구한다.

■ 강의 목차

1. Introduction and summary of past lecture
2. Summary of story
3. Key moment 1: Sarangga, the Song of Love
4. Key moment 2: The fight between Chunhyang and the magistrate
5. Key moment 3: The arrival of the Secret Inspector
6. Conclusion

■ 강의 내용 전문

1. Introduction and summary of past lecture

Hello, everyone and welcome to the third lecture in the “World of Pansori” lecture series.

So just to see where we are, we've had two lectures so far, and we are now on Lecture 3.

So in this lecture we'll cover the following points: first an introduction and summary of the past lecture, a summary of the Chunhyangga story, and then three key moments in the story before we come to the conclusion.

Now, in the previous two lectures we learned about the basic characteristics of the pansori genre, as well as learning in a bit more detail about its musical characteristics. Now, starting from this lecture onwards, we're going to be looking in a bit more detail at the content of each of the five pansori stories that have been transmitted until today. Now you've already seen the format for this lecture, basically what we'll do is each time round we'll go through a basic summary of the whole story, so that you know what we're talking about, and then we'll pick up on a couple of key points in each story, bits that are famous in terms of the story itself, famous scenes in the pansori stories, and in some cases scenes that will also help us understand some interesting elements about Joseon dynasty society as

well.

2. Summary of story

Now, the first step is a little summary of the story. I have provided this once before already, but I'm going to give it to you again for this lecture, so that it's fresh in your memory for the remainder of our discussion today.

So just as a reminder, this is the love story of Seong Chunhyang, the daughter of a courtesan (a gisaeng) and Yi Mongryong, the son of an aristocrat (yangban). The two fall in love and marry in secret, but Mongryong has to leave for Seoul and leaves Chunhyang behind in Namwon.

The new governor of Namwon tries to force Chunhyang to become his concubine, but she refuses in order to stay faithful to Mongryong, and is tortured and thrown in jail. Mongryong, now secret inspector for the king, returns to Namwon just before Chunhyang is due to be executed, saves her and punishes the evil governor. Chunhyang's faithfulness to Mongryong is so impressive that she is allowed to be officially married to him. The two live happily ever after.

Okay, so that is the sort of general basic summary of the story. Now, what I'm going to be doing as sort of a lens through which to perceive these stories is this concept of samgang oryun, specifically oryun (the five relationships). The five pansori stories transmitted until today are considered to correspond to one each of these five relationships in Confucianism, and we'll look into that a bit more, what exactly those relationships are, and how the pansori stories both portray them, but perhaps also put it into question.

First things first, though, a bit of a definition for you of samgang oryun. Pratt and Rutt define it as follows: The three bonds were those linking the subject to the ruler (loyalty), children to parents (filial piety), and women to men (hierarchy). The five relationships were those between the ruler and his ministers, father and son, elder brother and younger brother, husband and wife, and friend and friend. Each was conceived primarily in terms of the duties of the inferior to the superior, although the relationships were understood to be reciprocal and recognised the rulers' responsibilities towards those dependent on them. (Pratt and Rutt 1999: 469)

Okay, so in terms of Chunhyangga, it's framed in terms of the loyalty of a wife to her husband. Now pretty much instantly this starts to become a bit questionable: Chunhyang and Mongryong are from very different social statuses, Chunhyang is technically at the very, very bottom of the social hierarchy, and Mongryong is very, very near the top. And it wouldn't have been possible for them to be married within Joseon dynasty society, and we'll delve into that a bit more deeply in a minute.

On top of that, the fact that at the end of the story Chunhyang is able to

escape her low status by becoming officially married to Mongryong further unbalances and questions the status quo of this extreme social stratification that was so pronounced during the Joseon dynasty. We're going to be looking at these a bit more, but going through events chronologically, we know this is a love story, and probably the most famous scene of all pansori stories is "Sarangga", the Song of Love, where Chunhyang and Mongryong are celebrating their love together.

3. Key moment 1: Sarangga, the Song of Love

So let me show you a quick clip of that. You may have heard it before, but if you haven't, this will be a good chance for you to get to know the melody. Now, what we're going to be seeing here is slightly different from what you've been seeing so far, which was more traditional pansori, in the one singer, one drummer kind of style.

What you'll be seeing is the National Changgeuk Company of Korea's rendition of this song. Remember, I introduced changgeuk as the sort of theatrical version of pansori with separation into different characters, props, costumes, staging, and so on. This genre first came into existence around the beginning of the twentieth century, although there is some debate whether there were earlier instances of this genre, which is made more difficult by the fact that many of the few textual materials we have available are written as poetry, so you need to interpret the text rather than just reading it directly. For example, does *Twelve Seven-Character Quatrains on Viewing a Play* (Gwangeuk jeolgu sibi-su, 1826 by Sin Wi) describe Mongryong and Chunhyang as being performed as separate characters, or is it just telling the events within the story? This is part of why the history of changgeuk remains open for debate. What people do tend to agree on is that the first officially recognized changgeuk performance was a rendition of Chunhyangga at the first modern theatre in Korea, the Hyeomnyulsa, in 1903. Now we're going to be watching a much more recent version, here you have the National Changgeuk Company featuring Kim Junsu and Lee Soyeon performing the Song of Love together. So let's have a quick look at that.

Okay, so that was the Song of Love. As I said, it is probably the most famous, most recognizable pansori song out there. In fact, though, that scene that I showed you is the most famous, but in fact, it's part a longer section of numerous different songs, or different sections starting from a slower jinyang section, and then gradually increasing in speed, sometimes it might be just jinyang, and then skipping to a jungjungmori section, other versions might have some even faster scenes, some in between rhythms as well. So that's kind of a structural thing to know, that that famous scene isn't actually the entirety of the Song of Love.

Now you may have noticed from the scene, and the sort of state of slight undress of the two main characters there. In fact, this is about the act of love,

describing it wrapped in a lot of innuendo. So, for example, in the scene you see there, Mongryong is singing about playing piggyback with Chunhyang, and wishing for the night never to end. In fact, this scene used to be a lot more explicit than it is now, but those bits have been largely cut out with the “gentrification” of pansori, to not be too shocking to noble audiences. But we still have textual records of some of these lost scenes, and there are people who have tried to revive them in the present day.

Now, I'm not going to be talking much about the Song of Love thematically, but I just wanted to talk here very briefly about the cleverness of language that goes into several of the expressions, and just the general beauty of expression in this scene. So basically most of the first slower section is actually a discussion between Chunhyang and Mongryong of what they will become after death. You know, based on this principle that they are fated lovers who will continue their relationship into the next life, and the next, and so on. So Mongryong says, oh, Chunhyang, you will be a flower, and I will be the butterfly who comes and seeks you out. Or you will become a bell, and then I will be the hammer that strikes the bell to tell the time, and then Chunhyang has various opinions on this prospective afterlife. One element I just want to focus on very briefly, is the word play based on Sino-Korean characters. In fact, Mongryong gives a long list of various Sino-Korean characters that are supposed to represent the two. And obviously he's in the middle of studying for his Civil Service Entrance Exam, so he's got his Chinese characters down. He sets up numerous characters as opposing pairs, so he says you'll be earth (地), I'll be heaven (天), you'll be the moon (月), I'll be the sun (日), you be shadow (陰), I'll be sunshine (陽), and so on. Just one nice little one to give you an impression of how that works, he says Chunhyang will be the character for woman (女; nyeo), Mongryong will take on the character for son or child (子; ja), and when they then come together, that will make the character for good (好; ho), which I just think is a really lovely way of expressing it, and obviously a very clever way of doing it as well. Do feel free to look more into the Song of Love, and you can try to figure out what the rest of the innuendoes are about if you are so inclined, or just appreciate the poetry, I will make sure to include useful links in the course materials.

4. Key moment 2: The fight between Chunhyang and the magistrate

So now, what I want to do is move a little bit further in the story to this fundamental question of: can Chunhyang actually claim to be a faithful wife to Mongryong, which really forms very much the center of the conflict of much of the story. So when Mongryong has left, Chunhyang has had to stay behind in Namwon, and the new magistrate arrives and wants to make Chunhyang into his concubine, and she refuses. Now when you look at the discussion that takes place

between the two of them, I think it's very illuminating, and tells us some interesting things about social status in Joseon dynasty society.

Before we look at the scene in question, I want to give you a little bit of background to know why this conflict is taking place. First of all, what is a gisaeng, let's start with that. So gisaeng are basically equivalent to being a government slave, they were of base status (cheonmin), along with various other government and private slaves, butchers, tanners, and itinerant entertainers like pansori singers as well. What's different about gisaeng compared to other cheonmin is that they received a lot of very specialized training in the arts, in literature, in dance, in music, in conversation and so on so that they could interact with and entertain the yangban, the most educated men in society, so that they could still feel stimulated when hanging out with these women. So gisaeng were very, very highly educated.

Initially, you had gisaeng in the royal palace as well as at all the provincial offices. Gradually the gisaeng were removed from the royal palace for reasons I don't have time to go into here, but were still very active in the various provincial administrative offices, entertaining visiting dignitaries and so on. And so a magistrate who came to work at one of these provincial offices had absolute power over the local gisaeng. They were technically his property in that place for the duration of his job rotation. Once he moved elsewhere, obviously they would then no longer be his property but that of whichever magistrate came next. So that's an introduction to the concept of gisaeng. On the other hand, just to know that what did sometimes happen was that gisaeng would become people's concubines. Now even if she became a nobleman's concubine, a gisaeng could never be truly married to her benefactor, because they were of such different status to, well, anyone, even normal people, but especially of noblemen. But if they were to become a concubine they might live a comfortable life depending on, you know, the good wishes of their husband, their patron. But that was it. There was no legal status to being a concubine. It was purely based on the favor of the husband. If they were to fall out of favor, they could be kicked out at a moment's notice. So that was just a little bit of background there.

This leads us to the question: is Chunhyang actually a gisaeng? Now, in Joseon society in general, your social status was inherited from your mother. So technically Chunhyang's mother was a gisaeng, and as such Chunhyang should be a gisaeng too. Now, here, the different variants of the story start to differ a little bit. So in some versions of the story, Chunhyang is inscribed on the official list of gisaeng, in others, she isn't. Why? Why might she not be inscribed in the list of gisaeng? This is because her mother became the concubine of a nobleman.

What sometimes happened is that concubines who were gisaeng, who were cheonmin, who were, you know, government slaves officially, they might have their freedom bought for them, or they might have had their name on the gisaeng

register switched with someone else. There was even a word to describe this process, which was daebijeongsok (代婢定屬). So if this had happened to Chunhyang's mother, then she was no longer a gisaeng. Obviously, then, if Chunhyang's mother wasn't a gisaeng, then neither was Chunhyang. However, what you do need to say, clearly just because Chunhyang wasn't a gisaeng any more that did not make her a noble woman, she still wasn't of completely noble status, and this is an important thing to know, because if she had been of noble status, she would have never actually met Mongryong. They meet because he sees her riding a swing with the other girls in the village. If Chunhyang had been a noble woman, she would have not been able to move around so freely outside, there would have been no opportunities for men to see her. It really is because Chunhyang isn't a noble woman that they can meet and fall in love in the first place.

So that's the kind of the background you need to know. Now, if we look at this from the basis of the conflict, what is stacked against Chunhyang here? In the Joseon period, the maintenance of social hierarchy is considered paramount. So Chunhyang officially marrying Mongryong was well, illegal, impossible, it just couldn't happen, because that would be mixing two opposite ends of the social ladder. So Chunhyang claims to be married to Mongryong, but this marriage has no legal status. If it has no legal status, then Chunhyang is considered single, and if she is the daughter of a gisaeng, she is also a gisaeng, and as such must submit to the magistrate's will, because technically he owns her.

Now, Chunhyang is counterarguing that what the magistrate wants would be rape of a married woman. This argument doesn't actually hold up really based on Joseon dynasty standards, because the rape of a married woman was not about violating a woman's will. Rather it was defined by the disruption to a man's lineage, if there's a risk that an illegitimate child might be born there. Now, obviously, Chunhyang is, as established, not the lawful wife of Mongryong, and as such Mongryong's lineage isn't being threatened, so this law against the rape of married women does not apply in this case. So if we follow these arguments, you can say that by defying the magistrate, Chunhyang is defying the law of the country, which is an act of treason for which she deserves to be punished. And that's the sort of arguments that we are seeing be made in that video clip we watched.

However, there are counter arguments, not really those that Chunhyang is making, but there are other arguments that could be made against the magistrate. Step one is that if you take a government gisaeng as a concubine, technically, what you are doing is appropriating government property for yourself. As such, this is corruption, and illegal. It should be noted, however, that this is a process that was widely tolerated, and we should not forget that this is how Chunhyang received her special status in the first place, because that's exactly what her dad

did. But in this case, the way the new magistrate is going about it can be painted as an immoral act, which demonstrates the magistrate's corrupt character, and in fact he's also being corrupt in other ways, as comes out later. So you know his behaviour towards Chunhyang is considered symptomatic of who this guy is as a person.

What really ends up as Chunhyang's main defense against the magistrate's advances is that she claims herself to be remaining chaste for someone who is higher ranking than the magistrate. So in this case, with Mongryong being the son of a very highly ranked nobleman, by saying she's keeping herself for him, it's basically Mongryong's status which is being attacked by the magistrate's advances, so that provides Chunhyang with more protection.

Now, there's a point made here by the magistrate that a gisaeng claiming to be a filial wife is ridiculous. In fact, as you head into the late Joseon dynasty, this becomes rather less ridiculous. There was a definite sort of rise in intensity of certain Confucian values, trying to educate the lower classes to follow Confucian values more strictly. Particularly the remarriage of widows was very strongly looked down upon in the society and considered a social evil that must be prevented. And as such this cult of chastity, of becoming a faithful woman (yeollyeo), was actively supported and encouraged to a certain extent. Widows who died without ever having remarried would even have gates erected in their honour, and this was spreading through society, so even lower class women, perhaps not slaves, but lower class women, were laying claim to this kind of Confucianist rhetoric. So there is a certain kind of precedent for what Chunhyang is trying to do.

Obviously her arguments alone were not enough to convince the magistrate, and Chunhyang ends up being tortured in order to confess to her so-called crimes. Now, this is one of the most powerful scenes I think in pansori in general, and so I want to give you the opportunity to look at it in full. This is Bang Sumi performing "Sipjangga", the Song of Ten Strokes, where she is using word play around the sound of each individual stroke in order to protest the unjustness of the magistrate's behaviour. Let's have a look at it first and then discuss some more.

Okay, so now we've had a look at this together, from the subtitles you will have been able to see some of the word play that goes into this scene, but to be honest while translating this piece I had to cut out a lot of the nuance that goes into the Korean original, so I wanted to take the opportunity to unpick what is happening here in a bit more detail.

So let's look at the first stroke for example, the section for that goes:

''Iljaro aroerida.

Ilpyeondansim inae maeum

Ilbujongsa heoraneunde

Ilgae hyeongiangi weniliyo?

In English:

Let me use the word one to tell you.

With this one firm heart

I am determined to serve only one husband.

Why this one club of punishment?

So I did my best with the translation, but if we look at the Korean text, we can see that there are in fact a lot more “il” (the word for one) existing than what is visible in the translation alone. The first one, “ilja” is pretty obvious, it just means the character one, corresponding to the first stroke. “Ilpyeondansim” (一片丹心, literally meaning one piece of red heart) is generally translated as “single-minded devotion”, and in fact I could have done that here, but I wanted to link this to the scene which happened just prior to the scene we saw performed here, where Chunhyang, rather than writing the confession as she was told, instead writes the characters “one heart” on the confession paper, which is then where the scene as told by Bang Sumi in this clip picks up. Next up, “ilbujongsa” (一夫從事, literally one husband following things) means to only follow one husband. For the next one, pansori is kind of breaking what we consider normal grammatical rules, where we would normally count things by saying “han gae”, but here to fit with the theme Chunhyang says “il gae” using the Sino-Korean counting word instead. Finally, she finishes the line with “weniliyo”, which literally means “what is this”, but could also be retranslated with a focus on the extra “il” in the middle to be “what is this one (stroke)”. So this is just one example of how much amazing detail and word play goes into this scene.

This song, as well as the preceding scene showing the argument between Chunhyang and the magistrate, is shown very well in Chunhyang, or in Korean, Chunhyangdyeon, by Im Kwon-taek, from the year 2000. It’s readily available on YouTube with English subtitles, a link for which will be shared in the class materials. This is a very interesting film, which I addressed briefly in the first lecture, where you see an overlap between the scene being acted out by actors as if they were actually in the story, with a pansori performance sung by Jo Sanghyeon. While the whole film is good, this scene is particularly masterful, and so it is no wonder that it was well received at a variety of international film festivals.

5. Key moment 3: The arrival of the Secret Inspector

So, Chunhyang is tortured, she is thrown in prison, and then, at the last moment Mongryong, who's now become a secret inspector, comes back and saves Chunhyang and punishes the evil magistrate, and all ends well.

Now we'll have a look at this scene where Mongryong enters in, except we're not actually going to be looking at that scene in the Chunhyang story. Instead, for bit of variety we're actually going to be looking at the 2020 film *The Singer*, by Cho Jung-lae, which uses various pansori songs from different stories for pushing forward the plot. One of this is the arrival of the secret inspector, originally from Chunhyangga, and it's reworked to fit the context of the film. Now as I said, I'm showing you this clip just for a bit of variety, the one in the 2000 Chunhyang film is also very impressive, and obviously I strongly recommend that you watch it if you have time. But for now let's look at the interpretation in *The Singer* of the arrival of the secret inspector.

Now, in order to understand why this arrival of the secret inspector is as exciting as it is, I'm going to bring this back to understand a little bit about corruption in the Joseon dynasty. One argument that is made that the root of this corruption was the grain loan system. So what was this grain loan system? Basically, you can kind of guess from the name, perhaps, it was a system for lending out grain to people who needed it. Initially, this system was established to provide relief to people at a time of grain shortage, in spring you give a bit of grain so farmers can plant their crops, and then part of that is returned once the the crops are grown. Now initially this system was interest-free because it was for people who were suffering, who are in need. But gradually, because there were losses in handling and storage, interest gradually began to rise within the system. So by the end of the fifteenth century you've reached interest levels of 10%. In fact, a lot of people couldn't even repay the principle of the the loan they'd received, let alone any of that interest which would then obviously start building up.

What also happens is that the interest that was acquired began to be used as state revenue. So by the eighteenth century, basically all government offices were loaning out their official grain reserves in order to raise funds. So by this roundabout route, what ends up happening is that the grain loan system itself became a form of taxation, with various local administrators put in charge of its management, but often with no strict regulations or close supervision to make sure everything was done properly.

Now due to various famines, wars, and general difficult life, there was quite a high rate of default on debts in this grain loan system. And so what then happened was that the only way to meet revenue and reserve requirements, so that the people higher up on the ladder weren't going to be giving them any trouble was to manipulate the grain stocks, falsify the granary ledger, as a way to hide any losses within the local government offices, and, on the other hand, try and extort grain from the borrowers to make sure that no loss in the books was established in the first place. And it's stunning, the level of losses that were happening due to this. So in 1861, the new magistrate of Jinju was called Hong

Pyeongwon, and he found that out of 50,000 seom, so, a unit of measurement, roughly 180l, 50,000 seom grain reserves, 40,000 seom had been lost through embezzlement and mismanagement of funds. So out of 50,000 seom only 10,000 remained, the rest had been lost to corruption.

Really is amazing, this level of corruption. To give you a couple of examples, Dalton quotes Lee as saying: "During the Joseon Dynasty (1392-1910) local administrators did not receive a permanent regular salary and instead relied on the proceeds of bribery, extortion and 'unofficial' fees to compensate them (Palais, 1978: 12-13). While this abuse of the powers of office was to some degree a reflection of an understanding that certain types of public office were a form of property that could be used to generate financial or some other forms of personal gain, such activities were more commonly condemned by the Royal court and the historiographers of the day as forms of corruption (Lee, 1984: 232-242)." (Dalton 2005: 248)

That's one example, another example is from Yi Ki-baek. He says: "It was not the county magistrates alone, for the local functionaries (hyangni) at the bottom of the administrative ladder also profited. In order to obtain an appointment, the hyangni were required to pay a fee in advance to the local magistrate, and to recoup this amount they had to find suitable ways to collect taxes by force. In other words, taking advantage of their position as the actual operational and enforcement arm of local government, the hyangni were free to manipulate the situation and extort as they pleased. They were only hyangni but they wore the cloak of governmental authority, and the peasants had no way to refuse their demands." (Yi Ki-baek 1984: 249)

So where does Mongryong and the secret inspectors (called amhaengeosa) come into this? Basically with this sort of rampant corruption that was happening, obviously, it's very difficult to run a country. So the secret inspectors were sent out to find out what was going on, and then fix it. Kim Sun Joo tells one example of a secret inspector, an amhaengeosa taking on this corruption in the grain loan system. He says: "Yi Inmyeong, secret inspector (amhaengeosa) sent to the Right Gyeongsang Province in 1862, witnessed with his own eyes how corrupt the whole grain loan system was. In Changwon, the grain loan that people received was all-but-empty bags of grain, while in Danseong, the bag was either empty or mixed with pine stems and dry grass. Yi was completely shocked by such practices and brought sample bags to the court when he had an audience with the king, so that the king could have a chance to see the corruption with his own eyes." (Kim Sun Joo 2014: 1001)

The amhaengeosa were the ones who then tried to uncover this corruption, and then stamp it out. As you can tell from the name, secret inspectors, they would travel undercover to gather the information about what exactly was happening, so that then the people who were doing this corruption would be charged with the

evidence that had been acquired. Now, this was obviously not an easy job. It was a very dangerous job, because, you know, most people don't actually like having their corruption uncovered, you'd be surprised to hear. Amhaengeosa would regularly disappear, to be found dead in a ditch later. So it tended to be young officials who were given this job rather than more established people with families, and the like, and they were given three items with which they could prove their status if they needed to, as obviously most of the time they were travelling undercover.

They would get a bongseo, which was the letter of appointment handwritten by the King. Having received this they would have to leave the city, and only having left the city, would they then look at what was called the samok, the description of their destination and the mission that they would have to do, and then, in order to get to the place where they were going, they were also given the mapae, the horse requisition tablet, which was a sort of badge/medallion thing that could be used to get horses from way stations to travel to where they needed to go. Another one of the tools that they had was the yucheok, which was a roughly 20 cm long brass stick, which was used to measure whether officials were falsifying tax measurements. For example, if they had scoops for scooping grain that were of non-standard sizes, as well as also checking with the measuring stick whether the punishment tools were of standard measurements.

So those were the tools of the amhaengeosa, which they would use in rooting out corruption and punishing those who took advantage of the common people. And there were lots of stories about the heroic antics of various amhaengeosa. Considering how through all the famines and poverty, and bear in mind this grain loan system was put in place because people needed it to survive, when those who were using this system for personal gain were punished, how satisfying that must have been for the common people. Amhaengeosa were hugely popular because they were seen as righting the wrongs of an unjust system. And so in this sense, Mongryong, yes, he is a romantic hero, but that's not all. What did we see in the film extract? He hijacked the magistrate's party. He writes this scathing poem, condemning the injustices and corruption of the magistrate and his cronies, and then he rounds them all up with his with his men to take them away to be punished.

Then, obviously, he saves Chunhyang, they finally meet again, they are properly married, and even that in itself is, you know, it's special, because Chunhyang is allowed to be officially married to Mongryong despite her social status, having proven her fidelity.

But you know, for a lot of people, even if the romance part wasn't your thing, seeing corrupt officials who were causing normal people so much trouble in everyday life, seeing them being held responsible for their crimes is very exciting, and it's a very engaging part of the story as well. And so, in this sense,

Mongryong is not just a romantic hero, but also a social hero for the the general masses as well.

6. Conclusion

So that brings us to our conclusion. We've seen in this lecture how Chunhyangga as a story is generally framed as being about a wife who remains faithful to one husband despite everything. But this is also questioned: Can Chunhyang, as a gisaeng, claim to be married to Mongryong despite the difference in social status? Plus there's the whole element of her being able to overcome the strict social hierarchies at the time by becoming officially married to Mongryong at the end of the story. So yes, there is a theme of fidelity there, but it's problematized a little bit once you look into detail in the actual story.

And as we saw just now, Chunhyang isn't just a love story. Mongryong, by becoming a secret inspector who punishes the corrupt government officials, adds an element of social justice to the story which expresses the wishes of the common people who suffered in an unjust system. So in this story we get a happy ending both for the lovers and for the common people who were freed from the corrupt rule of the evil magistrate.

Let's continue to see what happens with the other four relationships in the other stories in the next lectures. In the next lecture, we'll be looking at Heungboga and the relationship between brothers. So that's all from me for today. See you in the next lecture. Bye.

■ 학습활동 (총 108분)

가. 퀴즈 (18분)

O/X 퀴즈 (5분)

1. <춘향가>는 오륜(五倫) 중에서 임금에 대한 신하의 충성을 보여주는 작품이다.

정답: X

2. 조선시대에 기생은 사노비(私奴婢), 도살업자, 무두장이, 떠돌이 예능인들과 마찬가지로 천민으로 취급받았다.

정답: O

3. 조선 사회에서는 일반적으로 어머니의 신분을 물려받았으므로, 춘향의 어머니가 기생인 <춘향가> 이본(異本)에서는 춘향 역시 기생이 된다.

정답: O

4. 조선 후기에 유교적 가치는 양반 계층의 전유물이었기 때문에, 기생인 춘향이 정절을 강조하는 것은 전혀 터무니없는 일이었다.

정답: X

5. 조선시대에 환곡(grain loan system)을 통해 백성들에게 받은 이자가 국가 세수(稅收)로 활용되기 시작하면서, 환곡은 일종의 세금 제도처럼 변질되었다.

정답: O

선택형 (5분)

1. 다음 중 <춘향가>의 내용에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

① 기생의 딸인 성춘향과 양반의 아들인 이몽룡이 사랑에 빠진다.

② 이몽룡이 서울로 떠나고, 춘향은 자신의 첩이 되라는 신관 사또의 요구를 거부하다가 감옥에 갇힌다.

③ 이몽룡이 남원의 새로운 수령으로 부임하면서, 춘향과 이몽룡은 마침내 재회하게 된다.

정답: ③

2. 다음 중 <춘향가>의 <사랑가>에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

① 다양한 장단으로 연주되는 여러 부분들로 이루어져 있다.

② 판소리의 고급화에 따라 노골적인 성애(性愛) 묘사가 추가되었다.

③ 서로 짝을 이루는 한자를 활용하여 언어 유희가 펼쳐진다.

정답: ②

3. 다음 중 조선시대 기생에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

① 양반을 즐겁게 할 수 있도록 미술, 문학, 춤, 음악 등의 방면에서 전문적인 교육을 받았다.

② 조선 초기에는 궁궐과 지방 관아에서 모두 활동했는데, 점차 궁궐에서만 활동하게 되었다.

③ 양반과 결혼하면 양반과 동등한 대우를 받았다.

정답: ①

4. 다음 중 조선시대 지방 정부의 부패에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

① 환곡(grain loan system)의 문란이 부정부패의 뿌리였다.

② 지방관의 부정부패를 막기 위해서, 조선 정부는 19세기 초반부터 백성들이 봄에 곡식을 빌릴 때 이자를 면제해주었다.

③ 지방 수령뿐만 아니라 향리들까지 백성을 수탈하여 사적인 이익을 챙겼다.

정답: ②

5. 다음 중 조선시대 암행어사에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

① 군대의 호위를 받았기 때문에 안전이 철저하게 보장되었다.

② 역참에서 말(horse)을 받기 위해 '봉서'라고 하는 메달 형태의 물건을 제시했다.

③ 관리들의 부정부패를 뿌리뽑는 암행어사들의 영웅적인 이야기가 많이 전해진다.

정답: ③

단답형 (8분)

다음 빈칸에 들어갈 알맞은 말을 답해 봅시다.

1. <춘향가> 중 ()에서 춘향은 매를 맞을 때마다 숫자를 활용한 언어 유희를 펼치면서 사또에게 저항한다.

정답: <십장가>

2. 조선시대에 기생들은 돈을 써서 다른 사람을 기생 명부에 대신 집어넣고 자유를 획득하기도 했는데, 이것을 ()이라고 한다.

정답: 대비정속

3. 조선시대에 암행어사는 지방관들이 규정에 맞는 도량형이나 형구(刑具)를 사용하는지 측정하기 위해 쇠로 된 긴 자인 ()을 가지고 다녔다.

정답: 유척

나. 토의 (30분)

조선 후기 암행어사의 활동을 고려하면서, <춘향가>에서 이몽룡이라는 인물의 의미에 대해 설명해 봅시다.

* 답안 작성 방향

조선 후기에 일반 백성들은 기근과 가난으로 고통받았으며, 가난한 백성을 구제하기 위한 환곡(grain loan system)은 도리어 관리들이 백성을 수탈하는 수단이 되고 말았다. 따라서 탐관오리를 징벌하는 암행어사들은 불공정을 바로잡는 영웅적인 존재로 여겨졌다. 이를 고려해볼 때, <춘향가>에서 이몽룡은 신분을 넘어선 사랑을 실현하는 낭만적 영웅일 뿐만 아니라, 암행어사로서 부패한 관리를 징벌하는 사회적 영웅이기도 했다.

다. 과제 (60분)

조선시대 기생의 사회적 지위를 고려하면서, <춘향가>에서 춘향이 신관 사또에게 저항하는 장면의 의미를 설명해 봅시다.

*** 답안 작성 방향**

<춘향가>의 이본에 따라 춘향은 기생으로 등장하기도 하고, 어머니의 대비정속으로 기생 신분을 면하기도 한다. 춘향의 저항 장면은 가치가 있는 대목인데, 조선시대 기생의 사회적 지위를 고려한다면 춘향이 기생으로 등장하는 이본에서 특히 문제적이다.

조선시대에 기생은 기본적으로 정부에 소속된 노비와 마찬가지로 천민이었다. 지방의 수령은 기생에 대한 절대적인 지배권을 가지고 있었고, 기생은 수령이 부임하는 동안 소유하는 재산이었다. 기생은 양반의 첩이 되기도 했지만, 첩으로서 법적인 지위를 보장받지 못했다. 춘향은 자신의 첩이 되기를 요구하는 신관 사또의 요구가 유부녀를 강간하려는 것이라고 비판하였다. 하지만 춘향은 사실상 기생으로서 신관 사또에게 복종해야 했으며, 이몽룡과의 결혼은 법적인 효력이 없었기 때문에 춘향의 경우에는 유부녀에 대한 강간죄가 적용될 수 없었다. (설령 어머니의 대비정속으로 춘향이 기생 신분을 면하더라도 양반 여성과 동등한 지위를 갖는 것은 아니었기에, 신관 사또가 춘향과 이몽룡의 결혼을 공식적으로 인정하지 않을 가능성이 있었다.) 그런 의미에서, 춘향의 주장은 사또에 대한 저항인 동시에 국가의 법에 대한 저항이기도 했다.

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<Lecture 4> Heungboga

■ 학습목표

1. 판소리의 특징과 역사를 이해한다.
2. 판소리의 실제 학습 과정을 파악한다.
3. 판소리를 소재로 한 대중 문화 콘텐츠의 사례를 살펴본다.

■ 강의 목차

1. Introduction + summary of past course
2. Summary of story
3. Key moment 1: Heungbo begs for rice and is beaten
4. Key moment 2: The flight of the swallow
5. Key moment 3: The opening of the gourds
6. Conclusion

■ 강의 내용 전문

1. Introduction and summary of past course

Welcome to lecture 4 in the World of Pansori lecture series.

Now, just as a reminder of where we are. So far we've had our introduction to pansori, and now we're working our way through the five traditional pansori stories.

Last session we talked about Chunhyangga, and now in this session we're going to talk about Heungboga.

So same kind of principle in this lecture as we've been seeing in the previous one, we'll summarize the story of Heungboga. Then we'll have the three key moments: Heungbo begs for rice and is beaten; the flight of the swallow and the opening of the gourds, before we then come to our conclusion.

So just to summarize again, starting from the last lecture, we've now been looking in a lot more detail at the content of each of the pansori stories that have been transmitted until today, with this format of going through the basic summary and picking up on a couple of key points with regards to the Five Relationships,

the oryun.

In the previous lecture, we looked at Chunhyanga and its portrayal of wifely fidelity. And now here we're going to be looking at Heungboga and its portrayal of the relationship between brothers.

2. Summary of story

So first of all, just to remind you of this story that we're talking about here. Obviously, these are well-known folk tales in Korea, but they may not be as familiar to some of our international audience. This story is called The Song of Heungbo. It should be noted here by the way, the main character in this story, Heungbo, is often also called Heungbu. There seems to be a bit of confusion about this: Is it Heungbo, or is it Heungbu? Normally, the way I divide it is that the character in the novelized version of this story, when it is written in books, tends to be called Heungbu, so we call then story Heungbujeon, the Tale of Heungbu. In contrast, if the main character is called Heungbo, that tends to mean that we're talking here about the pansori version of the story, called Heungboga. Now this isn't a perfect distinction by any means, but I have tended to find it works well for me.

So that's a little aside on the character names, now to remind you of the story: Pak Heungbo is a kind and gentle man, but his older brother Nolbo is vicious and greedy. One rainy day, Nolbo, tired of providing for his younger brother and his numerous offspring, summons his brother and orders him to pack his bags and leave. Destitute, Heungbo's family is close to starvation.

Still, Heungbo remains kind, and when he sees a baby swallow fall out of its nest in the eaves of his house, he binds up the swallow's broken leg and nurses it back to health. When the swallow migrates for winter, it tells the king of the swallows about its debt to Heungbo, and receives a gourd seed to give in return. Heungbo plants the seed, and three gourds grow from the seed.

At Chuseok (Korean Thanksgiving, the harvest moon), Heungbo cuts open the gourds in order to feed his starving family. To his surprise he finds the gourds are filled with money and rice, with precious silks, and even with workmen who rebuild his house as a luxurious mansion.

Nolbo, jealous of his brother's newfound riches, tries to emulate him by breaking a swallow's leg, nursing it back to health and releasing it. However, when he opens the gourds which grow from the seed he received, all manner of evils emerge, leaving Nolbo destitute and on the brink of death. Only the intervention of his kind younger brother saves him, and the two brothers live together sharing Heungbo's riches, while Nolbo swears to mend his ways.

Okay, now we've remembered the story, let me give you a reminder of what sort of concepts we're using here to think about the pansori stories. Specifically, we're

talking about the concept of samgang oryun, the Three Bonds and Five Relationships, focusing specifically on oryun. The definition given by Pratt and Rutt is as follows:

The three bonds were those linking the subject to the ruler (loyalty), children to parents (filial piety), and women to men (hierarchy). The five relationships were those between the ruler and his ministers, father and son, elder brother and younger brother, husband and wife, and friend and friend.

Each was conceived primarily in terms of the duties of the inferior to the superior, although the relationships were understood to be reciprocal and recognised the rulers' responsibilities towards those dependent on them. (Pratt and Rutt 1999: 469)

Now, in our last lecture, the focus was on the relationship between husband and wife, specifically, the loyalty of the wife Chunhyang to her husband Mongryong. This time, it's the relationship between the elder and younger brother that is the focus of the story. So let's have a little think about this, why elder and younger brothers? Why do they need to be distinguished, what's the difference between them?

Now let me take this opportunity to recommend a very useful resource for you, it's called *The Confucian Transformation of Korea: A Study of Society and Ideology* by Martina Deuchler, and it provides in general a very useful overview of the impact of Confucianism on Joseon Dynasty Korea. And in this book, Deuchler talks about how the role of the oldest brother was particularly important with regards to ancestor worship. This was considered an incredibly important affair in Joseon Dynasty Korea (and to an extent even still today), with the emphasis on Confucianism and the importance given to filial piety to one's ancestors, even after they had died, through holding memorial rites for one's ancestors that had passed. Holding these rites on the one hand was a right, it gave you power as the representative of the family, but it was also a responsibility. And that right and responsibility to worship the ancestors was inviolably the oldest brother's, no matter what his economic status was. So you could have situations, for example, where the young brother was, in fact, richer than the older brother. In this case, he could support his older brother for a while in the worship of the ancestors, buying the supplies for the ceremony and so on. But the role, the main worshipper, the person at the front when the worshipping was happening, that role remained the older brother's, no matter what.

A little anecdote here, in fact, how many generations of ancestors could be worshipped depended on the ministerial rank that was attained by the oldest brother. So basically, you needed to rank highly in government by doing well in the civil service exam, for example, in order to fulfill your filial obligations to your ancestors, because you wanted to obviously worship as many ancestors as humanly possible.

Another important thing was that land and slaves that were handed down from the ancestors, so property that had remained in the family, including the place where the ancestral shrine was had to be administered by the oldest son. These lands, the slaves, etc., that were in that particular category couldn't be split between the different children in a family, and they could not be sold. Obviously if there were other additional lands and property, these could be sold, they could be split, and all that. But that property that had been handed down from the ancestors had to remain with the oldest son. So you start to see, on the one hand, the oldest son has a lot of power, but they have a lot of responsibility as well, because you also have to administer the lands, hold the rites, and so on and so forth.

So let's look at this brother relationship in Confucian Korea one step deeper. Grayson writes that:

One of the core concepts taught by Confucius (551-479 B.C.) was the Wu-lun (oryun) or the Five Relationships, the key universal social relationships in which all people participate. One of these five key relationships is that between elder and younger brothers.

According to the Confucian socio-moral schema, the elder brother is in a morally superior relationship to his younger sibling, just as the ruler of a nation is superior to those over whom he exercises authority, and as a father is superior to the other members of his family.

This superiority of ruler, father, and elder brother in Confucian thought, however, implies that these figures are in a position of immense moral responsibility with regard to a nation's people, their family, and their younger siblings. In the Confucian view, the elder brother is meant to enable his younger brothers and sisters to cultivate their virtue by providing a moral example for them.

Grayson (2002: 54)

Now in Heungboga we very quickly realize that Nolbo does not exemplify any of the ideal qualities of an older brother, and fails to uphold his duty to care for any younger siblings specifically. Not only does he not show his care, we find out about the way he sees his filial responsibility of caring for his ancestors through worship through the story we hear told by his servant, of how he replaces the food for ancestral rites with plates of labelled money.

This is a really interesting scene, let's just have a quick look at that, and that extract from the story. Now since this story is told in the pansori genre, during a performance, this particular episode is usually just sort of told as a quick aside, using aniri narration. So since this is a piece that I have learned, and it's just a short section, I'll demonstrate it for you quickly. I think it gives you a good kind

of background knowledge to then see the extract that we will actually be looking at. So this is a scene from Heungboga:

Heungboga geonneogada Nolbo hain madangsoereul mannatji.

“Aigoyo, jageun seobangnim anisio? Geu dongan annyeongheosyeonneunjiyo?”

“Onya, neodo jal isseosseumyeo keun seobangnimkkeseodo annyeongheosinya? Geurandi, yosae keun seobangnim seongjiri eoddeosinya?”

“Malsseum masipsio. Jageun seobangnim gyesil jeogeneun jehyangeul mosimyeon eumsigeul mani jangmanhaya hoguneul sikisideoni, jageun seobangnim gasin huroneun jehyangeul mosimyeon daejeoneuro bacindabnida.”

“Geuge museun sorinya?”

“Jeopsieda jeyugida, pyeonyugida, modu pyojireul sseo buteonoko yeobjeoneul nwatdaga, dangman ulmyeon ssak da geodeo deurindeyo. Geureoni i tong e deureogasyeotdaganeun yeobjeon han pun mot eodgo maeman silkeot eodeomajeul teni, geunyang geonneo gasibsio.”

So in English, On his way, Heungbo meets one of the family servants.

“Gosh, if it isn’t the young master? How have you been sir?”

“Good. How about you and the older master? By the way, how is his temper these days?”

“Don’t even mention it. When you lived here, he used to prepare a lot of food for the ancestral rites and feed the leftovers to the poor. After you left, he’s replaced the offerings with money.”

“What do you mean?”

“He sets out plates, each with the name of each offering on a scrap of paper – that one’s the pork, that one’s the boiled beef. He places coins on the plates. And once the rooster cries, he takes all of them back. Since he’s like this, if you go in there, you will not even get a coin. You will only be beaten, so please go back home.”

Choe Donghyeon. 2009. Heungboga badibyeol jeonjip 2: Pak Rokchu badi, Pak Choweol badi [A complete collection of Heungboga according to different styles 2: Pak Rokju style, Pak Choweol style]. Jeonju: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, North Jeolla Province; Jeonju International Sori Festival Organising Committee. Pp. 46-47.

So this was my adaptation of the translation provided in Choi Donghyeon’s complete collection of Heungboga according to different styles, the section I showed you is in the Pak Rokju style, which is the version I learned and is in fact the style preserved as a National Intangible Cultural Property in Korea today. Now the texts I’m basing my translations on are great resources, by the way. They

come from the Jeonju International Sori Festival website. You can download them for free as long as you go in through the English website, and they're very, very useful. I mean, the translations that are in the book itself are functional translations. They give you the sense of the words, although they don't necessarily share the beauty of the language. But they are very helpful resources in that they also provide a very extensive glossary of all the specific terms used in the pansori stories. So if you do want to look at the texts a bit more, I would strongly recommend you go and check this out.

So in the scene, Heungbo is desperate and goes to his brother Nolbo to ask for support. As he's going in, he meets one of the servants and hears this story of how the food for the ancestral rites is being replaced with money. Now, as you can hear through some of the other lectures given through this online lecture series, the ancestral rites had actually very specific rules for how it worked, what food should be prepared, obviously it all should be prepared with extreme care. You're honoring the spirits, you're honoring your ancestors, which is hugely important in Confucianism. And then, once the ritual is over, in this case, that's once the rooster cries, the food that is supposedly being "eaten" by the spirits, those leftovers can then be handed out to the poor. So you're also doing a good deed as well, but Nolbo is too stingy for this. Why go to all that effort of making food carefully when he can eat him himself, especially if he's going to be handing over that food to other people, that's not interesting for him, and so he just puts money on a plate with a label - that one's the meat that one's the fruit - and then just takes it away again. And obviously it's very much not as things should be done, but you know, in general caring for one's ancestors, doing good deeds and so on, that's really not in line with Noble's character. He's introduced at the start of the story as someone who tells people to cut down sacred trees to bring down bad luck on them; he fans burning houses, making the flames even bigger. He gives crying babies his toes to suck, and he pushes people who are relieving themselves down into their own excrement.

I just selected a couple of character traits of Nolbo as described in Heungboga. The first song is literally just a list of all the nasty things that Nolbo does. This means that from the get go of this story, we are not expecting Nolbo to be very nice, and so by the time we've reached this scene clearly we're not expecting that minor things like social conventions are going to make him hold the ancestral rites properly despite this clearly being hugely important in Joseon dynasty, Korea.

So now, if we come back to thinking about this brother relationship in Heungboga, Nolbo clearly does not exemplify these ideal qualities.

In fact, it's more Heungbo who exemplifies these desirable qualities: he's caring, he's kind, and so on. And in the end what actually happens is that he manages to correct Nolbo through his moral example, something that is called moral suasion. This is what we saw Grayson talking about with the idea of older siblings being in

charge of providing a moral example that the younger siblings can follow. That role is then fulfilled by Heungbo, and it works on Nolbo as well.

So here it's not just a question of evil being punished and good being rewarded, but that evil can become good through education in Confucian principles. That's the messaging that you get from this story.

3. Key moment 1: Heungbo begs for rice and is beaten

But before we can redeem Nolbo, let's have a look at one of the real low moments in Nolbo's character development. This is our first key moment, where Heungbo begs for rice and is beaten. We'll look here at a performance of the scene sung by Yu Jisuk and accompanied by Kim Seongju, of the National Folk Gugak Center.

Okay, so we've got a sense of what's happening here, Nolbo is basically prioritizing his livestock over his brother and his family's welfare. A lot of just general nastiness here. So to give a bit of background for that scene, just prior to the events that we see unfolding here, Heungbo has been cast out by Nolbo, he has no means of supporting his family, and so he goes to the government office to beg for a loan. If you remember, we mentioned this in the last lecture. This is the kind of rice loan for the people who were suffering, which they would borrow in the spring and pay back in the autumn, which, as we found out, was often drastically abused by government officials, which is why amhaengeosa (the secret inspectors) became a thing.

In this case, by the way, Heungbo never gets the loan. Instead, a government officer suggests he come back the next day, and be paid for taking the beating for a rich, influential man who is supposed to be punished. The punishment for the crime this person has committed is 10 strokes with very big paddles, but because this person is rich and influential, rather than being punished himself, he just pays someone else to take his beating for him. It's a fair bit of money, so Heungbo agrees. This is his opportunity to keep his family going a while longer, despite obviously being very scared of the consequences of being beaten.

Heungbo returns home, he tells his wife how he's going to earn money, and she loves him very much, she begs him not to go, because she claims one stroke of the beating alone can cripple you for life, and he's supposed to receive ten strokes. That's a lot, clearly. She's worried that he might not survive, is begging him not to go, and all this ruckus is heard by Heungbo's nosy neighbor, who then the next day beats Heungbo to the government office. By the time Heungbo has arrived, the neighbor has already been beaten and taken the money, which means Heungbo has failed even at this plan to support his family.

So he's there, he has no money, his family is starving. What can he do? We

may want to ask the question at this point: Why can't Heungbo earn money? Surely, he could go get a job, earn some money. Wouldn't that work? No? Well, in fact, no, not really. Towards the end of the Joseon period we do start to see more of a monetized economy arising. It's actually most aptly employed by the social class containing clerks and other groups, the chungin class. This is the middle class, basically. But Heungbo is a yangban, so technically of the highest levels of society.

In fact, many impoverished yangban start to emerge at this time. There were many cases of yangban who can't earn money like in Heungboga. Now there's a couple of reasons for this. On the one hand, you had more people who were able to escape slavery or their chungin status and achieve government posts, crowding out the yangban who traditionally took those posts to live off, honour their ancestors and so on. But, on the other hand, more importantly, for yangban families, if you engaged in commerce, so basically selling things and earning money, you would be banned from civil service. You weren't allowed to take the exam, get a government post, do ancestor worship, and so on. So it's a really really serious thing, and it's already bad enough if it's just you, but basically as soon as anyone in the family has done this, has engaged in commerce, then every single one of their descendants is banned from civil service for all time.

You can see that you are then faced with a choice: Do I give up all hope for all my children, my children's children, their children to ever have a comfortable job in government again, in order to help us get through the hard times now, or do I basically let my family starve, but keep the choice of, returning back to a cushy government post in the future open? And many families made that choice, they basically didn't dare to work for fear of this effect on their descendants. In this case, they had three choices: they could choose to just stay poor, they could seek an influential patron, or engage in money lending and bribery. This was also frowned on but at least didn't mess up your children's prospect, and it's definitely hinted at in some versions of the story that although he was rich, Nolbo was also very actively involved in money lending and bribery.

So that's the background for why Heungbo can't earn money: he's caught in this dilemma, and that's why he was until recently relying on his brother for support. It's also why, when all his other options for earning money run out, he then goes back to his brother to ask him for help.

Now let's flip it over for a minute. I often, when I teach about Heungboga, I get people asking me, "wait, but why should Nolbo support Heungbo?". I mean from a modern perspective, we might look at this situation and feel that Nolbo's position of not wanting to be burdened with his brother and his family is somewhat justified. I would imagine, if you were the eldest of your family who was supporting your younger brother, who just sat around all day producing more children, you'd also get a bit irritated. Now you might think here all you know

how many children can it be? It can't be that bad? Well, in various versions of this story, Heungbo has anywhere between three and 25 children. So if you have an extra 25 mouths to feed, you might also feel rather reluctant about the whole scenario.

Now, as we've seen with this background in the context of Confucian Korea, where the roles and responsibilities of the oldest were clearly defined, it was clear that the eldest had to support the youngest, who, in return, makes sure not to taint the family name by engaging with commerce, and so on.

So within this context, the fact that he is not willing to support Heungbo, on top of his lack of respect for the proper format for ancestral rites, and so on, really cements his image as a terrible person to a Joseon dynasty audience. For them, he was just awful in all possible ways. You can see how much society has changed in little moments like this.

4. Key moment 2: The flight of the swallow

Now let's move on to the second key moment: the flight of the swallow. So what's happening here? The little baby swallow fell out of its nest, broke its leg, but Heungbo

patched it up, nursed it back to health, and now it has flown to the mystical land of Gangnam, I'll explain where exactly that is in a minute. And there he meets the King of the Swallows, and it tells him about the fact that this guy Heungbo saved me, and I kind of need to find a way to repay my debt. And so the King of the Swallows, gives Heungbo's swallow a gourd seed to carry back to him, and we'll look at one iteration of the flight of the swallow, here portrayed by Park Hyeon-suk and Cheon Ju-mi, accompanied by Kang Hyeong-su, and this video is from the National Gugak Center. So let's have a quick look at that.

Okay, now you may have looked at that video clip and thought, "that doesn't look like pansori, and you'd be right. In fact, this is a pansori-derived genre called gayageum byeongchang. This is a genre that emerges around the end of the nineteenth, beginning of the twentieth century, we're not a 100% sure. If we look at the name, "byeong" (竝) means together, "chang" (唱) means singing. So it's basically self-accompaniment of your singing on, in this case, the gayageum.

Now some of you may be familiar with this instrument, if you're not I'll give you a very brief introduction. This is a twelve-string zither, it's plucked with a right hand, while the sound is manipulated with the left. Now quite an interesting feature of this instrument, if you watch a gayageum performer playing, you can sometimes see them fiddle with the bridges as they're playing. This is because the bridges on this zither are movable. They're called "anjok" (goose feet), and because of them you can adjust the tuning of the gayageum while you're playing.

On the one hand, it's great that you can do this. On the other hand, you often have to, because while you're playing, gradually the bridge may move, and so you often need to adjust for the way the tone is being destabilized by adjusting it while playing.

In fact, there are two versions of the instrument, for court and folk repertoire, whereby the court version is older, based on the original instrument which emerges from the ancient kingdom of Gaya. The folk repertoire version emerges later and allows for quicker playing technique, and this is the kind of instrument that gayageum byeongchang uses now. It should be said that these days you can also get byeongchang with other instruments, I've seen it with the ajaeng, which is a bowed zither, or with the geomungo, which is a zither plucked with a bamboo stick as well. However, gayageum is still considered the original version.

What kind of repertoire do you see performed in this genre? It tends to be short extracts. How does this come about? Basically, what happens is at the end of the nineteenth, beginning of the twentieth century, you see drastic changes in audience tastes. You've got more disposable income amongst the middle class who want entertainment, and traditional music is at this point having to compete with new media like film and theatre. And one way that traditional music fights back against this for a while is creating these sort of variety shows in theaters, which would feature multiple different traditional genres, and in these gayageum byeongchang was often considered the main attraction. It was very popular before, but gradually the more modern art forms took over the theater spaces.

Instead, what you see happening is that a lot of the traditional genres move into the radio and recording industry, and there rather than performances that need lots of instruments, solo performances like gayageum byeongchang are obviously particularly well suited to the radio and recording industry, and end up establishing their place there for a while. Another thing to keep in mind is the way technological developments also sort of change music consumption, what was being performed, and so on, because recordings were initially quite short, you only had room for shorter pieces.

I should add, by the way, that this section is in general informed by Professor Jocelyn Clark, of Pae Chae University. She is the first foreigner who is designated within the Korean Intangible Cultural Property system for gayageum byeongchang and sanjo, which is an instrumental performance suite. And she's a great person to look up if you want to find out more about these genres.

So just to sort of summarize a couple of differences between gayageum byeongchang and pansori, the really important one is length. You know pansori when sung in full tends to be around three hours upwards, as opposed to gayageum byeongchang, which usually tends to be no more than twenty minutes long. So you're only really showing sections rather than the full story. As I told you in the first lecture, part of the reason why this is possible is because these

stories are very well known, you don't have to tell absolutely everything for people to follow along.

In terms of the instrumentation, obviously, that's a big difference with pansori. Rather than having one singer accompanied by a single soribuk, here you have one or more performers accompanying themselves on the gayageum, and usually accompanied by the janggu, an hour glass drum, rather than the soribuk.

The performance format is also very different, you've not got the format of a singer moving around the stage, doing gestures, and so on. Because you're sat on the ground, you're playing an instrument, so your hands and your body are not really free for any ballim, the dramatic gestures. Maybe sometimes you can lift the left hand to create a slight rhythmic emphasis by pointing that hand, but that's pretty much all you can do.

Vocal production is also quite different. It tends to use a lot of what's called the seokhwaje singing style, which is a lighter style of singing, using a lot of pyeongjo. We talked about what sort of atmosphere pyeongjo was, if you remember, in the second lecture. So in general, it's got a much lighter feel to it.

Now, here's a fun little map. This one is just on Google Maps. My research assistant Hwang Jeongsu mapped the various places that are mentioned in the extract that we looked at just there. You can tell straightaway, it's not the most effective route if you want to get from A to B. This is probably not the most efficient way to do it.

So why on earth would they describe it like this? Why does the swallow take that route? Theoretically what it's doing is it's going from Gangnam. And just to be clear, we're not talking here about the Korean one in Seoul, but the Korean pronunciation of Jiangnan, which is a region in China, just south of the Yangtze River. This name, although there is an actual physical location, also conjures up imagery of this sort of fantastic realm that's not really part of this world anymore. That's our starting point. On the other side, where we are wanting to go is Heungbo's house, which is in the area where the Jeolla, Chungcheong and Gyeongsang provinces meet, so sort of in the in the South, Middleish of the Korean Peninsula.

Now the actual route that the swallow takes varies between different versions of the story. None of them are in a straight line, they all ping back and forth, and I once went to a performance by the pansori singer Park Inhye, where she gave a very interesting explanation for this phenomenon that I wanted to share with you. She explained that in real life, in fact, Korean swallows tend to migrate from their winter areas to their summer areas via the Philippines, so completely nothing to do with that mostly overland route that we saw portrayed in the map.

However, she said, most people during the Joseon Dynasty, they didn't really go much beyond the villages. They grew up in. So by hearing a pansori singer sing about various places, with all these famous tourist spots along the way, basically

places well known for their beauty, and hearing the description of the beauty of that scenery, it's basically like reading a travelogue, or more precisely, listening to an audio book of a travelogue. You hear the descriptions of these places, and can imagine that you're there. So I mean, just to give you an example from the extract we looked at just there, it says

“The swallow passes over Nanjing. It arrives at a village with a tavern. Peach flowers and plum flowers are in bloom. The swallow snatches a falling ume flower, and throws it to a dancing party”

Isn't that such a beautiful image? The swallow is passing over Nanjing, there's some picturesque village with a tavern, it's spring, the flowers are blooming, people are dancing, and the swallow is flying right through the middle of this. I mean it's like watching TV. You can see it happening before your eyes.

And in fact, this strategy of having a character travelling through the countryside, through scenery describing what they see on the way, is a very common one in pansori, most stories have it. Because while listening, the audiences get to travel with the singer despite never actually leaving their home village. So I think that's a really kind of fun strategy that's very distinct to pansori.

5. Key moment 3: The opening of the gourds

So, Heungbo receives the gourd seed, he plants them, and then there's this highlight of the Heungboga story when the gourds are opened. Now we're going to be looking here at the National Changgeuk Company of Korea's version of the legendary director Heo Gyu's changgeuk version of this story. The reworking of this piece is titled Heungbojeon, whereby the “jeon” (展) here refers not to the “jeon” (傳) we mentioned which refers to novelized versions of the pansori stories, but instead means “exhibition”, with this performance intending to incorporate various arts, particularly media art, into the performance. The scene that you're seeing here features Kim Junsu and Yi Soyeon, in the roles of Heungbo and his wife, with an accompanying cast of National Changgeuk Company performers and some child actors as well. Now let's have a look at that scene.

So what's happening here, of course we've heard in the story, Heungbo gets unlimited quantities of money and rice, precious silks, and finally workmen who build Heungbo's house into a mansion. These are the sort of common threads of the story, and then you start to get variations between the different stories. Obviously, we're seeing a changgeuk version here, it's a changgeuk version which is playing a lot with concepts of modernity. So what was originally gold coins

becomes a bill shooter. I don't know how you would call those things, they send money bills flying through the air, they have unlimited access to money bills.

Now even if you're not modernizing the story, even there, there can be some variations in detail in the story. Just focusing on the first gourd which you saw there, in the version that I have learned it goes from the gourd being opened, rice and the money comes out, Heungbo dances for joy, and then he moves on to the next chord. It moves on pretty speedily, and it's actually one of the shorter versions of the Heungboga story. In contrast, some of the other styles might extend this scene to include the family cooking and eating the rice, but because there's just so much rice they make a huge mound of rice, the children burrow into it and eat their way back out, Heungbo also eats so much rice, especially after having starved for a long time, that he gets a horrible indigestion, and only recovers once he empties his bowels. Only then does he move on to the next gourd. So this is a really nice example, showing this potential for variation between a different versions of the same story.

Now, obviously up until there we have a happy ending, Heungbo is rich, his family no longer needs to starve. Everything is looking up, they've got a lovely mansion they're living in, they're dressed in silks, they've got food and so on. In fact, in many performances the singer only tells the story until shortly after this scene, arguing that the remainder of the story gets a bit repetitive, but actually the remainder of the story is pretty fun too.

So Heungbo becomes rich, Nolbo hears about this and comes to visit. He hears about how Heungbo mended a swallow's leg, and Nolbo tries to emulate this by going out to find swallows to capture and break their legs before treating them and setting them free. In a lot of cases this story might not be performed further than that. What happens next is that Nolbo finds a swallow, breaks its leg, the swallow heals and migrates. It brings back a gourd seed, but in this case when the gourds are cut open each one brings further misfortunes. Gradually, Nolbo's fortune is drained until finally he has no money left. A fearsome general comes out threatening his life in order to pay for his sins. Heungbo comes and begs for Nolbo to be spared, which moves the general to pity. Finally Nolbo promises to mend his ways, and the brothers live happily ever after.

Now as I said, many people find this part of the story kind of repetitive, and so because of that many people choose to only perform the story up until the moment where Nolbo goes out to try and find swallows to set his plan in motion. But even if it's not as commonly performed, we do know what the story is, because it's a common folk story, and in fact Nolbo's gourds might not be as musically stimulating but they are quite fun. For example, various travelling entertainers come out of one of the gourds, and they swindle Nolbo out of all his money, and since they're travelling entertainers from all the different regions of

Korea, they're singing in the various vocal styles of folk songs of the different regions. It's great fun.

Just as a little aside, it's quite interesting that the wives in the story actually end up coming out quite well. Heungbo's wife stands up to Nolbo's bullying once they become rich, and Nolbo's wife, while showing her violent side early on in the story when she beats Heungbo with the serving spoon for rice, she does by the end make the sensible choice of trying to stop Nolbo from opening up more gourds when bad things, or at least things that cost them a lot of money, start to come out. But Nolbo here is blinded by greed, as well as the hope that the next gourd will be better. So he ignores her and keeps opening the gourds, which ends up bringing about his ruin.

So yeah, lots of foolishness from Nolbo's side, but he does at least finally see the error of his ways. He promises to do better, and then the brothers live happily ever after.

So we've got evil being punished here, and good being rewarded. That's basically why Heungbo gets rewarded here. This is the Confucian principle of moral suasion that I talked about, that because Heungbo lives well, he lives as he should, he is rewarded for his good behavior, and then finally manages to persuade Nolbo to behave well too. That's the level of Confucian messaging behind the whole thing. On the other side of things is, you know, the ability to let the audience feel some catharsis out of the situation as well. Common people who were, you know, often really struggling with daily life, I mean famine and poverty was very common for the people at the lowest levels of society. And this gave them hope. Heungbo was in a very, very dire situation, his family starving, but because he's a kind person, he then gets rewarded with riches and silks, and so on. So that on the one hand there's this sort of proxy joy that at least one of us, one poor person manages to escape their fate. On the other hand, you know it's also this hope that if they just lived their life well, perhaps they will also eventually get the opportunity to escape their suffering.

So yeah, I think it's a great story, apart from a few scenes it's probably less tragic than some of the other stories. It's got a lot of funny moments in as well, so do feel free to check out the story more. Perhaps find the time to watch the story in full if you ever get the opportunity.

6. Conclusion

Now let's finish up today's lecture with a summary. Basically, we've seen how the brotherly relationship is talked about in Heungboga. For example, there is a statement made by Heungbo which is quite questionable to modern ears, where he says that women are like clothing that can be taken off and switched out, but brothers are like the limbs of our body, they can never be replaced. He's someone

who really wants to honor that special relationship between brothers. And it shows us what the ideal of a brotherly relationship was considered to be in Joseon Dynasty society.

And so, finally, because at least Heungbo behaves well, they can end up living happily ever after together. Before that, Nolbo definitely wasn't acting like an older brother should, that role was taken on by Heungbo, and he's the one who, through his good moral example, manages to lead his older brother down a better path.

So on the one hand, yes, it's supporting the Confucian ideal of brotherly relationships, and, on the other hand, it's also subverting these ideals, because Nolbo doesn't behaving as an older brother should. And so there's always a little bit of question mark here, because the older, the superior person is supposed to be innately better than those beneath him (this was also part of the legitimization of the ruling by the upper classes). And finally, Heungboga also shows the hopes and dreams of the general population, who often lived in poverty but hoped that by living well they would then finally be rewarded for their suffering.

So there we go, a nice feel good story with a happy ending, and I think we should leave it here for today.

In the next lecture, we are going to be talking about Simcheongga, and while today we were talking about filial piety more in terms of its lack in Nolbo's behaviour, in Simcheongga we're going see the opposite, a good example of how filial piety should actually work. So let's look at that in the next lecture, and I shall say goodbye here for today.

■ 학습활동 (총 108분)

가. 퀴즈 (18분)

O/X퀴즈 (5분)

1. <홍보가>는 오륜 중 형과 아우의 관계에 대해 다루고 있는 작품이다.

정답: O

2. <홍보가> 중 제비노정기는 제비의 이동 경로를 설명할 뿐만 아니라 여러 명소(名所)의 아름다운 풍경을 묘사한 대목으로 일종의 여행기와 같은 기능을 한다.

정답: O

3. 조선시대의 부모들은 대부분 그들의 유산(遺産)을 자식들에게 균등하게 분배해 상속하였다.

정답: X

4. 조선시대에는 조상에게 제사를 지낼 때 실제 음식 대신 음식의 이름이 적힌 접시를 사용했다.

정답: X

5. 조선 후기에는 화폐 경제가 정착되고 상업을 통한 자본의 축적이 활발해짐에 따라, 양반들도 벼슬 대신 상업에 종사하는 경우가 많았다.

정답: X

선택형 (5분)

1. 다음 중 <홍보가>에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 홍보는 다친 제비를 도와준 보답으로 박씨를 받는다.
- ② 조선시대는 신분제로 인한 천민들의 가난과 고통을 이야기하고 있다.
- ③ 홍보는 많은 재산을 얻고, 놀보는 모든 재물을 잃는 권선징악의 결말로 이루어져 있다.

정답: ②

2. 홍보가 매를 맞는 장면의 줄거리에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

- ① 홍보가 놀보에게 쌀을 구걸하러 갔다가 놀보에게 매를 맞는 내용이다.
- ② 홍보는 죄를 지은 놀보 대신 관청에서 매를 맞은 대가로 돈을 받았다.
- ③ 놀보는 홍보를 때린 후에 사과와 의미로 식량을 보냈다.

정답: ①

3. 조선시대의 장남의 역할에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 장남은 가문의 재산을 물려받는 대신 다른 형제들을 부양할 책임이 있었다.
- ② 장남은 가족을 대표해 조상의 제사를 지내야 했다.
- ③ 장남이 아니더라도 재산이 많거나 높은 벼슬이 있는 사람이라면 장남의 역할을 대신할

수 있었다.

정답: ③

4. 조선 후기 양반에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

- ① 조선 후기의 양반들은 신분과 재산을 대대로 상속받아 모두 막대한 부를 갖고 있었다.
- ② 만일 양반이 상업에 종사하면 그의 후손들은 벼슬을 할 수 없었다.
- ③ 양반의 신분은 자식 중 한 명에게만 물려줄 수 있었는데, 대부분 장남에게 상속되었다.

정답: ②

5. 가야금병창에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 가야금병창은 19세기 말에서 20세기 초에 판소리에서 파생된 장르이다.
- ② 판소리는 전바탕을 부르면 3시간 이상 소요되는 반면, 가야금병창은 보통 20분 이내로 부른다.
- ③ 가야금병창은 소리꾼이 노래를 할 때 고수가 북 대신 가야금을 연주한다.

정답: ③

단답형 (8분)

다음 빈칸에 들어갈 알맞은 말을 답해 봅시다.

1. 제비가 제비의 왕으로부터 박씨를 얻은 ‘강남’은 중국의 (-----) 남쪽에 위치해 있다.

정답: 양쯔강

2. 흥보의 (-----)에서는 수많은 양의 돈과 쌀, 비단, 그리고 집을 짓는 일꾼들이 나온다.

정답: 박

3. (-----)는 밥숟가락으로 흥보를 때리는 폭력적인 모습을 보이는 동시에, 놀보의 어리석은 행동을 말리는 현명한 모습도 보여준다.

정답: 놀보의 아내

나. 토의 (30분)

유교적 관점에서 놀보는 어떠한 인물인지 ‘오륜’과 함께 설명해봅시다.

*답안 작성 방향

‘오륜’은 공자가 제시한 개념으로 사람과 사람 사이의 관계에 대해 이야기하며, 여기에는 임금과 신하, 아버지와 아들, 형과 동생, 남편과 아내, 친구와 친구의 다섯 가지 관계가 있다. 이 중 놀보와 흥보는 형과 동생의 관계에 해당된다. 유교적 관점에서는 크게 두 가지 개념과 함께 놀보를 설명할 수 있다. 첫 번째로 유교에서는 장남이 동생보다 많은 권한을 갖는 대신, 더 많은 책임을 지는 것이 마땅했다. 놀보는 장남으로서 가문의 재산을 물려받았지만, 제사를 제대로 준비하지도 않고 어려운 처지인 흥보를 도와주지도 않는다. 놀보는 장남의 자질을 갖추지 못했으며, 도덕성을 갖추지 못한 인물이다. 두 번째는 어떤 사람의 도덕적 행동으로 인해 다른 사람의 행동 역시 도덕적으로 변화시킬 수 있다는 개념이다. 결말에 이르러서 놀보는 흥보를 본받아 자신의 지난 행동을 반성하고 도덕적인 인물로 거듭나는 모습을 보여준다. 즉 놀보는 본래 도덕성을 갖추지 못했으나, 선한 흥보의 영향으로 인해 도덕적으로 변하는 인물

로 해석할 수 있다.

다. 과제 (60분)

조선시대의 유교적 사상과 사회적 배경을 고려하여, 흥보와 놀보가 박을 타는 장면에 담겨 있는 메시지에 대해 설명해봅시다.

***답안 작성 방향**

친절하고 선한 인물인 흥보의 박에서는 돈과 쌀, 비단과 일꾼이 나오지만 장남으로서 책임을 다하지 않고 자신의 욕심만 채긴 놀보가 박을 열자 재산이 사라지고 목숨을 위협하는 장군이 나온다. 이는 악한 행동은 벌을 받고 선한 행동은 보상을 받는다는 유교적 원리를 보여주는 것으로, 이야기를 듣는 청중들에게 도덕적으로 행동해야 한다는 교훈을 준다. 또한 조선시대에 경제적 어려움에 처했던 많은 사람들에게 흥보처럼 올바른 삶을 산다면 부를 얻을 수 있다는 희망을 주거나, 흥보를 통해 가난에서 벗어나는 대리 만족을 주기도 하였다.

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[Daily Gugak] Day 15 - Gayageum Byeongchang (A Voice with Gayageum), "Jebinojeonggi" ([영상 보기](#))

<Lecture 5> Simcheongga

■ 학습목표

1. <심청가>의 줄거리를 살펴보고 4개의 주요 대목을 파악한다
2. <심청가>가 담고 있는 오류의 의미를 탐구한다.
3. <심청가>에 반영된 조선시대의 사회상을 이해한다.

■ 강의 목차

1. Introduction and summary of past lecture
2. Summary of story
3. Key moment 1: Blind Man Sim falls in the water
4. Key moment 2: Sim Cheong jumps in the water
5. Key moment 3: Bbaengdeogine
6. Key moment 4: Sim Cheong and Blind Man Sim reunite
7. Conclusion

■ 강의 내용 전문

1. Introduction and summary of past lecture

Hello, and welcome to lecture 5 in the lecture series, the World of Pansori.

So just to remind you of where we are in the course. This is Lecture 5, on Simcheongga, and we're following the same principle as we have in the previous lectures,

we'll start with an introduction and summary of the past lecture, we'll have a summary of the story, and then we'll be talking about four key moments this week for a change, before finally coming to the conclusion.

Now, starting from our introduction, as you know, starting from the third lecture, we have started looking in more detail at the content of each of the pansori stories that have been transmitted until today.

In this part of the lecture series, these five lectures in a row are following the same standard format of going through a basic summary of the whole story and then picking up on a couple of key points that help demonstrate certain themes,

and obviously at the moment we're looking at these stories through the lens of samgang oryun (the three bonds and five relationships).

In the previous lecture we looked at Heungboga and its portrayal of the relationship between the two brothers. And in that lecture we also looked at how basically not to do filial piety, particularly through the character of Nolbo. If you remember, when he was holding the ancestral rites which was his duty as the elder, rather than putting out the proper dishes and putting care into remembering the ancestors, as was his right and responsibility as an older brother, he was replacing that by just putting out coins and little notes on various plates, and then putting those away as soon as possible. So amongst the many other bad things that Nolbo was doing, that was a real kind of "how not to do filial piety 101" moment. This lecture, though, we're looking instead at how filial piety should actually be done through the story of Simcheongga. So let's have a look at how that story goes. It's been a while now since you've heard this story, so I'll remind you of it again.

2. Summary of story

The story is that Blind Man Sim's wife dies in childbirth, but their daughter Cheong survives and grows up to become a virtuous and filial young woman. When Sim falls into a river and is saved by a passing monk, he swears to donate three hundred bags of rice to a Buddhist temple, which the monk claims will give him back his sight.

As they are too poor to afford this, Cheong sells herself to some passing sailors as a human sacrifice in exchange for the three hundred bags of rice. When Cheong throws herself into the sea to calm a storm, the gods are touched by her filial piety and rescue her, sending her back to land in a lotus blossom that the passing sailors take as a gift to the emperor.

The emperor sees Cheong emerge from the flower, falls in love, marries her and makes her empress. Cheong holds a banquet for all the blind people in the kingdom, hoping to find her father. When he hears her voice calling out to him, Sim is so shocked that he regains his sight, along with all the other blind people in the kingdom.

So that's the overarching story, let's now also remind ourselves of the lens through which we're looking at these five stories, which is the idea of samgang oryun. We've heard it a few times now, following Pratt and Rutt:

"The five relationships were those between the ruler and his ministers, father and son, elder brother and younger brother, husband and wife, and friend and friend. Each was conceived primarily in terms of the duties of the inferior to the superior, although the relationships were understood to be reciprocal and recognised the rulers' responsibilities towards those dependent on them." (1999:

469)

Now we could already see in this definition, the relationship of filial piety is considered to be that between father and son. But in the case of Simcheongga, the relationship between father and daughter is the focus of the story.

So let's start to delve a little bit more into this concept of filiality within Confucianism. Kim Haboush, who writes on Simcheongga and filiality within that story, states that:

"Of the three bonds and the five relations that constituted basic Confucian social ethics, filiality is a precept built on the rhetoric of the most natural and universal of human emotions: what could be more natural than to love one's parents? Hsiao-hsüeh/Sohak (Elementary Learning) says: 'One's parents give one birth, thus one continues the line. Parents and the king instruct, thus one is supremely indebted to them. If one does not love one's parents and loves someone else, it is a perversion of virtue. If one does not revere one's parents and reveres someone else, it is a perversion of propriety.' This signified a view that filiality was rooted in emotions exclusively directed toward the parents who gave birth and provided nurture and that filial emotions resulted in filial values.

Filiality, the most basic and personal of relations, was also viewed as the basis of order in a Confucian society. Hsiao-ching/Hyogyŏng (Book of Filial Piety) says: 'Filiality is the basis of virtue and the source of instruction,' or, just afterwards, 'Filiality begins with serving one's parents, advances with serving one's lord, and ends with establishing oneself.' Here, personal virtue extends to the public good seamlessly and naturally. In this idealized vision of filiality, emotions and values are seen as being in harmony both reenforcing social norms and supported by them." (1995: 132-133)

So we can see here the place of filiality, and there are these parallels that are drawn, with the way that a social superior, a ruler looks after his subjects, a parent looks after the child, etc. It's all the same kind of comparisons. As long as these relationships function as they should, the whole of society remains in balance, and everything works well. That's the basic principle, and it's about how in the same way as you follow your ruler with obedience, you follow your parents, you give them the respect and care that is due to them as a filial child. So that's the sort of ideal that we're working with in terms of filiality.

But how does this play out in terms of the story per se? Can Sim Cheong actually be considered filial, because we already mentioned the fact that the concept of oryun is considered to be the relationship between the father and the son. Now, if you remember how we discussed ancestor worship already in the last lecture, the reason why this was so concentrated on the eldest son, also has to do with what was happening to women during the establishment of Confucianism within Korea. As you move from the Goryeo dynasty into the Joseon dynasty

women who initially had equal rights to inheritance and remained equal members of the family, even after marriage, were gradually sidelined. They can no longer inherit, once they get married, they leave the family. And gradually these filial obligations to the ancestors land ever more on particularly the eldest sons, as we saw in the last lecture. By the way, Deuchler (1992), who talks about this concept of ancestor worship and elder sons also addresses the changing status of women in her book.

Now basically what that means, then, as a consequence, is as Janelli and Yim describe it:

“filial piety was primarily an obligation imposed on sons. Women were not expected to be actively involved in the care of their own parents and, with the exception of some of those whose husbands were resident sons-in-law, few were. Nor was a woman expected later to bow, offer wine, or assume any of the ritual roles in ancestor rites after the termination of the mourning period, for her own or her husband’s parents, though married women were present at the rites for their parents-in-law and prepared the necessary food offerings.

Though the same moral injunctions were imposed on girls and young women regarding their own parents, a woman’s separation from her natal home and village at marriage usually made it difficult for her to make many efforts on behalf of her parents.” (2004: 137)

And Kim Haboush adds to that, she says:

“Given the social norms of the time, that a male should represent fraternal affection (as in Heungboga) and loyalty to the king (as we’ll see in Sugungga in the next lecture) makes eminent good sense, as does the fact that a woman represents marital fidelity (as we saw in Chunhyangga in lecture 3). But that a daughter devoted to her natal parent should represent filiality, a representation in conflict with social norms as well as practice, calls for attention.” (1995: 155)

So you can see there’s questions being raised here about Cheong’s ability to be a filial heroine, keeping in mind the surrounding social circumstances that people would have been living in during the time when these stories were being told.

Now before we go into how this plays out, just to give you a bit of background (coming from Kim Haboush) on the various stories of filial children, filial daughters, who feed into where the Simcheongga story comes from.

So in Samguk sagi (1145) there’s a story of a woman in the Silla dynasty, who cares for her aged, widowed mother. She refuses to get married in order to care for her, and at one point, when things are really desperate for them, she sells herself for ten sacks of rice. But this is so impressive that then various people

end up supporting her, and they can live happily ever after with that support. That's the oldest story where you can see the inspiration for where Simcheongga comes from. Now a story that is even closer to what the Sim Cheong story actually becomes is the Samguk Yusa (1281). It is based on the founding legend of the Gwaneum Temple, which is in South Jeolla Province. Here you have the story of a blind widower who pledges 50 sacks of rice in order to regain his eyesight. Now here, as in Simcheongga, his daughter sells herself to sailors for that sum, and she then ends up becoming an empress and her father regains his sight. So we have pretty much all the key elements of the Sim Cheong story already present in this record.

Now another area just to be aware of is, there are often a lot of parallels drawn between Simcheongga and the epic shamanic song (muga) Bari gongju, the cast-out princess who crosses to the underworld to save her parents from death despite them casting her out because they didn't want a seventh daughter. There are some parallels here in the extremes the daughter goes to in order to express filial piety to her parents, although there are clear differences too. There are, in fact, versions of the Sim Cheong story that are also told as muga in East Coast Shamanism. So here we have some of the elements which may have influenced the Sim Cheong story, some obviously more clearly than others.

3. Key moment 1: Blind Man Sim falls in the water

Now having seen that background, let's have a look at blind man Sim's parenting, because, as we saw, you know, on the one hand, filial piety is this sort of responsibility that the inferior, in this case the child, has towards their superior, in this case the parent. But it also comes with responsibility from the superior to the inferior as well. So how does Blind Man Sim hold up in this? One thing that's actually quite striking about him is that he's not disappointed because Cheong is a girl, as many people at the time would have been, since they expected their daughters to leave them after marriage. In fact, Sim has high hopes for the future, even though he "only" has a daughter, because he can just get his son-in-law to take care of him when he gets old, because he's going to love his daughter so much, and then that could mean that then his grandchildren could include him as an official ancestor and worship him after his death. In fact, there's precedent for this in Joseon dynasty society, there was a process called oeson bongsa (外孫奉祀) which was exactly that.

Either way, Sim is clearly a very loving parent, which sounds great. However, there is the problem that this basic Confucian principle of filiality also expects a certain reciprocity, but Sim doesn't really uphold that standard of what a parent should be, providing care to a child.

Yes, he has lots of love, but he's blind, he's very gullible, as we'll see throughout this lecture. He can't really give his daughter much care except by begging, so, as Kim Haboush puts it, "he is at once totally loving and extremely inadequate" (1995:160). He's a man as well, he can't breastfeed his child when his wife dies after childbirth. Cheong is raised initially by him going around the village, begging the other women to provide some of their breast milk. It's the other women in the village who breastfeed Cheong and help her survive. And Cheong is actually very, very young when she then says, "Look, you can stop trying to take care of me. I'll take care of you instead." And so she becomes the carer in the family who's going out to beg in her father's stead.

So here you can see a little scene from Simcheongga when this happens, and just to note I'm using the text here from Choe Donghyeon's Complete Collection of Simcheongga According to Different Styles 3, which isn't a perfect translation but will give you a nice overview of what's going on:

(Jungjungmori) Mr. Sim carries a ramie bag on his left shoulder.

He goes out to beg.

In summer he begs for barley.

In fall he begs for rice.

He gets rice and buys persimmons to make rice soup for the baby.

He comes back home, making excited bodily movements.

Sim Cheong grows up fast with the help of heaven.

Time flows like an arrow.

She becomes above ten.

She holds a ritual for her mother without forgetting it.

So she's already basically taking charge of fulfilling the filial roles at this point.

She serves her father with meals properly.

Time goes fast.

(Aniri) One day Sim Cheong sits in front of her father in a solemn manner.

"Father."

"Yes."

"From today on, stay at home without going anywhere. I will go out, beg for food, and serve you meals."

Mr. Sim is surprised.

"Oh, my dear.

No matter how poor I am, how would I let you, my only child, beg for food?

It's out of the question. Please don't ask me again."

Okay, so here we've got him wanting to act as the carer, of fulfilling his role as a Confucian parent should, of providing care and nurture to the child. But then Sim Cheong responds:

(Jungmori) "Please hear me out, father.

A virtuous student of Confucius carried a rice bag for hundreds of miles to feed his father.

A daughter in ancient times became a slave for the government to amend for her father's crime.

Even a speechless crow feeds its old parents.

How can a human being be worse than an animal?

Don't say that, father."

(Choe 2008: 59-61)

So yeah, she makes an argument, obviously in very erudite language, because the poetry of pansori gets involved. And she's basically, saying, "Look, if other people can be filial, why can't I?" Which, you know, fair enough, there's nothing wrong with being filial, but the fact that she is starting this at such a young age is definitely unusual.

So we see here that this concept of care, who cares for who, very quickly, perhaps more quickly than they should be, the tables are turned, and it's Sim Cheong who's doing the caring for her father, really starting very early with being filial. And this is very successful. Everyone finds it very endearing that she's wanting to take care of her father so well. Her good nature means she's widely respected and liked, and word of her filiality spreads so far that an old acquaintance of her mother, who lives in another village, invites her over to her house and offers to adopt her. She says, "I'll give you a good life, your family is actually noble, but it's just you that are living poorly." And here we've got to backtrack briefly to give you a bit more background information, basically Cheong's father was from a noble family, he becomes blind just as he's about to take the Civil Service Exam. Obviously, once he's blind he can't do that anymore, but his wife sticks by him. She feeds the family with her sewing skills. But once she passes away in childbirth, then Sim is reduced to abject poverty, because the only way left for him to support his family is by begging. But still, Cheong is considered to come from a noble family, and so this acquaintance of Cheong's mother knows where she comes from, what sort of status she should be enjoying and offers her to return to that social status that she should have. But Cheong refuses, because she says "No, I, I have a father. He's too important to me. I can't abandon him." And her mother's friend is nevertheless trying to persuade

Cheong, it's gradually getting late, and still she's trying to persuade Cheong to stay with her and become her adopted daughter.

While all this is going on, Sim is alone at home, wondering what on earth is happening. Why isn't Cheong coming back? Did she get lost on the way? Did she get attacked? Is she hurt? Is the lady not letting her leave? In fact, that's what's actually happening. Anyway, Sim gets so worried he ends up going out to look for Cheong. But what ends up happening is, he doesn't get very far, he misses the fact that there's a stream in front of him, so he falls into the stream and almost drowns. But a Buddhist monk happens to be passing by, and he saves him. And so this is where we then come to our first key moment.

Let's have a look at this scene first. This is the scene I mentioned where Sim falls into the water, it's from the film *The Singer*, which came out in 2020 and is directed by Cho Jung-rae. So we'll have a quick look at that scene and then continue our discussion.

Okay, so what happens here? Basically, the monk tells him that if he offers to donate three hundred sacks of rice to the temple, he will regain his sight. Now that is obviously a ridiculously huge sum in contrast to what we saw in these other stories, where it was 10 sacks, 50 sacks of price, which has now been raised to 300, this is a lot more rice. And Sim wants to agree straight away because he wants his eyesight back. But the monk warns him and says, "Don't make an offer you can't keep, because if you break your promise to Buddha you will end up as a cripple." So not only would he be blind, he wouldn't even be able to walk or move anymore. But in the moment he gets carried away, he blusters, he says, "Put me down. I make the promise," again showing here his weak and gullible nature.

So he makes the promise, and then he's made it, and he realizes, oh no, I have made a massive mistake, but he can't take it back anymore. So at first he tries to hide this from Cheong, who has made it home by now, but when he comes clean and tells Cheong what has happened, it's clear he can't fulfill his promise. So now it falls on to Cheong to not only save her father from his blindness, helping him see again by donating this rice to the temple, but there's now yet another threat to him: if she doesn't find this rice, not only will he stay blind, he will become crippled as well. So she's got double the danger that she has to save him from once again. Here the caring role ends up being taken up by the child, who is at this point 15 years old.

4. Key moment 2: Sim Cheong jumps in the water

So what ends up happening? Paralleling earlier versions of the tale, Sim Cheong again ends up selling herself to sailors in order to satisfy her father's promise.

And she agrees to this quite a bit in advance, in order to then still spend some time with her father. Once the time comes for her to leave, her father tries to stop her from going. The lady who wanted to adopt her says, "Look, I'll pay the money, just don't go." But she says, "No. I've already promised this to the sailors. If I don't go with them now, they can't find another sacrifice." No entreaties from anyone will make her break her word. So this is where we then end up, she follows these sailors who want to have a human sacrifice to calm the seas. And this leads to one of the most impressive scenes in the pansori stories.

Now I wanted to show you a slightly different version of this scene. Here what we're seeing is the melody, the words are still pretty much the same, but it's performed here by Yu Taepyeongyang singing, with Kim Taeyeong on the soribuk, but also Heo Yunjeong accompanying him on the geomungo, which is not a normal accompanying instrument for pansori. And you will also sometimes see Yu Taepyeongyang playing a gong called a jing as well. So it's a really nice reinterpretation of this scene, let's have a look at that first, and then we'll move on with our discussion.

Now just before I get back into the discussion of what's happening there in terms of the scene, just to give you a brief introduction to this instrument, the geomungo. It's a six string zither, supposedly made in Goguryeo by the Prime Minister Wang San-ak during the reign of King Yangwon, we're talking 545 to 559CE. And it's based on the Chinese guqin, an instrument more enjoyed by upper class people, with connotations of scholarliness, of reflection, of self improvement through music. Now the geomungo is also called the black crane zither (hyeonhakgeum), because supposedly a black crane would come down and dance as it was played.

You will have seen in the video, but it's generally struck and scratched with a bamboo plectrum, called suldae, which gives it this distinctive percussive timber, and in fact, the instrument is covered where you play it with the suldae, with a leather covering so as to prevent damage to the wood.

It's similar to the way we saw with the gayageum, here you also have the movable bridges, which is called anjok. But you also have frets (gwe) which you use for controlling the pitch.

Now initially the playing of the geomungo is more about these linkages to the way that the guqin was played as well, more about cleaning the body and the mind than giving pleasure to the ear, and not being so much being played for others as it was played for the self as part of personal training. Obviously the instrument has developed, and here, it's being played in a more folk melody style, rather than the sort of literati style of music that the instrument would have started off as being played. So that was just a little introduction to the geomungo.

Now, why is this scene so interesting? First things first, there's actually quite a lot of anthropological significance here, as we can see in the part where they're preparing the rituals. Here, we have:

The boatman and his men scurry about preparing the ritual
Cooked rice, a whole cow, a jar of wine
Five-coloured soup, three-coloured fruits
Everything in its place.
A pig is slaughtered and hung up high
See the boatman dressed in ceremonial robes
Holding a stick in each hand
Beating the drum.

And then you even see what prayer the sailors make. They say:
"We are twenty-four souls on board, all merchants by trade
With each passing year travelling through the southwest
Today at Indangsu we offer you this human sacrifice
The gods of the East, West, South and North Seas
Fish gods of rivers, streams and lakes,
Look down on us with favour."

And he beats the drum,
"Feilian, give us wind, lead us to peace and happiness
Help us avoid disaster, earn our fortunes and be honoured as gentlemen
We ask for your blessing."
The ritual is complete.

Here we're seeing an actual, very vivid description of what kind of rituals might be done to try and appease the spirits of the sea. So it's a really very interesting, meaningful and useful moment for people who might be researching the belief systems at this time. You can see who were these people praying to, in what kind of circumstance, what kind of offerings were made and so on. It's one of those moments that I feel brings us closer to the people of the past, and gives us glimpse into how their minds worked, what was important to them, what was meaningful to them and so on.

But not just that, obviously it's also hugely emotionally significant as a scene. So if we rewind back a little bit, we can see how we end up here at this moment where Sim Cheong jumps into the water at Indangsu. Ever since Sim made that promise to donate the rice, Cheong has been desperately looking for a way to save her father. She finds this option to sell herself to the sailors, and so she agrees, because she has to save her father. But she is not happy about it. She wants to live. She's only 15 years old, she doesn't want to die. And she's worried about her

father as well. She's been taking care of him, but what's going to happen to him if she is gone? All these mixed up emotions help us feel perhaps a bit more close to Cheong, not just as a paragon of virtue, but as a human being as well. So at this point you get a succession of arias letting us glimpse into the minds of the various characters, each one more tragic than the next.

We start off with Sim Cheong on the eve of her departure, where it goes:

Sim Cheong thinks about parting with her blind old father for good,

And about dying fifteen years after she was born.

She feels gloomy and choked in her chest.

Ceaseless sorrow wells up in her mind.

(...)

She visits her mother's tomb and lays out various food.

"Mother! I am a bad daughter.

I am sold at 300 bags of rice to open my father's eyes.

I will be used as a sacrifice during a ritual.

How could I forget my poor father?

Who will cut the grass on your tomb?

Who will hold the annual ritual for you?

Please help yourself to this last wine I can give to you."

And then she goes back home, her father is asleep, so she can't even cry out loud in case she wakes him up. She says:

"Alas. Father! Father!

What will become of my father?

If I am gone, he will become the beggar of the village again.

How can I forget him and leave?"

(Choe 2008: 91-93)

So you know she really feels stuck in a terrible, terrible situation. She's got to do this because, you know, otherwise his future is even darker than it is now. He'd be not just blind, but crippled as well. And, on the other hand, if she sells herself but things don't go well, she's gone, he's still blind, but now nobody's taking care of him. Clearly, there's a lot of internal struggle going on.

Eventually it comes out. Sim finds out on the day that she's leaving about what's happening, and obviously he falls into real wild grief finding out about this. He says:

"God, what did you say?

What? No way! No way! Alas! Cheong! Cheong!

How can you do that without asking your father?

No way! No way!

I would rather sell my eyes to buy you.
What would I see if you sell yourself to open my eyes?
Your mother died seven days after you were born.
I traveled often with you in my arms and you grew up.
I wasn't anxious any longer thanks to you.
I can't believe what you just said.
Over my dead body!
I can't let you leave."
(Choe 2008: 99)

So here, we're starting to see Sim acting like a parent should. He's trying to provide care for Cheong, because clearly letting your daughter sell herself to sailors is not exactly parenting behavior. He's failed as a parent, but at this point it's too late because of his mistake.

Next, Sim Cheong goes to also say goodbye to the noble lady who cared for her, who wanted to adopt her, and as she follows the maid:

She goes over in tears.
"Alas! How bad my fate is!
Some people are fortunate to have parents and live in wealth and fame.
Why is my fate so bad that I leave this world at fifteen?"
(Choe 2008: 103)

I mean if you were a 15-year-old, suddenly being faced with your impending demise, you wouldn't be very happy about it either. You should theoretically have a lot of life left to live. So of course you know she's she's struggling with the situation, and each layer of events happening helps further push her grief at the inevitability of her situation.

Then, to push on it even more, as she finally says her farewells and goes to follow the sailors, this is the moment where it really gets incredibly sad, and the entire world comes to bear witness to the sorrow of Sim Cheong's sacrifice. Here it says:

Sim Cheong follows the sailors.
She holds up her trailing skirt again and again.
Her tears fall down like rain and soak her clothes.
She trips and falls over.
She hurriedly follows the sailors.

She looks over at the neighboring village.
"The second daughter in Mr. Lee's house!

Do you remember we had a good time on May 5th last year, picking up cherries?

You asked me to be your friend on July 7th this year.

It is futile now.

Whom will you sew and embroider with from now on?

You have parents.

Be happy with them.

Today I parted with my father, and I am going to die.”

All villagers weep till their eyes swell.

God must know this situation too.

The bright sun is blocked with dark clouds.

The mountains appear to frown.

A river chokes with sobs.

And then it continues:

“I am leaving to die.

When will I come back?

I am dying not because I want to.

But whom can I resent?”

She walks in tears without knowing her own walking.

(Choe 2008: 107-109)

So you know, this this scene of her departing is a famous scene in its own right, but it doesn't end there. Cheong gets on the boat, they set sail, and as they travel, she meets various ghosts and spirits, who express their own sufferings to her as well. She's gradually moving away from the real world, and by the time they reach the place where she would be sacrificed, the drama has been whipped up to a fever pitch, as have the waves of the sea which now become the backdrop for the story.

The drama of nature echoes the emotions generated by layer upon layer upon layer of sad farewells which ends with Cheong, saying her farewell to the world and jumping into the sea. And it's because of everything that has come before that this sacrifice is all the more significant. This is why this scene is known as a *nun daemok*, a highlight in the *pansori* stories, the equivalent of, you know, a famous aria in opera.

5. Key moment 3: Bbaengdeogine

So we have this incredibly emotional scene, but the story doesn't end there. After Cheong jumps into the sea, the gods are so impressed by her filial piety that

she is saved from drowning. She then has a short stint in the Underwater Palace, where she's even able to briefly reunite with her mother, and then she's returned to the surface world in a lotus flower.

Passing sailors pick up this floating flower and bring it to the Emperor, and when Cheong then emerges from the flower, he's struck by her beauty, and marries her.

Now here we can see an interesting sort of parallel to what we saw in Heungboga, where the good person ended up showered with riches and good things. You are rewarded for your goodness. We see a similar process here, where this "person of superior goodness achieves a social station appropriate to her moral quality through divine intervention" (Kim Haboush 1995: 166). So same kind of thing we saw in Heungboga where good is being rewarded, there it was with, you know money, riches, silks, a house, and here it's with being taken from poverty and becoming an empress.

Now, while all this is happening, Sim has been missing Cheong terribly. Obviously, he blames himself for her death, but with the payment the sailors made, he lives relatively comfortably. He has at least some rice and some money to live off, but because of that he ends up becoming a target for some one who is planning to take advantage of him. And here we meet the wonderful character Bbaengdeogine, so let's look at how she is introduced.

I'm showing you this story being performed in a different format. Here we are looking at the National Changgeuk Company of Korea's production of Simcheongga. This is being performed by Kim Keummi as Bbaengdeokine, Yu Taepyeongyang as Blind Man Sim, and An Sukseon as the narrator. So let's have a look at that scene:

So rather as we saw in the last lecture, following on from Nolbo, here we've got character I like to put in the category of "bad guys you love to hate". It's yet another person who's set up for us to dislike with their faults being listed for us in detail in the story. But while we're clearly supposed to see their behavior as bad, their behavior is also presented as funny. Nolbo is also quite a humorous character, we make fun of him. He does funny things, even if they're not good, and it's the same with Bbaengdeogine as well. She's clearly bad. It's not like any of her behavior is good, but it's funny. You can see the humor in what she is doing.

And she's not around for long, it's quite a short but often very impactful character, which you can particularly see in these changgeuk-style productions, where you're splitting up the characters. Bbaengdeogine can be a real scene stealer, and she's often played with gusto by the performers, as we see in this case. It's a very entertaining character, and I just love the vividness of the character description, which I think really gives a lot of that richness to what

pansori is.

So with this introduction to this character, we watch her weedle her way in with him, and steadily eat, and drink her way through his fortune.

6. Key moment: Sim Cheong and Blind Man Sim reunite

Now in the meantime, we've heard of how Cheong became empress, and although she's happy being the empress, she still desperately misses her father. So she ends up holding a banquet for all the blind people in the kingdom, in the hopes of finding him again. The call goes out: all the blind people must come to the capital for the banquet, and so Sim and Bbaengdeogine also start traveling to the capital.

But on the way Bbaengdeogine meets a younger blind man and runs off with him, leaving Sim behind. So he has to face various troubles to get to the capital, but he makes it there eventually on the last day of the banquet, which leads us to the final highlight of the story, when Sim and Cheong finally reunite. So what's happened before the scene I'm going to show you next is that the banquet has been going on, it's the last day of the banquet. Cheong has been getting nervous, you know, has her father died while she was gone, why isn't he coming, and so everyone is on the lookout, keeping an eye open for a blind man named Sim. Now everyone has to say their name when they come in, and so when he arrives, he's instantly ushered before the empress. And he thinks, "Oh, no! You've heard about the fact that I sacrificed my daughter in order to get my site back. This is it, I'm going to be punished for my sins." And he holds a tearful speech explaining who he is and what has happened, asking to be punished for the sin of sacrificing his daughter. That's when we get to this final iconic scene that we will explore today, when Sim Cheong and Blind Man Sim reunite.

I did want to show you one actual pansori version of the scene as well. So here we've got from Seo Jinhui accompanied by Hwang Sanghyeon from the Namwon National Gugak Center, showing this final moment of them meeting again. Let's have a look at it together.

So this is the final big moment when Blind Man Sim opens his eyes again, so it's Cheong's, filial piety, as well as Sim's desperate desire to see his daughter, that combine to not only let Sim regain his eyesight, but then all the other blind people in the kingdom also regain their sight, with the exception of the blind man who ran off with Bbaengdeogine. After he repents for his sins he only gets the sight back in one eye. So there is still, this concept of if you behave badly, you will get punished, running in the background here.

Now what I find quite interesting is how Kim Haboush analyzes this scene. She draws a parallel here to this Buddhist symbol of enlightenment, the act of opening

one's eyes. You can see quite a bit of Buddhist symbolism running as a thread throughout the story, there's the lotus as another symbol of enlightenment. We have the Buddhist monk at the start, and now this final symbol of enlightenment. And the opening of the eyes of the blind, leads to a moment of exultation. All the blind people in the kingdom are praising the royal couple for the grace which has been bestowed upon them, and so Kim Haboush argues that

"Filial devotion is seen as extending to benevolent rule, thus uniting private emotion to public virtue. That is why the newly sighted sing the praises of imperial virtue. A symbol of enlightenment is employed to signify the affective power of filiality, while the Buddhist concept of compassion is replaced by the benevolent rule of the imperial couple." (1995: 166-167)

So as we saw at the start of this lecture, in this way filiality can extend into a sort of overarching societal harmony, the legitimization of the rule by the elite as well, which I find quite interesting. And moving on from that we can then start to think. We can see this concept of filiality extending into benevolent rule by the superiors, which all seems to fit very nicely with established Confucian social hierarchies. But the question of gender remains. Cheong, especially now, having become a married woman, has duties as a wife to her husband, the emperor. How can Cheong, as a married woman, remain filial to her father, especially one as lacking as Sim?

Kim Haboush argues that what we've seen how he gave her unconditional love, despite her gender, and that it is his love, together with her devotion, which leads to the miracle. She says, "The affective power of their mutual devotion leads others to accept their vision of filiality" (Kim Haboush 1995: 170). Obviously, this vision of filiality is not the standard definition within the Confucian spectrum, where, as we saw, filiality is really something that is done by the son to the father, to the parents, while the daughters would be expected to have to be filial to their parents-in-law instead.

7. Conclusion

To conclude, then, where does that leave us in terms of this portrayal of filiality by Simcheongga? Kim Haboush says "In the story, despite unshakable paternal love, parental care is quite insufficient. Parental anxiety and guilt seem to run through the narrative. Could it be that this narrative expresses wistful parental hope? Hope that despite insufficient care, daughters might remain devoted and that their ties might remain unbroken? Perhaps a wistful wish that affection between parent and daughter be empowered to transcend social restrictions?" (Kim Haboush 1995: 175)

So she argues that Simcheongga is "counter-hegemonic, but remaining within

the dominant cultural discourse” (ibid). There is this subversion, this contradiction to what the rules are meant to be, this wish that things could potentially be different, in the same way as we saw in Heungboga, this wish that you might be able to turn around your fortunes just by being a nice person. Or this hopeful thinking in Chunhyangga that romance could conquer all, that you could overcome social class just through the power of love.

Does this mean that these counter-hegemonic themes that we see in these stories are an undercurrent that's based on class division? That the upper classes were all about the social norms, and the lower classes, who obviously benefited least from these social norms, were adding in their subversive messages? Because pansori started off as an art form for the lower classes, and if you remember in the first lecture I told you how Sin Jaehyo worked on overlaying this veneer of upper-class propriety to make it more interesting for the upper classes.

But Kim Haboush questions this, that seems a bit too simple, considering that even the Prince Regent was an avid fan of pansori. She argues that:

“rather than dividing along class lines, we may see hegemonic and counter-hegemonic discourses in Chosŏn Korea as discourses of value and emotion respectively. Works of popular fiction provided a medium in which people who upheld every tenet of the social order in their public personae could contest and question the social norms, express their pain, and dream of alternative resolutions for their dilemmas.

By presenting alternative views of the role of emotion, these popular works posed a counterpoint to the vision of a perfect moral order presented in the prescriptive literature. They imagined possibilities beyond the prevailing norms in arranging social and personal relations. As an embodiment of alternate views and sentiments, these works continuously interacted with the prescriptive literature of hegemonic ideology. In the process, they functioned in no way less powerfully as a viable constitutive force in the evolving ideologies and social structures.” (Kim Haboush 1995: 176-177)

So basically no matter where you were in the social hierarchy, these relationships of the daughter with her parents, having to leave them after marriage, was very similar. So the ambivalent feelings that people might have about this state of affairs crossed class lines. And so these kind of stories provide people with an outlet to imagine other ways that society could function through these these works of fiction. In essence, it becomes a way for people to express these conflicted feelings about the relationships between daughters and their parents, as they were gradually removed from the family with the entrenchment of Confucianism in the Joseon dynasty.

Of course, this level of filiality looks rather extreme for contemporary sensibilities, the ways people interpret it to filial piety has changed over time (see

for example in Janelli and Yim 2004). Nevertheless, expressions of filial devotion, such as caring for one's parents, or if you see articles about some famous star who buys their parents a house or a car or something, these expressions of filial devotion continue to be greatly valued in Korean society. And so I hope that Simcheongga becomes a lens for you to look at this and think about this, how we can understand both traditional Joseon society, and what influence that might have had on where Korean society is today.

So I think that was a lot of content that I covered here for you, that was an in-depth look at filial piety. In the next lecture, what we'll do is turn to a loyalty to one's ruler in Sugungga.

So that's it for me for today. Thank you, goodbye.

■ 학습활동 (총 108분)

가. 퀴즈 (18분)

O/X 퀴즈 (5분)

1. 심청은 자신이 나이가 어리기 때문에 아버지를 봉양할 수 없다고 생각했다.

정답: X

2. 심봉사는 강인하고 영리하여 스스로 난관을 잘 극복하는 인물이다.

정답: X

3. 스님과 약속한 쌀을 마련하지 못하면, 심봉사는 눈을 뜨지 못할 뿐만 아니라 불구가 될 수 있었다.

정답: O

4. <흥보가>와 마찬가지로, <심청가>에서도 선한 사람이 신적인 존재의 개입으로 자신의 도덕성에 걸맞은 사회적 지위를 얻게 된다.

정답: O

5. 심청과 심봉사가 재회하는 대목은 효라는 사적인 감정이 자애로운 정치라는 공적인 덕목으로 확장되는 양상을 보여준다.

정답: O

선택형 (5분)

1. 다음 중 '효'에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 인간이 타고난 감정과 반대되므로, 철저히 교육을 받아야 습득할 수 있다.
- ② 부모에 대한 자식의 의무에 가깝지만, 어느 정도의 호혜성(reciprocity)을 전제로 한다.
- ③ 유교 사회에서 질서 유지의 기반이 되는 덕목이다.

정답: ①

2. 다음 중 <심청가>의 배경이 되는 설화에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

① <삼국사기>에는 한 여인이 과부인 늙은 어머니를 봉양하기 위해 쌀 10가마에 스스로를 파는 이야기가 있다.

② <삼국유사>에는 홀아비가 시력을 되찾기 위해 사찰에 쌀 50가마를 시주하는 이야기가 있다.

③ 서해안에서 불리는 무가 중에도 여러 버전의 심청 이야기가 있다.

정답: ③

3. 다음 중 심청에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

- ① 집이 가난하여 결국 어머니의 지인에게 입양된다.
- ② 돌아가신 어머니와 용궁에서 재회한다.

③ 황후가 된 뒤, 아버지의 눈을 뜨게 하기 위해 직접 집으로 찾아간다.

정답: ②

4. 다음 중 심봉사에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

① 아내가 죽은 뒤, 심청을 양육하기 위해 구걸을 하기도 한다.

② 부유한 상인의 아들로, 태어날 때부터 앞을 보지 못했다.

③ 심청을 희생시킨 잘못으로 결국 한쪽 눈만 시력을 회복한다.

정답: ①

5. 다음 중 거문고에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

① 6세기에 고구려에서 처음 만들어진 것으로 추정된다.

② ‘술대’라고 불리는 대나무 막대로 연주한다.

③ 연주하는 소리를 듣고 하얀 학이 내려온다고 해서 ‘백학금’이라고도 불린다.

정답: ③

단답형 (8분)

다음 빈칸에 들어갈 알맞은 말을 답해 봅시다.

1. 자녀 중에 아들이 없을 때, 외손자가 대신 자신의 제사를 지내게 하는 것을 ()라고 한다.

정답: 외손봉사

2. 심청은 용궁에 잠시 머물렀다가 육지로 올라오는데, 주변을 지나던 뱃사공들이 심청이 들어 있는 ()을 발견해서 황제에게 바친다.

정답: 연꽃

3. ()는 심봉사를 이용하는 나쁜 사람이지만 골계적(humorous)인 면을 가지고 있어서, 짧지만 강한 인상을 주는 매력적인 캐릭터이다.

정답: 뽕덕이네

나. 토의 (30분)

인류학적, 예술적 측면에서 심청이 인당수에 빠지는 대목의 가치를 설명해 봅시다.

* 답안 작성 방향

심청이 인당수에 빠지는 대목에는 심청을 희생물로 바치기 전에 뱃사공들이 바다의 영혼들을 달래기 위해 제사(ritual)를 지내는 장면이 나온다. 이 장면의 사설은 인류학적으로 중요한데, 뱃사공들이 제사를 준비하는 과정과 뱃사공들이 바다의 영혼들에게 바치는 기도의 말이 자세히 서술되어 있기 때문이다. 이를 통해 우리는 당시 사람들이 어떠한 경우에, 누구에게 제사를 지냈는지, 제사를 위해 어떠한 공물(offering)을 사용했는지 등을 알 수 있다. 따라서 이 장면은 조선시대 민간의 신앙 체계를 연구하는 사람들에게 의미 있고 유용한 자료가 된다.

한편, 심청이 인당수에 빠지는 대목은 인당수에 빠지기 전 심청의 감정을 생생하게 표현하고 있다는 점에서 예술적 가치가 있다. 인당수로 향하기까지 고조된 심청의 슬픔과 고뇌는 인당수에서 들려오는 귀신과 영혼의 고통에 찬 목소리, 거친 파도소리와 어우러지며 절정에 달한다. 이는 심청이 단순히 '효'의 화신이 아니라 한 사람의 인간이기도 하다는 점을 잘 보여주며, 심리적 고통 속에서도 인당수에 몸을 던진 심청의 희생을 더욱 숭고하게 만든다.

다. 과제 (60분)

조선시대의 효 관념과 젠더의 관계를 고려하면서, <심청가>에서 표현되는 효의 의미에 대해 탐구해 봅시다.

* 답안 작성 방향

<심청가>는 아버지와 딸 사이의 효를 다루고 있다. 심청이 태어났을 때, 심봉사는 심청이 딸이었음에도 실망하지 않았고, 비록 눈이 보이지 않아 심청을 제대로 돌보지는 못했지만 심청을 위해 헌신적인 모습을 보여주었다. 한편, 심청은 아버지의 보살핌이 충분하지 않았지만 어려서부터 아버지를 봉양하기 위해 최선을 다했고, 아버지를 위해 인당수에 몸을 던지기까지 한다.

유교에서 효는 본래 아버지와 아들 사이의 문제로 정의되며, 조선시대에 점차 장자(長子) 중심으로 상속이 이루어지면서, 효는 주로 아들에게 부과되는 의무가 되었다. 여성들은 결혼으로 본가를 떠나면서 자신의 부모를 봉양하지 못했고, 그 대신 시부모를 봉양하면서 남편 쪽 조상들의 제사를 준비해야 했다. 이를 고려하면, <심청가>는 조선 사회에서 중요한 효의 문제를 다루면서도, 아버지와 딸 사이의 무조건적인 사랑과 헌신을 그려내고 있다는 점에서 문제적이다. 판소리를 비롯한 조선의 대중적인 서사물들은 사회 규범을 수용하면서도, 그것과 충돌하는 감정이나 대안적인 사회상을 담아내면서 사회 규범에 의문을 제기하기도 한다. 그런 점에서 <심청가>는 유교적인 규범으로 인해 점차 가정에서 여성이 배제되던 상황에서, 사람들이 딸과 부모의 관계에 대해 느끼는 다양한 감정을 표현하는 통로가 되었다고 할 수 있다.

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심청가 중 심봉사 눈 뜨는 대목 ([영상 보기](#))

<Lecture 6> Sugungga

■ 학습목표

1. <수궁가>의 줄거리를 살펴보고 3개의 주요 대목을 파악한다.
2. <수궁가>가 담고 있는 오류의 의미를 탐구한다.
3. <수궁가>에 반영된 조선시대의 사회상을 이해한다.

■ 강의 목차

1. Introduction and summary of past course
2. Summary of story
3. Key moment 1: The meeting of the animals
4. Key moment 2: The rabbit is captured in front of the palace
5. Key moment 3: The rabbit uses his wit to escape
6. Conclusion

■ 강의 내용 전문

1. Introduction and summary of past course

Hello, everyone and welcome to the sixth lecture in the World of Pansori Lecture Series.

Just to remind where we are, we're in lecture 6, we're almost finished now with all the core pansori stories before we're going to move on into new topics.

Now, in this lecture we're following the standard format we have been using so far, focusing on three key moments. In this lecture, we will be looking at the meeting of the animals, the hare is captured, and the hare uses his wit to escape.

Now from the third lecture we've started looking in more detail at the content of each of the pansori stories that have been transmitted until today. So we've already done Chunhyangga, Heungboga and Simcheongga, and as you saw in the other lectures, what we do is we go through a basic summary of the whole story, and then explore a couple of the key points in each story in more depth.

Now in the previous lecture we looked at Simcheongga and its portrayal of filial piety, and we also saw how filial piety was considered an extension of the relationship between ruler and subject.

So in this lecture we're looking at this ruler-subject relationship in a bit more

depth in Sugungga.

2. Summary of story

Okay, so let me give you a summary of the story. Now, it's probably been a while since you heard this, so just to remind you of it, the story is called Sugungga, the Song of the Underwater Palace and the story goes as follows:

The Dragon King of the sea is ill after living a life of pleasure and excess, and is prescribed the liver of a hare in order to recover. His faithful servant, the terrapin, sets out to land with a painting of a hare in order to find it and bring it back to the underwater palace.

After various adventures, he finds a hare and manages to lure him back, but on arrival in the palace the hare catches on to the plot for his liver. Giving the excuse that he keeps his liver outside his body for safekeeping, the hare asks to be sent back to land in order to bring his liver to the king.

Despite the terrapin's warnings, the king lets him go, and the terrapin has no choice but to take the hare back to land. Once safely away from the palace, the hare escapes while mocking the terrapin. He encounters further dangers, but due to his quick wit he always manages to escape and lives happily ever after.

And now, to remind you of the main analytical lens through which we've been looking at the pansori stories so far, we've been focusing particularly on this concept of samgang oryun, with our trusty definition by Pratt and Rutt, which has been serving us well so far.

So we know about the basic three bonds, linking the subject to the ruler (which is loyalty), the children to the parents, (which is filial piety) and women to men (which is hierarchy). And then "The five relationships were those between the ruler and his ministers, father and son, elder brother and younger brother, husband and wife, and friend and friend. Each was conceived primarily in terms of the duties of the inferior to the superior, although the relationships were understood to be reciprocal and recognised the rulers' responsibilities towards those dependent on them." (Pratt and Rutt 1999: 469)

Now we've seen throughout the other stories so far as well, that particularly this concept of

reciprocity, the responsibility of the superior to the inferior has often raised questions, in that the inferior tends to be behaving as they should within the Confucian ideal, but very often the superiors don't quite hold up their end of the deal, which is what we also see happening in Sugungga. Now here, the relationship between ruler and subject is the focus of the story.

During the heyday of pansori, we're talking sort of nineteenth century, especially

heading into the late nineteenth century, pansori became more popular amongst the elite. Remember, we talked about the work of Sin Jaehyo in this regard, of making the pansori stories more palatable to upper class audiences, and Sugungga was one of the more popular stories among the elite because of its subject matter. Clearly, talking about the relationship between the ruler and the ruled, you can imagine why that might be popular. Plus it also includes a lot of these classical literary illusions. Now in this aspect it was known that Jeokbyeokga, which we'll talk about in the next lecture, is the most classical in terms of content and literary illusions. Sugungga was considered to come next in the ranking. So supposedly what would happen when you sang, when a pansori singer was invited to sing for a nobleman, odds are what they do, first, because they wanted to show themselves as being cultured as well, they'd ask the singer to sing Jeokbyeokga. That was considered the sort of the ultimate in terms of class, and artistic level. If the singer couldn't sing that then they'd say okay, then sing Sugungga. And if they couldn't sing Sugungga, then it was like, oh, well, then, just sing whatever. So there's definitely a ranking amongst the stories in terms of Jeokbyeokga being at the top, and being considered the most elite, then Sugungga which was sometimes called "so Jeokbyeokgga" (little Jeokbyeokga), and then the others. There was this sort of value hierarchy, which comes down to the content, with Jeokbyeokga containing all these battle stories, "masculine" stories, as well as the way it's sung, with more ujo style of singing in there as well. If you remember, we talked about ujo coming from the more upper class music styles of gagok, gasa and sijo, which musically as well, using those kind of melodies gives it more of an upper class feel. Lots of different elements coming together in this value hierarchy here.

Now we've said that Sugungga is addressing loyalty to one's king, but what was this sort of ideal? How were people supposed to express their loyalty within Confucian thought?

So one of the most iconic examples given for loyalty to one's king was Jeong Mongju, who was a statesman at the end of the Goryeo dynasty. This is actually quite ironic, because Jeong Mongju in fact, opposed Yi Seonggye's founding of the Joseon dynasty. He was a very influential figure, and so, when they were trying to get him on his side, feeling the waters about whether he would join them, he supposedly wrote a poem called Dansimga, the Steadfast Song, which made it clear that he would remain faithful to the Goryeo dynasty regime, because as a Confucian scholar, that was your duty, and for that he ended up being assassinated by Yi Bangwon, the son of Yi Seonggye. And initially, Jeong Mongju was kind of hidden, scrubbed out of official history, but in the end it was seemingly decided that he was still a really good example for this loyalty to the king, and so he was often held up as this paragon for this kind of loyalty. So what was this poem that he wrote? In Korean, it's:

이 몸이 죽고 죽어 비록 일백 번이나 다시 죽어
백골이 흙과 먼지가 되어 낮이야 있건 없건
임금님께 바치는 충성심이야 변할 리고 있으랴?
I momi jukgo jugeo birook ilbaek beonina dasi jugeo
Baekgori heukgwa meonjiga doeeo neoksiya ikkeon eobgeon
Imgeumnimkke bachineun chungseongsimiya byeonhal liga isseurya?

So roughly translated, it says:

“Though I die and die one hundred times again
When my bones turn to dust and dirt, whether the soul remains or not
How could my loyalty to my king change?”

So yeah, basically, no matter what, he's saying “I will stay faithful to my king”, and although Jeong Mongju ended up losing his life in the switch from the Goryeo dynasty to the Joseong Dynasty, this unwavering loyalty to his king was nevertheless held up as an ideal. This is the kind of ideal that we're working with, that the people were supposed to follow.

Now, before we dig a bit more into the story, just to also talk a little bit about the background of where Sugungga comes from. More explicitly than perhaps in other stories, Sugungga is very often linked to Buddhist mythology. Buddhism has quite a long history in Korea, it started traveling into Korea from roughly the third century CE, and as with many other religions, in order to help spread the religion, there is a big potential in folk tales as allegories to be used to help transmit the doctrine.

And now some of the Buddhist folk tales that we see coming from India have some quite striking similarities with Sugungga, which is why people assume that Sugungga might have come from these Buddhist origins. Suh (2014:234) in particular draws parallels with the Jataka tales from India that were compiled roughly in the fourth century B. C. And so you can imagine, if we've got Buddhism coming into Korea from the third century onwards. These particular stories are have come over into Korean together with Buddhism, so then it's not surprising that the Sugungga story would have been very well known from very early in the history, and, in fact, we have references to this in, for example, the Samguk sagi, which came at 1145. It tells the story of Prince Kim Chunchu (later King Muyeol) of Silla, who is captured by the Goguryeo forces but escapes, having supposedly been inspired by the story of the hare to use his wit in escaping.

So we've already got this history, where this sort of influence has been established. But what exactly is that influence? How similar are these stories that people draw these kind of comparisons? Suh states that amongst the Jataka,

numbers 57 and 208 are the most strongly similar to the Sugungga story.

In the Indian version, the Jataka tales, it's crocodiles who are after a monkey's heart, which Suh defines as being about vitality, as opposed to in the Korean version, where the Dragon King wants the hare's liver, which is meant to mean bravery. Now why would the liver be about bravery?

In fact, in Korean there is this expression *gani keuda* (간이 크다, literally you have a big liver), meaning you're doing something which is perhaps more brave than it is wise.

So just to organize the differences of the Jataka and Sugungga versions of this similar story, in the Jataka version, the underdog is the monkey, as opposed to in Sugungga, where the underdog is the hare. The animal that is wanting to eat the underdog in the jataka is the female crocodile, while in Sugungga it's the Dragon King. The animal that is sent to lure our underdog to the animal wanting to eat them is the male crocodile in the Jataka, and the terrapin in Sugunga. The body part that they want to eat in the Jataka is the heart, and in Sugungga, it's the liver. And what's quite interesting is that the hare or the monkey come up with very similar excuses for why they can't be eaten, they both say, oh, you know, my heart or my liver is not in my body right now, I kept it in a tree to keep it safe. So the monkey keeps his heart in a fig tree, while the hare claims that he keeps his liver in his belly before the full moon, and after the full moon he hangs it in a cinnamon tree. So you've got body parts that are being claimed to have been taken out of the body and hung in a tree, and the animals that want to eat them are tricked by these words. There's definitely noticeable comparisons here. So that was just a little bit on the background of Sugungga, where we're coming from with all of this.

Obviously, the other aspect to be aware of is social satire, and Suh discusses it as follows, she says:

“Transformed into Sugungga, the hare on the land represents non-elites, while the residents of the untouchable underwater palace, including the turtle Pyölchubu and the dragon king are members of the upper class. Where tradition would put commoners at the bottom and the king on top, Sugungga reverses this hierarchy and has the commoners above (on the land) and the upper class and king below (under the water).

Just as the royal palace was hidden from the eyes of common citizens, the underwater palace represents an untouchable mystery. Just as they were in reality, upper class and commoners are shielded from each other. The initial failure of the hare, who was lured to the underwater palace with the promise of promotion to

secretary of state, stands for the reality of the common people who, in a moment of self-conceit, might try to grasp for the unreachable but who would inevitably meet with disaster because it was not their place in society to aspire to a higher position in the neo-Confucian state system.” (Suh 2014: 235)

Now, obviously these stories are open to interpretation. This is one possible interpretation which definitely has a lot of merit, and you can see why Suh comes to this conclusion through some of the scenes which we will go into in a bit more detail in a minute.

This satire of the incompetence of the government, the dissolute nature of the ruler, all this commentary, is perhaps allowed to be more biting, more harsh, more critical than some of the other stories might be, because it's hidden behind animal figures. It's so cute. Oh, look at all the animals, when, in fact, there's some very, very harsh social critique being involved here as well.

Clearly, then we have to ask the question, is the Dragon King a worthy ruler? We're talking here about loyalty to the king, but with this basis of reciprocity, there are responsibilities that the ruler has towards the ruled as well. Is he holding up on his end of the deal? Well, not really. From the very beginning of the story, we hear that the Dragon King has fallen ill due to living a life of excess. He recently had his palace refurbished, and then got ill from partying too hard to celebrate this refurbishment.

We can draw some parallels here to the refurbishment of Gyeongbokgung, Gyeongbok Palace, in 1867, under the Daewongun regency. The costs that this refurbishment exorted on the common population, who were drafted to go work on the palace and so on, have been immortalized in folk songs such as Arirang, and Gyeongbokgung taryeong. These are songs that criticize how tough it was for common people to have to rebuild this fancy palace for the rulers. And I think it's interesting because the Daewongun regency coincided with a golden age for pansori, and so this detail of the refurbishment of a palace being added at the very start of the story, in a sort of blink and you'll miss it moment, this little detail may have been added to reflect on current events by the singers of the time. So there's always these potential parallels to what was actually happening for contemporary audiences.

And just in general the sort of image this paints of the Dragon King as a ruler, that he's focusing on partying and an ego project of making his palace more fancy rather than care for his subjects, as he's supposed to do. There's a reciprocal responsibility that he has in exchange for his subject's loyalty, but he's not behaving as he should, and within this context the fact that he falls ill could be seen as a kind of punishment for his bad behavior.

So what can be done about this illness? Well, initially, a Taoist monk appears to heal the Dragon King, and he's trying all sorts of remedies, which leads to a very

interesting song called “Yakseonga”, which is basically a song listing all different medicines and remedies. Now these kind of songs are often a defining feature of epic poetry around the world, these very detailed lists on various subjects. You can see them in lots of different epic stories, which has been identified even going back to one of the classics in epic poetry analysis, which is Lord’s The Singer of Tales (from 1960).

Lord also describes these listing moments that provide a lot of detail, and for us, if we're wanting to find out more about what Joseon dynasty society was like, these kind of listings are really interesting, because in this case, we can learn about what people were doing for medicine, or you have detailed descriptions of what someone is wearing, or as we saw in Simcheongga, you have detailed descriptions of what is done during a ritual. All these moments are really interesting little windows into daily life in the Joseon dynasty. So “Yakseongga” gives this great background on the state of medicine at the time through this list of various medicinal herbs. Here is an extract:

Ginseng is sweet, so it creates vigor, eases thirst, and strengthens the stomach. A japonica root is warm and sweet, so it stops diarrhea and makes healthy the spleen, the stomach, and the gall bladder. A licorice root is warm and sweet too, but it is the best when it is fried and gives off heat in a raw state. The doctor tries pills that clear one’s heart and stomach, pills that restore vigor,

medicine for blood circulation, medicine for negative energy, white medicine, red medicine, a rhubarb root, niter, roots, young and old tangerine skins, a Pinellia ternata root, some cinnamon bark,

... peach seed soup, white snake soup, soup for urination, the urine of a toad, and the gall bladder of a bear.

(from Choe Donghyeon. 2010. Sugungga badibyeol jeonjip 2: Jeong Eungmin badi, Gang Dogeun badi [A complete collection of Sugungga according to different styles 2: Jeong Eungmin style, Gang Dogeun style]. Jeonju: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, North Jeolla Province: Jeonju International Sori Festival Organising Committee. P. 21)

Now this is just part of the herbal section – well, I use the term herbal loosely here. There's a whole different section on acupuncture points, and so on, it's incredibly rich in detail. In fact, the alternative pop band LEENALCHI, I'll be coming back to them bit more later in today's lecture, and in the tenth lecture as well, they have a reinterpretation of “Yakseongga”, which I personally like very much, so I'll add it into the list of materials for this lecture, and you can check it out.

Now, what ends up happening is that the Taoist monk tries everything but all

the remedies fail, and he tells the Dragon King that the only thing that will save him now is to eat the liver of a hare. Which is all well and good, except obviously they are in the underwater palace, they are in the sea, and in the sea, hares are a rather rare commodity.

Clearly, what needs to happen is someone has to go to land to acquire a hare. So a grand meeting is called, all the fish, all the underwater animals convene, and there's a meeting of all the subjects to choose who will go to land to find the hare. And this is the moment where we realize that in fact, most of the people at court were very happy to pay homage to the king, bask in his power, try and stab each other in the back to advance their own power, and so on.

But when it's actually demanded of them to do something, all kinds of excuses and reasons are found for why it's not possible. So, for example, the catfish is going to spend too much time looking for food and will end up getting eaten himself, the seal will end up collapsing after spending too much time going after women, the diving beetle runs away when he hears the sound of humans, and so on, everyone has excuses. Nobody is actually willing to do anything, nobody seems in any way useful, which obviously paints a rather damning picture of the nature of the court in general.

Amongst all these useless courtiers, the terrapin comes up and presents a formal letter, putting himself forward for the job. He is portrayed as the only really truly loyal subject who is actually also willing to get out and get something done. And this despite the fact, as the Dragon King points out, that on land terrapin soup is a delicacy, and going up to land could be dangerous for him. But the terrapin insists on his loyalty, that if this needs to be done to save his king, then he'll do it.

Once it's decided that the terrapin is going to go, another obstacle emerges, which is that he does not know what a hare looks like. So there's a lovely little scene where the official court painter is called to draw the hare, that painting is then folded up and the terrapin takes it, stuffs it into its next nick folds, and prepares to set off to land.

Before he sets off, though, there's another scene which shows us the terrapin, not just as a loyal courtier, but as a human as well.

Because although he's fulfilling his duty as a loyal courtier, he's not 100% happy about going, because he's worried about his beautiful wife, that his lecherous neighbor, who looks somewhat like him, will try and sneak into her bed chambers at night while he's gone. Interestingly, only in some versions does the wife tell him that he doesn't need to worry and should focus on doing his duty. In some versions he just warns her not to be tricked by this guy, because he stinks, while he smells nice. So if she's not sure who's in her bedchambers, she should check how he smells. Rather an interesting scene, I think.

Now in some versions, it's not just the the wife that the terrapin says goodbye

to. Sometimes he also says farewell to his mother, who at first is complaining about who will look after her in her old age if he's gone, tying us back into these filial piety obligations. But when the terrapin says, look, I'm going because it's for my king, then she's like, okay, in that case, off you go. So we can identify a sort of hierarchy of obligations here: loyalty to one's king trumps filial piety.

Having said goodbye to his family, the terrapin now finally heads up to land. On his way, he passes through various scenery, giving us another one of those travel moments like we saw in Heungboga with the flight of the swallow. In this case the terrapin travels up to land, and we hear about the scenery as he travels, and then, having reached land, he comes upon a group of animals who are having a big discussion, competing amongst each other for who is to sit at the place of honor.

3. Key moment 1: The meeting of the animals

Now let's take a look at this scene, this is from the meeting of the animals performed by Jeong Seunghui, accompanied by Hwang Sanghyeon:

Okay, so what's happening here? I think this is a great moment for discussing a particular aspect of Korean culture, which is that age is very important. It's very difficult to know how to address someone if you're meeting them for the first time, if you don't know if they are your senior or your junior. Obviously, there are various kinds of hierarchies which can affect how you interact someone, who works for who, for example, or back in the day it would be, whether you're a yangban or a commoner, all these kind of things. But if you have people, or in this case animals, who are more or less of the same social status in all other aspects, then age becomes the determining factor for how to rank people.

So the animals here are competing to find out who can take the seat of honor by comparing their ages, based on which ancient figures of legend they met in their youth, and there's a long list of different animals bragging about their age in different versions of the story. In the scene we saw here, the wild pig claims to be of the same age as Su Zhonglang of the Han dynasty. Since the Han dynasty ran from 206 BC to 220 CE, if we're looking at that kind of time span, and if we think of pansori as having emerged in the eighteenth century, then this would mean that the wild pig would, by the time of telling the story, be at least 1,500 years old. That is one old pig.

And while they're all bragging in this way, the terrapin is kind of watching this happening, and he sees a hare and wants to call out to it to, you know, attract its attention. But he's just come up from the sea, and the water was cold, and so he's so cold from swimming that his jaw is still frozen, and he can't pronounce the words properly. So, rather than saying, "To Seonsaeng", which means Mr.

Hare, he says “Ho Seonsaeng”, which means Mister Tiger.

And the tiger is so happy to be called so politely, he's never been called by “Ho Seonsaeng” before, and so he comes down to have a look. Now this is a scene which initially wasn't very well known in Korea but has since become rather more famous. Note that the way the tiger comes down is described in eonmori, which is the 10/8 rhythm which, if you remember, is used for mysterious or imposing characters. So the fact that the tiger is given this rhythm to describe his entry helps underline this incredibly powerful and awe-inspiring image that the tiger has, and we get a lot of detail of how he looks, his tail more than one meter long, his roar seeming to shake the streams and mountains and destroying the ground. Clearly, the tiger is a very imposing figure.

So this song, some of you may have recognized it already. It wasn't initially particularly well known or popular within traditional pansori, but has become very famous thanks to LEENALCHI's reinterpretation of it, you may have seen their version in the tourism ads which promoted Korea in 2021, and we will talk about this more in lecture 10. But basically what happens is that in their version of it, they've kept the basic melody, but changed the rhythm to a 4/4 rhythm instead. Now, if you want to learn the original song for yourselves, you can check out the Oh! Pansori series by the Namwon National Gugak Center or the National Theatre of Korea, which has also done an educational series on this song, this repertoire as well, and links to those two video series will be put in the class information.

So the tiger comes down, and once it sees the terrapin, tries to eat it, but the terrapin manages to trick the tiger in a variety of ways to delay the attack, and then bites him in a very sensitive place until he runs away. And then, with the tiger gone the terrapin finally manages to meet the hare.

Now what ensures here is a comical round of posturing, as the hare tries to make itself sound intelligent when faced with the very educated courtier, the terrapin, while basically what he ends up doing is mixing up all sorts of random sayings. So you end up with an exchange like this one as follows:

Once a woman is married, she is no longer a member of her biological family.”

“A seller and a buyer strike a deal.”

“A violation of a law involves a noise.”

“You can't teach a cow how to read.”

“Any place is owned by the king.”

“A wife should follow her husband.”

“Once a food is cooked, it can't become raw.”

“My ox's horn is broken because of your fence.”

“A hare can prevent a leakage of water through a bank.” “Your criticism against me can be directed to you.”

“Fish to the east, and meat to the west.

Red fruit to the east, and white fruit to the west.

Dried meat to the left, and a sweet rice drink to the right. We burn incense and bow twice.”

“There is an open gate between two families-in-law.”

“Contradicting oneself is like having three hundred billion fathers.”

(from Choe Donghyeon. 2010. *Sugungga badibyeol jeonjip 2: Jeong Eungmin badi, Gang Dogeun badi* [A complete collection of *Sugungga* according to different styles 2: Jeong Eungmin style, Gang Dogeun style]. Jeonju: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, North Jeolla Province; Jeonju International Sori Festival Organising Committee. P. 81)

In between these nonsensical phrases there are some interesting things telling us about Korean culture as well. Phrases like “a wife should follow her husband”, “once a woman is married, she's no longer a member of her biological family” or the whole “fish to the East meat to the west” thing, that's an explanation for how to place the food for the ancestral rites, which we addressed briefly in *Heungboga*. But clearly, there's some very, very strange sentences as well.

While the hare is trying to pass itself off as important, the terrapin points out that he's very well aware that the hare actually has a really tough life. He's chased by hunters, he has to go hungry in winter, hiding away from the cold, and all these kind of things, and he lures the hare with promises of a cushy government post if he just comes back with him to the Underwater Palace. Finally he succeeds and persuades the hare to follow him.

Now this particular scene of the terrapin persuading the hare has been reinterpreted by the fusion band The Meari in their song “*Sigye tokkireul chajara*.” I admit, I'm not 100% certain how this title is best translated, but it's a fun song, so do check it out in the list of additional materials. It is funny how for some reason it seems like *Sugungga* got particularly many fusion reinterpretations of it, which is why I'm giving you a couple of them to listen to here.

As soon as the terrapin and the hare arrive in the palace, the terrapin then finds an excuse to step away to let people know that the hare has arrived, and the guards then descend on the hare and capture him. We're going to have a look at this scene in a *changgeuk* version, this is from the production called “*Gwito*”, the *Terrapin and the Hare*, by the National Chunk of Company of Korea. So let's take a look at that together.

4. Key moment 2: The hare is captured

Now actually this *changgeuk* version you just watched, where we have two hares, is from a production that was created as a sequel to the events of the original *Sugungga* story. So, in fact, it's the son of the original hare who ends up, being

lured down to the Underwater Palace again. Despite the fact that it's a sequel, they have changed it up a bit, but some songs, such as this one here do actually overlap, and it's just nice, I think, to see some of the varieties in which these scenes can be reinterpreted in performance.

In fact, in the original story, this scene parallels an earlier scene. What happened earlier when the terrapin was caught by the tiger was that initially, the tiger was saying, "I'm going to eat you, you're a terrapin", and the terrapin is saying " No, no, no, I'm a different animal, I'm this animal, I'm that animal", and the tiger keeps saying, "Oh, that's fine. I can eat you if you do that, too, because all these other animals have all these various other benefits." And the same thing then happens here with the hare, who says "I'm not a hare, I'm a dog, I'm a calf, I'm a horse." But in each case those who are capturing the hares, the soldiers are saying, "If you're a dog we can make soup out of you, if you're a cow we can turn your horn into a bow", and so on. On one hand the parallel is fun, it's a nice little storytelling technique, but it also is again revealing to see how these particular animals would have been used in the past. I really like these moments that just you know, shed some light on what life for people was like back then, because those were the uses for these animals at that time.

Now this particular scene capturing the hare is called "Jwau najol" usually, which means "from the left and right the soldiers come". This scene is very famously reinterpreted by the percussion group SamulNori, together with the jazz group Red Sun. Now I don't really have time to talk about samulnori too much in this lecture, but SamulNori was a group of 4 performers who reinterpreted a traditional Korean percussion genre called pungmul into a genre more suited for the stage, and they were hugely popular overseas, they did loads and loads of overseas performances. And they collaborated with many overseas artists, but particularly this collaboration with the jazz group Red Sun was really successful in the late 80s and early 90s, they released 4 joint albums together, and the song "Rabbit Story", which is what "Jwau najol" becomes, is included in the album Nanjang from 1996. It features the vocals of the great An Sukseon, and I met her once when she told me that making this song was literally just a jam session. They had a rough idea of what they were going to do, and then they just went for it, so each attempt at recording this song was different. If you have time, do try and listen to that recording, I've got one link for it that I've put in the classroom materials for you, this song was one of the most influential jazz/pansori crossovers, and I would argue it's still hugely influential until today, in terms of the format other performers use when creating jazz crossover performances. So do check it out, it's a very fun song.

So obviously the hare is now in very dire straits at this point, he's been

captured, dragged before the Dragon King, so now the hare realizes in that in fact, he's been tricked by the terrapin, there is no government post waiting for him, and instead he is at severe risk of death. But the hare is a very witty animal, and so he manages to trick the Dragon King claiming, as we already discussed briefly, that left his liver hidden back on land, because everyone keeps trying to steal the liver from him, and so he keeps it packed away somewhere safe. He's like, "Oh, if only you told me, I would have brought it for you, but the terrapin never mentioned it, it's all his fault". So he tricks the Dragon King, and we can take a look at that particular scene here. This is a bit of a reinterpretation rather than "pure" pansori, performed here by members of the Namwon National Gugak center. Now this is part of a wider series, with content of pansori with English subtitles available on YouTube, so far I've been showing you mostly traditional pansori scenes that they did with English subtitles, but they also did these reinterpretations of some of these scenes in a variety of different genres, and it's well worth checking out, especially since they have content on all five core pansori stories. So here we have Jeong Minyoung being the Dragon King and Kim Hyeonju as the hare, and you can see a little bit of that battle of wits that's going back and forth in that moment. So let's have a quick look at that scene.

5. Key moment 3: The rabbit uses his wit to escape

So obviously, then, what ends up happening? Although the terrapin tries to dissuade him. The Dragon King is swayed by the hare's words, and tells him to go back to land to get his liver. Now, before the hare leaves, the Dragon King throws a party for the hare, which for the Dragon King becomes another excuse to get drunk and celebrate, this character flaw shows up again briefly. The hare has never really had wine before, and so he ends up getting drunk and dancing wildly around, and is almost caught when a fish hears something flopping around in his belly, asking "Isn't that your liver? Are you sure your liver is not inside you right now." And the hare has to come up with a new excuse, saying "It's actually excrement. You've been feeding me so much stuff my stomach is full of excrement right now, that's what you can hear flopping around." So in case you haven't noticed by now, although all pansori stories contain dirty jokes, Sugungga is particularly full of them. There's this rather dirty humor, which is played up in some versions more than others. Now thanks to this particular dirty joke, the hare manages to quickly get past this moment of danger. But clearly things are starting to get a bit hairy, excuse the pun here, and he realizes he needs to get back to land soon.

So the hare asks to leave, the terrapin tries to stop him, claiming it's all a trick, but the Dragon King is too gullible and sends the terrapin to escort the hare back to land.

Obviously, as soon as they reach land, the hare scampers off, leaving the terrapin behind.

But the story doesn't end there, the hare gets so excited after cursing out the terrapin that he's jumping round and missing the fact that there's a net there, and he gets caught up in the net.

So this is another of these prideful moments by the hare, where he then ends up in trouble. This particular moment goes like this:

Hare jumps around, thinking he came back alive.

He dances wildly and joyously.

He is caught in a net.

He is again bound to die.

He is struck dumb.

"Alas. If I had known this, I would have died in the sea palace. Rituals would be performed for me on every big holiday every year.

I can't believe this."

Hare laments over his lot.

Just then, flesh flies come to Hare.

"Oh, flesh flies. My cousins.

Where have you been?

If you lay eggs on my back, I can survive."

...

The flesh fly calls thousands of his friends.

They lay eggs on Hare, leaving no empty space.

Hare pretends he is dead, lying face down with a lot of eggs on his back.

...

Grass-cutters take a look at the net and spot Hare. They run to Hare.

"Good. We can eat Hare with wine."

They take Hare off the net and see a lot of fly eggs on him. "Oh, a good thing went bad.

I wish I had seen this hare a few days ago. Too much time has passed."

An adult man speaks in a loud voice. "Folks, we can eat it unless it smells bad. What is the use of a nose?

Have a smell at it."

The moment a boy tries to smell Hare, Hare silently breaks marvelous wind.

"This hare is really rotten."

The boy grabs Hare's hind leg and throws him away.

Hare runs away and turns around.

"I even fooled the dragon king and came back alive.

Do you think I can't fool stupid people like you?"

(from Choe Donghyeon. 2010. *Sugungga badibyeol jeonjip 2: Jeong Eungmin badi, Gang Dogeun badi* [A complete collection of *Sugungga* according to different styles 2: Jeong Eungmin style, Gang Dogeun style]. Jeonju: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, North Jeolla Province: Jeonju International Sori Festival Organising Committee. Pp. 141-147)

So we can see another example of dirty jokes in *Sugungga* here, when the hare manages to trick the humans into thinking he's gone bad by breaking wind at a strategic moment. But as soon as he's free he's bragging again, and he falls straight from that into being caught by an eagle, and so on and so forth, the hare keeps falling from danger to danger due to his pride and boastful nature. So pride can clearly be dangerous, but at least in the hare's case, he is the underdog, and we're rooting for the underdog, so somehow, with his quick wit, he always manages to escape.

Meanwhile the terrapin, obviously left empty handed, is lamenting his lot. In some versions of the story, he ends up being rewarded for his loyalty by receiving medicine from the gods to cure the king. In some versions the Dragon King directly requests a hare from the mountain gods, complaining about how the hare, who is from their territory, offended him, so the mountain gods send him a replacement. So there's a various different ways that the ending goes.

But what are we then left with in terms of the different characters? The hare is proud, he's punished for his pride, but he always ends up being lucky. The Dragon King is foolish and gullible, but is saved by the loyalty of his subject. The terrapin probably ends up coming up best in all this, since his loyalty is unfailing. He has been actually trying to get his king to do the right thing throughout the whole story, when he saw through the hare's tricks, and so on. But still the question remains in all of this of whether his loyalty can be justified to such a lacking ruler as the Dragon King?

7. Conclusion

So, I think this is a good moment to come to our conclusion. We've seen in *Sugungga* particularly this satire of the elite. While the fact that the story is about animals gives this story a sort of whimsical fairy tale feel, the critiques against the elite in particular, are biting throughout. The image of the rulers we see here are that they are only interested in partying and stroking their ego with more grand palaces. The court is full of sycophants who compete with each other for power, but don't actually do anything when they are called upon.

Anyone who attempts to climb above their social station, like the hare, is doomed to fail. But in general, as we also see with the animals competing for who gets the seat of honor, this self important preening and jostling for a more powerful position is shown up as being rather laughable. So you could look at this as raising the question of the legitimacy of the standards by which social hierarchies are established, if you want to read into it that far. Either way, what is clear is that those who remain faithful and loyal are rewarded in the end.

So to summarize, in this lecture we looked at loyalty to one's king, even when the king in question is not worthy of such loyalty. We also saw how pride and trying to move above one's station can be dangerous. And in the next lecture we're going to cover the last of the five core pansori stories, which is Jeokbyeokga, which addresses friendship.

So that's it from me for today. Thank you. Goodbye.

■ 학습활동 (총 108분)

가.퀴즈 (18분)

O/X퀴즈 (5분)

1. <수궁가>는 오륜 중 왕과 신하의 관계에 대해 다루고 있는 작품이다.

정답: O

2. <수궁가>에 등장하는 용왕은 이상적인 통치자의 모습을 대표하는 인물이다.

정답: X

3. <수궁가>의 토끼는 일반 민중을, 자라와 용왕은 상류층을 상징하기도 한다.

정답: O

4. 한국에서는 사회적 지위가 비슷한 경우, 나이가 사람들의 서열을 결정하는 중요한 요소로 인식된다.

정답: O

5. <수궁가>의 용왕이 토끼의 간을 구해올 신하를 모집할 때, 모든 신하들은 자신의 충성심을 보여주기 위해 자신이 육지로 가겠다고 적극적으로 자원했다.

정답: X

선택형 (5분)

1. 다음 중 자라에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

- ① 충성스러운 신하의 모습을 보여주는 인물이다.
- ② 토끼의 딱한 사정을 듣고 토끼를 몰래 수궁에서 탈출시키는 동정심이 강한 인물이다.
- ③ 자신이 육지로 떠나면 남겨질 가족들에 대해 전혀 걱정하지 않는 냉정한 인물이다.

정답: ①

2. 다음 중 토끼에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 조선시대의 평민을 대표하는 인물이다.
- ② 어려운 상황 속에서도 높은 수준의 교육을 받은 지적인 인물이다.
- ③ 간을 빼앗길 위기에 처하자 기지를 발휘해 수궁을 탈출하는 순발력을 보여준다.

정답: ②

3. 조선시대의 상류층이 <수궁가>를 선호했던 이유로 적절한 것은?

① 상류층이 즐겨 부르던 가곡, 가사, 시조에서 유래한 음악적 스타일인 계면조를 사용했기 때문이다.

② 왕에 대한 신하의 충성심에 관한 내용을 다루고 있기 때문이다.

③ 고려시대의 유명한 유학자인 정몽주가 지은 이야기이기 때문이다.

정답: ②

4. <수궁가>의 기원으로 인식되는 자카타 설화(Jataka tales)에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 기원전 4세기경에 편찬된 인도의 불교 설화이다.
- ② 자카타 설화에서는 암컷 악어가 원숭이의 심장을 먹고 싶어한다.
- ③ 자카타 설화의 원숭이는 자신의 보름달이 뜰 때 자신의 심장을 가져오겠다고 약속한다.

정답: ③

5. 다음 중 ‘충성심’에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 유교의 삼강오륜에 속하며, 왕에 대한 신하의 이상적인 자세로 설명할 수 있다.
- ② 같은 삼강오륜에 속하는 ‘효심’과 비교했을 때 더 우선시된다.
- ③ 도덕적으로 알맞지 않은 왕에게 충성하는 것은 불가능한 일이다.

정답: ③

단답형 (8분)

다음 빈칸에 들어갈 알맞은 말을 답해 봅시다.

1. 용왕은 자신의 병을 고치기 위해 토끼의 (_____)을 먹으려 시도한다.

정답: 간

2. <수궁가> 중 (_____)는 도사가 용왕의 병을 치료하기 위해 여러 치료법을 시도하는 장면으로, 실제 조선시대의 약재에 관한 내용을 담고 있다.

정답: 약성가

3. 수궁을 탈출한 토끼는 육지로 올라오자마자 그물에 걸리지만, (_____)의 도움으로 목숨을 구한다.

정답: 파리

나. 토의 (30분)

<수궁가>에 반영된 조선시대의 생활상에 대해 이야기해 봅시다.

*답안 작성 방향

<수궁가>는 왕과 신하의 관계와 충성심이 주제인 작품이다. 하지만 이러한 유교적 이념 외에도, <수궁가>에는 조선시대의 생활상이 반영된 장면을 찾아볼 수 있다. 첫 번째는 ‘약성가’인데, 병에 걸린 용왕을 치료하기 위해 도사가 여러 치료법을 시도하는 장면이다. 여기서는 조선시대에서 실제로 사용했던 약재가 등장한다. 이 장면을 통해 조선시대에 사용했던 약재와, 그 약재들의 효과를 알 수 있다. 두 번째는 토끼가 군사에게 붙잡히는 장면이다. 여기서는 토끼가 자신을 잡아먹으려는 군사로부터 탈출하기 위해 자신은 토끼가 아니며, 다른 동물이라고 속인다. 이때 토끼는 자신이 개, 송아지, 말이라고 이야기하지만 군사는 각각의 동물을 잡아먹는 대신 어떻게 쓸 수 있는지 답변한다. 이 장면을 통해 조선시대에는 개나 송아지, 말 같은 동물들이 어떻게 사용되었는지를 알 수 있다.

다.과제 (60분)

<수궁가>에서 용왕을 통해 풍자하고 있는 조선시대의 왕의 역할에 대해 이야기해 봅시다.

***답안 작성 방향**

<수궁가>의 인물들은 조선시대의 여러 신분 계층을 상징하는데, 이 중 용왕은 지배계층을 상징하는 인물이다. 용왕이 방탕하고 무능력한 인물로 묘사되는 것은, 당시 조선시대의 지배 계층에 대한 풍자로 해석할 수 있다. 특히 <수궁가>의 초반부에 용왕이 수궁을 새로 단장했다는 이야기가 등장하는데, 이것은 19세기에 이루어졌던 대원군 무리한 경복궁 중건과 연관 지을 수 있다. 이 경복궁 중건으로 인해 당시 조선시대의 평민들은 많은 비용과 인력을 부담해야 했으며, 그들의 어려움은 아리랑이나 경복궁타령 등의 노래에도 남겨졌다. 즉 <수궁가>의 용왕이 백성을 돌보지 않고 잔치만 열거나 궁전을 새로 단장하는 것은 조선시대의 무능한 지배계층의 모습이나 대원군의 경복궁 중건을 상징적으로 표현한 것으로 볼 수 있다. 또한 용왕이 병에 걸리는 것은 지배계층의 잘못된 행동에 대한 처벌로 해석된다.

■ 참고자료

[오! 판소리 : Oh! Pansori] 수궁가 申 범이 내려오는 대목 [\(영상 보기\)](#)

수궁가 중 토끼 배 가르는 대목 [\(영상 보기\)](#)

<Lecture 7> Jeokbyeokga

■ 학습목표

1. <적벽가>의 줄거리를 살펴보고 4개의 주요 대목을 파악한다
2. <적벽가>가 담고 있는 오류의 의미를 탐구한다.
3. <적벽가>가 전쟁에 대해 말하고자 하는 메시지를 이해한다.

■ 강의 목차

1. Introduction and summary of past lecture
2. Summary of story
3. Key moment 1: Jo Jaryong saves Yu Bi's son
4. Key moment 2: The soldiers' sorrow
5. Key moment 3: The battle of the Red Cliff
6. Key moment 4: The Song of the Birds
7. Conclusion

■ 강의 내용 전문

1. Introduction and summary of past lecture

Hello, everyone and welcome to the seventh lecture in the World of Pansori lecture series.

Now, in lecture 7, we are talking about Jeokbyeokga, and this is the last in this group of lectures where we've been focusing on the 5 core pansori pieces that have been preserved until today.

So in this lecture we're still following the standard format. We will have an introduction, a summary of the past lecture, a summary of the story we're discussing, and then we've got four key moments today. Key moment 1 is when Jo Jaryeong saves Yu Bi's son; key moment 2 is when the soldiers lament their sorrows; key moment 3 is the battle of the Red Cliff; and finally key moment 4 is the Song of the Birds, before we then come to our conclusion.

So to introduce today's lecture and summarize the last lecture. As you know, starting from the third lecture, we've been looking in more detail at the content of each of these five pansori stories that have been transmitted until today, and

today is the last lecture for this section. I'm sure you're familiar with the standard format by now, of going through the basic summary of the whole story, picking up on a couple of key points which we've been exploring through the lens of samgang oryun.

In the previous lecture we looked at Sugungga's portrayal of loyalty to one's ruler. And in this lecture we're going to be looking at friendship, particularly friendship between men, in the story of Jeokbyeokga, the Song of the Red Cliff.

2. Summary of story

To give some background information and a very rough summary of the plot, it's based on the Romance of the Three Kingdoms (Sanguo yanyi, 三國演義, which is a classical Chinese novel which tells the story of the battle between general Jo Jo (Cao Cao) and the alliance of Yu Bi (Liu Bei), and Son Gwon (Sun Quan) - note here there's actually a lot that is happening military-wise, this is a drastic simplification. And they are advised by the famous strategist Jegal Liang/Gong Myeong (Zhuge Liang/Gong Ming), who face each other in battle at the river by the Red Cliff.

Jo Jo is defeated after Gong Myeong's prayers to the heavens give the alliance the favourable wind for battle, and he flees the battlefield, hearing the voices of his dead soldiers in the songs of birds. Gwan U (Guan Yu), a general in Yu Bi's army, catches Jo Jo, but remembering a previous favour, releases him.

So clearly, what is unusual in this pansori story compared to the others we've addressed so far is that while the other pansori stories can be traced to extant folktales, this one is based on an actual novel, it's attributed to Luo Guanzhong, and was written sometime in the fourteenth century.

So why might this novel be used in pansori? I would argue that this is really an extension of the sort of concept that we have already seen whereby pansori uses allusions to other well known poems and stories to help provide variety and layers of meaning to the story. In fact, this is done not just with literary texts, but with songs as well, what is called sabip gayo by Kim Kyung-hee (2008: 63-7), whereby farmers might sing a folk song while working in the fields, or a noble person reading a poem might be given a sijo-style singing voice. These small insertions provide variety to the listeners, and also give us as an audience an idea of the broad cross-section of cultural material that a pansori singer would have had access to. Especially as pansori developed over time, and it became more popular with a wider range of social classes, pansori singers would encounter people from all walks of life. This would allow them to build up a pool of sources from which to draw additional material to further add interest, to add meaning to the stories that they were telling. So clearly, there was a pool of knowledge of classical Chinese texts out there, what Kim Tonguk (1980) cited in Walraven calls: "popular

Sino Korean culture,' those elements of Chinese culture which were known to the average Korean of some education" (1994:109).

So if we put this into perspective, by the time the pansori version of this story comes out, this novel would have been around for more than 400 years, it would be a familiar story to many. And its subject matter of various battles and noble exploits, that's not really been covered in the other stories that we've looked at so far. And particularly because it's such classical source material, this was a classical text in China as well, and as such was particularly popular amongst noble audiences. So these could be some of the various factors that potentially came together to explain why this particular story was included in the five core texts of pansori.

Now there are definitely differences between the original novel and the pansori version that emerges from it. The novel covers much more in terms of plot, the various battles, the manoeuvring, the tactics, and so on. Jeokbyeokga focuses almost exclusively on the battle of the Red Cliff, and the run up to and aftermath of that. Another detail which we will address a little bit more in the progress of this lecture is how much more focus is given to the laments of the poor soldiers who have been dragged into battles far from home. It shows us this cost of war from the perspective of the common folk, and in so doing does seem to raise the question of the futility of war to some extent. We can think about this a bit more later.

Now, just to remind us all of the analytical lens we've been using for looking at the five core pansori stories, which is samgang oryun. I'm sure you're all very familiar with the definition by Pratt and Rutt by now. In the five relationships we've covered those between the ruler and his ministers in Sugungga; the father and son, or daughter in this case, in Simcheongga; the elder brother and younger brother in Heungboga, husband and wife in Chunhyangga, and so now we're on friend and friend. And one area we've focused on quite a bit is how these relationships were "conceived primarily in terms of the duties of the inferior to the superior, although the relationships were understood to be reciprocal and recognised the rulers' responsibilities towards those dependent on them" (Pratt and Rutt 1999: 469). And this question of reciprocity was often explored when we looked at how these relationships are constructed within the stories.

Now, in the case of Jeokbyeokga we're looking at this relationship between friends, and in general, these relationships are considered to focus on trust and honor. Clearly our bad guy, the traitorous Jo Jo, the way he interacts with people most certainly does not show this kind of trust and honor that you see in the relationships of the other characters.

Now let's take a minute to think a bit more about what kind of ideals for friendship might exist within Confucianism, and there's a lovely poem called The Song of Five Friends (Ouga), written by Gosan Yu Seondo (1587-1671). So it goes

as follows:

나의 벗이 몇인가 헤아려 보니 水石(수석)과 松竹(송죽)이라.
東山(동산)에 달이 밝게 떠 오르니 그것은 더욱 반가운 일이다.
나머지는 그냥 두어라. 이 다섯 외에 더 있으면 무엇하겠는가?
Nauī beosi myeochinga hearyeo boni suseokgwa songjugira.
Dongsane dari balgge ddeo oreuni geugeoseun deouk bangaun iriroda.
Nameojineun geunyang dueora. I daseot oe-e deo isseumyeon mueot
hagenneunga?

구름의 빛깔이 깨끗하다고 하지만 자주 검어지네.
바람 소리가 맑다지만, 그칠 때가 많도다.
깨끗하고도 그칠 때가 없는 것은 물뿐인가 하노라.
Gureumui bitggari ggaeggeutadago hajiman jaju geomeojine.
Baram soriga magddajiman, geuchil ddaega mantoda.
Ggaeggeutagodo geuchil ddaega eomneun geoseun mulbbuninga hanora.

꽃은 무슨 까닭에 피자마자 쉬어 쳐버리고,
풀은 또 어찌하여 푸른 듯하다가 이내 누런빛을 띠는가?
아마도 변하지 않은 것은 바위뿐인가 하노라.
Ggocheun museun ggadalge pijamaja shwiewo jyeobeorigo,
Pureun ddo eojjihayeo pureun deutadaga inae nureonbicheul ddineunga?
Amado byeonhaji aneun geoseun bawibbuninga hanora.

따뜻해지면 꽃이 피고, 추워지면 잎이 떨어지는데,
소나무야, 너는 어찌하여 눈서리를 모르고 살아가는가?
깊은 땅 속까지 뿌리가 곧게 뻗은 것을 그것으로 하여 알겠노라.
Ddaddeutaejimyeron ggochi pigo, chuweojimyeron ipi ddeoreojineunde,
Sonamuya, neoneun eojjihayeo nunseorireul moreugo saraganeunga?
Gipeun ddang sokggaji bburiga gotgge bbeodeun geoseul geugeoseuro hayeo
algennora.

나무도 아니고 풀도 아닌 것이, 곧게 자라지는 누가 시켰으며,
또 속은 어찌하여 비어 있는가?
저렇게 사철 늘 푸르니, 나는 그것을 좋아하노라.
Namudo anigo puldo anin geosi, gotgge jarajineun nuga sikyeosseumyeo,
Ddo sogeun eojjihayeo bieo inneunga?
Jeoreoke sacheol neul pureuni, naneun geugeoseul joahanora.

작은 것이 높이 떠서 온세상을 다 비추니
한밤중에 광명이 너보다 더한 것이 또 있겠느냐?

보고도 말을 하지 않으니 나의 벗인가 하노라.

Jageun geosi nopi ddeoseo onsesangeul da bichuni

Hanbamjunge gwangmyeongi neoboda deohan geosi ddo itggenneunya?

Bogodo mareul haji aneuni naui beosinga hanora.

If you ask who my friends are, I will tell you of water and stone, pine and bamboo

And even more gladly of the moon as it rises over the hills

What need is there to add more, other than these five?

You say the bright white clouds are clean and good, but they turn black too often.

You say the sound of the wind is clear, but too often it stops.

Is there anything other than Water, I ask, which will stay clean without end?

Flowers bloom but die quickly for any reason,

Plants will turn yellow as often as green

I think perhaps only Stone will remain, unchanging.

Flowers bloom with the heat; leaves fall with the cold,

Oh Pine! How know you not the frost and the snow?

It is by your straight roots, extending deep into the earth.

Neither tree nor grass, who made you so straight,

How is it you are hollow?

You stay green through all seasons; oh, how I like you.

Something so small floats so high, lighting all things.

Is there any in the sky as bright as you?

Though you see all, you do not speak; you are my friend.

So here we've got water, stone, pine, bamboo, and the moon being used as a metaphor, exemplifying the ideal qualities of a Confucian scholar to cultivate in himself, but also by extension, and considering the title of the poem as well, these are the sort of qualities you'd hope to find in your fellow Confucian friends as well. So we've got the water symbolizing cleanliness and purity, the stone is unchanging, the pine is constant, the bamboo is uncompromising, and the moon is quiet and unassuming.

So if we consider these as some of the ideals for how friendship might be framed in Confucian terms, really what it boils down to is this phrase bungu yusin (朋友有信), which means friends have trust, sin means trust in one another. And so

once you have a relationship built on trust, then it can work as a friendship. And so it's really about holding true to the relationship, no matter what. But as will become apparent, this is not always quite so simple.

3. Key moment 1: Jo Jaryong saves Yu Bi's son

So I don't want to overburden you with intricate details of military strategies here, because the story can get a bit complicated, but I will try to give you enough detail of the plot so you can hopefully follow along with what is happening. So when the story begins, we are in a time of turmoil, the Han dynasty, which held power for a long time, has weakened, and various warlords have carved up the country into their own areas of influence. So Jo Jo, who is technically the premier of Wei, has a puppet king on the throne, making him the king in all but name. Son Gwon is in charge of the country of Wu, and Yu Bi, Gwan U and Jang Bi become sworn brothers, with the purpose of wanting to restore the Han dynasty, with Yu Bi being one of the last heirs of that dynasty. They humbly ask for help from Jegal Liang, also known as Gong Myeong, who's a famous strategist. In fact, it takes three attempts of visiting his house before they are even able to meet him, and then he finally agrees to support them in their attempt to wrest control of the country from Jo Jo.

So when they first head into battle against Jo Jo, the battle quickly turns against Yu Bi's forces, they have to flee, and in the commotion Yu Bi's wives and son fall behind. So Jo Jaryong, who is one of Yu Bi's faithful retainers, sets out to save them in the battle at Jangpan Bridge, which is one of only two battles that are addressed, the big one being the battle at the Red Cliff.

So in this scene, we get an indicator about just how powerful this concept of friendship could be. Let's have a look at this moment when Jo Jaryong saves Yu Bi's son, this is from the National Changgeuk Company of Korea's production of Jeokbyeokga, with Yu Bi played by Heo Jongyeol, Jo Jaryong played by Choi Yongseok, and Yu Bi's wife played by Ryu Garyang. Let's take a look.

Now this scene might seem rather shocking to us for a variety of different reasons. Yu Bi's wife sacrifices herself because she's injured, she can't really move, and she's worried she will slow Jo Jaryong down, hence risking that her baby won't survive either. And then Jo Jaryong fights his way through the battle to bring the little child back to his father, but once he manages to do this, Yu Bi tosses his own child to the ground, saying he almost lost a good general because of the child. Now you can see there how in this production the ensemble cast also react in shock to this behaviour. While we definitely find it shocking, in the story this is framed in a positive light, that the friendship here is valued even over one's flesh and blood, and so it's taking this concept of reciprocating the loyalty

of one's retainers to an extreme degree.

4. Key moment 2: The soldiers' sorrow

What's quite interesting is you can almost see a disconnect between the moral standards held by the main characters, where it's all about nobility and just causes above all else, focusing on their noble exploits. But not too long after this scene we get quite a contrasting scene where we're also given the perspective of the common soldiers, who care very much about their families, rather than about some sort of noble concepts of loyalty.

So, for the sake of contrast, let's have a look at our second key moment, where the soldiers express their sorrow at being caught up in this war. This performance is by Yun Jincheol, who's now been designated as a holder (boyuja) of the National Intangible Cultural Property pansori (Jeokbyeokga), when he is performing at the Jeonju International Sori Festival. Let's take a look at this scene:

Now, before I delve into this scene in a bit more detail, thinking about what's actually happening here, I do want to rewind for a minute to bring you up to speed on the plot. So after the battle at Jangpan Bridge, Gong Myeong was approached by Son Gwon of Wu to go and advise him, and he decides to go. Yu Bi tries to stop him, saying, "Why would you go to them? We need you right now, things are pretty critical here", but Gong Myeong says, "No, this is actually a good idea." He intends to use the Wu to fight off Jo Jo and the Wei, while Yu Bi's Han nation, which is still comparatively weak, can make use of their conflict against each other. So Gong Myeong sets off to Wu. He impresses Son Gwon with his knowledge, while Ju Yu, Son Gwon's general gets jealous, and plots to kill him when he gets the chance. Anyway, the plan Gong Myeong proposes is to attack Jo Jo by the Red Cliff. And so this is where we are when we see this scene of the soldiers' sorrow.

After some military maneuvering, the two armies are now facing each other on opposite sides of the river by the Red Cliff. And Jo Jo's army is massive, he's got one thousand ships, all chained together, and he's confident of his military might and advantage because at that time of year, the way the wind always blows puts him in the advantageous position. So he's celebrating before he's even won the battle, he orders wine and meat for his soldiers, and so the introduction to the scene we just watched goes as follows:

[Aniri] Determined to win, soldiers drink wine and eat meat in competition.

[Jungmori] A soldier sings, dances, and cries, overtaken by grief. Another laughs, while talking. Others quarrel, while gambling. Half-drunk, another speaks curse words. Seriously drunk, another throws up.

Another sleeps, while standing up with his chin on the end of a spear.

Bad luck comes if a soldier sheds tears among many soldiers. A soldier under a tent takes off his fur hat, holds it with his hand, and cries wildly, going crazy.

(From Choe Donghyeon. 2011. Jeokbyeokga badibyeol jeonjip 3: Jeong Eungmin badi, Pak Bongsul badi [A complete collection of Jeokbyeokga according to different styles 3: Jeong Eungmin style, Pak Bongsul style]. Jeonju: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, North Jeolla Province; Jeonju International Sori Festival Organising Committee. P. 259)

So clearly, the soldiers are very tense. They're about to go into battle. There's a lot of emotions running high, they're drunk, they've been given alcohol and meat to celebrate, and everyone's dealing with their nerves, their pre-battle jitters in a variety of different ways. It's a very human moment in an overarching storyline which is very much about all these noble exploits and saving countries and so on. And then you suddenly zoom in on these very intricate details, these individuals' faces amongst these masses of unidentified soldiers, just seeing a little snippet from each of their lives, which I think goes a long way towards humanizing this conflict.

What's especially interesting is that this scene isn't in the original novel, it's added in the pansori versions. Furthermore, we can sense a certain sort of similarity in the atmosphere of the scene to what we saw in Sugungga in the last lecture, where the animals were competing in terms of their age. Here we see the soldiers competing for who is the most unfortunate, who's suffered the most from being dragged off into war. So it's kind of a funny scenario but it's also rather sad. It's reflecting real dilemmas that soldiers may well have had, real feelings soldiers may well have had been able to commiserate with if they were suddenly drafted, and having to go off into battle.

And through these soldiers' stories, we also get some glimpses into what family life might have been like in Korea. So the first soldier we see here, he and his wife were plagued by fertility issues for many years, his wife would often go to pray at the temple to become pregnant. And when she finally does become pregnant, she then does everything she can to best protect the child. Now this is quite interesting in and of itself, because you get a little insight into what's called taegyo, basically the education of the child before they even leave the womb. So we get to learn a little bit about the culture around childbirth and preparing for childbirth.

But then, also, just listening to this father describe his son with such affection, it comes out very strongly, and you can really just imagine it, some person sitting around the camp fire thinking of his son back home. And the next soldier is talking about how he just got married to his wife, she's wonderful, and then he has to go off to war, and his wife is running out barefoot, begging him not to go.

but he has to leave. And that's kind of the reality of what could have happened to many men who were suddenly called up to fight for their country. These are images of normal people, living normal lives until they were cruelly interrupted by war. Which, I think, starts to question somewhat the nobility of the exploits that are taking place around them.

5. Key moment 3: The battle of the Red Cliff

Now we move from such a beautifully intimate moment back to the large scale strategy and battle scenes. In the run up to this final battle at the Red Cliff, as the next day dawns, the soldiers are training for battle, and Jo Jo is looking at his many, many soldiers, and he's incredibly confident. Now his advisors suggest that maybe with all the ships being bound together, if there was a fire attack, they'd have problems. But Jo Jo dismisses their concerns, since the normal wind during that season would turn the fire back on the opposing camp. However, meanwhile in the opposing camp Gong Myeong prays for a fortunate wind, and the wind turns, so all of a sudden the wind is no longer favorable for Jo Jo, but for the opposing Wu faction.

Now Ju Yu, who we already know is jealous of Gong Myeong, is watching him, and he sees that not only does he have these amazing strategies, but when nature isn't exactly following his plan, he prays, and then nature actually changes to be more advantageous to his. They've got an unseasonable wind that all of a sudden is at their disposal. And this is terrifying for Ju Yu, he feels threatened by the potential of Gong Myeong's power, and he thinks, if I don't get him now, he might be cause us danger in future. So he tries to have him assassinated, but Gong Myeong flees in a boat down the river, Jo Jaryong comes to the rescue again, he's in the boat with Gong Myeong, escorting him away, and here we get another very famous scene, "Jo Jaryong shooting arrows", which I don't have time to discuss here, but it's also considered a nun daemok, one of the highlights in pansori.

I will add a link to the class materials for a reinterpretation of that scene by the Namwon National Gugak Center, and you will be able to see from that, or if you find other versions, descriptions you've got of the boat chase happening, arrows flying, sailors rowing, and so on. It's a very vividly visual scene which shows just how dynamic a pansori scene can be, and as such it's hugely challenging for pansori performers to sing.

So Gong Myeong has escaped safely, the final preparations of the battle need to be made. Gong Myeong sends Gwan U, one of the three of the Han Alliance to guard Hwayong Road, even though it's the less well-traveled road, but Gong Myeong clearly has a plan to station Gwan U there, and he gives him strict instructions not to show mercy to Jo Jo, despite the fact that he knows that Gwan U, in fact, owes Jo Jo a favor.

Now with all the preparations in place, the battle begins, and Jo Jo's advisors notice that the wind has changed, they try to warn Jo Jo, but he dismisses their concerns. And then all of a sudden fire ships strike into the tied-up flotilla, and with this now favorable wind the fire tears through the entire fleet before anyone can escape.

This is another one of the nun daemok in Jeokbyeokga, where all the boats catch fire, and the soldiers caught in the inferno are dying, and it's another really masterful moment in balancing the large-scale battle vision with the very close attentive perspective of watching each soldier in turn as they take their last breath. So let's take a look at some sections from the Battle of the Red Cliff. This version is produced by the Namwon National Gugak Center, and is sung by Go Junseok, accompanied by Kim Seongju. Let's take a look:

So I think you can really tell why this is a nun daemok, showing the ability of the voice to capture both the enormity of flaming inferno, as well as highlighting each soldiers' personal moments of death. If you want to see another reinterpretation of this particular scene, I would recommend you to take a look at AUX's performance of this scene, interwoven with BTS' "Fire" on Pungnyu Daejang, which I will link in the classroom materials.

6. Key moment 4: The Song of the Birds

So with this fireboat strategy, all the boats that were chained together catch fire in one go, not one of them can be saved, and Jo Jo realizes that he's been defeated, he flees the scene, and as he's chased, people are identifying him, he tries to hide himself claiming someone else is actually him. You can see some parallels to Sugungga and the hare pretending to be a cow, a horse, a dog, and so on. In this case, the way Jo Jo is going about it makes him look incredibly pathetic and cowardly in his escape, if we just look at a couple of moments when he's escaping:

"That man in the red silk clothes is Jo Jo! Don't run away. Just die. I am the vanguard officer, Hwang Gae." With the shout, Jo Jo is petrified, takes off his red coat, snatches a soldier's hat, puts it on, and points to a soldier. "The real Jo Jo goes over there!"

Calling his own name, Jo Jo says, "Jo Jo, you villain. That man calling me Jo Jo is the real Jo Jo."

While chasing Jo Jo, Hwang Gae says, "That man with the long beard is Jo Jo!"

Horried, Jo Jo grabs his long beard and pulls it out, while fleeing wildly.

(...)

“Hey Jeong Uk! I am in jeopardy! Help me.”

Horried, Jo Jo gets on the horse backward.

“Alas! Hey Jeong Uk! This horse doesn’t move forward. It keeps going backward to the Jeokbyeok River. How can this happen? I thought Ju Yu and No Su can’t shorten the distance, but it appears they can do it.”

Jeong Uk responds, “Mr. Premier, you are on the horse backward.”

“When can I sit on the horse forward! Pull the head of the horse out and attach it to the back quickly. I am dying. Hurry!”

(based on Choe Donghyeon. 2011. Jeokbyeokga badibyeol jeonjip 3: Jeong Eungmin badi, Pak Bongsul badi [A complete collection of Jeokbyeokga according to different styles 3: Jeong Eungmin style, Pak Bongsul style]. Jeonju: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, North Jeolla Province; Jeonju International Sori Festival Organising Committee. Pp. 311-313)

So clearly, as Jo Jo now is at risk of losing not just the battle, but also his life, he falls into a panic, doing weird, nonsensical things, and he flees the scene.

And this brings us to the final key moment that I want to address with you today, which is the Song of the Birds, Saetaryeong. The version that I’m going to show you now is again from the Namwon National Gugak Center, it’s sung by Yun Yeongjin, and accompanied by Seo Eungi. Let’s take a look:

Now, I think this scene is incredibly vivid in terms of the visual imagery that it paints at the start. You’ve got this desolate mountain landscape, Jo Jo is fleeing through the middle of it, the snow is piled up, you can really see it like a film playing out in front of you. I think it’s really part of the power of pansori that it manages to paint these vivid audio pictures. Now particularly considering the pathetic, cowardly escape of Jo Jo that we saw just before this scene happens, it really makes the deaths of the many soldiers seem all the more in vain. If they had been following a noble general, who was fighting for a just cause, that’s a rather different thing from what we’re seeing here, with the soldiers’ deaths being so futile, dying for someone who really does not deserve their loyalty, who is clearly not trustworthy or deserving of friendship. In order to really underline the futility of all this, the pansori version of the story now includes this scene where these vengeful spirits of the dead turn into birds, whose mournful cries pursue Jo Jo in his flight. I mean, just look at the kind of things these birds are saying:

Birds weep, sitting at the end of branches.

How many years are the painful soldiers away from their homes? The cuckoo says sadly that it cannot go back home.

The huge military food is exhausted, and soldiers are looting villages. So cries a hungry bird.

How can Jo Jo be defeated after bragging about one million soldiers? So cries a sarcastic bird.

The self-proclaimed hero has gone after playing only a trick to survive. So cries a parrot.

(From Choe Donghyeon. 2011. Jeokbyeokga badibyeol jeonjip 3: Jeong Eungmin badi, Pak Bongsul badi [A complete collection of Jeokbyeokga according to different styles 3: Jeong Eungmin style, Pak Bongsul style]. Jeonju: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, North Jeolla Province; Jeonju International Sori Festival Organising Committee. P. 325)

If we think back to the previous scene of the soldiers' sorrow, at that point, the soldiers' complaints had an almost comical feel in that they were trying one up each other with the sadness of their fate. Here that last bit of humor is gone, it's really just sorrow and anger that is remaining at this point in the story.

Now through all this Jo Jo continues to flee, and as he flees with some of his soldiers, he is met by ambush after ambush every time he laughs, perhaps at the futility of the situation, but there's this cycle that repeats itself there, where his advisors say, "Can you just not laugh? It seems to not turn out well every time you do", but Jo Jo's pride continues to drag him down as he refuses to listen to his advisers, he makes one bad choice after the next. Just to give you one example, this is when he chooses to go down Hwayong Road, the path that Gong Myeong anticipated he would choose, and had sent Gwan U to lie in wait there. So this scene shows once again the extent to which Jo Jo is not listening to his retainers.

[Aniri] Jo Jo laughs loudly. "Heehee Haehaehae!" Jeong Uk is stunned.

"Watch out, folks. The premier laughed again. He laughed at the Jeokbyeok River, and a million soldiers died. He laughed again in Orim Forest, and we nearly died. He laughed again in this bottle-like place. We will be annihilated!"

Narrow-minded, Jo Jo is angry with Jeong Uk's words.

"You scoundrel! Is it true we fall into an ambush whenever I laugh?"

Don't find fault with my laughing. Think about this. Set aside an ambush. If Ju Yu and Gong Myeong placed a dozen of sick soldiers here, even a flying bird can't survive, let alone me. Heeheeheee. Haehae." He laughs loudly.

[Jajinmori] No sooner does Jo Jo stop laughing than an ambush starts.

(From Choe Donghyeon. 2011. Jeokbyeokga badibyeol jeonjip 3: Jeong Eungmin badi, Pak Bongsul badi [A complete collection of Jeokbyeokga according to different styles 3: Jeong Eungmin style, Pak Bongsul style]. Jeonju: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, North Jeolla Province; Jeonju International Sori Festival Organising Committee. P. 355)

A definite moment of dramatic irony there, Jo Jo's laughing is clearly not working out so well for him, and eventually this leads to his reckoning. He didn't listen to his men numerous times, they kept being ambushed, there's basically no one left, and they end up going down this road that Gong Myeong expected them to go on and places Gwan U and his soldiers there, even before the fireboats attacked.

Now this brings us to another very interesting moment in terms of friendship, how friendship can be expressed here, where although they are on opposite sides, Jo Jo and Gwan U greet each other:

[Jo Jo] bends himself, bows, and speaks, "General, long time, no see. How are you doing?"

Virtuous, Gwan U also bends himself down on his horse and replies nicely,

"I received an order to lie in ambush here to catch you. I waited for you here for a long time!"

Jo Jo implores, "With an order from the emperor, I, a poor man, led many troops to a distant battlefield.

Defeated by the Wu Country, I was on the tough journey through the rivers of Chu Country and the mountains of Wu Country.

Unexpectedly, I came across you, general. How can I be not glad to see you here?

You are a nice general. I sincerely hope you remember we were good friends and set me free."

Gwan U yells at him. "You villain. What you said is outrageous.

Even though I received a generous favor from you before, my thought about Wu Country and the Han Country takes precedence over my personal feeling toward you.

Although I have to kill you immediately, I am exchanging words with you because we are familiar with each other. Ultimately, however, I have to kill you."

(From Choe Donghyeon. 2011. Jeokbyeokga badibyeol jeonjip 3: Jeong Eungmin badi, Pak Bongsul badi [A complete collection of Jeokbyeokga according to different styles 3: Jeong Eungmin style, Pak Bongsul style]. Jeonju: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, North Jeolla Province; Jeonju International Sori Festival Organising Committee. P. 361)

Now this is another interesting moment where we see a dilemma emerging, a conflict between different kinds of obligations for Gwan U. On the one hand, he needs to honour the favor that Jo Jo did for him in the past, you shouldn't really

be killing people that you're indebted to, and Jo Jo is trying to exploit his guilt about that. But there are other claims to honor as well, Gwan U has sworn brotherhood to Yu Bi and Jang Bi, and they want to defeat Jo Jo, plus Gwan U has a duty to protect his country. But in the end this need to reciprocate the favour wins out, and Gwan U ends up setting up a pretence under which he can “accidentally” let Jo Jo flee, which obviously he does.

This is where it gets quite interesting, because Gwan U ends up, being praised for his mercy and his heroism in releasing Jo Jo, which I can't help wondering why that is considered a good thing, considering how much trouble Jo Jo gave to pretty much everyone. If evil is being punished, shouldn't Jo Jo face more of a reckoning for all his crimes? But anyway, Gwan U reports back to Gong Myeong, taking responsibility for releasing Jo Jo, offering to be tried by martial law for his failure. But then Gong Myeong reveals that actually, this was all an elaborate ploy, because he didn't want to get Jo Jo killed. Why this was a necessary strategy isn't 100% clear, but Gwan U is praised far and wide for his mercy in letting Jo Jo go. So it seems that this sort of concept of friendship and reciprocating favors is seen as trumping absolutely everything, including one's nation, which I think provides interesting food for thought.

7. Conclusion

So let's try and wrap this up. Jeokbyeokga is generally considered the most difficult of the pansori stories, and I think you can see why. Textually, musically, it's not perhaps, as quick and easy to digest as the other stories are, a lot of the content written here is very difficult for us to understand even just from a textual perspective alone, and I think also quite importantly, it's difficult for us to empathize with, because the experiences these people are going through are just so vastly different from our lives. Tossing one's own baby on the ground in favor of one's soldier, is probably a bit unusual in today's society. Letting the enemy of your country, who's responsible for the death of your countrymen, go free because he did you a favor in the past, it's quite hard to imagine, I think, looking at it from the lens of today.

We've got this overarching, heroic story, which nevertheless might be difficult to commiserate with, and does raise questions as to why Jo Jo wasn't captured, why, he's left to escape, but within these grand narratives, I think it's great that you see actual individuals. People, even if they don't necessarily have names, that are just caught up in these events, and they have their own thoughts on the situations which provide a more human touch to the story that allows for some sympathy and engagement.

And obviously the other thing to understand about Jeokbyeokga is the fact that you have so much grand and adventurous story material, it does make for very

grand and exciting music that you don't necessarily have in the other stories.

But I think in summary probably the most important meaning behind this story is looking at the cost of war, how behind each life that is lost lies a story, a family. We even very briefly see the cost for those not even fighting in the war, that are being raided by soldiers for supplies, and so, while keeping these overarching, noble storylines, there's still a strong critique about the cost and futility of war in general, which is made possible through these individual thoughts and feelings of people as they pass through the story. So in conclusion, this Confucian ideal of steadfast friendship seems in practice to be inherently messy. It's not exactly smooth, easy concept, because you have multiple different demands of friendship that are being imposed on the main characters.

And finally, I'd like to finish off this section on the five core pansori stories, we've seen how they were ostensibly linked to samgang oryun.

To bring us a full circle in our discussion of oryun especially, I want to introduce you to another poem, called Oryunga, the Song of Five Relationships, by Sinjae Ju Sebung (1495-1554).

모든 사람들은 이 말씀을 들으려무나,
이 말씀이 아니면 사람이면서도 아닌 것이니,
이 말씀을 잊지 않고 배우고야 말 것입니다.
Modeun saramdeureun i malsseumeul deureuryeomuna,
I malsseumi animyeon saramimyeonseodo anin geosini,
I malsseuml itji anko baeugoya mal geosimnida.

아버님이 날 낳으시고 어머니가 나를 기르시니
부모님이 아니셨더라면 이 몸이 없었을 것이다.
이 덕을 갚고자 하니 하늘같이 끝이 없구나.
Abeonimi nal naeusigo eomeonimi nareul gireusini
Bumonimi anisyeotddeoramyeon i momi eopsseosseul geosida.
I deogeul gapgoja hani haneulgachi ggeuchi eoppguna.

종과 상전의 구별을 누가 만들어 내었는가
벌과 개미들이 이 뜻을 먼저 아는구나.
한 마음에 두 뜻을 가지는 일이 없도록 속이지나 마십시오.
Jonggwa sangjeonui gubyeoreul nuga mandeureo naeetddeonga
Beolgwa gaemideuri i ddeuseul meonjeo aneunguna.
Han maeume du ddeuseul gajineun iri eopddorok sogijina masipssio.

남편이 밥 갈러 간 곳에 밥 담은 광주리를 이고 가서,
밥상을 들여 오되 눈썹 높이까지 공손히 들어 바칩니다.

진실로 고마우신 분이니 손님을 대하는 것과 무엇이 다르겠습니까?
Nampyeoni bat galleo gan gose bap dameun gwangjureul igo gaseo,
Bapssangeul deuryeo odoe nunsseop nopiggaji gongsonhi deureo bachimnida.
Jinsilro gomausin bunini sonnimeul daehaneun geotggwa mueosi
dareugetsseumnigga?

형님이 잡수신 젓을 내가 따라 먹습니다.
아아, 우리 아우야 너는 어머니의 사랑이야.
형제간에 화목하지 못하면 개나 돼지라 할 것입니다.
Hyeongnimi japssusin jeojeul naega ddara meoksseumnida.
Aah, uri auya neoneun eomeonimui sarangiya.
Hyeongjegane hwamokaji motamyeon gaena dwaejira hal geosimnida.

늙은이는 부모님과 같고, 어른은 형과 같으니,
이와 같은데 공손하지 않으면 어디가 다른 것인가.
나로서는 맞이하게 되면 절하고야 말 것입니다.
Neulgeunineun bumonimgwa gatgo, eoreuneun hyeonggwa gateuni,
Iwa gateunde gongsonhaji aneumyeon eodiga dareun geosinga.
Naroseoneun majihage doemyeon jeolhagoya mal geosimnida.
(From Kiaer and Yates-Lu 2020: 4)

All people everywhere, hear these words and live by them.
If not living by these words, one is not truly a person.
Forget not these words, and learn them well.

My father gave me life, and my mother raised me.
If not for my parents, my body would not be here.
Never will I be able to repay this debt.

Who created the difference between master and servant?
Even bees and ants have always known this truth.
Lie not that one heart can follow the will of two.

The wife goes to the place in the fields where her husband works, bringing him
a tray of food.
Though they eat together, she looks not into his eyes.
As a friend to be appreciated, should the husband be venerated less than an
honoured guest?

I drank the same milk as my elder brother
Oh, younger brother, you are our mother's love.

If brothers cannot be at peace with each other, they are just like dogs or pigs.

The aged are like our parents, and our elders are like our older brothers.

If they are truly the same, but we honour them not, how are we different from beasts?

As for myself, when I meet such people, I will bow to them in respect.

(translation by Jieun Kiaer from Kiaer and Yates-Lu 2020: 178)

Now you may have picked up on the fact that the relationships addressed here are somewhat different from those we have been looking at in our pansori stories, in fact, the oryun are often categorized as:

bujayuchin (父子有親): father and son should have an intimate relationship

gunsinyuui (君臣有義): master and servant should have loyalty

bubuyubyeol (夫婦有別): husband and wife should keep separate

hyeongjeuae (兄弟友愛): there should be love and affection between siblings

jangyuyuseo (長幼有序): old and young should go in order

So there is some overlap with the stories, bujayuchin is expressed through Simcheongga, although as we saw it was problematized by Sim Cheong's status as a woman and a wife. Gunsinyuui was demonstrated in Sugungga, although this sense of loyalty was shown to be rather one-sided by the terrapin towards the Dragon King rather than the other way around. Bubuyubyeol is reinterpreted in Chunhyangga to express the ideal of yeollyeo, the faithful wife, although again that in itself is problematic because their relationship which crosses social divides wouldn't actually have been acknowledged as a legitimate marriage in the first place. Hyeongjeuae is shown in Heungboga, although again here the affection, at least initially, only goes one way, with Nolbo only recognizing the error of his ways at the end of the story. Jangyuyuseo is replaced here by the concept I introduced at the start, of bunguyushin, friends have trust between them, but as we saw in today's lecture, this was complicated by a variety of different other demands on the characters as well.

So this was a summary of some of the issues, the ideas coming out of the five core pansori pieces, and how they relate to and problematize Confucian ideals in the Joseon dynasty. As we have now come to the end of today's lecture, moving forwards we're going to be looking at some of the stories that used to be part of the core pansori repertoire, but were lost over time.

That's it from me for today, goodbye.

■ 학습활동 (총 108분)

가. 퀴즈 (18분)

O/X 퀴즈 (5분)

1. 다른 판소리 이야기들과 달리 <적벽가>는 실제 소설에 기반을 두고 있다.

정답: O

2. 적벽대전을 치르고 난 뒤 주유는 평소 시기하던 제갈공명을 암살한다.

정답: X

3. <적벽가>의 군사설움 대목은 <삼국연의>에는 없는 부분이다.

정답: O

4. 관우는 조조를 놓아주었다는 이유로 결국 사형을 당한다.

정답: X

5. 주세붕의 <오륜가>에서 말하는 오륜은 부자유친, 군신유의, 부부유별, 형제우애, 장유유서이다.

정답: O

선택형 (5분)

1. 다음 중 <삼국연의>에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

- ① 14세기 나관중에 의해 창작된 것으로 추정된다.
- ② 유비-조조 연합군과 손권 사이에 일어난 전쟁을 다루고 있다.
- ③ 중국과 달리 한국에서는 인기를 끌지 못했다.

정답: ①

2. 다음 중 윤선도의 <오우가>에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 유교에서 이상적으로 생각하는 벗의 내면적 자질을 비유적으로 표현한 작품이다.
- ② 벗의 메타포로 물, 돌, 소나무, 대나무, 달을 제시하고 있다.
- ③ 이 시조에서 ‘물’은 유연함을, ‘바위’는 깨끗함을 상징한다.

정답: ③

3. 다음 중 제갈공명에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

- ① 손권 부대의 용맹한 장수이다.
- ② 유비, 관우, 장비가 자신에게 도움을 요청하자 한번에 승낙한다.
- ③ 적벽대전에서 하늘에 기도를 드려 바람의 방향을 유리하게 바꾼다.

정답: ③

4. 다음 중 <적벽가> 속 조조에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 함대를 밧줄로 묶어 두는 전략을 통해 적벽대전에서 승리한다.
- ② 적군에게 쫓기자, 다른 군사를 가리켜 진짜 조조라고 부르면서 스스로를 숨기려 한다.
- ③ 그가 웃음을 터뜨린 뒤 군대가 복병을 만나 피해를 입는 패턴이 반복된다.

정답: ①

5. 다음 중 <적벽가>의 주요 대목에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 적벽대전이 펼쳐지는 대목은 거대하게 타고르는 불길과 각 군사들이 죽음을 맞이하는 순간을 생생하게 묘사한다.
- ② “조자룡이 활 쏘는 대목”에서는 적군을 피하는 조조를 보호하기 위해 조자룡이 활을 쏜다.
- ③ “새타령”은 새의 울음소리를 통해 군사들의 설움과 분노를 드러내고 있다.

정답: ②

단답형 (8분)

다음 빈칸에 들어갈 알맞은 말을 답해 봅시다.

- 1. <적벽가>는 유교의 오류 중 ()과 관련된 판소리 작품이다.

정답: 봉우유신(bunguyusin)

- 2. 조자룡은 ()에서 벌어진 전투에서 유비의 아들을 구한다.

정답: 장판교(Jangpan Bridge)

- 3. 한국의 가정에서 임신한 어머니가 뱃속에 있는 아이를 교육하는 것을 ()라고 한다.

정답: 태교(taegyo)

나. 토의 (30분)

조자룡이 유비의 아들을 구하는 대목과 관우가 조조를 놓아주는 대목을 중심으로 <적벽가>에서 표현되는 우정의 의미를 설명해 봅시다.

* 답안 작성 방향

조자룡이 유비의 아들을 구하는 대목에서, 유비는 자신의 아들을 바닥에 던지면서 아이 하나 때문에 훌륭한 장군을 잃을 뻔했다고 말한다. 한편, 관우가 조조를 놓아주는 대목에서, 관우는 예전에 자신을 살려주었던 조조의 은혜에 보답해야 하는 의무와 국가를 수호해야 한다는 의무 사이에서 갈등하다가 조조를 놓아주는데, 이후 자비를 베풀었다는 점에서 칭송을 받는다. 지금의 관점에서 보면 잘 이해되지 않는 이 장면들은, 우정이 혈육의 목숨이나 국가보다도 가치 있게 여겨질 수 있음을 극단적으로 보여준다. 이를 통해 우리는 우정이 유교에서 인간이 갖추어야 할 기본적인 덕목이지만 결코 간단히 규정할 수 없는 개념임을 알 수 있다.

다. 과제 (60분)

<적벽가>에서 전쟁에 대해 전달하고자 하는 메시지를 설명해 봅시다.

* 답안 작성 방향

<적벽가>는 전쟁 속 영웅들의 업적뿐만 아니라, 전쟁에 참여한 일반 군사들의 삶을 잘 담아내고 있다. 예컨대, 군사설움 대목은 징집으로 인해 고향에 어린 자식과 아내를 두고 온 군사들의 애환을 들려준다. 이 대목에서 그려지는 가족 이야기는 당시 조선에 살던 일반 가족의 모습을 반영하고 있는데, 전쟁이라는 것이 일반 민중의 평범한 삶을 심각하게 파괴한다는 점을 보여준다. <적벽가>는 실제 전투 장면에서도 각 군사들이 죽음을 맞이하는 순간을 생생하게 묘사하고 있으며, 특히 새타령에서는 새의 울음소리를 통해 죽은 군사들의 슬픔과 분노를 표현한다. 이 대목들은 무책임하고 신의를 저버리는 장군을 비판하면서, 군사들의 죽음이 얼마나 억울한 것인지를 폭로한다. 이처럼 <적벽가>는 일반 군사들의 목소리를 담아냄으로써 전쟁의 막대한 비용과 무의미함(futility)을 강하게 비판하는데, 이는 원작 소설인 <삼국연의>와 구별되는 판소리 <적벽가>만의 특징이라고 할 수 있다.

■ 참고자료

윤진철의 적벽가 군사설움대목 - Jeokbyeok A Soldier's Sad Song ([영상 보기](#))

적벽가 중 불 지르는 대목 ([영상 보기](#))

적벽가 중 새타령 ([영상 보기](#))

전주세계소리축제 판소리 다섯바탕 국영문 사설집 ([원문 다운로드](#))

<Lecture 8> The lost stories

■ 학습목표

1. 판소리 12마당이 5마당으로 줄어들게 된 배경을 파악한다.
2. 현재는 사라진 판소리 마당의 주요 내용을 살펴본다.
3. 신재효가 19세기의 판소리계에 미친 영향을 탐구한다.

■ 강의 목차

1. Introduction and summary of past lecture
2. Sin Jaehyo and his work editing the pansori corpus
3. The Tale of Lady Sugyeong
4. The Tale of Byeon Gangsoe
5. The Tale of Bae Bijang
6. Conclusion

■ 강의 내용 전문

1. Introduction and summary of past lecture

Hello, and welcome to this, the eighth lecture in the World of Pansori Lecture series. So just as a reminder of where we are in the lecture series, we've learned some basic information about pansori, as well as its five core stories that have been transmitted until today, and in Lecture 8, we're talking about the lost stories, the ones whose transmission was interrupted.

So in this lecture, to give you an overview of our main points, there'll be an introduction and summary of the past lecture, we're going to talk about Sin Jaehyo and his work editing the pansori corpus. Then we'll look in a bit more detail at three of the lost stories, Sugyeongnangjaga, the Song of Lady Sugyeong; Pyeongangsoega, the Song of Pyeon Gangsoe; and Baebijangtaryeong, the Tale of Aide Bae, before coming to our conclusion.

So if we get started now, in the previous 5 lectures, we looked at the five core pansori pieces that have been transmitted to the present day, and we looked at how they are linked to this Confucian moral concept of oryun, the Five Relationships, which we established wasn't quite so simple that we could define one

story as exemplifying a particular relationship. Rather, in each case these Confucian principles were at the one hand being supported; but the on the other hand, also put into question by the way the pansori stories were told. Although we've covered the five stories considered the core repertoire now, it is important to note that pansori was traditionally considered to have a core repertoire of twelve pieces.

What belonged to this list of twelve pieces has changed over time, but what didn't change was that there was a list of twelve pieces that were considered canon. What we're going to be looking at in today's lecture is what some of those stories were, and also start to think about why those stories might have disappeared.

2. Sin Jaehyo and his work editing the pansori corpus

I'm going to start us off with thinking a little bit about Sin Jaehyo and his role in shifting the core repertoire from twelve to five pieces. Just a little reminder from lecture 1, where we talked about how Sin Jaehyo lived from 1812 to 1884, and did a lot of work on pansori pieces to make them better suit noble tastes. He added a lot more literary illusions, Confucian morals, as well as cutting seven pieces from the original core repertoire of twelve pieces that were considered "obscene and appropriate" (Um 2007: 107). That's what I told you initially. In fact, Sin first cut the pansori repertoire down to six, so Pyeongangsoega, the Song of Pyon Gangsoe was initially still included, and then that gets cut as well, and we get down to the five that we have now.

One other thing that Sin Jaehyo did for pansori is to train the first female performer, reshaping what was initially an exclusively male performance art with the entry of Jin Chaeseon, who's born sometime in the 1840s, and what you can observe is how the pansori scene changes drastically now that female performers are possible as well. Not to forget here that Sin Jaehyo was a social climber. He was a jungin, so from the middle class, but he had aspirations and was actually successful with them, for example, in training up Jin Chaeseon and sending her to perform in the palace, he ends up earning the favour of the Daewongun and receiving the title of General of the Imperial Guard for his troubles (Park 2003: 72). So there clearly some benefits that go beyond the pure development of art as well. Whatever his motives might have been, his influence on pansori was very great, and a lot of what he did has had an influence on the form of pansori that we see performed today.

So what kind of things was he actually doing? What was he telling pansori singers to do? How was he making pansori more palatable for noble tastes? Park cites one of his contemporaries, who writes that:

"Shin Chae-hyo invites kwangdae to stay at his house, where he trains them in

letters, correcting their pronunciation and interpretation.

He rewords passages that are excessively vulgar and guides their practice sessions. Thereby, his house is filled every day with those who come from near and far to get instruction. And he houses and feeds them all.

He loves to have actors and music around him always but everyone thinks him strange. Upon hearing this, I say 'Here is a scholar of true purpose!'" (Jeong Hyeonseok cited in Park 2003: 77-78)

And that gives us sort of general idea of the atmosphere, what Sin was teaching and what kind of atmosphere he was working in. And we have even more detail on his teaching methods from the same source, which I think is very interesting, too. So talking about "abuses" that pansori singers were supposedly inflicting on the stories, and I guess the noble audience's ears as well, at least from their perspective. And so, to correct such abuses, Jeong writes that:

one must first take control of the libretto to get rid of those things that are vulgar or illogical and, embellishing with words, describe the situation so as to make an integrated literary whole and provide a language that is elegant and proper.

Furthermore, select from among singers whose presence is attractive and whose voices are strong and sonorous. Train them in some thousands of characters and, after having awakened them clearly to tones and sounds, teach them with libretti so that they can recite them as their own words...

When the singer takes his place and tries to sing, his articulation must be so clear and the narrative so consistent that he can assume that none of his listeners fails to understand. In addition, he must carry himself erect and proper; and, whether he sits, stands, raises his fan, or gestures with his hand, all of these must be done with moderation. Only then may he for the first time be called a 'great singer.'" (ibid.)

So you can get a definite sense of perspective that, at least from the viewpoint of the upper class audiences, there was a certain amount of looking down on certain aspects of what pansori had been up until that point. We have stories about nobles who wrote about pansori pieces, for example, that supposedly were then shunned by their peers for admitting to enjoy this kind of stuff (Park 2003: 56). Obviously from the perspective of the noble audiences, there were elements that needed to be fixed if pansori was to become an art form that could be worthy of their attention.

Now what's also important to keep in mind, Park problematizes how much of an influence Sin may actually have had. The master singer Kim Sejong is often cited

as best demonstrating Shin's ideals, that he spent a lot of time training with him, he was considered one of the most knowledgeable singers. But Park argues that "Kim's singing version of the Song of Ch'unhyang includes many expressions from Shin's versions but less of his syntax." (Park 2003: 79)

So this is the moment where you see potentially a disconnect between the theory and the practice of what pansori should be. What she says is that pansori singers were always mediating between the written word, what they had then been given to work with, and the act of performance. She further argues that"

"The revisionist Shin Chaehyo 'saw himself as a creative writer, but in the process of creation, he drained the life from the texts. None of his texts have been performed in its entirety; if nothing else, this demonstrates how integral performance is to a true understanding of experience of p'ansori.' In p'ansori singing, the "load of epithets and other formulary baggage which high literacy rejects as cumbersome and tiresomely redundant because of its aggregative weight,' are in reality efforts at coordinating language with rhythm." (Park 2003: 81)

And such arguments lead us to take a moment to rethink what our concept of pansori actually is. Is it literature, or is it something else? Because the standards of what makes good literature may be very different from the standards of what make a good performance piece. I think you can see quite an interesting comparison of that if we look at how Park contrasts the Kim Yeonsu and Sin Jaehyo versions of the scene in Heungboga where Nolbo goes out in search of swallows.

In Kim Yeonsu's version, it goes:

Nolbo is out to chase swallows

Nolbo is out to chase swallows

Flipping over his shoulder

A net made by Pokuissi

He is out to Mandang Mountain.

This side is Udu Peak

That side is Chwadu Peak...

(from Park 2003: 81-82)

So there's a fair amount of repetition here, Nolbo's over here, now he's over there, which, if you just read that as text is rather boring in contrast to Sin Jaehyo's version, which contains a lot more beautiful language:

When Nolbu went chasing swallows

Frosted leaves were redder than February flowers.

With snow cleared, clouds dispersed.
North wind was cold
He searched the water of Ch'o
And the mountain of O
But no swallow was found
(ibid)

As something to read, this is clearly the more interesting, but as something to sing, trying to find a rhythm that allows for this to be put to music, you can see how there might potentially be some difficulty for the singer there. In the end, though, obviously Sin and the other people who had opinions on what pansori had been and should become, they were the people holding the purse strings. This gives us a new lens under which to perceive how pansori changes under Sin. As Park argues:

“For survival or for vanity, singers strove to conform to the revisionist texts, critics, and audiences. In their subservient status as kwangdae, it was the expedient thing to do.

The singers sought out the self-righteous penmanship of the likes of Shin Chaehyo and silently obliged even the most unrealistic prosodic demands to make singable what was unsingable:

it was the language of their patrons and superiors, and their aim was to please. They took what was given as ‘improvement’ and did what they could to make it musically and vocally coherent. In the process, different language, expressions, and genres were synthesized via the voices of the singers participating in the process of revision.” (Park 2003: 82-83)

So if we look at the development of pansori through this lens, we can see singers as realistic artists who want to continue to support themselves and their art, and so concessions have to be made to what their audiences want. Obviously, this is a process, not everything that sounds good from a literary perspective is going to sound good in performance. And so through this process of mediation, which was instigated by Sin Jaehyo as a way of upgrading pansori as an art form, you end up with pansori versions which do lean much more heavily into the poetry, but in a more musical manner. An example for this is given by Park of the scene we looked at previously in the Park Nokju style as sung by Han Nongseon:

T’was the time, following three moons of spring,
When began summer, the eighth of the Fourth Moon,
Swallows flutter, an oriole sits in weeping willow

Calls out its own name,
With the net Pok Hui-ssi crafted
Deftly slung over his shoulder,
To catch swallows he goes out.
To Pangjang Mountain he goes out
(Park 2003: 83)

Here, then, these poetic and erudite expressions are being reformed to make sense within the pansori medium. And just to be clear, this is not in any way to belittle the efforts that Sin Jaehyo made. His contributions were hugely influential in making pansori popular amongst the elite, and giving the pansori genre this high art status that it still enjoys to day. It's very important to remember his contributions, but also maybe not look at them too simplistically. It's not like pansori was completely lacking beforehand, and Sin and only Sin was able to make this genre into the best version of itself. Let's temper that with a little bit of acknowledgment of the mediation process by pansori artists, who were the ones doing the performances and then making pansori work as a genre. So this was an analytical framework through which I wanted us to look at the remainder of the material today. Also to have some of the awareness of the context within which these pansori stories start to disappear. Because that is what Sin Jeehyo did, he cut down the twelve stories into six, and then into five, and we're going to think a bit about why he might have wanted to do that. So what I'm going to do now is, look at a couple of these stories that were cut in more detail, keeping that question in the back of our minds as we go.

3. The Tale of Lady Sugyeong

Now the first story I want to show you, interestingly enough, is not actually listed in previous versions of the traditional twelve-piece core repertoire. This story, Sugyeongnagjaga (The Song Lady Sugyeong), gets listed by Jeong Nosik in his 1940 book Joseon Changgeuka (A History of Joseon Dynasty Pansori). Now what's interesting about this story is that it's gone through a lot of reworking, and there was a version that was known to have been performed during the Joseon dynasty that seems to have no longer been transmitted. And then the version that is sung today was initially created by Jeong Jeongryeol during the Japanese colonial period, and passed on via Park Nokju to Park Songhui, who then completed it, because initially it was only the latter half of the story, not actually a full story in and of itself. So Park Songhui completes the story, adds the beginning, and then passes it on to her student, Min Hyesung, whose performance we'll see in a minute.

So what is Sugyeongnangiaga about? The story is that Seongun is born as a long-awaited child, who is so perfect his parents struggle to find him a suitable wife.

When he is fifteen, he has a dream where a heavenly fairy called Sugyeong appears, who tells him he used to be a rain spirit, but was punished after making it rain in the wrong place to be reborn as a human.

She says they are destined to be together and will meet again in three years. He becomes lovesick missing her, despite her encouraging him to take a concubine, Maewol, to ease his loneliness.

Eventually, Sugyeong relents and tells him to come meet her at the Pond-of-Jade Pavilion.

Once he finds her and they share a night of passion, she leaves her heavenly home and goes back home with him, living together for eight years and bearing two children.

When Seongun has to leave to take the civil service examination, he sneaks back to see Sugyeong in secret, but jealous Maewol uses this opportunity to accuse Sugyeong of being unfaithful in front of their father-in-law, who sees a shadow leaving her room.

Sugyeong, despairing of the accusation, chooses to end her own life. When Seongun returns, he has a dream which tells him to take Sugyeong's parting letter to Mount Tiantai to receive medicine to bring Sugyeong back to life.

The first time he succeeds, he wakes up and realizes it was a dream, that Sugyeong's death was punishment for his not waiting three years, but he undertakes the journey again while awake and finally revives Sugyeong.

They live happily ever after and when they reach the age of eighty, they climb together onto a white cloud and are carried up to heaven.

So let's take a look at an extract from Sugyeongnangiaga as sung by Min Hyesung, where Seongun arrives at the Pond-of-Jade Pavilion, directed by Han Munsoo. Do please make sure to look at the full video on YouTube as well, I've included the link in the class materials.

Okay, so we can see it's a lovely description of the beauty of the landscape, it's very similar in sort of musical style to other descriptions of glorious landscapes we see in other pansori stories, the use of ujo to give this majestic, awe-inspiring atmosphere.

And I would like to add at this point that I am indebted to Han Yumi and Hervé Péjaudier, whose French translation that you've seen in the video provided the basis for the translation of this text into English. Also to let any Francophone students watching this know that Han Yumi in particular has published a lot on pansori, there's some great resources available there for those of you who speak French. I'll add one book citation in the lesson materials if you want to pursue

that further. Also to add that there's another scene from Sugyeongnangjaga also available on YouTube, which is the scene when she decides to commit suicide. I will add that in the class notes, if you want to go watch it.

Now in terms of musicality, obviously we don't know how it was initially sung, what we have here is a reconstruction of a lost story, and it's noticeably influenced by other extant pansori pieces. It's particularly inspired by Chunhyangga, you can see a lot of parallels there in scenes where Seongun misses Sugyeong, for example.

Now, what for me as a researcher is quite interesting is the fact that this story was included in the reports for preservation as intangible cultural property in 1971. Now this is considered a sort of the first step that has to be done if something is to be designated as intangible cultural property, that you get someone to do the research, write a report recommending why this piece should be preserved.

Now Sugyeongnangjaga has not been designated as an intangible culture property, but it is interesting how it has taken some steps in this process of legitimization. Now, for many people Sugyeongnangjaga would be more well known as Sugyeongnangjaeon, and Han Yumi has done some research on this, helping us reflect on the naming of these stories, she says:

"If this usage of the word -taryeong teaches us about the popular origins of the genre, its final replacement by -ga also teaches us a lot about its evolution. Seven pieces from twelve were sacrificed to the evolution of tastes, to good morals and respectability, it is in the same logic to transform the five -taryeong that were saved into -ga: they are no longer songs, they are Songs. To become -ga is a valorisation." (Han Yumi 2015:75)

Now if you remember in Lecture 4 I talked about the difference between Heungboga and Heungbujeon. I explained how when pansori stories are turned into novels, they were called -jeon. And so this was the same with Sugyeongnangjaga, it was more commonly known for its novelized version as Sugyeongnangjaeon, but since the story has been completed and it is now presented as a full story, it's referred to in promotional materials as -ga instead of -jeon, undergoing this sort of process of re-valorization, because this change in suffix comes with different meanings and values attached.

So why was Sugyeongnangjaga lost? There are definitely some repetitive elements in the story, particularly now it's been reconstructed. The characters don't seem to be particularly well developed, they are very much constructed as stereotypes, without some of the humanizing processes we saw for the characters in the remaining five stories.

Now this is more conjecture on my part than anything else, but it might be that part of the reason why the story was initially lost is that romance stories weren't seen with the same kind of prestige as the content of the other stories may have been. Romances were something predominantly women listen to, degraded as a somewhat less high class cultural product. If we think what's the other famous romance we know in pansori, Chunhyangga contains a social justice message that is missing in Sugyeongnangjaga. So perhaps that then gives people something else to enjoy in Chunhyangga that doesn't just focus on the romance. Perhaps this is why Chunhyangga endured while Sugyeongnangjaga didn't? Obviously, it's hard to know for sure with very limited material available, and just changing fashion is something that we shouldn't discard in all of this.

4. The Tale of Byeon Gangsoe

Next, I want to introduce you to the Pyeongangsoega, the Song of Pyeon Gangsoe. This story is also called Garujigityeong.

And note that this was the story that Sin Jaehyo initially included in his selected core corpus of pansori stories. Now the story is as follows:

Any man who is sexually aroused by Ongnyeo dies, so she gets cast out from her hometown. Kangsoe is a serial womanizer looking for a woman who can keep up with his libido. They meet while travelling, and after making love (from which Kangsoe doesn't die because his libido is so strong) they get married and move to a nearby town.

They have to leave to live in the mountains, however, because Kangsoe gets jealous and keeps picking fights thinking the other townsmen are after Ongnyeo. While Ongnyeo works to support them, Kangsoe is lazy, and when he is tasked with gathering firewood one day, he cuts down a jangseung (a totem pole traditionally standing at the entrance to villages in Korea) instead.

For this crime, Kangsoe is cursed by the protective deity of the village and dies, his last wish being that Ongnyeo should commit suicide to follow him into death. Ongnyeo tries to get people to help her with the funeral, but Kangsoe had cast a curse that would kill all who got close to Ongnyeo, so various people, even whole groups of passing entertainers, are killed one by one.

Depdeugi, who is a playboy from Seoul, undergoes a shamanic ritual to soothe Kangsoe's grudge and manages to move him to the burial ground, but the corpse stays stuck to his back, so he has to grind the corpse to pieces against some rocks to get it off him. Having successfully removed him, he leaves Ongnyeo, claiming to go back to his family and a life of abstinence. (from Kwon 2013: 591)

Now let's take a look at a section from this story, this is from the National Changgeuk Company's production of a reworking of this story, titled Byeon Gangsoe jeom jjikgo Ongnyeo (Putting a full stop behind Byeon Gangsoe, Ongnyeo). This is the scene where Byeon Gangsoe has cut down the jangseung and Ongnyeo is begging him to go put it back, and try and fix his mistake. And we have Yi Soyeon as Ongnyeo, and Choe Hoseong as Byeon Gangsoe here. Let's take a look.

Now, a lot of people have tried to make sense of this story, how to interpret it, and Kwon (2013) summarizes a variety of different analyses. One quite common analysis is that Kangsoe and Ongnyeo show the realities of many common folk who ended up homeless during the Joseon dynasty, and the sort of the conflict that emerged between travellers and settled people who were symbolized by the jangseung. That's one interpretation of this story, another is that this is just a warning against licentiousness, because we can see how a lot of Ongnyeo and Kangsoe's problems stem from their having such strong sex drives, which then leads to their downfall.

Kwon focuses on a parallel that can be drawn between Kangsoe and Sin Jaehyo, and their similar self-perception as heroic figures who are just in the wrong time and place. Kwon argues that Sin actually identified quite a lot with Kangsoe, who keeps complaining that doing work is beneath him, that actually he's this great hero who's just living in the wrong place. This is because, despite being quite wealthy, Sin, because he was a jungin, could never take the civil service exam, which was considered the peak of achievement for men, and it seems Sin had a bit of a chip on his shoulder about the fact that he could never be high status. Yangban would always look down on him as not being a yangban himself. Supposedly, Sin even specifically designed his house to take such people down a peg or two. Kwon says "Sin enjoyed observing yangban people bending at the waist to pass through the low gate of his house - a feature intentionally designed by Sin himself" (Kwon 2013: 597). So that's another way to read the story.

Another Kwon analyses the story is to look at the names of the characters. So for Ongnyeo, nyeo just means woman, and ong (雍), this character means "to be harmonious, soothing or concordant", that Ongnyeo is "a woman pursuing compromise" (Kwon 2013: 599). She tries to actually live in society, despite the fact that she's been cursed to continually be a widow, she keeps trying to make things work. She wants to accept authority while in Kangsoe, the Kang means being "being firm, strong, indomitable", or "stubbornly uncompromising", depending on what it's linked with, which can help us understand this character's resistance to authority. And the word soe as a final character is typically used for low class male names, which sets up Kangsoe in opposition to his own delusions of grandeur. It helps bring in these questions of status and hierarchy, thematic issues that Sin might have been able to identify with. Soe also means metal,

though, and “often carries sexual connotations for male strength” (ibid.). So clearly, there’s scope for analysis in terms of the meanings of these names as well. And if we understand Kangsoe as this indomitable, stubborn person who cannot accept authority, then his chopping down of the jangseung becomes this challenge to authority, a rejection of social rules as well.

The important thing to keep in mind here is that we don’t know how much Sin adapted the story, and how much of it was actually developed by someone else. Because pansori stories in general have multiple authors, in fact “author” is not necessarily the right word, it’s a process of accretion over time, these stories are developed as each person adds their own twist on things, which obviously opens up the possibility for multiple interpretations exist, depending on how each person layers their own interpretation of the story on top of what was already there. Another reason why this is difficult to judge is that the only full version of Byeongangsoega that we have is Sin’s libretto. So again, there’s no basis of comparison to know how much of this story comes from somewhere else, and how much of it is actually just Sin’s ideas.

Now in the case of Byeongangsoega, why is this stopped being transmitted, probably the main reason is its extremely explicit and vulgar content. The National Changgeuk Company’s production we looked at was actually limited to audiences over the age of 18, because the descriptions, for example, of Kangsoe and Ongnyeo’s lovemaking are incredibly explicit. And this is probably why, eventually, that story just did not fly with particularly more upper class audiences, who were the ones paying the artists and hence called the shots on which material was performed. If the paying audiences didn’t want it, it’s not surprising if the story was eventually lost. Nevertheless, the story has continued to capture the minds of many people. Films, for example, such as *A Tale of Legendary Libido* (Garujigi from 2008, directed by Sin Hansol) is just one of many film remakes inspired by this story. So the story at least has some enduring appeal, even if it’s not continued in uninterrupted pansori transmission, it has nevertheless managed to endure as a story in Korea.

5. The Tale of Bae Bijang

Now the final story I want to introduce you to is Baebijangjeon, the Tale of Aide Bae. My summary of the story is as follows:

“Aide Bae (Bae Bijang) is a middle-ranking military official who is dispatched to Jeju Island, and instantly offends all his colleagues by telling them off for playing with gisaeng at his welcome party, instead of showing proper behaviour suitable

for Confucian gentlemen.

Bae's servant, Bangja, makes a bet with him that he will be seduced into losing his composure over a woman, and with the help of Jeju's most beautiful gisaeng, Aerang, this is exactly what happens. In the end, Bae is caught having snuck into Aerang's chambers, and mocked by everyone for his pretentiousness." (From Kiaer and Yates-Lu 2020, p. 71)

So this is a pretty fun story, I have a lot of personal affection for it, having done a translation of it for a book I co-wrote introducing various aspects of Korean literature. In that book, I translated the scene where Aide Bae falls for Aerang, and I've included a YouTube link showing that scene, if you want to compare it to my translation. Please note that I was basing my translation on a novelized version of the story, so it's not an exact overlap. It's an entertaining scene which shows the start of Bae's fall from his high horse, so let me read you a couple of extracts:

"As he glanced by chance into the forest, he could faintly see a beautiful woman, displaying all kinds of coquetry as she taunted the spring scene. Then she took off her upper and lower garments, letting them flutter to the ground before jumping into the water with a splash. Next, playing around as she beat the water like a drum, she washed her hands, she washed her feet, she washed her belly, chest, and breasts, washed here and there, and washed her crotch, for a long time, she was bathing like this. When Aide Bae saw this, his senses clouded and he could not stop his shoulders dancing with joy. His transformation into a lecher was complete, as he kept glancing over, his breath coming in gasps as if he was a thief being chased for stealing firewood, desperate to know the deepest depths of this woman.

'Oh! I don't know who this woman is, but she could melt the hearts of hundreds.'

But (due to his bet) he couldn't ask anyone about her identity, all he could do was swallow back his spit and bemoan his predicament.

Finally, the day grew dark, and the magistrate gave the order to hurry back to the government office. All the aides and gisaeng, as well as the servants, all set off together. Aide Bae had something else in mind, and pretended he had a stomach ache.

'He's already fallen under her charm.'

The other aides caught onto his ruse and whispered amongst themselves while only giving greetings to his face.

'Rites Minister, at least get an acupuncturist to give you a shot.'

'Oh no, it's no trouble. It's not a real illness, so if I relax for a bit it will get

better,' Aide Bae replied.

The other aides held back their laughter and called over to Bangja, telling him:

'Since your master says his illness isn't too serious, make sure to escort him back once he has relaxed for a bit.'

Then they spoke to Aide Bae:

'We'll tell the magistrate about everything so don't worry and come back after resting well.'

'Thank you, my colleagues, for worrying about me so. I ask you to help me explain this to the magistrate. Oh, my stomach!

All of a sudden one of his colleagues stepped forward. This fellow was mischievous without parallel. Intending to tease Aide Bae, he spoke thus:

'Don't worry about it. The magistrate seems to have guessed that you have been struck by this unexpected illness. He said that if you have a stomachache, getting a girl to rub your stomach with her hands is very effective. We'll leave a gisaeng with you when we go, so make sure to ask her to rub you well.'

'Oh no, my stomach is different to others', if I even see a gisaeng it hurts even more, so please do not speak of this again.'

'Gee, your stomach sure is weird. You say that even hearing a girl speak causes you more pain; seeing you suffer so, as a fellow Seoulite meeting here a thousand miles outside the city, surely our affection is that of true brothers, how could I leave you here alone? It would be better for us all to head back together once you have had some rest.'

'It seems you don't know me very well. When I am ill, I must rest alone in order to recover. Even were I to stay with my brothers, not only would I not recover, in fact I would get even worse. So if you wish to save me, please go first, I beg you. Oh my stomach, I'm dying!'

'If that is truly your wish, then we have no choice but to leave you alone. After we have left, please don't think of us as heartless.'

Once his colleagues had left to escort the magistrate back to the office, Aide Bae can no longer control his desire to see the woman again.

'Hey Bangja! Oh my stomach!

'Yes sir?'

'Since I came here it has grown faint before my eyes, I can barely see a foot in front of me. Oh my stomach, oh my stomach.'

'Seeing your lordship suffer so, your humble servant also doesn't know what to do.'

'Keep a close watch on where the magistrate is going.'

'He's heading down there.'

'Oh my stomach! Look again.'

'He's going off into the distance.'

'My stomach has stopped hurting.'

(from Kiaer and Yates-Lu 2020: 200-201, translation of text from Anonymous. 1959. Bae Bijangjeon (annotated by Seok Inhae). Pyeongyang : Gunnip Munhak Yesul Seojeok Chulpansa.)

So this scene really demonstrates well the satire that permeates this story. It's really mocking Aide Bae, and the way he falls for Aerang and loses all his composure and sense of moderation. The thing with these kind of lost penalty stories is, when they're being reconstructed, we don't know how they were sung. So I wanted to take the opportunity here to talk a little bit about how these stories can be reconstructed, because if you don't have recordings, what you often do have are these novelized versions of the story, like the one I based my translation on. Often, these novelized version retain some of the flavour of the pansori songs, and you can get a feel for in what rhythm at least some scenes might have originally been sung by comparing the choice of words and context to similar scenes in other pansori stories.

To give you a comparison of how that might work, the scene we just looked at where Aerang is washing herself, has certain similarities to a scene in Simcheongga, where Blind Man Simim washes himself in a stream after a hot day's travel. To really compare the language, I'm going to give you the Korean text as well as the English translation. First, in Simcheongga:

상하 의복을 훨훨 벗어 지팡이로 눌러놓고
더듬더듬 들어서
“에, 시원하고 장히 좋다.”
물 한 주먹을 덥썩 쥐어 양추질도 께께 하고,
또 한 주먹 덥썩 쥐어 저드랑도 문지르며
“내 시원하고 장히 좋다”

(From Choe Donghyeon. 2008. Simcheongga badibyeol jeonjip 3: Jeong Eungmin badi (Seong Uhyang chang, Seong Changsun chang) [A complete collection of Simcheongga according to different styles 3: Jeong Eungmin style (sung by Seong Uhyang, Seong Changsun)]. Jeonju: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, North Jeolla Province; Jeonju International Sori Festival Organising Committee. Pp. 166.)

And for comparison, in Baebijangjeon, it goes:

상하 의복을 훨훨 벗어 던지고
물에 풍덩 뛰어드는 게 아닌가
그러더니 물장구를 치며
온갖 장난을 다 하며
손도 씻고 발도 씻고 배, 가슴, 젖도 씻고
예도 씻고 게도 씻고 살도 씻고

한창 이렇게 목욕을 하고 있었다

Now so we can get a sense of the words, in English translation, the Simcheongga scene goes:

He takes off his clothes and puts his cane on them.

He walks slowly into the stream.

“Oh, it is cool. This is great.”

He grabs a handful of water and washes his teeth.

He grabs another handful of water and rubs under his arms.

“It is really cool. It is good.”

(Choe 2008: 167)

While the corresponding Baebijangjeon scene goes:

she took off her upper and lower garments, letting them flutter to the ground before jumping into the water with a splash.

Next, playing around as she beat the water like a drum,

she washed her hands, she washed her feet, she washed her belly, chest, and breasts,

washed here and there, and washed her crotch,

for a long time, she was bathing like this.

Now in Simcheongga, this scene is done in jungjungmori, reflecting Sim's cheerful mood as he refreshes himself. You could do the Baebijangjeon scene, which follows a similar process of taking off the clothes and washing various body parts using a similar melody and rhythmic cycle, to also evoke that scene to people who are familiar with Simcheongga. Alternatively, if we look at the Korean text of Baebijangjeon, particularly just reading the description of washing the various body parts: “손도 씻고 발도 씻고 배, 가슴, 젖도 씻고

예도 씻고 게도 씻고”, so that's “she washed her hands, she washed her feet, she washed her belly, chest, and breasts, washed here and there,” just that section reads rather like it could be done in jajinmori, so (demonstrates) “손도 씻고 발도 씻고 배, 가슴, 젖도 씻고

예도 씻고 게도 씻고,” like that.

So that's just a short demonstration of how you can look at texts and try and turn them back into music. Now I also wanted to introduce you to some more materials to look at, in your class materials there are links to a performance in the pansori competition TV show Gwangdaejeon (Battle of the Pansori Singers, Jeonju MBC), where Seo Euicheol shows the scene of Aide Bae trying to sneak into

Aerang's house. You can have a look at that, plus some other versions of this story by the National Changgeuk Company, if you want to look at it some more. The scene that I'm going to look at with you guys is the National Changgeuk Company's most recent production of Baebijangjeon, with Kim Junsu as Aide Bae and Yi Soyeon as Aerang, let's take a look at the final scene where Bae is discovered at Aerang's house and mocked by everyone:

Now that was the final scene where Bae is caught in the act, and everyone is mocking him for being such a complete hypocrite, who is punished for this hypocrisy by being exposed to complete and total public humiliation. And I think that's what the story is really about. It's satirizing these hypocrites who criticize others while being just as bad themselves. Now in this story in particular, it's the fact that this hypocrisy is being exposed by lower class people, who supposedly didn't live to the same moral standards as the upper class, that the upper class was supposed to lead with their good example (remember our discussions on oryun), that makes this satire particularly biting. So the fact that it's Bangja the servant who made the bet with Bae in the first place, and that the gisaeng, Aerang, helps Pangja with this plot, that it's these lower class people who are humiliating the upper class and putting it in its place, perhaps gives us a reason for understanding why this story might have not been so popular amongst pansori's upper class patrons, and why, then, it wasn't performed so much afterwards. But again here, considering the fact that Baebijangjeon has been regularly revived, as changgeul particularly, it seems this story has also found a way to retain enduring appeal amongst general audiences.

6. Conclusion

So if we conclude, then, why these were stories lost, I want to introduce you briefly to what the other lost stories were. The first one is Gangneung maehwa taryeong (Tale of the Apricot Blossom from Gangneung). Note the name here, probably the reason this name has ended up so long is to distinguish it from Maehwataryeong (Apricot Blossom Tale), which is a Gyeonggi japga, a kind of professionalized folk song from the Gyeonggi region. Now interestingly, for a long time we only had the title of this story, we didn't know much of what the story was about. It was only in 1992 that this story was discovered, that a full version of it was found. In general, this story falls into the category of being a warning against licentiousness.

The story goes thus:

When the magistrate of Gangneung goes to take up his post, his secretary Golsaengwon goes with him and ends up falling in love with Maehwa, one of Gangneung's famous gisaeng.

Summoned back to Seoul to take the civil service exam, they promise to meet again before he leaves.

Golsaengwon misses Maehwa so much he even writes a poem about her during his exam, causing him to fail.

Returning to Gangneung, the magistrate tricks him by having a fake tomb for Maehwa built by the side of the road.

The magistrate also gets Maehwa to dress up as a ghost and spend the night with Golsaengwon, persuading him to think that he has now become a ghost too.

She further tricks Golsaengwon into dancing naked to the music that is supposedly being played to comfort his soul.

Only then does the magistrate reveal that this was all a trick, and the story ends with a warning not to fall into a life of alcohol and women.

The next story is Onggojiptaryeong (The Tale of Obstinacy Ong):

Ong Gojip (Obstinacy Ong) is a greedy man with a nasty temper, who even keeps his old mother in a cold room and works his servants without rest. If anyone comes to beg at his house he has them beaten and chased off. A Taoist spirit sends a monk to reprimand Ong, but he is beaten by Ong's servants before he can even speak to Ong. This angers the spirit, who creates a fake Ong with a scarecrow and a talisman.

The fake Ong goes to Ong's house, and no-one can tell them apart. When the real Ong loses the lawsuit to prove he's the real one, he is chased from the village and lives alone while begging. Desperate from this turn of events, he decides to take his own life, but is saved by the Taoist spirit, who gives him a talisman which turns the fake Ong back into a scarecrow. From this time on, Ong changes his ways, becomes kind, and a fervent believer of Buddhism.

Next, we have Jangkkitaryeong (The Tale of the Cock Pheasant):

The cock pheasant has many children, and when they are starving in winter, he comes across a single bean, which he wants to eat. His wife, the hen pheasant, tries to warn him that she had a bad dream last night, but he ignores her, eats the bean, and promptly gets caught in a trap and dies. With his dying breath, he asks her to promise not to remarry.

At first, the hen pheasant turns down all the proposals from various suitors, but finally remarries and has lots of children which she raises to adulthood, managing to marry them all off. The remarried couple then goes sightseeing around some beautiful scenery, enters the water and turns into clams.

The next story has many names, being known as Waljataryeong, Musugitaryeong, or Geusa (The Tale of the Party Animal):

Kim Musuk falls in love with the gisaeng Uiyang and buys her freedom to make her his concubine. Because Musuk continues to live a profligate lifestyle, Uiyang comes up with a plan together with Musuk's wife and friends to tame him. Having paid off his debts but then complaining to him that they can't afford anything

anymore, she causes him to go back to his wife, who has had to take up lodgings in someone else's home.

At the persuasion of one of his friends, Musuk goes back to Uiyang and begs for forgiveness, working for her doing various chores. After making life difficult for him, and even pretending to be fooling around with his friend in front of him, Uiyang reveals her plan and causes Musuk to have a change of heart.

Just as a little aside, I stumbled across a song called Waljataryeong, which doesn't seem to have much to do with the story, but is a Korean traditional music fusion piece, and which is quite entertaining, so I've included it in the class materials as well.

The final lost story is Gajja sinseon taryeong (Tale of the Fake Immortal). So this story is sometimes included in the list of the official corpus of twelve stories instead of Sugyeongnangjaga, and in this case we really have no idea what the full story was.

Based on the poem Gwanuhui (Observing performers in the act, from 1843, written by Song Manjae), we can gather roughly that the story is about a young fool who wants to become immortal. He goes to Keumgangsan and meets an old monk who tells him to drink a thousand-day liquor, but it turns out that this is just a trick, and he fails to become immortal.

So these are the remaining stories, now, if we look at them overall, what kind of reasons might there be for why these stories were lost? I think part of the reasoning is definitely just changing fashion, this could indicate, for example, why the official list of what's included in the twelve stories changes over time. The twelve stories we have listed in Gwanuhui are different from the twelve stories that are listed in Jeong Nosik's Joseon Changgeuksa, for example. Now in discussions I've had with people about why some of these stories were lost, one of the things that was mentioned is that if we look at these stories, some of them really just have limits for being developed further into full epic tales, they've been pushed as far as organically possible to create as full a story as possible. And so they just don't have the potential to be given the same depth as the five core stories have. Another reason might be that some of the stories lean too much into the satirical and the erotic to be considered acceptable, as pansori was given a makeover into more high class art form. You can kind of see why the erotic content (of which we've barely scraped the surface today) might not be so accepted in high society. Baebijangjeon contains both quite explicit language and very strong satire, with the lower classes winning over the upper classes, and again you could see why that might not go down very well.

So in the end, I think there are various reasons why these stories might have been lost. Of course, we shouldn't forget the impact of an influential figure like Sin Jaehyo deciding that these were the stories that would suit his vision for the pansori genre best, and other people just going along with that. I think it's most

important to keep in mind that culture is actually a living construct. It changes over time, and the fact that these there are these lost stories are further proof of this. Nevertheless, it doesn't mean that these stories aren't engaging and entertaining, and attempts to re-work some of these stories, helps give us an indication that they were actually interesting and engaging, and can still have appeal for people nowadays as well.

So I think on that note, I shall finish today's lecture here. In the next lecture, we'll talk a little bit about strategies how pansori has developed even further with the development of new pansori stories from the twentieth century onwards.

That's it from me for today. Thank you, goodbye.

■ 학습활동 (총 108분)

가. 퀴즈 (18분)

O/X퀴즈 (5분)

1. 전통적으로 판소리는 12마당이였지만, 이에 속하는 작품은 시대에 따라 조금씩 바뀌었다.

정답: O

2. 신재효는 19세기의 유명한 판소리 고수로, 판소리에 일가견이 있었다.

정답: X

3. 숙영낭자가는 춘향가의 다른 제목으로, 남녀 간의 사랑 이야기를 다루고 있다.

정답: X

4. 장끼타령에 등장하는 장끼는 아내의 경고를 무시하고 콩을 먹으려다 밧에 걸려 죽는다.

정답: O

5. 옹고집전에 등장하는 옹고집은 온화하고 친절인 인물로, 가짜 옹고집이 등장했을 때 마을 사람들은 모두 진짜 옹고집을 도와줬다.

정답: X

선택형 (5분)

1. 다음 중 신재효에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

① 판소리 12마당을 6마당으로 줄였다.

② 남성들만 판소리 소리꾼으로 활동하던 시대에 여성인 진채선이 소리꾼으로 활동할 수 있도록 도왔다.

③ 양반 출신으로서 그의 사회적 지위를 활용해 판소리의 발전에 기여했다.

정답: ③

2. 판소리 12마당이 현재의 5마당으로 줄어드는 과정에서 신재효가 미친 영향으로 적절한 것은?

① 12마당 중 유교적 사상에 알맞지 않거나 외설적인 내용은 제외시켰다.

② 판소리를 양반들만 즐길 수 있는 상류층의 문화로 탈바꿈시켰다.

③ 서민 관객들에게 인기있던 작품들 위주로 전승하였다.

정답: ①

3. 다음 중 숙영낭자가에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

① 현재 대한민국의 무형문화재로 지정되어 있는 작품이다.

② 숙영낭자는 남편인 선군 몰래 다른 남성을 만나다 죽임을 당한다.

③ 선군은 천태산에 가서 숙영을 부활시킬 약을 가져온다.

정답: ③

4. 다음 중 배비장전에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

- ① 애랑이 몸을 씻는 장면의 음악은 심청가의 심청이가 몸을 씻는 장면의 것을 연상시킨다.
- ② 위선적인 상류층의 모습을 풍자하고 있다.
- ③ 배비장은 부패한 관리를 처벌하는 유능한 무관의 모습을 보여주는 캐릭터이다.

정답: ②

5. 다음 중 변강쇠가에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 다른 이름으로 ‘가루지기타령’이라고도 한다.
- ② 옹녀는 ‘타협하려는 여자’라는 뜻이고, 변강쇠는 상류층 남성의 전형적인 이름이다.
- ③ 조선시대에 집을 잃은 서민들의 애환을 보여준다.

정답: ②

단답형 (8분)

다음 빈칸에 들어갈 알맞은 말을 답해 봅시다.

1. 강릉매화타령은 경기 민요인 (-----)과 비슷한 제목을 갖고 있지만 다른 음악이다.

정답: 매화타령

2. (-----)은 숙영낭자가 대신 판소리 12마당에 속하기도 하는 곡으로, 불멸의 존재가 되고자 하는 어리석은 이들에 대한 이야기이다.

정답: 가짜신선타령

3. 월자타령의 주인공인 (-----)은 결혼했음에도 불구하고 방탕한 생활을 지속했다.

정답: 김무숙

나. 토의 (30분)

19세기 신재효가 판소리계에 미친 영향에 대해 설명해 봅시다.

*답안 작성 방향

신재효는 19세기의 판소리 전문가로, 당시 판소리의 발전에 다양한 영향을 끼쳤다. 먼저 판소리 12마당 중 유교적 사상에 알맞지 않거나 지나치게 외설적인 내용을 제외시키고, 판소리 6마당만을 전승시켰다. 또한 남성 소리꾼들만 활동하던 시기에 여성인 진채선이 소리꾼으로서 활동할 수 있도록 지원했다. 이 외에도 소리꾼들을 자신의 집에 초대해 발음과 사설을 다듬고 연습할 수 있도록 숙식을 제공하기도 했다.

다. 과제 (60분)

판소리 12마당이 5마당으로 줄어들게 된 배경에 대해 설명해 봅시다.

*답안 작성 방향

판소리 12마당이 5마당으로 줄어들게 된 배경은 여러 가지가 있으며, 그 중 대표적인 원인은 신재효와 작품의 형태로 나누어 설명할 수 있다. 신재효는 유교적 사상에 알맞지 않거나 지나치게 외설적인 내용을 제외시키고, 판소리 6마당만을 전승시켰으며, 이후 6마당 중 변강쇠가는 제외되고 5마당만이 현재까지 전승되었다. 작품의 형태에 관해 설명하자면, 12마당 중 사라진 마당은 현재까지 전승되는 5마당만큼 깊이 있는 서사적 구조를 갖추지 못했기 때문에 사라졌을 가능성이 있다. 또한 판소리가 점점 더 높은 수준의 예술성을 갖춘 장르로 발전하면서, 노골적으로 풍자하는 내용이나 지나치게 외설적인 내용은 외면되었을 가능성이 있다.

■ 참고자료

민혜성 명창의 속영남자전 ([영상 보기](#))

<Lecture 9> New stories

■ 학습목표

1. 창작 판소리의 개념과 발전 과정을 파악한다.
2. 창작 판소리 작품에서 판소리의 전통이 활용되는 양상을 탐구한다.
3. 판소리의 보존과 혁신을 위한 소리꾼들의 노력과 그들이 마주한 현실적 어려움을 이해한다.

■ 강의 목차

1. Introduction and summary of past lecture
2. Park Dongsil's Tale of the Martyr Yu Gwansun
3. Park Dongjin's Yesujeon
4. Choe Yongseok's Bulletproof Delivery Box
5. Lee Jaram's Stranger's Song
6. Conclusion

■ 강의 내용 전문

1. Introduction and summary of past lecture

Hello, and welcome to this, the ninth lecture in the World of Pansori Lecture Series.

Now in this week we're in the second to last lecture, lecture 9, and today we're talking about new stories created in the pansori style.

As usual, in this lecture we'll follow our standard format, giving you a bit of an introduction and summary of the past lecture, then today we're going to be addressing Park Dongsil's Yu Gwansun Yeolsaga (The Song of the Martyr Yu Gwansun), Park Dongjin's Yesujeon (The Tale of Jesus), Choe Yongseok's Bangtan Cheolgabang (Bulletproof Delivery Box), Lee Jaram's Ibanguinui Norae (Stranger's Song), and then finally come to our conclusion.

Starting in the last lecture, we were looking at pansori stories that have been lost over time, that used to be considered part of the main corpus but then stopped being transmitted. Some of these have, however, been revived. In this

lecture, we are looking instead at new pansori that was created from the beginning of the twentieth century onwards. The word that we use to describe this is changjak pansori, whereby the term changjak means “newly created”.

Now, what kind of motivation might people have for creating new pieces of pansori? Here's an interesting quote to start to get us in the right frame of mind for thinking about this question, this is a quote from Jeong Nosik's 1940 book Joseon Changgeuksa (The History of Joseon Dynasty Pansori), so here in the 1940s he's sending this call out to pansori singers:

“Esteemed gwangdae, rather than spending energy on classical changgeuk [pansori] tunes, how would it be if we accede to the demands of modernity and take a new direction. Chunhyangjeon, Heungbojeon, or other classical pieces are of the past and are pieces which were shaped on the background of that time; should we not be able to produce pieces shaped on the background of today? Considering the importance of this, gwangdae should educate themselves; in doing this, it is necessary that they receive the guidance of community leaders. Esteemed gwangdae, I ask you to reflect deeply on this.” (Jeong Nosik 2015[1940]: 39)

So this is an example of a call that was going out at the beginning of the twentieth century to create new pieces that fit better to the changing circumstances of the time. This was a time when the traditional arts had been losing audiences to more modern entertainment forms, and so the artists were looking for ways to potentially win audiences back.

Um Haekyung (2013) particularly has a great summary describing the development of changjak pansori and its history, and she separates it roughly into three phases. In the first phase at the beginning of the twentieth century you have biographical stories, basically separated into two categories. One are stories about martyrs of the colonial period, the Yeolsaga, of which we will be talking about one today. The other category are stories about religious figures, telling the life of Jesus, of Buddha, and so on.

And then, in the second phase, this is moving into the late twentieth century, you have a phase of particularly strong political satire. This coincides with the Minjung movement in Korea, a part of the democratic movement that included this rediscovery of various traditional arts. In this period, probably most representative are Im Jintae's reworkings of Kim Jiha's poetry, things like Ojeok (Five Bandits), Ttongbada (Sea of Excrement) etc. Coming into the third phase, so this is post-2000, you start to see a diversification of topics with both more modern content and use of more modern language as well.

So if that's an overarching historical scheme, it should be said off the bat, and we'll come back to this as well, that changjak pansori has often been criticized as

lacking the artistic sophistication of traditional pansori. Among various reasons given for this, the lack of transmission of the changjak pansori stories to further generations is held up as proof for this, and we'll be thinking about that a bit as we go through this lecture.

Before we head into the main body of this lecture, I want to take a minute to take a little aside, and think about pansori as epic poetry, and how that can help us understand these creation processes of new pansori stories. Now pansori is often categorized as "epic" in the international arena. If you look at English language explanations of pansori by UNESCO, by the Cultural Heritage Administration, and so on, they use this term quite a lot. In fact, Anglophone research on pansori is strongly shaped by Marshall Pihl's *The Korean Singer of Tales* (1994), which was in turn inspired by Albert Lord's *The Singer of Tales*, which is one of these defining texts for research of epic poetry. Lord defines epic song as: "narrative poetry composed over generations by singers of tales who did not know how to write; it consists of building of metrical lines and half lines by means of formulas and formulaic expressions and of the building of songs by the use of themes." (Lord 1960: 4)

Now I could go into this in more detail, but simply put it's this concept of narrative poetry that's composed over generations, and it's not one definitive author, but different versions are layered on top and accumulate over time. So although Lord's research focused on poets in the Balkan region, this is a concept that's readily accepted in literature with regard to pansori as coming from long-term evolutionary composition (Um 2013: 184; Killick 2010: 155). Really, rather than being a concept of composition, I would say accretion is perhaps a more appropriate term. So there's layering on top of existing stories, with some room for individual innovation, while still keeping a lot of things as they had been passed on.

This sort of layering effect doesn't happen for changjak pansori, where you tend to have a named individual composer, or a text/music composition duo. So in that sense we seem to depart from this concept of pansori as epic, of thinking of it in those terms. But what I find quite interesting is looking particularly on how formulaic expressions get used in changjak pansori as well. We'll look at a couple of examples of that as we go through today's lecture.

One final note on formulaic composition before we jump into the example stories. Marshall Pihl argued that:

"The age of genuine oral composition in Korea has passed. What we hear today is the result of faithful transmission, through a series of masters and disciples, of established routines that appear to have originated in a now lost art of formulaic oral composition. We can assume that this art succumbed to the pressures for standardization exerted by major schools of p'ansori that emerged during the first third of the nineteenth century." (Pihl 1994: 109)

Now this pressure for standardization, at least of the classic texts, is noticeably stronger with the impact of the Intangible Cultural Property preservation system having initially been built on a foundation of preserving the wonhyeong, the original form, that once an original form had been established, this should not be changed anymore. Now, obviously, a culture is a living thing, and the problems that emerge from trying to fix some cultural product to stay a particular way have become more and more apparent. And so changes in legislation on the preservation of intangible cultural heritage have been made in 2016, for example, trying to depart from this concept of the wonhyeong to what is called the jeonhyeong, the exemplary form, which was intended to allow for a bit more freedom and creativity within the preservation system. However, it is noticeable that although the legislation has changed, in general discourse the concept of the wonhyeong still seems to be quite strong. Hence, how much creativity and play is allowed within the scope of traditional pansori is limited.

2. Park Dongsil's Tale of the Martyr Yu Gwansun

So that was just a little bit of theory that I want you to keep in the back of your head while we are looking at a couple of examples of changjak pansori today. Let's move on now to our first example, which is Park Dongsil's Yu Gwansun Yeolsaga (The Song of the Martyr Yu Gwansun). To provide a summary of the story. In the Yeolsaga, we're talking about real historical people, in this case, a young girl called Yu Gwansun (1902-1920). She was a senior at the prestigious Ewha Girls' High School in Seoul. After participating in the independence movement in Seoul on 1 March 1919, she decided to lead the movement in her hometown in the central region of Korea as well.

She was arrested by the Japanese police and sentenced to 3-year prison term. Even while being tortured, she continued to shout out for Korean independence. She couldn't withstand the severe physical torture by the Japanese police, and died in prison on September 28, 1920.

So that's the general story, we're going to look at one scene from that performed by Kim Sumi. This is the scene where Yu Gwansun has gone back to her hometown, and she leads the independence protests, which are then attacked by the colonial police forces, and she finally ends up crying out in sorrow while holding her parents, who died in the attack. So let's have a look at that.

So we can see it's obviously quite heavy subject matter, many of the Yeolsaga tend to lean very heavily into the tragic side of the spectrum of emotion that pansori can show. Very rarely are there any comedic moments in these stories, but it's obviously also a product of its time, as most of these stories were created relatively shortly after the events had taken place, we're talking during and

directly after the Japanese colonial period. We're not 100% sure when these songs were created, obviously they weren't performed during the Japanese colonial period, because that would have been too dangerous, but they appear very soon after independence. So, although we can't prove it, the possibility of the creators at least starting to think about creating these songs during the Japanese colonial period is there.

So, I'm going to call this story Yu Gwansun for ease of talking, how was it composed? Musically, structurally, it's following a very traditional pansori musical setting, and it was created in the early twentieth century. Now Park Dongsil is quite an interesting character, as with many artists in Korea at the time, he was sympathetic to Socialist and Communist ideologies, and ended up defecting to North Korea during the Korean War, along with many other artists at the time as well. It's said that he contributed to the creation of revolutionary operas in North Korea as well. But before he moves to North Korea, as soon as the colonial period ends, Park begins to perform Yu Gwansun at schools to inspire patriotism.

Now if we think about the end of the Japanese colonial period, which comes with the end of the Second World War, at this point recording technology is still rather limited. So what Park does after he creates Yu Gwansun, he immediately teaches it to his disciple Jang Woljungseon, who was then in her early twenties. Jang was known for her skill at memorizing, so she could help him to remember the piece as he created it, while recording options were still rather limited.

Because Park then defected to North Korea, performances of Yu Gwansun were basically forbidden in South Korea until the early nineties with the end of military rule. Now Jang Woljungseon was Kim Sumi's first pansori teacher, and she taught Yu Gwansun to her around four years before her death, stressing the importance of its transmission in order to remember Yu's sacrifice, and to keep the spirit of the March First movement alive for the next generation. The story was also transmitted on to very few other singers, including Jang's daughter, Jeong Sunim. I've attached a version of her performance with commentary by Choe Donghyeon in the case materials. Unfortunately it's only in Korean, but for those of you who speak Korean, it could be very informative.

Now, what's so special about Yu Gwansun? As is the case with many changjak pansori, it's significantly shorter than a traditional pansori story. We're talking sort of eighty-ish minutes to perform it in full, as opposed to up to eight hours for a traditional pansori story. Nevertheless, it's got a lot of historical meaning. It's one of the first pure creations of a pansori story where the creator is known, so different to traditional pansori, where although we might know who created certain scenes, we don't know who was the initial originator of the stories.

What is also quite interesting about Yu Gwansun is that while many parts start off following familiar melodic pathways common to pansori, they quickly move on to very different ways of using the musical tools of the pansori genre. So

musically, it's quite an interesting piece, getting very creative with what is possible within the pansori genre. What's also quite interesting is in terms of the text setting, the way certain scenes are described, it applies familiar formulae, familiar sort of phrases used in pansori, but in a modern context. You've got the use of the present tense, providing that immediacy of the moment, the use of sound effects, which is also very common in pansori, except now you've got sound effects being used to describe the sound of guns, for example, which wasn't initially part of the pansori sound world. There is also somewhat of a shift from more archaic to more modern language. And it is also quite meaningful that, as a newly created pansori piece, it is nevertheless changjak that has been successfully transmitted into the third generation, and Kim Sumi, whose performance we saw, is actively working to transmit it to future generations as well.

And just as a little aside, since we mention this possibility of pansori as epic. Very often, when we think of epic stories, we think of stories of heroes on various adventures, but in pansori, even looking at traditional pansori, already you tend to see that this concept of the epic hero doesn't quite apply to pansori in the same way. Park argues that the heroes you see in pansori are "principled men and women, their conquests less likely a nation or a people than human frailty and fate through faith and self-sacrifice" (Park 2003: 15). Now Yu Gwansun also fits this kind of character type, of the traditional heroes within the pansori context. She's a young girl with very limited options available to her to protest against the situation that she's in. But as we also saw for many of the other characters we looked at in the traditional stories, her weakness itself almost becomes a weapon that makes use of, as do many of the other disenfranchised sectors of Korean society as represented by our protagonists in the stories. So I find this a very interesting moment, that this artistic medium that was designed to provide comfort and catharsis to disenfranchised sectors of Korean society, you know, through seeing unjust government officials being punished, romance across class lines, etc., this medium is now being used to tell a new story of an ordinary girl who did extraordinary things for her country. I think that's very meaningful.

3. Park Dongjin's Yesujeon

So that was the first example I wanted to introduce you to, the next example I want to introduce you to is Yesujeon (The Tale of Jesus) by Park Dongjin. Clearly, this is a story of the life of Jesus as told through the medium of pansori. Now, Christianity and Korean traditional music has a long and complicated history. Ahn (2020) argues that this is partly due to a lot of Korean traditional music's linkage to various religions, such as Shamanism and spirit worship, which were considered to be at odds with Christian beliefs. On top of this are remnants of Joseon dynasty class distinctions, whereby musicians tended to be at the very lowest end of the

spectrum of society. These various factors coming together meant that traditional Korean music is often very strongly undervalued by Korean Christians, and considered incompatible with Christianity.

Yesujeon, which was composed by Park Dongjin in 1970, based on the New Testament Book of Matthew, is based on the libretto by the playwright Ju Taeik. So here we've got this separation between musical and textual composition, done by two separate people here. And as I mentioned, this is a kind of composition format that you can encounter quite often in the context of changjak pansori.

There are also stories for other religions, for example Bultajeon by An Sukseon tells the life story of Buddha -I've attached a link for that for you in the class notes if you want to have a listen, and I'll also attach a link to a little introduction about Park Dongjin for you guys as well.

So for these religious stories, we're still in the first time period of Um's historical classification of changjak pansori. She says that the people doing these religious pansori, the way they were creating them was very similar to the way the Yeolsaga were created, they were "developed by professional singers with traditional training, [and] closely follows the stylistic idioms of conventional pansori with respect to its musical and textual organisation" (Um 2013: 182).

So something that can be identified particularly in changjak pansori from this phase is that it tends to stick very closely to the musical pathways and the textual formulae that we are familiar with from traditional pansori. We can take a look at what this looks like in Yesujeon, this is the scene where the birth of Jesus is announced to the shepherds, and we can take a look at that being performed by Seo Euicheol, who learned Yesujeon from Park Dongjin:

Now I want to contrast this scene for you with a traditional pansori scene, to get a feel for how that traditional pansori syntax works and is reworked here. We're going to compare the scene in Heungboga in the Park Nokju style, where Heungbo has opened the gourds and is celebrating his change of fortune, with the way the shepherds celebrate the good news they have been told.

If we look first at these two scenes in Korean, in Heungboga it goes:

얼씨구 얼씨구 절씨구.
여보시오, 여러분들. 나의 한 말 들어보소.
부자라고 자세를 말고,
가난타고 한을 마소.
엇그저께까지 박홍보가 문전걸식을 일삼더니,
오늘날 부자가 되었으니,
석송이를 부러워하며, 도주공을 내가 부러워하리?
이런 경사가 어디가 있느냐.

얼씨구 절씨구.

불쌍하고 가련한 사람들, 박흥보를 찾아 오소.

나도 오늘부터 기민을 즐란다.

얼씨구나 절씨구. 얼씨구 좋구나, 지화자 좋네. 얼씨구 절씨구.

(from Choe Donghyeon. 2009. Heungboga badibyeol jeonjip 2: Pak Rokchu badi, Pak Choweol badi [A complete collection of Heungboga according to different styles 2: Pak Rokju style, Pak Choweol style]. Jeonju: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, North Jeolla Province; Jeonju International Sori Festival Organising Committee. Pp. 84-86.)

In Yesujeon, the text goes like this:

목자들이 좋아라고

목자들이 좋아라고

얼씨구나 절씨구야

얼씨구나 장히 좋네.

어화 세상 사람들아

이 기쁜 소식을 들어보소

베들레헴 마구간에

만백성들 경사 났구나

얼씨구 좋구나 지화자 좋네

이런 경사가 또 있는가

눌린 자를 빼주시고

빠진 자를 건져주시는

하나님의 영광이라

어허둥둥 영광일세

Now in English, Heungboga has been translated thus:

Yippee! Hurray! Oh boy!

Hello, folks! Listen to me.

Don't act arrogantly because you are rich.

Don't feel bitter because you are poor.

I was a beggar up until yesterday.

I became rich today.

I don't envy ancient billionaires.

This is fantastic.

Whoopee! Yippee!

Poor and pitiful people, come to my house!

I'll give out food to starving people from now on.

Hurrah! Whoopee! Yippee! Hurray! Oh boy! Hurrah! Yippee!

(ibid: 85-87)

While Yesujeon has been translated as:
The shepherds are joyful
The shepherds are joyful
Hooray, hurrah
Hurray, what joy
Oh, people of the world
Listen to this great news
In the stable of Bethlehem
Great fortune has come to all
Hooray, hurrah, how joyful it is
Can there be a greater fortune than this?
He frees the oppressed
And rescues those drowning
Glory to God
Oh, glory to God
(translated by Hwang Jeongsoo)

So we can see certain parallels of phrases being used: eolssigu jeolssigu (Hooray, whoopee, hurrah), ireon gyeongsaga ddo inneunga (This is fantastic/Can there be a greater fortune than this?). Or a general exhortation to the public: yeobosio yeoreobundeul, naui han mal deureoboso (Hello, folks! Listen to me.), which becomes eohwa sesang saramdeura, I gibbeun sosigeul deureoboso (Oh, people of the world listen to this great news). While the surrounding details change, these kind of celebratory songs in the jungjungmori jangdan, with this kind of melodic line, featuring some variation of eolssigu jeolssigu etc. is quite common in traditional pansori stories. And so when you as an audience hear that, and you hear someone go eolssigu jeolssigu, you know exactly what the meaning, the context of that scene is, and this is why this usage of musical and textual formulae from traditional pansori is such a useful strategy in the composition of changjak pansori.

4. Choe Yongseok's Bulletproof Delivery Box

Now I'm going to move forward in time a little bit, and look at Bangtan cheolgabang (Bulletproof Delivery Box), by Choe Yongseok. Before I look at that performance itself, I'm going to give you guys a little bit of an introduction to the Ttorang Gwangdae movement, which was very important for the development of 21st century changjak pansori, and Choe was one of its founding members. The name of this movement comes from the Ttorang Gwangdae Contest, which was organized by the Jeonju Sanjo Festival committee, designed as a counterpoint to the Jeonju Daeseup Nori, which is one of the most prestigious pansori competitions

in Korea.

In my PhD thesis, I argued that:

“While the Taesasŭp Nori promotes an image of an ‘authentic’ p’ansori as a high art form rooted in cultural nationalism, the Ttorang Kwangdae movement ‘aspire[d] to claim its authenticity as a communicative performance in *communitas* (...). From their [the ttorang kwangdae’s] point of view, the ultimate aesthetic goal of p’ansori is to serve the masses as traditional p’ansori in eighteenth-century Korea was believed to have done’ (Um 2013: 200).” (in Yates-Lu 2017: 138)

Now the final half of that quote comes from Um’s discussion of the movement. So if we’re thinking of the aesthetic goal of pansori being to serve the masses, what exactly is meant by that?

Um also provides a translation of the Ttorang Gwangdae movement manifesto, which reads as follows:

“The purpose of our league is to regain the spirit and life of p’ansori as a living art. ... P’ansori, which used to speak for the masses, is now so detached from the life of the people it has become fossilised. (So this is a critique of the Intangible Cultural Property system and its focus on the *wonhyeong*)... In order for p’ansori to be revived as a live and living art form, it is imperative that p’ansori speaks about our modern time of life. We ttorang kwangdae, as progressive artists, will initiate this task of creating and disseminating pansori art that will continue to be relevant to our changing world.” (cited in Um 2013: 199)

So that's what the Ttorang Gwangdae were aiming for, what their purpose was. Rather than aiming to be a high art, and being so focused on being a high art that it becomes ossified in one particular form, they argued that pansori’s origins were in mass entertainment, and hence pansori should be adapted to appeal to the masses.

While I was doing research for my PhD thesis, I met another member of the Ttorang Gwangdae movement as well, called Kim Myeongja. She's still very much active in changjak pansori now, and one of her most famous pieces is Syupeodaek Ssireum Daehoe Chuljeongi (Mrs Super’s Wrestling Match), which is about a woman who enters a ssireum competition, ssireum being a form of Korean traditional wrestling, in order to win a kimchi refrigerator, and I've got a link of her performance of that in the class materials.

When I talked her for my research about the Ttorang Gwangdae movement, she explained this concept of the ttorang gwangdae in a bit more detail. According to her:

“A ttorang kwangdae is someone who can’t really sing well in the sorip’an, someone who can’t become a proper travelling myŏngch’ang, who only stays in one area, who’s not very talented, this kind of kwangdae. It’s a degrading term ... It’s the opposite concept from myŏngch’ang. ... So why was that term used for the contest? A ttorang kwangdae knows everything that goes on in the local area, he/she even knows how many spoons someone has. So in the sorip’an, on the spot, they can say what people want to hear, freely. And in winter ... people gather indoors, in a time when there was no television, at that time even if they couldn’t sing well they would sing ‘Ssuktaemŏri/Unkempt Hair’ (that’s a well known song from Chunhyangga), they played the role of making sure p’ansori wasn’t forgotten. That role is extremely important.

If you want to expand the base of p’ansori, it’s not myŏngch’ang that are important – if there are people in every area who know how to sing p’ansori it won’t disappear. But now the myŏngch’ang are so far away, so very far away, as cultural properties, but there are hardly any p’ansori schools in local areas. If it’s like this then p’ansori will be forgotten.” (Interview 28 April 2015, cited in Yates-Lu 2017: 138-139)

So you can see here, it’s a radically different approach to this concept of pansori as tradition, as a high art that needs to be preserved. It’s more about making sure that people have access to and can enjoy the music.

The Ttorang Gwangdae movement was very active for a couple of years, it was a very lively artistic space, and there was a lot of interest from academia as well towards this movement, with regards to its potential influence on the future development of pansori. But by 2008 the movement had disbanded, and there’s a couple of reasons for that. Kim Myeongja, for example, gave me three reasons. Number one was the pressure of producing new work. Since changjak pansori is newly created stories, if you’re not creating it doesn’t work. But in trying to get more people involved, basically the inner circle of this movement was producing work, not just for themselves, which was already enough to keep them busy, but also for others who didn’t have the confidence to prepare a piece, but that they were trying to recruit into the movement. That’s an awful lot of work, and it also leads us to reason number 2: there was very little return for all the work that was done. Most changjak pansori pieces tend to be performed only once, or only by one person. They’re not really passed on, except in a few cases. They don’t really live on through the ages. So you’re doing all this work to create something, and it doesn’t really have a lasting effect. That’s obviously not the most motivating situation.

But at least according to Kim Myeongja, the real end of the Ttorang Gwangdae movement was the inability to recruit more than a few professional high-profile singers to add fresh blood to the movement and help keep things fresh. In her

interview with me, she said: "People who major in p'ansori wish to become a myŏngchang, who would wish to become a ttorang kwangdae on purpose?" (Interview on 28 April 2015, cited in Yates-Lu 2017: 140).

This effectually meant you had a very strong limit to the variety and quality of pieces that could be created, with basically just the same people doing the same things year after year. It's because of this that the movement ended up naturally just sort of fizzing out, but there are still many of the people who were involved in that movement who are still active in changjak pansori, just not under that same overarching umbrella.

Now in Choe Yongseok's case, he was part of the Ttorang Gwangdae movement as well, and he has continued to be very active in changjak pansori. The piece that we're talking about today, Bangtan Cheolgabang (Bulletproof Delivery Box) is a more recent example of changjak pansori that is inspired by real political events, as the Yeolsaga, the Song of the Martyrs were. Bangtan Cheolgabang was first performed in 2014, and shows Choe Yongseok's attitude towards changjak pansori, which is:

"When I started [pan]sori like that I had something I wanted to say, from a long time ago, in order to say that, with its help, pansori became a very useful tool. Because I could say what I wanted to. That's why I do it, why I like it. With that meaning, I can express the things I want to say with the help of pansori." (Interview, 11 March 2015, in Yates-Lu 2017: 141)

So for him changjak pansori is an artistic medium that he uses to express things that he wants to say, things he perhaps can't say within the scope of a traditional pansori, and it is noticeable that he has quite often addressed various social and political issues in his work.

Some of the things he's addressed are the separation of North and South Korea in Dakdeului kkum, nalda (The Chicken's Dream, to Fly); various critiques of political leadership in Jwiwangui mollakgi (The Fall of the Mouse King), Sunsilga (The Song of Choe Sunsil), Chotbulga (The Song of Candlelight), and for those last two I've got links in the class materials for you to look at. He also critiques labour conditions in Haennim dallim (Miss Moon and Master Sun), and finally the 1980 Gwangju Massacre is the subject of Bangtan Cheolgabang.

So what is this story about? Basically it tells the life of the delivery man Choe Baedal (lit. Choe Delivery), who is in Gwangju during the Gwangju Uprising in 1980. Having heard protesters on the radio say they wished they could have one last bowl of jjajangmyeon (black bean sauce noodles), he rides out to deliver the noodles and is caught up in the protests.

A full performance of this story takes around one and a half hours, and we'll have a quick look at an extract when Choe Baedal is caught up in the fight with

the paratroopers, who are called frogs because of their green clothing. Let's have a look at that video clip. Just to clarify, although the story is set in Gwangju, this was filmed in front of the Jeonju Cathedral. Here's Choe Yongseok, accompanied by Yi Junhyeong.

Now again here, we're obviously in a much more contemporary kind of scenario. The whole context is more modern, the language used is more modern. Nevertheless, there are a pansori conventions being followed. The use of *jajinmori jangdan* for a hectic scene, which is then followed by *jinyangjo*, the really slow rhythm, for expressing sorrow at the way that things have turned out, with the delivery box really becoming a symbol, showing just how this guy, who is just an ordinary person, ended up getting mixed up in extraordinary events. What's quite interesting for me when I received the script from Choe, because I wanted to translate it for a book I did on modern Korean poetry, in his script he writes that the musical mode for particularly the *jinyangjo* section is in *jin gyemyeon*. So this is the strongest version of the *gyemyeonjo* mode, and the associations that we have with this mode match up really well to the subject matter, since, if you remember from lecture 2, *gyemyeonjo* is associated with the southwest of Korea, where Gwangju is located. It's associated with lower class characters, which the deliveryman is. And it's associated with sorrow, which I analyzed as being sorrow, first in losing the battle, and even more strongly as the protagonist realizes how powerless he is against the violence he is facing. So I think it's another really clever moment of showing how the traditional tool box, in this case in terms of the music, is used to create new stories.

5. Lee Jaram's Stranger's Song

Now the final example of the story I want to introduce you to is Lee Jaram's *Ibanganui Norae* (Stranger's Song). Let me introduce you first to Lee Jaram, she's also someone who's been very active in the *changjak pansori* scene, around the time of the *Ttorang Gwangdae* movement, there was also the *Insadong Street pansori* performances, she also created various *changjak pansori* performance troops. She's also active in other areas, she's got an indie band called *Amado Lee Jaram Band* and so on. But Lee Jaram is particularly well known, regularly being invited to international festivals for her re-interpretations of Western literature in the *changjak pansori* medium, and it's particularly her very dynamic theatrical style in performance which has helped ensure her success. Now she's done several pieces of well known Western literature, in order, she started with *Berthold Brecht's The Good Person of Szechuan*, then she did *Berthold Brecht's Mother Courage*, then *Gabriel Garcia Marquez's* short story *Bon Voyage, Mr President*, which forms the basis for our discussion today, and most recently she's been

doing Ernest Hemingway's *The Old Man and the Sea*, and I've got a clip of her performing that in the class materials if you want to have a look.

So what is this story about? As I said, it's based on Gabriel Garcia Marquez' short story *Bon Voyage, Mr President*, and in promotional materials for one of her performances the story is summarized thus:

"Homero and his wife, Lazara, living in Geneva, Switzerland, are foreign workers who make a living each day by doing jobs which include driving an ambulance. One day, the ex-president of their country appears in front of the couple, who are up to their ears trying to make a living, let alone saving for their children's education.

Lazara and Homero each have different memories of the ex-president, who has come to Geneva to cure his illness. The two who had been living peacefully together, suddenly find themselves in conflict due to the appearance of the ex-president." (from promotional materials: <https://www.interferences-huntheater.ro/2016/en/pieces/jaram-lee-strangers-song/>, accessed 1 Mar 2023)

So let's have a look at a scene where Homero goes with the ex-president to a restaurant to eat steak, which is something Homero does not have the chance to eat very often, as you will see in the example.

So I have to admit this is one of my favourite scenes in this performance, and in Lee Jaram's work in general. I think the way she portrays the scene, you can practically smell and taste that steak as she shows us the character eating it.

Now, what's fun about this scene is that it's also inspired by traditional pansori. But she is taking those traditional moments and reworking them in very entertaining ways. So let's compare the Park Choweol style of Heungboga, in the scene where Heungbo has been eating the unlimited rice which came out of the gourd, and as he gets full he starts to slow down, but he keeps eating:

He eats rice happily.

He makes a ball out of rice.

He throws and catches it with his mouth.

He throws and catches it with his mouth.

...

He throws and catches it with his mouth.

He throws and catches it with his mouth.

Heungbo eats so much rice that his navel sticks out and his belly swells up like a mountain.

His eating speed gradually goes down.

He throws and catches it with his mouth.

He throws and catches it with his mouth.

(Choe Donghyeon. 2009. Heungboga badibyeol jeonjip 3: Pak Choweol badi, Gang Dogeun badi [A complete collection of Heungboga according to different styles 3: Pak Choweol style, Gang Dogeun style]. Jeonju: Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism, North Jeolla Province; Jeonju International Sori Festival Organising Committee. P. 81.)

This is always a fun scene in performance, when the performer is acting out the throwing up and catching, throwing up and catching.

And that progression of someone eating, and then gradually slowing down, but still eating is being reinterpreted here in Ibanginui Norae, with Homero and the steak:

He cuts and chews and cuts and chews and cuts and chews and cuts and chews
“Do you want to have this too? I’ve got no appetite these days.”

“Oh, yes, thank you hahaha.”

He cuts and chews and cuts and chews and cuts and chews and cuts and chews
Slowing down as he goes to savor his meal as long as possible

He cuts and chews and cuts and chews and cuts and chews and cuts and chews.
chews.

Whether we can call this formulaic expressions in the epic poetry style, I don't know, but it's a tool box, which provides this wide variety of tools, both musical and textual, that are available for telling engaging stories. And masters of their craft, as we have seen during the lecture today, are very much capable of using those tools to tell a variety of new stories as well.

6. Conclusion

So I'll now come to my conclusion. I think one topic that definitely needs to be addressed in terms of changjak pansori is this question of deoneum. If you remember in lecture one, I talked about how in the past singers gained fame by adding a song to an existing story, or singing an existing story in a new style, and that this was called deoneum. So if we have got this word, where does the term deoneum fit in with all this?

I did an interview with Park Inhye, who's an isuja, a person within the Intangible Cultural Property system, who is active as a changjak pansori singer-songwriter. She talked to me about this concept of deoneum, she said:

“The sorikkun of the past making what they wanted to say and putting it in the story, that's tönũm, to do more (tõ) and then put it in (nõhta). But lately people

don't make tŏnŭm. If you think about it, you can say that tŏnŭm is a kind of ch'angjak (...) To be honest p'ansori, to put stuff in and take it away freely, it's impromptu like that (...) To have this variability is what p'ansori is, but lately that seems to have died a lot." (Interview on 6 May 2015, cited in Yates-Lu 2017: 130)

So part of this is the power of the previous iteration of the Intangible Cultural Property system concept, of preserving the original form. On top of this, I think, are widely held opinions that pansori had its golden age in the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth century, and that you don't have singers capable of that kind of musical excellence anymore these days. With this kind of atmosphere, it means that very few people dare to really work on the classical five pieces. This concept of deoneum, of adding something, of tampering with what is considered a perfect product, that is often a very scary prospect for people who may want to try their hand at more creative activities. Obviously, that's not always the case, people do still make attempts, Park Inhye for example has been working on an expansion of Chunhyangga, and I've got a video of her performance in the class notes for you. But I think that probably this worry about deoneum, the potential ramifications of that might be part of the reason why changjak pansori is worked on instead, if the tradition doesn't necessarily give you the space to do test out your creativity.

But again, here now these general statements I'm making about the possibility of creativity need to be tempered further, because in general, most master singers who are active today will very definitely adapt their performance to the audience they have on a particular day, they might cut things out or do things a little bit differently in live performance. So it's not quite as strict as it might necessarily seem at the first glance. But there is definitely this atmosphere in the background, that tradition shouldn't be messed with, which is what I wanted to get at.

Now we've talked about critiques of changjak pansori, whereby creating new stories can't live up to the artistic excellence that the classics can offer. So Um, for example, cites one critique:

"It [new p'ansori] is an imitation not a proper p'ansori. Every p'ansori artist, even a ttorang kwangdae, should be able to sing well, because singing is the most important element in this art form. It is not possible to expect everyone to love traditional p'ansori, particularly a performance of the entire story which takes so long. It is also understandable that some audiences nowadays like new p'ansori because it is easy and entertaining. But it is just a 'wannabe', not the real thing. We should not be won over by it. (Cited in Kim Kihyŏng 2004:17)" (Um 2013: 200)

There are definitely some circles who do not perceive changjak pansori positively, and in many cases there is definite merit to the critiques that changjak pansori can't reach the artistic heights that traditional pansori has reached.

So where might that lead us in terms of thinking about a future? For now, if transmission of changjak pansori is a measure of its staying power, we do definitely have some stories that have been transmitted: Yu Gwansun, we saw, has been transmitted for at least the third generation, with Kim Sumi also passing it on to her students. Yesujeon was passed on to Seo Euicheol, for example, and Lee Jaram attempted to teach Sacheonga to several fellow singers, although to be honest I haven't seen any instances of that being performed much by anyone other than by herself. And as we saw in our assessment of why the Ttorang Gwangdae movement ended, that so many stories, so many changjak pansori are created that are performed once and never again, or repeatedly, but only by the same person. So obviously they have not built up the same history, to allow them to develop into the sort of organic creations that the core five stories have become.

One further question that arises is, with so much changjak pansori being based on a modern context, whether this historic specificity might also limit these stories, making them less easily transferable to further generations.

And another very, very important question to assess is the question of money. If changjak pansori is to be continued, people need to be able to afford to do it, and this is a serious problem. Most changjak pansori performers have other jobs to support themselves, because it's very hard to make money from performances alone. Part of this is the cultural aspect that audiences are unwilling to pay high prices for tickets, gugak has spent a lot of time being subsidized by the government, and hence ticket prices tend to be very low compared to other genres. Furthermore, you have the chodaekwon system, that usually when you have a performance, you have to keep lots of tickets aside in order to invite your acquaintances, who expect to be able to watch the performance for free. It's not really a money making business.

In general, putting on a performance is usually funded by applying at various regional arts foundations. You go through the cycle, the competition, while writing your proposal, and then if you get the money you put your proposal into practice. But often, the timing of using the money can be very awkward, deadlines can be quite tight, and it's not exactly stable, just because you succeeded this one time with the project doesn't mean you'll succeed next time. You can get a bit more stability if you manage to become an artist in residence at some performance venue, but otherwise you're really never sure whether money will be available in future. So it's a very precarious existence, and those who have managed to hold on doing changjak pansori are really very passionate about the work that they do. Not, by the way, to belittle the situation of those working in traditional pansori, who frankly have a no less precarious existence. It's very tough scene to be in, to survive as a freelancer with very little financial stability. I was told by one pansori singer that it can often be very difficult even to get a loan from a bank, because

you have no guarantee of income. So money is a realistic issue that you need to think about as well.

There's also a fair amount of debate in pansori circles as to whether more money goes to traditional performances or to changjak performances, which is often hard to trace as funding agencies don't distinguish in their records if something is traditional or newly created. Howard (2016: 464) argues that funding and sponsorship is increasingly given for fusion and newly created things rather than traditional gugak (Korean traditional music). But here changjak is often in a rather awkward place, it is often not mainstream enough for large audiences, but it's also not traditional enough to compare to the classics.

So it's in this awkward space, which is also very apparent for example in how it's portrayed in broadcasts. In my thesis, I write about a discussion I had with someone working in gugak broadcasting:

"in a meeting on 12 March 2015 with Kim Sanhyo, formerly a writer for sorikkun Nam Sangil's 'Sori Somun' (Song rumours) radio show on GugakFM radio, she told me of the very careful calculations presenters must make in the proportion of ch'angjak music they put in their shows, as they try to get enough ch'angjak in to try and draw a general audience without alienating the kwimyŏngch'ang (expert listener, lit. 'ear master singer'), the more traditionally-minded expert fans of kugak." (Yates-Lu 2017: 143)

It's a really difficult balancing line to try and find, and to know who to appeal to, also with the changjak pieces that you create.

So in conclusion, I would say that changjak pansori fills a niche to let people express things that they can't say through the classical texts, and help them satisfy the creative urges they have as artists. While it's engaging and often very entertaining, changjak pansori is often looked down on, often with reason as well, as not being of as high artistic merit as traditional pansori. In the next and final lecture we are going to be looking some further attempts to reach out to wider audiences through modernization strategies for pansori.

I will see you in the tenth lecture. Thank you. Goodbye.

■ 학습활동 (총 108분)

가. 퀴즈 (18분)

O/X 퀴즈 (5분)

1. 정노식은 <조선창극사>에서 소리꾼들이 전통적인 판소리 작품만 불러야 한다고 주장했다.

정답: X

2. <유관순 열사가>는 창작자가 알려진 최초의 순수 창작 판소리 작품이다.

정답: O

3. <예수전>은 박동진이 작사·작곡한 창작 판소리이다.

정답: X

4. 이자람은 여러 서양 문학 작품을 창작 판소리로 각색해왔다.

정답: O

5. 최근 판소리 공연자들은 초대권 시스템을 통해 많은 수익을 창출하고 있다.

정답: X

선택형 (5분)

1. 다음 중 20세기 초반의 창작 판소리에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 민중운동의 흐름과 맞물려 군사 독재에 대한 풍자를 담은 작품이 창작되었다.
- ② 일제에 저항한 열사들을 다룬 작품이 창작되었다.
- ③ 종교적인 인물의 이야기를 다룬 작품이 창작되었다.

정답: ①

2. 다음 중 <유관순 열사가>에 대한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

- ① 전통적인 판소리 작품에 비해 길다.
- ② 해방 직후 박동실은 애국심을 고취하기 위해 학교에서 이 작품을 공연하였다.
- ③ 장월중선에게 전해진 뒤 전승이 끊어졌다.

정답: ②

3. 다음 중 최용석에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 또랑광대 운동에 참여했으며 현재까지 창작 판소리를 활발히 만들고 있다.
- ② 대표작으로 <닭들의 꿈, 날다>, <해님달님> 등이 있다.
- ③ 판소리는 정치적인 이슈를 다루어서는 안 된다는 신념을 가지고 있다.

정답: ③

4. 다음 중 <방탄철가방>에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 1980년 광주 민주화 운동을 배경으로 한다.
- ② 현대를 배경으로 한 작품이지만 전통적인 판소리의 관습을 적극적으로 활용하고 있다.
- ③ 이 작품에서 '방탄철가방'은 독재자의 몰락을 보여주는 상징이다.

정답: ③

5. 다음 중 더듬에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

- ① 소리꾼들이 기존의 이야기에 노래를 추가하거나 기존의 이야기를 새로운 방식으로 부르는 것을 가리킨다.
- ② '원형'을 강조하던 기존의 무형문화재 제도는 소리꾼들의 더듬을 활성화하는 데 기여하였다.
- ③ 최근에도 기존의 판소리 작품을 확장하는 식으로 더듬을 시도하는 소리꾼들이 있다.

정답: ②

단답형 (8분)

다음 빈칸에 들어갈 알맞은 말을 답해 봅시다.

- 1. 판소리는 종종 장르적으로 ()로 분류되며, 이러한 분류는 판소리의 창작 과정을 이해하는 데 도움이 된다.

정답: 서사시(epic poetry)

- 2. 2016년 한국의 무형문화재 보존에 대한 법률이 개정되어 '본보기가 되는(exemplary) 형태'라는 의미의 () 개념이 새롭게 도입되었다.

정답: 전형

- 3. 이자람의 <이방인의 노래>는 가브리엘 가르시아 마르케스의 원작 소설 ()을 기반으로 한 창작 판소리이다.

정답: <대통령 각하, 즐거운 여행을!>(Bon Voyage, Mr. President)

나. 토의 (30분)

또랑광대 운동의 등장 배경과 전개 과정에 대해 설명해 봅시다.

* 답안 작성 방향

또랑광대 운동은 전주산조축제에 의해 조직된 또랑광대 콘테스트에서 시작되었는데, 판소리가 보존해야 할 전통이자 고급 예술로만 인식되던 상황에 대응하여, 판소리가 본래 갖고 있던 '살아있는 예술', '대중 문화'로서의 특성을 회복하는 것을 목적으로 하였다. 이 운동을 통해 소리꾼들은 대중의 흥미를 끌 수 있는 흥미로운 작품을 만들고자 했고, 이 운동은 몇 년 동안 활발히 진행되며 학계의 관심을 끌기도 하였다. 하지만 또랑광대 운동은 2008년에 해산되었는데, 이는 새로운 작품을 창작해야 한다는 부담, 노력에 대한 보상의 부족, 신진 참여자를 수혈하지 못하는 현실 때문이었다.

다. 과제 (60분)

<유관순 열사가>, <예수전>, <방탄철가방>, <이방인의 노래>에서 판소리의 전통을 활용하는 양상에 대해 설명해 보시다.

* 답안 작성 방향

<유관순 열사가>는 20세기 초반의 실존 인물인 유관순의 이야기를 기반으로 하고 있으며, 작품의 언어 역시 고정보다는 현대 한국어로 전환되었지만, 전통적인 판소리의 멜로디 전개나 전통적인 판소리에 흔히 보이는 공식구(formulae)를 활용하고 있다. <예수전> 역시 전통적인 판소리 음악의 전개 방식이나 공식구를 많이 활용하고 있다. 예를 들어, 목자들이 예수의 탄생을 축하하는 대목은 중중모리 장단의 축하하는 노래로 되어 있으며 “얼씨구 절씨구”, “이런 경사가 또 있는가”와 같은 감탄의 말이나 대중에게 권하는 말을 사용하고 있는데, 이는 <홍보가>의 박 타는 대목처럼 전통적인 판소리에 흔히 보이는 것들이다. <방탄철가방>은 5.18 광주 민주화 운동이라는 현대의 역사적 사건을 배경으로 하고 있고, 언어 역시 현대 한국어를 사용하지만, 음악적 측면에서 판소리의 관습을 따르고 있다. 이 작품에서는 자진모리 장단을 사용하여 숨가쁘게 흘러가는 장면을 표현하고 있으며, 이어지는 대목에서는 매우 느린 진양조 장단으로 슬픔을 표현하고 있다. 특히 진양조 대목은 진계면조로 되어 있는데, 이는 계면조가 담고 있는 슬픈 정서와 호남 지방과의 연관성을 활용한 것이다. <이방인의 노래>는 서양의 문학 작품을 각색한 것이지만 전통 판소리에서 영감을 얻기도 했다. 예를 들면, 이 작품에서 오메로(Homero)가 스테이크를 먹는 장면은 <홍보가>에서 홍보가 박에서 나온 밥을 던져서 받아먹는 장면의 영향을 받았다.

■ 참고자료

성서판소리 <예수전> ‘목자들이 마구간 찾아가는 대목’ ([영상 보기](#))

<Lecture 10> Modernizing pansori

■ 학습목표

1. 판소리가 현대적으로 변화하는 다양한 형태를 알아본다.
2. 창극과 여성국극의 역사와 특징을 이해한다.
3. 대중음악과 결합한 판소리의 형태를 탐구한다.
4. 세계적으로 확산되는 판소리를 살펴본다.

■ 강의 목차

1. Introduction and summary of past lecture
2. Changgeuk and yeoseong gukgeuk
3. When pansori meets pop
4. Pansori in the international arena
5. Conclusion

■ 강의 내용 전문

1. Introduction and summary of past lecture

Hello everyone, and welcome to this, lecture 10, the final lecture in the World of Pansori lecture series.

So in this lecture, we're going to be talking about modernizing pansori.

As usual, just to give you an overview first of what we're doing, we'll start with a summary of the past lectures, and then an introduction to this lecture, where we're going to be talking today about changgeuk and yeoseong gukgeuk, when pansori meets pop, pansori in the international arena, and then finally come to our conclusion, both for this lecture and for this lecture series as a whole.

Let's take a minute to think about how far we've come in this lecture series. The World of Pansori, tried to give you guys an introduction to pansori, trying to cover a wide range of different topics, to help give you an understanding of this genre from a variety of different perspectives. So in lectures 1 and 2, we introduced some basic concepts around pansori, where it comes from historically, what sort of aesthetics and ideas we have around the genre, as well as how its

music works.

After that, moving into lectures 3 to 7, we introduced the five core pansori stories that have been preserved until today, and we explored them through the lens of this Confucian ideal of oryun, the Five Relationships. So what we established during those lectures is that roughly, Chunhyangga corresponds to this ideal of wifely fidelity; Heungboga corresponds to the ideal of brotherly love; Simcheongga corresponds to the ideal of filial piety; Sugungga corresponds to loyalty to one's king; and Jeokbyeokga corresponds to friendship. However, what became clear as we were looking at each of these stories, and thinking of oryun as being conceptualized, not just in terms of obligations from the inferior to the superior, but also in terms of responsibilities from the superior to the inferior. It was particularly here that we found that these concepts could be questioned quite a lot, as the higher-ups definitely tended not to be fulfilling their end of the deal. And there was also the additional question there of whether low-class people or women, for example, were able to be held up as paragons of these virtues in the first place as well. So while oryun is an interesting lens from which to start looking at these stories, it very quickly becomes more complicated than that.

That's what we looked at in terms of the five core pansori stories.

Then in Lecture 8, we looked at some of the lost stories which had been part of the core corpus when it was twelve stories, and then looking at how, why, they might have disappeared, particularly looking at the role of Sin Jaehyo in adapting these stories and selecting the corpus.

In Lecture 9, we looked at some newly created stories, changjak pansori, looking at the history of that branch of pansori, seeing what kind of stories are being told, as well as some critiques of the genre.

So that's as far as we got so far in these lectures, now in today's lecture, I want to set the scene by taking a moment for us to remember the quote from Jeong Nosik that I addressed in the last lecture, where he says:

"Esteemed gwangdae, rather than spending energy on classical changgeuk [pansori] tunes, how would it be if we accede to the demands of modernity and take a new direction. Chunhyangjeon, Heungbojeon, or other classical pieces are of the past and are pieces which were shaped on the background of that time; should we not be able to produce pieces shaped on the background of today? Considering the importance of this, gwangdae should educate themselves; in doing this, it is necessary that they receive the guidance of community leaders. Esteemed gwangdae, I ask you to reflect deeply on this" (Jeong Nosik 2015[1940]: 39).

Okay, so the context within which these words were written in the 1940s was part of a general trend of, as society was modernizing, it becoming increasingly difficult to retain audiences who felt that the traditional stories couldn't express all

aspects of their modern lives in the same way. And so various new strategies were being used by the pansori singers to try and prove the relevance of their art form to contemporary life, like changjak pansori that we looked at in the last lecture, but there were various other strategies as well. The creation of new pansori-derived genres, the popularization of the genre as well as, gradually we've also seen the spread of pansori into the international scene.

2. Changgeuk and yeoseong gukgeuk

So let's have a look at these various strategies, today we'll start with changgeuk and yeoseong gukgeuk. So basically, where these two differ with pansori, which is also why I don't define them as pansori per se, but as pansori-derived genres, is that this standard format in pansori of the one singer, one drummer, no props or anything, just the singer, with their voice and gestures, telling the stories, is no longer there. In changgeuk and yeoseong gukgeuk you have a separation of characters. In pansori, you have the performer being both the different characters as well as the narrator in between, and that narrator role is also often separated out in changgeuk and yeoseong gukgeuk as well, it's called the dochang role. So you've got different people playing different characters here. You also have more musical instruments, tending to include accompaniment by an orchestra with varying ratios of Western to Korean instruments, where the gosu (drummer) is still always present, and often acts as a conductor of the orchestra, so that basic thread of the drum rhythms remains, but it has various other instruments layered on top of it.

And this leads to a particular difficulty for performers of changgeuk and yeoseong gukgeuk, which is that you are forced to always sing in the same key to match the instruments. When you sing pansori, when you're only accompanied by a drummer, if you're not feeling well that day, you can slightly lower the pitch of what you're singing. It's not a question of absolute pitch as much as it is about relative pitch, as long as you keep the distances between the notes the same, whether you start here, or start here, it doesn't actually matter so much. Once you have other melodic instruments included, that freedom to move disappears, so it can get more strenuous. It's particularly strenuous for male performers of changgeuk, as it does tend to be more comfortable for female performers, male performers need to spend much more time in pitches that are uncomfortable for them.

Now, in terms of the subject matter of changgeuk and yeoseong gukgeuk, you have the traditional ones which feature reinterpretations of the five pansori pieces, or new stories. These could be Korean myths and legends, historical events, heroic figures, or the adaptation of foreign material as well.

Another thing that emerges with this sort of separation of characters, staging, costuming, and so on, is that you have this increased emphasis on the visual, which then makes demands on the performers to have a particular physical appearance that suits the character that they are expressing. This then obviously starts to limit your casting options somewhat, you have to look the part. This is part of the reason why changgeuk has often been perceived as having less artistic merit than traditional pansori, as the focus isn't purely on the singing any more. And because of this, actually a lot of changgeuk performers will do traditional performances outside of their activities with the changgeuk companies, to prove their continued legitimacy as pansori artists as well, and this particular point is one I'll come back to a bit later.

Now let's take a quick run through the history of changgeuk, if you remember in lecture 4, we discussed how at the end of the nineteenth, at the beginning of the twentieth century, there are these drastic changes in audience tastes and due to the competition of traditional music with various new media like film and theater, various new musical genres were created to try and bring audiences back.

So one thing that has been debated quite a lot in changgeuk is whether it really only emerged at the end of the nineteenth, beginning of the twentieth century. Now Killick summarizes a lot of this discussion in his book *In Search of Korean Traditional Opera* (2010), which I strongly recommend you look at if you're curious to learn more about this. Now obviously we need to keep in mind here that we're talking about a folk art form, about which not much in terms of textual material remains. Does *Twelve Seven-Character Quatrains on Viewing a Play* (Gwangeuk jeolgu sibi-su, 1826 by Sin Wi) describe separate characters performing, or the events within the story? This really shows some of the difficulties regarding the materials that are available to us. This source is a poem, but because it's a poem, it's open to interpretation. It's not, you know, a pure prose account.

Park, for example, interprets this poem thus, she says:

"The fourth stanza is particularly intriguing:

Ch'unhyang, finished with her makeup, casts an amorous glance,

Dressed up, holding a fan, how odd she looks!

How is it, that the pale Royal Inspector Yi,

Still dominates the show!

Who could be impersonating Ch'unhyang and Royal Inspector Yi? Are they actors - like a pair of players in a kyogen interlude during a Japanese Noh performance - parodying the actors in p'ansori singing? Could they be singers role-playing? A close reading of this stanza disturbs the notion that p'ansori had been presented only as a one singer-one drummer performance before the twentieth century. The vivid description of makeup, costumes, and role division suggests a possibility that the interfacing of storytelling and story enacting is a

phenomenon much older than the established time of the emergence of ch'anggŭk" (Park 2003: 57).

Well, this basically shows the question you always have with limited materials, how to come to any kind of conclusion.

One of the main areas that is also up for debate because of this: is the format of changgeuk, as it's understood today, linked more closely to Japanese theatre or to Chinese opera? Now Park Chan E. cites Park Hwang, who says that singers would go to watch Beijing opera performances in Seoul at the turn of the century, and the pansori singer Kang Yonghwan was inspired by watching these performances to develop this new style of performance, so he's credited as being the originator of the genre. Part of the explanation for that comes from similarities in language use, from the words people use to talk about pansori as opposed to Beijing Opera. That's one potential argument, and it's not unfeasible. We often think of people in history as not having really interacted with each other, but that is most definitely not the case, people were interacting with each other throughout history, and so it's not impossible. In fact, Baek Hyeonmi takes it one step further, arguing that the origins of the pansori genre itself come from Yuan dynasty (1271-1368) zaju. Based on the long standing cultural exchange between Korea and China, perhaps there were moments of inspiration, perhaps even happening much earlier in history.

Killick, however, looks at it differently. He argues that probably the Japanese influence on the creation of changgeuk was greater, bearing in mind the fact that during the time that we can establish for sure that the genre emerges, Korea is already a protectorate of Japan, and he also cites testimonies by foreign travelers, as well as looking into primary documents, particularly newspaper articles, which make no reference to Chinese performance troupes having ever been in Seoul, but do mention Japanese theaters and troops.

So these are kind of two sides to the argument, and Park actually takes it even further by arguing that "the thought of dramatically collaborating with fellow singers, characters, and situations from the existing p'ansori narratives had never entered the consciousness of p'ansori artists before the nineteenth or twentieth century is unconvincing" (Park 2003: 91). This can't completely be discounted either, as in something like mask dance in Korea, they traditionally do have a separation of characters between different performers, so it's not like this is a completely alien concept.

The basic thing is that there's so limited documentation, plus with the shadow of the colonial experience hanging over everything that we perceive of this time, this makes this a rather fraught subject. My purpose here was to let you know that there is debate, it's very hotly debated, and people have very strong feelings about this as well.

What we do know is that by the time we know for sure that changgeuk was actually happening, there was a definite need for development in the arts, as the upper classes of traditional society were replaced by the middle class of modern society as the main consumers of entertainment. Their wishes for entertainment, what they wanted out of entertainment was different.

Now, leaving aside all the debate on potential origins, the first officially recognized changgeuk was a retelling of Chunhyangga in 1903 at the first modern theatre in Korea, the Hyeomnyulsa. And what's quite interesting here is initially, this was marketed as singeuk, new theatre, but there was a bit of a conflict about this, because for the performers, it felt like new theater, because the whole format, the setting of everything was new. But to the audiences it wasn't new, because they knew the store of Chunhyangga, it was very well known, and supposedly a lot of audience members were rather displeased, feeling slightly duped by the marketing for the production (Park 2003: 87).

Either way, the Hyeomnyulsa, as the first modern theatre in Korea, becomes a very important place in changgeuk history. It is developed into the Wongaksa, which is run by a person called Yi Injik. He actually also authored a pansori novel called Eunseggye (Silver World), which came out in 1908. The first half of that book actually corresponds to the first new changgeuk story, which was staged in that same year. So this wasn't a story based on traditional stories, but on something completely different. That story was called Choe Byeongdu Taryeong (The Song of Choe Byeongdu), and it was based on the story of Choe Pyeongdo, who was a real person who was beaten to death by corrupt officials who wanted to extort his wealth. So this story was exposing the corruption of local government ministers, the high burdens of taxation, and so on, and this is the point where it becomes a bit complicated due to the direction in which Yi took his stories in the second half of his novel. He then argues that you need to study abroad to learn new knowledge and reshape and modernize Korea, but Yi Injik studied abroad in Japan, and he was definitely someone who had pro Japanese leanings (see Kim Kichung 1981). His critique of the social circumstances at the end of the Joseon dynasty ended up leading him to Japanese control and guidance as the answer. And there was a whole section of Korean society at the time that believed that this was the answer, which obviously looking at it in hindsight, was a very, very complicated stance to take. Although Yi is a complicated figure, we do also need to acknowledge his role within the further development of changgeuk.

Now as changgeuk starts to establish itself as an exciting, innovative genre, it starts to rise in popularity. You get touring changgeuk troupes that formed around some of the major singers of the colonial period, people like Song Man-gap, Kim Changryong, Lee Dongbaek and Kim Changhwan, these star performers would create a troupe around them and travel around the country performing. After liberation, there was a short blossoming of changgeuk but many of the troupes

disbanded after the start of the Korean War. Particularly for the male performers, the effects of war on their activities were felt more strongly. And many artists, if you remember in the last lecture we talked about how many artists also moved to the North.

Instead, what happens after the war is that changgeuk gradually loses its audience to the rise of all female troupes called yeoseong gukgeukdan, and these started off with a very similar concept to changgeuk, you have the staging, the separation between different characters, just with all the characters being played by women. And gradually it moves ever more into a focus on spectacle.

There's a really interesting documentary called *The Girl Princes* (Wangjaga doen sonyeodeul, 2011, dir. Kim Hye-jung), I put a trailer of that film in the class notes to just show you some of the extent of the excitement about these all-women troupes at the peak of their popularity. They had a hugely passionate fan base, particularly for the performers who acted in male roles. In the trailer, you can actually see a photo of a wedding that was performed between a fan and the performer Mun Ok-gyeong, whereby Mun was dressed as the groom. Clearly, it wasn't an actual wedding, it was a fan event, but the fact that these sort of requests were coming in by the fans is very interesting, and raises questions regarding gender, gender bending performance, and so on as well.

At this point, I wanted to take this opportunity to introduce you to a webtoon called *Jeongnyeoni*, which is written by Seo Ireh and illustrated by Namon. It was serialized between 2019 and 2022, and Hwang describes it as follows, he says: "The coming-of-age webtoon depicts the development of a female training troupe affiliated with a gukgeuk company in the 1950s. The heroine, Jeong-nyeon, is a talented girl from the port city of Mokpo, South Jeolla Province, who dreams of life as an actor. Jeong-nyeon shines as a trainee and together with her friends and rivals, they strive to become the best gukgeuk performers." (Hwang 2023)

You can see a cut from the webtoon here, it had a very popular run, it won the Gender Equality Cultural Content prize from the Ministry of Culture, Sports, and Tourism in 2020, and as of my standing here presenting this to you, which is in Spring 2023, it's currently being remade into a changgeuk performance, as well as preparations being ongoing for a drama version of this webtoon to be made as well. I love these kind of moments where various different media come together, I could go on a whole different tangent on that. But for now I'll come back to where we were, which is moving through changgeuk and yeoseong gukgeuk history.

So the 1950s are the real high point of yeoseong gukgeuk, but then the genre starts to decline as you move into the 1960s. One reason for this was just oversaturation, as people realized that yeoseong gukgeuk was a big earner, more and more troupes were popping up, and it was just too much. Another thing was,

similar to the critiques you see in changgeuk, a perceived prioritization of star power over skill was another of the critiques that was put against yeoseong gukgeuk. By the way, I have put a link to a yeoseong gukgeuk performance that was done recently, a revival show with some of the performers from the genre's heyday, if you want to check it out, please do. Finally, one other thing that obviously contributed to this decline of yeoseong gukgeuk was the development of technology, particularly television, as something competing for audiences' attention.

Now, as yeoseong gukgeuk declines, changgeuk goes through a revival, the National Changgeuk Company of Korea is founded in 1962 with significant state sponsorship, and has gradually managed to carve a new niche in the scene. Killick (2010) talks about some of the different ways that changgeuk was trying to establish its identity over time. Is it modernizing? Is it being traditional? A lot of moving back and forth along that spectrum. What exactly is changgeuk, is it pansori, is it not, is it theater, is it not?

For these questions, it's clear that work continues to be done on trying to find an answer, and for reference I wanted to look at the promotional video for the National Changgeuk Company from 2021, and see if that can give us any clues in how they're presenting themselves. Let's take a look.

So we can see how in this clip, they're focusing on the five classical stories there, keeping to the traditional repertoire of pansori but presenting them in new ways. And this derivative relationship with pansori, that its roots lie in that genre, I think that concept still remains very strong. Nevertheless, the instrumentation, the use of technology and so on show efforts to include a certain freshness with regard to these stories, while it's the traditional stories that have been focused on in the National Changgeuk Company's presentation of its identity here. That is, however, by no means the only things that they do, there's a lot of new material they've worked on, engaging with foreign literature (pieces by Shakespeare, Brecht, Greek tragedies, for example), also things like the life of the first female film director in Korea, called Park Namok, and in the process of this lecture we've also seen examples of their revivals of old lost stories as well. There's a real wealth of different material that they've been working on.

Just to show one example of the diversity of their activities, this is Trojan Women, based on the tragedy by Euripides, directed by Ong Keng Sen from Singapore, and here just looking at who is involved in this production is very interesting. We've got a Singaporean director, then the song composition, putting the words of the songs into pansori singing, are done by An Sukseon, who is a legendary figure in both the pansori and changgeuk scenes. And then the music composition, so everything that's not the singing, was done by Jung Jae Il, who is

well known as the composer of the soundtracks of films and dramas like *Parasite* and *Squid Game*. Just seeing the team of people that are working together here is very interesting in and of itself, showing the potential diversity of inputs that can go into changgeuk.

And what's also interesting about this particular production is the way that they're queering the role of Helen. It's about the fall of Troy, the women of Troy are waiting to see what will be their fate now Troy has fallen, and Helena here is played by Kim Junsu. Now while you're watching the extract, try and keep an ear open for a very interesting strategy done by the composer here, which is that each character has a designated instrument. So Hecuba, who is played by Kim Geummi, uses the geomungo, while Helena uses the piano. Try and see if you can catch some of the musical messages about the different characters that are included in this performance.

Despite ongoing debates about its identity, changgeuk has managed to find its place, and on the whole does draw significantly more audiences than traditional pansori performances do. As changgeuk has been revived, it's now not just the National Changgeuk Company, many towns and provinces have their own changgeuk troupes, and these are real lifelines for many young pansori performers. They can receive a steady salary, which would otherwise be impossible in their line of work. That's a really important role of changgeuk to also keep in mind. And clearly, there's a steady flow of new material, and changgeuk will continue to develop in future as well.

3. When pansori meets pop

For now, I want to leave changgeuk and yeoseong gukgeuk behind and return to pansori, looking at how it has taken yet another different direction in terms of appealing to contemporary audiences, which is popularization. Let's take a look at what happens when pansori meets pop. Before I do, though, I think it's necessary to give the overarching framework of what I call the Korean Wave narrative, and how it fits together with traditional music in Korea. Obviously, I assume if you guys are watching this lecture that you are aware of the Korean Wave, the rise in interest in Korean culture, particularly Korean popular culture, that has spread worldwide. I would argue that the Korean Wave narrative informs pretty much most of our understanding of contemporary Korea, especially now it's spreading so broadly, so we tend to look at Korea through the lens of the Korean Wave first, and then other points of view second. You've got K-pop, K-drama K-film, moving into K-fashion K-design and then into traditional Korean culture, which can be seen, for example, in the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism "HanStyle" policy, which I'll get to again a little bit later in this lecture.

In this overarching cultural environment, where the Korean Wave has taken on such prominence, a lot of people perceive young gugak artists, gugak is the word for Korean traditional music as a whole, so a lot of people have this stereotype gugak artists are unwilling and unable to participate in contemporary popular culture, that they are basically locked in the past, which is eminently not true. So In-hwa (2015) describes that in a very interesting article I'll include in the class notes for you.

So young gugak artists, young pansori singers are very much aware of contemporary trends and use a variety of different strategies informed by Korean popular culture to interact with contemporary audiences.

Just to give you a couple of examples of where popular culture and pansori have met, you see this in fusions and meetings with a wide variety of different genres and media. One example is the pansori singer Park Aeri, who has seen a lot of success performing on the KBS show *Bulhuui myeonggok* (Immortal Song 2), with her husband, the hip-hop dancer Poppin' Hyunjoon. I've attached a link for one of their performances in the class notes.

And many other pansori performers have also appeared on this show, Yu Tapeyongyang, Kim Junsu, Go Yeongyeol all appear pretty regularly. That is one strand, another is a sort of pansori competition survival show on MBC Jeonju, called *Gwangdaejeon* (Battle of the Master Singers). That's been around since 2012, and has thus far run through six seasons, the most recent one being in 2022.

There's also been films that fuse pansori with popular culture, for example *Dorihwaga* (The Sound of a Flower, 2015, dir. Lee Jong-pil), which is a film about Jin Chaeseon, the first female pansori singer. This film featured a member of the idol group miss A, Bae Suzy, and the main role, with much being made at the time of the fact that Suzy learned some pansori in order to prepare for the role. So the aim of these kind of products is to create a link, to create overlap for audiences for these popular culture elements to start to be interested in pansori as well.

More recent music competition shows include *Joseon Panstar* and *Pungnyu Daejang*, that have been aiming to find ways to make Korean traditional music appealing to a wider audience. Those I will come back to in just a minute.

Obviously a big area in which pansori is popularized, which we've already seen a bit with Park Aeri's performances, is musical fusion. Choe Hani of the gugak fusion group *The Meari* told me in an interview of how she hopes to create pop versions of all five core pansori pieces:

"While preserving the essential elements of pansori [...], at the same time creating something that can get stuck in people's ears, with a familiar structure containing a hook and a chorus, and also containing the storytelling only pansori has, I started that kind of fusion or changjak.

In five minute sections. Not something where people look for pansori and listen to it online, but something where people hear it in passing, find it interesting and fun, and when they look into it more they find out it's pansori, this is the kind of encounter I wanted to create" (Interview with Choi Han Yi, 23 September 2014).

If you remember, when we talked about Sugungga, I mentioned the song "Sigye tokkireul chajara" by The Meari, where you've got the terrapin trying to lure the hare to the Underwater Palace. It's probably one of the representative examples of what Choe Hani was trying to do in terms of musical fusion.

Another big player to talk about in terms of pansori fusion is the ethnic fusion band Second Moon (Dubeonjje Dal), who made an album called Pansori Chunhyangga, featuring the pansori singers Kim Junsu and Go Yeongyeol, that was released in April 2016. It fused singing of these two performers with Second Moon's more Western folk-inspired style.

As an example, I've got a video in the class materials of a song called "Ibyeolga/The Song of Parting". It employs pansori lyrics and vocal production, while retaining a sort of a hook song format, where the lyrics "Baram to shwieo neomgo, kureum to shwieo neomne" (Even the wind takes a rest, even the clouds take a break) are taken as a sort of chorus that is repeated throughout the song. Interestingly, the title "Ibyeolga" refers to a particular scene in Chunhyangga, where Chunhyang and Mongryong have to separate. But the lyrics for Second Moon's version actually refer to two different scenes, "Galkkabuda/I Want to Go", where Chunhyang is missing Mongryong, and "Ssukdaemeori/Unkempt Hair", when Chunhyang is locked up in prison. So with this usage of the pansori material we get a song which is talking more about the feelings of being separated rather than the actual moment of separation itself.

What is very interesting in the strategy of this particular song is that they blend those lyrics with a sampling of Second Moon's track "Eoreum yeonmot/Ice Pond", which was part of the OST of the 2006 drama Gung (Princess Hours). Second Moon have attained a certain level of fame thanks to their activities providing soundtracks for dramas, and so by linking up this song to already popular content of theirs, it's clearly a calculated strategy to help broaden interest.

Is this a successful strategy? Second Moon has appeared on a variety of different TV shows, including Mnet's I Can See Your Voice (Neo ui moksori ga boyeo); KBS's Immortal Song 2 (Bulhu ui myeonggok) and Yoo Hee-yeol's Sketchbook; and EBS's Space Gonggam. They also had a long-running concert series at the Daehak-ro Dream Art Center from 25 August to 4 September 2016. And I think it's particularly striking that these were sell-out shows, in light of the chodaekwon issue we addressed in the last lecture, having to set tickets aside to give people for free, that it's difficult to just fill a concert hall even once. And then you've got them managing to do a whole long-running concert series, that

does indicate that they've managed to do something well.

If we look at Sutton's definition of successful fusion:

“to provide pleasant listening experiences, to earn money for its performers, but also to introduce Koreans to their own musical heritage (gently seducing them away from pop music to an appreciation of kugak), to promote Korea and Korea’s “culture” overseas, and more” (Sutton 2011: 16)

By these standards, Second Moon's work here is most definitely successful fusion. However, if you look at the album as a whole, and you can listen to it if you go on Second Moon's YouTube channel, the strategies they use to mesh their music and pansori varies greatly over the album, really showing some of those difficulties of creating successful fusion overall.

Now at this moment I want to deviate for a moment to think about stardom in the gugak scene, what happens for performers who do manage to hit it big and gain broader appeal. This next section is based on an article I wrote called “Plotting the Course: Artistry, celebrity and Kugak in South Korea” (2021) and that article also talks a little bit about the strategies that artists have to negotiate when thinking about stardom and popularity. Feel free to check that out if you want more detail, what I want to do here is just give you an overarching overview of this concept to frame our understanding of the remainder of this lecture.

So Kang Inkyu (2015) talks about the Asian Financial Crisis (1997), which fundamentally changed the way many Koreans worked, before that, once you got a job at a company, you could expect employment for life, but that sort of job stability disappeared with the financial crisis, and amongst great pressure to succeed and escape an unstable existence, idol fame has become one of possible ways out. Obviously, it's an incredibly competitive field, and so only a very small number of idols get to debut, and even fewer of those attain wider popularity.

You can draw parallels to the sort of situation for gugak artists, where there is a government-sponsored preservation and promotion system in place, where if you manage to become designated as a holder, or get a job at one of the institutions like the National Gugak Centre or the National Changgeuk Company, you can get a stable salary, but particularly in the preservation system, it's a very, very steep pyramid. If you think in terms of pansori, you have five core stories, plus the drumming accompaniment, and you have one person who is the holder for each of those, pansori stories being preserved at the regional and city level. Still, compared to how many pansori singers there are, there really isn't much space in the government preservation system to rise up the ranks, and it's a very, very low turnover for each of the positions as well. On the other hand, you're facing pressure from general audiences, very few of which are actually interested in gugak, the dominant narrative of popular culture most definitely does not have a space for gugak within it.

So within this very difficult, pressured situation for young gugak artists, most of them have remained outside the circuit of popular entertainment, but certain very few artists have been successful in gaining more broad appeal. This wider popularity, however, comes with its own set of strains and burdens, and in the same way as each of the artists has had different means for gaining popularity, they've also got different methods of dealing with fame.

Jennifer Kang (2017) argues in regard to the TV show Bokmyeon Gwang (King of Mask Singer), how idols use that TV show as a means for proving their legitimacy as actual artists rather than just as pre-packed products, which is what idols are often perceived as being. This sort of packaging and being packaged, in this case as an idol, how that can interfere with performers' perceptions as artists. However, it is that packaging which is part of what's raising the profile of the artists in the first place. And it's very much the same thing in terms of traditional Korean music as well.

Being visible in media helps build your stardom, some of the artists I've looked at have been in dramas, in variety TV shows, active on YouTube, the National Changgeuk Company itself almost becomes like an entertainment agency, it has prestige associated with it, making it easier to be recognized. Or strategies like working together with Second Moon, a more established, well-known group, has also helped many artists in pushing up their popularity further.

But amongst all these remains the question of how you maintain your credibility as a traditional artist, how to stop people from accusing you as a sell-out if you concede too much to the general public's demands. So many of these gugak stars still worked in the traditional scene on top of their work in mainstream entertainment, they might be registered within the government hierarchy, have regular album and performance output, to show that although they've dipped their toes into the popular scene they're still legitimate artists, they still have that skill as well.

It's a very difficult balance to strike, and it's also a lot of responsibilities on these people who make it big. As you see with K-pop idols, gugak stars are also held up to ridiculously high standards, basically charged with ensuring the survival of the gugak genre, along the lines of if you hit it big and become famous, you can raise the profile of gugak and help raise up all these other artists who haven't yet made it big as well. In this way, it covers up the structural factors that also contribute to gugak being sidelined, making this all about personal responsibility, which is a very heavy mantle to bear.

So let me wrap up this little aside on stardom, the question of this price of stardom within Korea, within this social context of instability what people sometimes call "Hell Joseon" often very difficult, unstable circumstances for young people in general. Furthermore, considering the popularity of Korean Wave, which creates this double pressure on traditional artists trying to survive with their art.

Within that narrative of what constitutes stardom in Korea, which is often associated with idol stars, who are often seen as prepackaged products rather than legitimate artists, many gugak artists are strategically designing a persona in order to develop what kind of star they become.

Those I have spoken to on this are very aware of the pros and cons, and so they actively work to counteract the baggage of stardom in order to retain a certain artistic legitimacy. It's a price they're willing to pay to attract audiences and demonstrate the contemporary relevance of traditional music today.

Now following that short aside, let's talk about arguably some of the biggest stars in pansori in the last few years, which is the band called LEENALCHI. Now we encountered them briefly when we were talking about Sugungga. Just to add on to that, this band, which is named after a nineteenth-century master singer called Lee Nalchi (1820-1892). In fact, the band started out just as a project group, they did a performance together, and that was supposed to be the end of things, but requests for further performances started coming in, at which point they decided to give themselves a name and start promoting actively together. So far, they've produced an album called Sugungga, obviously based on one of the five core pansori pieces. And one thing that's very noticeable about their style is how they're actively steering against stereotypes of gugak performers as being stuffy and boring, only walking around wearing hanbok, the traditional Korean clothing, and so on.

A lot of this has to do with where this band is coming from. It's founded by Jang Yeonggyu, who is a well known composer of films soundtracks in Korea, for *The Good, The Bad and the Weird* (2008), *Jeon Woochi* (2009), *The Wailing* (2016), *Train to Busan* (2016), and so on. He's also the former music director of minyo (folk song) glam rock sensation SsingSsing. I've got a link for a performance of them in the class materials. Although that band has now disbanded, Jang's familiarity of working with gugak probably helped ease his interaction with pansori, to help him create something that's entertaining, and works musically as well.

Now, if you looked at the video of SsingSsing, you can see that they have made some very bold styling choices. It's glam rock, it's drag, it's glamorous in all senses of the word. This styling is drastically toned down for LEENALCHI, and the band styling was actively tweaked to reflect a very modern and contemporary fashion, close to what the performers would wear in normal life.

In an interview with Lee Narae, who was a member of LEENALCHI at the time but has since left, she said:

"[The styling is] basically just pop, just like a popular singer, the clothing is picked to match the style of current popular artists... [You could say my image is] a Korean woman in her thirties who likes to have a good time? If you say you're doing pansori, there's a standard people think of, a kind of old-fashioned image, that it'll be really boring, people think it has to give off that traditional feeling...

Even if you wear a very common brand, people will say things like “since you’re the one wearing it, it looks really traditional”... So we really try to pick our clothes to not show that, to not give off any traditional feeling.” (Interview with Lee Narae, 13 Aug 2020)

I find this very interesting in how it reveals expectations that people often have of how artists are supposed to look, as well as how artists very consciously present themselves, even in their clothing choices, to try and counteract these long-held ideas about gugak and pansori.

But let’s move on now to how LEENALCHI rises in popularity. The first key point in their rise was their appearance on the YouTube channel OnStage, which showcases a variety of different genres in a single take performance video format. They appeared there in September, 2019, showcasing three songs “Beom Naeryeonda/The Tiger is Coming Down”, “Yakseongga/The Medicine Song”, and “Byeolchubuga ulmyeo yeojjwaodoe/The Terrapin Speaks in Tears”. And it’s particularly this first song, “Beom Naeryeonda”, performed together with Ambiguous Dance Company’s addictive choreography, that generates a lot of positive feedback. People are very much addicted to this song, to the extent that you get the saying “ilil ilbeom” (one tiger a day), showing how much people were listening to the song at the time.

What happens next is that LEENALCHI gets selected to provide the music for a series of tourism ads by the Korea Tourism Organization, promoting various regions in Korea. They do three videos showcasing Seoul, Busan and Jeonju in July 2020, all in collaboration with Ambiguous Dance Company. These become hugely successful, and so a further round of ads are released in October 2020, showcasing Andong, Mokpo and Gangneung, and then a video promoting Incheon is released in March 2021. Particularly the first round of ads goes globally viral, each currently logging around 50 million views.

This success seemed to initially catch everyone by surprise, but as the true scope of LEENALCHI’s virality became apparent, they very quickly started being invited to lots of mainstream broadcasts, well known talk shows like SBS’ Munmyeong Teukgeup, KBS’ Yoo Hee-yeol’s Sketchbook, and tvN’s You Quiz on the Block, featuring Korea’s most famous MC Yu Jaeseok.

They were featured at end of year award ceremonies, for example at the Melon Music Awards in 2020, they were even given a 14 minutes’ lot to perform, which is huge, much more than many well-known idol bands who were also performing at the event, and only three minutes less the global superstars BTS.

LEENALCHI also started getting lovecalls from various companies to do ads, even from big companies like Samsung and Gucci. What’s quite interesting here, is observing the change in styling. As LEENALCHI moves into mainstream broadcasting, which seems to still hold very strongly to this idea that if it’s pansori, it has to look traditional, so where we saw that when LEENALCHI was first

setting out, they were very actively avoiding any kind of traditional element in their styling, by the time they're doing this ad for Samsung, for example, there's a lot of traditional imagery that is being brought back in again (I've included that in the class materials so you can look at it yourself). So you can see there the limits of how far you can go in the imagination of broadcasting companies, that pansori or gugak can't be conceived without at least some element of traditional styling.

So what kind of knock-on effects emerged from LEENALCHI's success? As I just mentioned, mainstream broadcasting was still sort of holding on to this traditional imagery in relation to pansori, but the mere fact that traditional music could be broadly popular and didn't have to be limited to historical dramas and holidays like Seollal and Chuseok, which were the main times and the areas in which traditional music had been heard previously, that in itself was groundbreaking.

It helped create new spaces for traditional music, helping spur an already ongoing trend of popular artists using traditional music and imagery in their work, and I'd definitely recommend checking out CedarBough Saeji's (2020) work on

hip hop artists and their use of traditional imagery if you want to know more about that.

LEENALCHI really gets big in 2020, going into 2021, and this awareness of broadcasting companies that they can use traditional music as a way to attract audiences becomes apparent in the rise of traditional music audition and competition programs.

In August 2021, MBN starts airing a TV show called Joseon Panstar, which featured some excellent musicians, and also had a panel containing several professional traditional artists, who gave educated commentary on music that was being performed. However, the program noticeably focused too much on the stories of the contestants, trying to create dramatic moments in the competition rather than letting the music speak for itself, and particularly the inclusion of amateurs amongst the competitors noticeably lowered the standard overall.

In contrast jtbc's Pungnyu Daejang, which began airing shortly afterwards, was coming off the success that jtbc had seen with band music competition program Super Band 2, which garnered wide interest with the appearance of geomungo player Park Daul. So they had already seen some of the potential for traditional music in contemporary settings, and Pungnyu Daejang focused only on traditional music professionals, with a panel of judges that were all outside of the traditional music scene, with the exception of Son Gain, a trot performer who started off training in pansori. The panelists focused very much on trying to see how traditional music could match to their areas of expertise in popular music. With this emphasis on popularization, what you do see is that most of the content, most of the performances were covers of popular songs that had been reworked with a traditional flavour.

I initially wanted to show you a clip from the TV show, where gayageum

byeongchang performer Choe Yerim reworks Eminem's "Lose Yourself" into a critique of the current gugak scene, not having enough money to support herself but being criticized if she wants to earn money for her work. Unfortunately, in order to show you the video directly, I would have had to get permission from Eminem directly due to copyright law, so instead I've put a link in the class materials, you can check that out yourselves.

The winner of the Pungnyu Daejang competition was a band called sEODo band, which is led by their lead singer sEODo, who started learning pansori when he was four. Now sEODo band were already active as a team well before Pungnyu Daejang, and in fact, they were the creators of a new genre that they called Joseon Pop. This has now become a popular label more broadly, it's been co-opted by various festivals, TV shows and so on.

If you want to know more about the genre, I've added an appearance they did on I Can See Your Voice (Neo ui moksori ga boyeo) Season 7, plus a newspaper article to the class materials, where they explain the genre and their musical ideas in more detail.

They've experimented with a variety of different ways that traditional music can be incorporated into popular music, and example I want to introduce to you here is when they worked on a series of songs telling sections of the Chunhyangga story.

I'm going to show you a video clip of a live performance of "Ibyeolga/The Song of Parting." Rather than the Second Moon version, which talked about the feelings about separation, here sEODo band's version is actually the scene where Chunhyang and Mongryong are separated. Again here due to copyright reasons, the version I'm able to show you is a live performance without subtitles, but I have found a performance that includes English subtitles as well, which is also in the class information. Let's take a quick look at this song:

Now I just wanted to take a minute here to contrast the chorus of sEODo band's song, here we've again got the format of the chorus being a section which is coming, at least lyrics-wise, directly from pansori. The melody has however been changed in sEODo band's version, so that in their version of the chorus is "mareun gajago ne gubeul chineunde, imeul kkok butdeulgo nochireul mot hane" that derives from Chunhyangga's scene, where it goes "mareun gajago ne gubeul chineunde, imeul kkok butdeulgo ani nohne". It's almost word for word the same, and I just wanted to set that up there for you to see the contrast in terms of what the original is, and how he's reworking it. The other Chunhyangga-related songs by sEODo band deviate a bit more from the pansori style, some retain the words but move even more strongly into a pop sound, like "Sarangga/The Song of Love", while "Eonjekkaji/Until when" and "Naega watta/I'm here" are purely pop imaginations, expanding on the Chunhyangga story by including scenes of Chunhyang being frustrated at having to wait so long for Mongryong, and

Mongryong announcing his return, respectively.

What's quite striking for me with regards to the two band's I've just introduced to you is how they actively refuse the label of fusion gugak, or linking them to pansori. So sEODo band say they're doing Joseon Pop, and LEENALCHI call themselves an alternative pop band. Why do they want to avoid that label? I think there's two reasons for this.

One is the pressure is too high, I talked about this sense of responsibility, of being the genre's representatives, of needing to save pansori with their music. That's a lot of pressure which really is rather unfair on them, you know, they have the right to just make entertaining music as well.

A second reason why I think many of these bands avoid the label of being associated with gugak, with Korean traditional music, even in fusion form, is that if that word "gugak" is there, you get pigeonholed. You are limited in terms of where you're played, how you're played, where you get to appear, and so on, and your audiences, as a consequence, are very limited. So avoiding this label is a way to open themselves up to being seen in a variety of different contexts, which also shows us how there is definitely still space for a lot more openness towards gugak as something that is actually a part of contemporary life. whether it's done as fusion, or in the traditional way as well. There's clearly still work needing to be done there.

Before I finish off with pansori fusion, I did want to introduce you to one more experiment. There are so many out there, and I can't cover them all, but just to show one example of pansori-related experimentation that doesn't go into the pop spectrum: the pansori-scape project was founded by Lee Aram, who's a daegeum player, that's a kind of transverse bamboo flute, together with Hwan Min Hwang, who does percussion and vocals; Jung Jae Il, the composer who we saw previously, who's playing piano and guitar and so on; and finally Kim Junsu, the pansori performer. In their introduction on their YouTube channel, they say that they intend to show that "through pansori, the new sound scenery unfolds".

So what this sound like? Let's look at an example of "Eosa chuldo/The secret inspector is coming", the scene when Mongryong enters into the magistrate's party to save Chunhyang. Now this video that I'm going to show you doesn't have English subtitles, but it's following the same content as the version that I showed you when we talked about Chunhyangga in week 3, starting with when Mongryong write this poem critiquing the excesses of the elite, and then coming into this chaotic scene, when Mongryong enters and is capturing everyone, everyone's running away, and so on. It's the same scene, so let's have a look at that together.

You can clearly see we've got a very different atmosphere here. This is not pop, it's not trying to be pop. It's much more going down a jazz route, I would say.

And I think, perhaps, certain parallels can be drawn here with SamlNori's "Rabbit Story", in the way they've constructed a piece in the jainmori jangdan, with pansori sections interspersed with sections where the other instruments can gain prominence. Do check out the full video as well, for videos that are available on YouTube I always include the links to the full video in the class materials. So that was an example of something which isn't pop, but it is new, and there's a lot of experimentation out there, too, which I unfortunately don't have the time to cover in this lecture series.

4. Pansori in the international arena

Now, if up until now we've been talking mostly about bringing pansori closer to contemporary audiences within Korea, I want to finish off by talking about pansori when it moves into the international arena as well, and this section is based partially on another of my articles, titled "Hallyu Through the Grassroots: Experiences of Kugak in Europe and Beyond" (2022). So let me circle back for a minute to think about hallyu, the Korean wave, again. The Korean wave means the spread of Korean culture, both popular so film, music, drama, makeup, design, etc., and traditional, the food, the hanbok, the music and so on.

This term, hallyu, and the phenomenon itself, emerge from the 1990s. Initially, it's very much focused on popular culture, but in response to fears of decline as well as backlash against what was considered a very unilateral approach, there's been increasing diversification into other areas, including tradition, which really kicked off with the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism's "HanStyle" policy that ran from 2007 to 2011. So this is the moment where traditional culture is included in the Korean Wave, through these six elements: hangeul (Korean writing), hanbok (traditional clothing), hanji (paper craft), hanok (traditional houses), hansik (food), and hanguk eumak (traditional music).

What's quite striking is that if you look at the cultural policy documents, I've provided to the HanStyle policy papers, if you want to look at it more, is that firstly, it's predominantly framed in economic terms. Economic gains are considered the measurement of success of cultural policy.

So where does pansori fit, in the context of the Korean Wave? When pansori is presented abroad, it attains this representative status, representing the Korean nation as a whole to people overseas. Now, usually pansori, and other traditional Korean styles of music as well, tend to be presented in a gala format (see Kim Hee-sun 2022 and Creutzenberg 2022). So rather than just showing a full pansori performance of several hours, you'll see a short extract, interspersed with maybe some instrumental music, some dance, or maybe even some pop music as well, to keep it light, and hence reach and appeal to as broad an audience as possible. What's noticeable here, considering the fact that success of cultural policy is

measured in economic terms, there's in fact very little profit directly from these performances. Tickets to these kind of gala performances tend to be heavily subsidized, or even free, and Hong Kiwon gives the following explanation for this:

“These less lucrative industries were consistently held as important because their products were effective carriers of the country’s cultural image and Korean way of life, and therefore would have a huge window effect on other industries and their exports” (Hong Kiwon 2014: 74).

In other words, traditional music is promoting Korea, and it’s not important whether the pansori performance itself is economically viable, because its main purpose is to draw the audience’s in Korea, and then develop that interest into other areas which might show more direct economic gains. That's Hong's argument.

But in this sort of model, in these kind of presentations of Korean traditional culture, deep interaction with the culture is neither expected nor supported, and the focus remains very much on this initial contact with Korean traditional culture to spark interest in Korea as a whole. However, there have been efforts made in a variety of different genres, although obviously I’m focusing here on pansori, to allow people more in-depth interaction with the pansori genre as well.

In particular, pansori workshops in France and Belgium have been one of the most striking examples here. They have been led by pansori singer Min Hyesung for over 10 years, usually for two weeks per year, first only in France and then in Belgium as well. The classes all follow a similar model, where attendants of the workshops can learn basic vocalization, the rhythms and the gestures, and various new songs each year, with the lyrics written in a Romanized form as well as in hangeul using the jeongganbo box notation, which, if you remember, I talked to you about in lecture 1.

How successful this was becomes apparent when we realize that they even created an amateur pansori competition for non-Koreans in Paris as part of the K-Vox Festival that is run by Han Yumi and Hervé Péjaudier, a couple who are translators and researchers and doing a lot of work to promote Korean vocal music in the Francophone region. This ran for a couple of years, but then, due to the coronavirus and the lack of funding this hasn't been able to continue lately.

Instead, Min Hyesung has set up the Bonjour Pansori YouTube channel for her students, who were usually only able to receive two weeks of instruction a year, so that they can continue to learn pansori, or practice the things that they've learned, through this online support system of this YouTube channel. It's designed for Francophone audiences, using translation or subtitles. Let’s have a look at a brief video clip to see how this actually works:

So you can see, linguistically, it's made available for Francophone audiences, this is a basic introductory video showing you how do the vocalization in pansori, but with demonstrations, translations, and I think the visual aspect here is quite important as well, that you have both Korean and foreign students there in the video, presenting how it works. It's a very visual message to people who might be interested in pansori, saying look, you can do this, too.

So this team, Min, Han and Péjaudier, they've worked very actively, not just in arranging concerts, but providing workshops, putting out research works, translated materials, and so on to help enhance the knowledge of the audience in the Francophone region. It's been a long and slow effort, but it's definitely had effects.

Some workshop participants have now been learning pansori for almost ten years, albeit in short bursts each time. Several workshop attendants came to Korea for more in-depth study of pansori. What's striking as well is, if you attend a pansori performance in France or Belgium, people have been trained in the performance conventions, so you will actually see a lot of chuimsae, these shouts of encouragement, sometimes even more than you would see in a performance in Seoul.

This I think really shows the potential for this kind of model, although it obviously takes lots of time and effort before you will see results. I've tried it myself when I was holding a pansori workshop in London, for example, as a, introduction for a concert that was due to be held as part of the London K-Music Festival.

Now looking briefly in general at overseas education on Korean traditional music, as gugak is used to promote Korea overseas, you can increasingly observe a phenomenon of not just sending concerts overseas, but also providing more explanation on gugak for foreigners, both abroad and in Korea.

So I have put a link in the class materials to a news report on gugak classes for foreigners at the National Gugak Centre in 1998, this was the first time that they opened that program.

There was also the Traditional Performing Arts Academy for Foreigners at the National Theatre of Korea, which featured pansori instruction as well. Now, these were all switched online during the coronavirus pandemic, I've got some links to what that looked like, and I've already introduced you to the pansori introduction series done by the Namwon National Gugak Center, and there are many others out there.

Another particularly interesting case study, just to mention briefly, is the K-Community Festival, which is run by KOFICE, the Korean Foundation for International Cultural Exchange. It started in 2019, where it was held in Belgium, with community groups from various European countries being brought to Korea first to do training workshops in various Korean traditional arts, and then perform

them on stage at a K-pop Festival in Belgium.

Obviously, then the coronavirus pandemic hit. So in 2020, 2021, and 2022 it has been held predominantly online, where they get various idol groups to demonstrate challenges in a variety of traditional genres, that groups or individuals can then follow at home and film themselves doing, which they then submit for consideration. The winning video then gets the chance to, initially, have a video chat with the idol group, and then most recently also to meet the idol groups directly on stage.

These kind of large-scale projects are also ongoing, what's interesting, though, is that pansori has never been included in the K-Community Festival lineup. Often, pansori is considered too difficult to be able to reach meaningful gains in a short space of time. So the K-Community Festival so far tends to focus on folk songs instead.

Nevertheless, this shows you a bit of the variety of different projects and events, of different sizes and focuses, for the promotion of pansori and Korean traditional music overseas. There is definitely more research that needs to be done to assess the impact of these varying strategies.

But things are also continuing to develop, associations like the World Pansori Association is also working to develop pansori overseas. So, you know, watch this space to see how things continue to develop.

5. Conclusion

I come now to my final conclusion. In this lecture, we talked about a couple of different things linked vaguely to the concept of modernizing pansori; how, on the one hand, the lack of space for development in the government-sponsored preservation system hierarchy, as well as their own familiarity with and desire to emulate successful Korean pop stars, prompts young pansori artists to emulate the pop music framework in order to gain access in the contemporary popular music scene.

This leads us to question, what does that mean for the future development of pansori? I've added a couple of articles which critique this development, worrying about the potential hollowing out of gugak, how, if too much focus put on the popular, those basic traditional skill sets might be lost, and that that could then spell the end for the genre.

Either way, you cannot deny the fact that pansori artists are members of contemporary Korea just as much as non-traditional artists are, and they have to interact with the realities of the contemporary music market, these same dominant Korean Wave narratives, to attempt to prove the continued relevance of their music.

We also learned, however, that this is nothing new, looking back on the recent

history of pansori we can see various attempts to engage audiences, as we saw in the creation of changjak pansori in the last lecture, or new genres like gayageum byeongchang, changgeuk and yeoseong gukgeuk. These were all attempts that were being done already at the beginning of the twentieth century, to try and get modern audiences to pay attention to them again.

So that's one thing, this fact that artists are members of contemporary society and need to interact with the environment that contemporary society presents to them in their choices of how to develop their music.

On the other hand, we also discovered this symbolic value of pansori, which has made it an asset in promoting Korea overseas, especially as overseas interest in Korea as a whole has grown. But it's important to keep in mind that not all promotional policies are suitable for promoting pansori, it is not the same as K-pop, and trying to you use the same frameworks to promote it overseas isn't going to work in the same way.

Finally, we've addressed how introductory-level content introducing pansori is become a lot more widespread, and I want to use this opportunity to express my hope that more in-depth content at both the theoretical and practical level will become available for people overseas to build on initial interest in pansori and expand it further. In that sense, I think for me personally, having done this lecture series has been an incredibly meaningful moment.

It's the first time I've had the opportunity to talk about pansori in such depth, all in one go, and it's been such a great learning opportunity for me as well. I've discovered a lot of things, built a lot of connections between different areas of pansori, that hadn't been apparent to me before I took this time to look at everything, all in one go.

And you know that's shown me as well just how much more depth of knowledge in pansori is still possible. We've spent more than ten hours talking about this subject, and still there is so much more that we could be talking about.

And so I hope that with this lecture series, I've been able to inspire at least some curiosity from you to go and look for more information, find out more about pansori, you know, mine those depths yourselves. There's loads more out there for you to look into, and I hope that some of the joy that I had making this lecture.

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There's loads more out there for you to look into and I hope that some of the joy that I had in making this lecture series will have rubbed off on you.

Thanks for sticking with me until the end of this lecture series, I hope you've enjoyed it.

All the best. Goodbye.

■ 학습활동 (총 108분)

가. 퀴즈 (18분)

O/X퀴즈 (5분)

1. 창극은 여성국극 안에 포함되는 장르이다.

정답: X

2. 창극은 판소리에서 파생된 장르로, 현존하는 창극 작품은 판소리 5마당을 재해석한 5가지가 유일하다.

정답: X

3. 국악은 현대의 관객들에게 다가가기 위해 다양한 매체 및 장르와 결합하고 있다.

정답: O

4. 판소리 소리꾼 김준수와 고영열은 퓨전 밴드인 sEODo밴드와 함께 춘향가를 재해석하는 작업을 했다.

정답: X

5. 판소리를 국제 무대에 진출시키는 것은 문화 정책의 일환으로도 다루어지고 있다.

정답: O

선택형 (5분)

1. 다음 중 여성국극에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

① 남성들만 판소리를 부를 수 있던 19세기 초반에 여성들이 판소리 대신 연행하던 장르이다.

② 여성국극에 대해 다룬 콘텐츠로는 영화 <왕자가 된 소녀들>, 웹툰 <정년이> 등이 있다.

③ 극단 간의 경쟁 심화와 매체의 발전으로 인해 1960년대부터 쇠퇴하기 시작했다.

정답: ①

2. 이날치에 대한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

① 원래 19세기 명창의 이름이다.

② 판소리와 어울리는 전통적인 의상을 입고 활동해 인기를 얻었다.

③ 2020년 이후 크게 인기를 얻으면서 유명한 방송 프로그램에 출연하거나 광고를 찍기도 했다.

정답: ②

3. 국악을 주제로 한 방송 프로그램에 관한 설명으로 적절한 것은?

① JTBC <풍류대장>은 음악보다 출연자들의 경쟁과 개인적인 이야기에 초점을 맞추어 비판을 받았다.

② MBN의 <조선판스타>의 패널은 모두 대중음악 전문가로서 국악의 대중성에 대해 심사했

다.

③ JTBC <풍류대장>의 우승자는 sEODo밴드가 차지했다.

정답: ③

4. 외국인을 대상으로 이루어진 국악 교육에 관한 설명으로 적절하지 않은 것은?

① 외국인을 대상으로 한 국악 교육은 2000년대 이후부터 이루어졌다

② 1998년의 국립국악원에서는 외국인을 위한 국악 수업을 진행했다.

③ 코로나바이러스가 유행하던 시기에는 온라인을 통한 교육이 진행되었다.

정답: ①

5. 국제 사회에 국악을 알리기 위한 KOFICE의 활동으로 적절한 것은?

① 2000년대부터 유럽의 국가들을 대상으로 한국 전통 예술에 대한 워크숍을 개최했다.

② 현재 KOFICE의 K-Community Festival은 판소리 위주로 진행되는 경향이 있다.

③ 코로나바이러스가 유행하던 2020년부터 2022년에는 온라인 통한 챌린지 활동을 진행하기도 했다.

정답: ③

단답형 (8분)

다음 빈칸에 들어갈 알맞은 말을 답해 봅시다.

1. 최초의 창극은 1903년 한국 최초의 현대 극장인 (-----)에서 공연된 춘향가이다.

정답: 협률사

2. (-----)는 최초의 여성 판소리 소리꾼인 진채선에 관한 영화이다.

정답: 도리화가

3.파리에서는 한국인이 아닌 사람들을 대상으로 한 아마추어 판소리 경연대회인 (-----)이 열렸다.

정답: K-Vox Festival

나. 토의 (30분)

현대의 판소리가 대중음악과 결합한 사례에 대해 간단히 설명해 봅시다.

*답안 작성 방향

현대의 판소리는 다양한 대중음악과 결합하며 현대의 관객들에게 다가가고 있다. 대표적인 예를 몇 가지 들면 다음과 같다. 밴드 The 메아리가 수궁가를 재해석한 ‘시계토끼를 찾아라’를 발표했고, 판소리 소리꾼인 김준수와 고영열은 밴드 두 번째 달과 함께 춘향가를 재해석했다. 또한 밴드 이날치는 현대적인 스타일링과 함께 밴드 음악과 결합한 판소리를 선보여 큰 인기를 얻었다. 이 외에도 JTBC의 프로그램 <풍류대장>에서는 최예림이 에미넴의 ‘Lose Yourself’를 국악과 결합했고, <풍류대장>의 우승자인 sEODo밴드 역시 밴드와 판소리를 결합한 음악을 발표했다.

다. 과제 (60분)

판소리와 창극의 차이점에 대해 설명해 봅시다.

***답안 작성 방향**

창극은 판소리에서 파생된 장르로, 19세기 말에서 20세기 초에 등장하였다. 판소리에서는 한 명의 소리꾼이 여러 명의 등장인물을 연기하고, 중간에 등장하는 해설자의 역할도 겸한다. 반면 창극에서는 각 등장인물마다 배역을 나누어 맡아 연기하고, 해설자의 역할을 하는 도창이 따로 있다. 또한 창극은 판소리와 달리 소품, 무대, 의상을 갖추고 공연한다. 이 외에도 판소리는 고수의 북 반주에 맞춰서 노래하지만, 창극은 여러 악기로 이루어진 관현악 반주에 맞추어 노래한다. 다만 이러한 관현악 반주는 창극의 연기자들이 악기의 음높이에 맞추어 항상 같은 키로 노래해야 한다는 어려움을 유발시키기도 한다.

■ 참고자료

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sEODo BAND Concert Episode 1: FrAMe ([영상 보기](#))

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