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Donna Lee Kwon

University of Kentucky, donna.kwon@uky.edu

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“Becoming One”: Embodying Korean P’ungmul Percussion Band Music and Dance through Site-Specific Intermodal Transmission

DONNA LEE KWON / University of Kentucky

Abstract. This article focuses on the P’ilbong p’ungmul transmission center as a case study of a relatively new type of cultural institution in South Korea. I examine how these transmission centers structure the experience of an expressive folk culture form by emphasizing site-specific instruction and employing intermodal pedagogical techniques that specifically heighten an awareness of the body in both place and space. I argue that the P’ilbong p’ungmul transmission center encourages the embodiment of an alternative Korean sensibility that is expressed through music, dance and other social activities, but is further enhanced by situating the body within iconically “Korean” spaces.

요약. 이 논문은 한국의 다소 새로운 형태의 문화시설이라 할 수 있는 필봉농악 전수회관에 관한 사례를 다루고 있다. 이 글에서 연구자는 전수관이라는 장소에 맞춘 교육과 장소와 공간에서 신체에 대한 인식을 고양시키는 통합적인 교육방식을 강조함으로써 어떻게 필봉농악 전수관이 풍부한 표현이 담긴 민속문화의 경험을 구성하는지를 검토하고자 한다. 이를 통해 연구자는 필봉농악 전수관이 음악, 춤, 그리고 사교적인 활동을 통해 드러나는 대안적 한국인의 감성을 형상화 할 뿐만 아니라 한발 더 나아가 신체를 상징적으로 “한국적 공간”속에 위치시킴으로써 이러한 감성을 더욱 강화되고 있음을 보여주하고자 한다.

On a cold winter’s day in 2002, I observed *p’ungmul* (Korean rural percussion band music and dance) take place within the context of a Lunar New Year

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ritual in the village of P'ilbong, for the very first time.¹ I was looking forward to this event all year because many of my teachers had spoken so often about the communal philosophy of p'ungmul and the importance of “becoming one” in the metaphorical “village courtyard” or *madang*. For someone who had only heard about the *madang* as a metaphor for a more participatory kind of performance space, it was truly staggering to see an actual courtyard of an otherwise quiet village home (Figure 1) transform into a sea of bodies (performers and audience alike), all moving up and down and swaying their arms back and forth perfectly in sync with the music (Figure 2).

At first glance, the communal way-of-being pictured in Figure 2 may seem remarkably natural and spontaneous to an outsider, as if all of the participants had grown up together in the same village.² In actuality, however, many of the performers and audience members came from other towns and cities and the vast majority of the younger participants made a conscious choice to learn how to move and interact in a P'ilbong p'ungmul event through an intense process of cultural transmission. The high degree of coordinated participation and cultural familiarity that is evident here would not be possible if it were not for what participants call *chönsu* (lit., transmission): the practice of attending intensive week-long sessions of site-specific instruction at transmission centers called *chönsugwan*.³ These centers were originally built to support Korean forms that were designated as Intangible Cultural Properties by the South Korean govern-



Figure 1. Empty *Madang* in the village of P'ilbong (Photo by author)



Figure 2. Full *Madang* in the village of P'ilbong (Photo by author)

ment and as such, deserve special attention as an alternative cultural institution in South Korea. While most of these centers strive to establish cultural continuity with earlier modes of transmission, they can never truly recreate the traditional rural settings of the past. At the same time, most of these centers do not conform to the more modern institutional models established by standardized performing arts schools or conservatories.

In this article, I focus on the P'ilbong p'ungmul transmission center (run by the Imshil P'ilbong *Nongak* Preservation Society) as a case study of how South Korean transmission centers structure the experience of an expressive folk culture form by emphasizing site-specific instruction and employing intermodal pedagogical techniques that specifically heighten an awareness of the body in both place and space.⁴ In Tomie Hahn's ethnography of Japanese dance transmission, *Sensational Knowledge: Embodying Culture Through Japanese Dance*, Hahn writes that "systems of transmission structure experience so that, within the social group, the world appears similarly constructed and members know how to interact within it" (2007:5). The P'ilbong p'ungmul transmission center operates similarly by encouraging the embodiment of an alternative Korean subjectivity that is expressed through music, dance, and other social activities,⁵ but is further enhanced by situating the body within the iconically Korean spaces

of the rural hometown, village, or madang.⁶ I argue that this center cultivates an alternative subjectivity that is characterized by a more participatory, madang-oriented way-of-being that contrasts with the hyper-competitive mindsets that drive many contemporary urban Koreans. Most crucially, the madang way-of-being encompasses both performers and audience members and in effect serves to blur the boundaries between the two.

In terms of the broader Korean cultural landscape, this participatory way-of-being is significant because it works against what Marilyn Ivy views as the “phantasmatic” nature of tradition, whereby folk forms are rendered ephemeral through their perpetual association to an ever-receding, pre-colonial past (1995:22–23). More specifically, I argue that these site-specific transmission strategies counteract this phantasmatic tendency, placing more focus on bringing folk practices more fully into the embodied present, even if in an idealized fashion. In this way, the body can be seen as a vital site of agency, especially in terms of working against the “museumization” or preservation of folk culture as frozen artifacts of the past.

Implicit in this article is the notion that modes of transmission are significant, not only because they help to effectively pass down musical content from one individual or set of individuals to another but because they can also figure powerfully into the transmission and renegotiation of various forms of cultural knowledge. On one level, I see the cultivation of a madang way-of-being as an effective way of nurturing community or *kongdongchê*, which I interpret as coming from a democratization movement-inspired cultural politics of de-colonization—both of space and the body.⁷ This is important given that these transformative feelings can be interpreted to signify the possibility of social and political mobilization on a larger scale. On another level, this madang way-of-being can also lead to intense feelings of individual transformation that can play out in the renegotiation of identity in terms of class, ethnicity, gender, or sexuality.

In illustrating these points, I pursue several pathways of inquiry. First, I situate the study of Korean transmission within the context of other studies of transmission in ethnomusicology. Then, I discuss some of the theoretical and pedagogical processes involved in creating a communal way-of-being in the p'ungmul transmission center in the village of P'ilbong. Some of these include processes of internalization, embodiment, and the development of certain Korean subjectivities. Because many of these processes are oriented towards interacting within the madang setting, I argue that the madang serves as an iconic frame for the transmission center community—just as the stage may serve as an important frame for other types of expressive communities. I will demonstrate these points by taking you into the world of the transmission center complex as well as the village of P'ilbong. Specifically, I will focus on the practice of *tapsa* or “fieldtrips” to the actual village of P'ilbong, as well as the culminating leader competition and performance. Lastly, I analyze some of the unique pedagogical

techniques that specifically target the body in transmitting a sense of groove that is unique to the P'ilbong style of p'ungmul.⁸ In highlighting these processes, I hope to illustrate how the nexus of site-specific transmission, spatial framing, and a focus on the body has figured effectively into the transmission of p'ungmul in contemporary South Korean society.

Situating Korean Transmission

The notion of vitality and agency existing within a government-driven system of intangible cultural asset preservation—such as the one that was developed in South Korea—contradicts the widespread belief that this type of policy contributes to the freezing of tradition. As in most contemporary societies, the transmission of older cultural forms is an area where discourses, institutional structures, and practices collide—often in messy, conflicting, and unpredictable ways. While the Ministry of Culture set the terms of the discourse of cultural preservation through the Cultural Property Protection Law in 1962 (*Munhwajae pohopöp* Law 961), it was not necessarily enacted at the institutional level in a centralized, top-down fashion. Although there are some national institutions that serve as obvious centers for the cultural preservation of certain Intangible Cultural Properties—such as the National Gugak Center for court-related genres in particular—most expressive folk culture forms were granted government support to build their own transmission centers or chönsugwan in order to support their local base and maintain regional identity (Yang 1994:70–72).⁹

As stated previously, the chönsugwan represents a relatively new type of cultural institution: one that is sanctioned by a national government mandate but nevertheless maintains some local autonomy. As such, most of these centers are run by local practitioners and because of the flexibility this entails, they tend to be managed differently from location to location. Some transmission centers have been extremely successful in eliciting the participation of college students and members of the community, many of whom were active in the cultural arm of the 1970s and 80s political democratization movement or *minjung munhwa undong* (lit., people's cultural movement). This movement spurred a grassroots and college student-driven folk revival that generated alternative discourses and ensuing debate about the role and function of expressive folk culture in contemporary Korean society.¹⁰ To put it simply, the government was primarily concerned with preservation, authenticity, and the fostering of regional and national identity, whereas those involved in the grassroots movement were much more interested in making folk culture relevant as a means of social commentary, political protest, and community building.

The P'ilbong p'ungmul transmission center, in particular, has a long history of attracting those involved in folk revival politics, even while it has continued to benefit from government support. Due to their decentralized location, relative

degree of autonomy, and influence from a range of different discourses, transmission centers like the one at P'ilbong do not follow the model of a standardized arts institution. This may be because there is more flexibility in the way that these chönsugwan structure experience to accommodate different kinds of individuals and groups, from young children, to politically-minded college students, to those pursuing more of a professional or academic track in the arts.¹¹ These various groups inevitably mix and give rise to a more diverse range of practices that are not necessarily bound by the dominant discourses that inform each group or even the transmission center. Drawing primarily on Pierre Bourdieu's theorization of practice theory (1977), Ingrid Monson writes that "practices can take many forms—musical, economic, sexual, ritual and so on, but key to their difference from discourse is their stress on embodied knowledge and action" (Monson 2007:26). What transmission centers, such as the one at P'ilbong, do so well is emphasize this embodiment of practice—not just in terms of aesthetic expression but also more critically in the realm of social life and action. For example, in addition to teaching aesthetic content, the teachers highly encourage activities that promote leadership as well as a robust work ethic of community service, activism, play and volunteerism.

In highlighting the flexibility, localization and specific transmission techniques of the P'ilbong p'ungmul transmission center, this article is in line with relatively recent work that further nuances the role of the institution in the transmission of tradition. Most notably, Judah Cohen's 2009 study of Jewish cantorial schools deftly dispels the notion that non-institutional forms of transmission (one-on-one oral transmission) are somehow more authentic and traditional, and institutional ones somehow more modern and "Westernized." By focusing on three key moments in Jewish history, Cohen accentuates the high degree of non-linear fluidity of transmission over time and reveals that transmission does not always evolve in a progressive fashion from less to more institutionalized over time, despite claims that suggest otherwise (2009:321). It is important to note that P'ilbong's p'ungmul transmission practices have also been extremely fluid over time. While my previous research on the historical development of P'ilbong p'ungmul transmission over the past several decades does suggest a loose progression from non-institutional to institutional learning, it has not been a continuous or predictable process.¹²

Cohen's study of transmission is particularly relevant in Asia, where many of the more elite transmission institutions can trace their history back for hundreds of years and do not necessarily represent a significant break from tradition. In the case of South Korea, there are many institutions that offer instruction in older forms of Korean music and dance that have not significantly deviated from the older mode of oral transmission from teacher to student.¹³ While the use of notation is by no means absent, oral transmission remains indispensable to transmission in Korean music.

In other countries in Asia, there are several studies based in Indonesia (Sutton 1991, Brinner 1995, Sumarsam 1995), Thailand (Wong 2001) and China (Witzleben 1995, Lau 2008) that portray elite music institutions as maintaining some measure of continuity with past traditions (as well as notions of authority and competence) while also serving as sites of contestation in the project of bolstering national identity. This sometimes occurs at the expense of the regional. While the relationship between national institutions and regional centers is certainly relevant to this study, it is not its principal focus, nor is the issue of how the nation-state maintains direct authority over regional musical practices of central interest here. In this way, this is not a top-down study of transmission where the central point of inquiry might be the National Gugak Center or the Ministry of Culture and Tourism's Intangible Cultural Property system.¹⁴ Rather, I am interested in documenting some of the regional practices of transmission that happen on the ground, with an eye towards documenting the incremental changes that demonstrate how a group flexibly adapts to new realities, even while adhering to a government mandate of preservation. Along these lines, this article joins a large body of work that focuses on regional forms of Korean folk expressive culture, including major studies in English on regional forms of Korean shamanism (Park 1985, 2003; Howard 1989; Seo 2002; Lee 2004; Mills 2007), rural p'ungmul (Hesselink 2006, 2011; Saeji 2013), and mask dance (Saeji 2012).

While regional genres are well documented and explored in Korean music studies, this article explores a less traveled path in its attention to the micro-practices of transmission and the role of embodiment in particular.¹⁵ In the broader field of ethnomusicology, however, this article intersects with several recent threads of inquiry in regards to transmission. As noted earlier, I draw much inspiration from Tomie Hahn's work in considering the body and all of its senses in the transmission of dance movements and cultural knowledge. Although I do not methodically explore all of the senses in this article, I do consider the powerful role of the senses in heightening the transmission process. In addition, my interest in looking at the role of techniques of transmission across multiple domains resonates with Benjamin Brinner's landmark work, *Knowing Music, Making Music: Javanese Gamelan and the Theory of Musical Competence and Interaction* (1995). Here, Brinner draws on cognitive science and cognitive musicology to be one of the first ethnomusicologists to systematically identify and theorize multiple domains of musical competence.

Gina Fatone furthers Brinner's foray into cognitive musicology in her interdisciplinary study of the use of intermodal imagery in Scottish classical bagpiping (2010). Specifically, Fatone revisits Brinner's notion of cross-domain or cross-modal cognitive processes and defines them as "mental operations involving the transfer or interaction of counterparts between different domains of experience (i.e., visual, motor, auditory, vocal, imagined)" (2010:397). However, by her conclusion, Fatone favors the term "intermodal" over "cross-modal" in order to

emphasize that certain pedagogical techniques encourage more of an interactive back-and-forth process rather than a unidirectional movement from one domain to another (2010:415). My research and experience concurs with Fatone's so I have opted to use the term "intermodal" as well to describe this process. Lastly, this article also intersects with Fatone's sophisticated discussion of embodied cognition theory, which she aptly summarizes as "based on the idea that our thought processes are fundamentally rooted in bodily experience" (2010:413). While she does mention a few limitations of this theory in explaining certain aspects of her research on transmission, I have found it to be especially relevant in p'ungmul, especially given that it is a highly embodied form of expression. By focusing on site-specific, intermodal techniques of the body, I hope to shed some light on how musicians learn how to play the characteristic sense of groove that is associated with the P'ilbong regional style.

Pedagogy, Embodiment, and the P'ilbong P'ungmul Transmission Center

The Imshil P'ilbong Nongak Preservation Society (hereafter referred to as IPNPS) is one of many folk culture organizations in South Korea that preserve and continue their tradition through the practice of *chönsu* or intensive site-specific transmission. The typical *chönsu* program is one week long and is normally attended as part of a larger group or class. Based on my experiences visiting various transmission centers in Korea, the P'ilbong transmission center stands out in terms of developing its programs in order to reach out to a larger number and a wider spectrum of participants. Because of this, students travel from all over South Korea and even abroad in order to experience p'ungmul being taught in close proximity to the village of P'ilbong.

The P'ilbong transmission center not only cultivates a distinct, local environment in which participants are able to hone their skills but it provides a place where students can learn how to interact more effectively, both socially and musically, in madang-type settings.¹⁶ Physical madangs are integral to villages such as P'ilbong. In addition to the house courtyard madang pictured in Figures 1 and 2, madangs can also be found at important village sites such as the main water source or spring and the guardian spirit tree (*tangsan namu*). Larger and more public madangs (also called *p'ans*) might also be cleared in a village common area or in an adjacent field. Inspired by these types of spaces, madangs and *p'ans* were strategically placed throughout the transmission center complex (see Figure 3, below), which is adjacent to the village on the other side of a road that has recently turned into a major thoroughfare.

In my research, I have found that encouraging madang-type interactions is achieved through the use of pedagogical techniques that emphasize madang-related discourses. Although this is not the space to speak comprehensively on



Figure 3. P'ilbong P'ungmul Transmission Center Complex Map

the discursive meanings associated with the madang, I can summarize by saying that these meanings can be sorted into the following categories (see Table 1): (1) the spatial-temporal (2) social-relational (3) transformative or dynamic, and (4) experiential (Kwon 2005:117–124).

These discourses help to strategically transmit Korean expressive folk culture by encouraging the internalization of a communal way-of-being in the madang,

Table 1. Discourses of the Madang

Category	Thematic Meanings
1. Spatial/Temporal	<i>Madang</i> as an integrated spatio-temporal <i>field</i> <i>Madang</i> as a space of “openness” or “open emptiness”
2. Social/Relational	<i>Madang</i> as a space of “community” or Kongdongchê <i>Madang</i> as a space that encourages an inclusive audience/performer relationship
3. Transformative-Dynamic	<i>Madang</i> as a space of “cooperative labor” or <i>ture</i> <i>Madang</i> as space of ritual or <i>kut</i> <i>Madang</i> as space of “ritual catharsis” or <i>shinmyông</i> <i>Madang</i> as a space of “chaos” and “topsy-turvy” or nanjang <i>Madang</i> as a cosmological space of nature
4. Experiential	<i>Madang</i> as a space of “being in the moment” or <i>hyôngjang</i> <i>Madang</i> as a space of “play” or <i>nori</i>

often in a relatively short span of time and in a transformative manner. According to Anna M. Gade, “internalization is a process by which social messages and meanings are felt, thought, and experienced in ways that affect how people make themselves and their worlds” (2002:328). In this way, I assert that the internalization of a madang way-of-being may play a role in facilitating feelings of transformation, in ways akin to what may occur in ritual or religious settings.¹⁷

Following Gade’s suggestion that the “keys to understanding internalization processes . . . often emerge within processes of learning” (*ibid.*, 342), my goal here is to analyze how a madang way-of-being is taught and therefore internalized in ways that explicitly involve the body. In this way, I find it important to examine this phenomenon from a participant’s perspective as part of a process of embodiment. According to Thomas J. Csordas, an anthropologist who has synthesized several strains of thinking on the body, a theory of embodiment entails situating the body as the “subjective source or intersubjective ground of experience” (1999:143).¹⁸ Given that transmission centers are usually very intense and isolated environments, they can be especially conducive to the cultivation of intersubjective experience and the embodiment of certain alternative Korean subjectivities. These Korean subjectivities stand in relief to the hyper-competitive mindsets that many South Koreans espouse in order to succeed in a neoliberal capitalist society. More specifically, these subjectivities tend to align with the philosophy of kongdongchê or what can loosely be thought of as a philosophy of community participation. In the world of the P’ilbong p’ungmul transmission center, I have observed that what constitutes a good p’ungmul player is very much intertwined with what constitutes a good “subject.” Because of this link, the transmission center can be a powerful place to learn and negotiate the various modes of behavior, social interaction and attitudes that are associated with p’ungmul-oriented subjectivities.¹⁹

Although the assemblage of people who occupy a transmission center is always changing, there can be a remarkable sense of community that persists from week to week. I argue that this is possible because the transmission center creates community through a constancy of intention. Even if the people do not remain constant, the intention of the community does. In this way, one can say that the transmission center creates a kind of intentional community. In the case of P’ilbong, participants in this intentional community form a critical network of people who share an interest in P’ilbong p’ungmul.

A Twenty-first Century Traditional P’ungmul Village

In this next section, I present a picture of the P’ilbong transmission center and provide some relevant contextual information. In 1999–2000, the leaders of the IPNPS initiated ambitious plans to construct what has become one of the

most comprehensive transmission centers of its kind in South Korea. The plan consisted of expanding upon the small building that was built in 1989 as part of the process of receiving recognition and support from the Korean government as an Intangible Cultural Property. According to the plan proposed in the early 2000s, the new transmission center complex would include additional buildings for instruction and practice, a traditional residential area for the teachers, a memorial/performance hall, an office/resource center, a museum and a large residential hall with an adjoining cafeteria. In the last several years, additional performance areas, residential, and recreational buildings were proposed and built with a more traditional Korean architectural design.

These later developments to the transmission center complex have made it much easier to accommodate increased programming with a wider diversity of students. Though a majority of chönsu students used to come from college-based p'ungmul clubs or circles, increasingly, students include middle-age amateurs from community organizations, grade-school children and their families, as well as a growing number of seniors. More recently I have observed a small contingent of college Korean music majors training at P'ilbong, sometimes going so far as to live there for months at a time. While I was there during the 2001 and 2002 sessions, it was common for the center to have as many as 300 college students in attendance at any given time during the chönsu season. Today, fewer college students and young people attend the weeklong sessions in p'ungmul. Interestingly, the shorter 1–3 day programs now attract large numbers of families, children and youth seeking a more general introduction to Korean arts and culture. In addition to p'ungmul, other Korean performing arts and crafts are taught, including mask dance, mask-making, *kanggangsullae* group play, folksong, egg-basket making, and traditional cloth-dyeing. When I asked Yang Chin-söng, P'ilbong's *sangsoe* (lead gong player) and president, what was behind some of these recent developments, he replied that it grew out of a desire to make Korean traditional culture fun and easy to integrate into the *saenghwal munhwa* or the “culture of everyday life” (interview, Yang Chin-söng, 20 May 2012, P'ilbong, South Korea).

Apparent in the design of the transmission center was an intention to push the concept of transmission in new directions. In a brochure for the 2001 P'ilbong P'ungmul Festival, the Center proposed its vision of the complex as a “traditional p'ungmul village.” In keeping with this, some of the goals it listed included: (1) “to preserve and develop P'ilbong p'ungmul in an inventive manner and increase the cultural artistry and manpower of the organization;” (2) “to promote the traditional p'ungmul village into the 21st century;” (3) “to enliven local traditional culture and develop an appropriate course of cultural tourism;” and (4) “to create a model of Korean cultural work and offer a cultural resting place to appreciate the region's beauty” (Imshil P'ilbong Nongak Preservation Society 2001:6–7). In

this way, this P'ilbong organization has combined its goals of preservation and transmission with a vision to expand upon p'ungmul's potential to stimulate the local culture, environment, economy, and tourism.

'Becoming One': Inside A Week at the P'ilbong Transmission Center

Yang Chin-sŏng (the current IPNPS leader) said that when you are playing in the p'an or madang, it's not about showing off one's skill, it's about being aware of each other and becoming one. He said that it is more important to be thinking about what kind of spirit or soul you are going to play with, than anything else . . . You have to think about one's *chŏngsŏng* (one's true heart, sincerity, devotion) or feeling (interview, Ewha University student, 10 August 2002, P'ilbong, South Korea).

In the words of a chŏnsu participant from the Ewha University group, *Ek-megi* (lit., "bad luck blockers"), a typical week-long program at the P'ilbong transmission center, is structured towards the goal of coming together or becoming one in the madang-setting of the final p'ungmul performance. The daily classes provide the training and insight to inspire students to fully interact expressively in this culminating madang event (whether as a player or audience member). In the evenings, students congregate in spirited social gatherings called *twip'uri* where the participants can theoretically develop the spirit and sincere feeling to play meaningfully together.²⁰ Along with this, the participants of the camp must also collectively choose a sangsoe who will lead the final performance in a contest called the sangsoe *bbobki* or "picking the sangsoe."

The format of the chŏnsu program is somewhat typical of what one might encounter in music camps in the United States. The p'ungmul-oriented program does vary a little from session to session as the teachers have experimented with adapting existing activities or fitting in other types of classes and activities. These include the anecdotal *p'ungmul* lectures called *iyagi p'an-kut* (roughly "story-gathering"), *sŏlchanggu* (solo *changgo* playing), *minyŏ* (folksong) classes, *sogo* dance (dance classes with the hand-held sogo drum), fieldtrips to the P'ilbong village, and presentations on the environment and other topics (see Table 2).

Environmental Awareness and Maintaining a Sense of the Hyŏnjang

Chŏnsu is, no doubt, an intensely physical and sensually stimulating experience for many of those who attend. One of the reasons for this is that many of the discursive practices of the madang that are emphasized during chŏnsu specifically target the body. This is especially evident in the way some students throw themselves into the spirit of kongdongch'e, carrying out various laborious chores with little complaint. A gentler manifestation of this can be seen in

Table 2. Winter 2002 *Chönsu* schedule

Mon	Tues	Wed	Thurs	Fri	Sat	Sun
	9–12 am P'ungmul Lecture (<i>Iyagi</i> <i>P'an-kut</i>)	9–12 am Class	9–12 am Class	9–12 am Class	9–12 am Class	9–11 am Class 11–12 am <i>Sangsoe</i> <i>Contest</i>
	2–4.30 pm Class	2–4.30 pm Class	2–4.30 pm P'ilbong fieldtrip (<i>tapsa</i>) 4.30–6pm Folksong	2–4.30 pm Class 4.30–6pm Environment class	2–4.30 pm Sogo dance class 4.30–6pm Folksong	Practice and Clean-up
Arrive 6pm Group-run Orientation	7–9 pm group or individual practice 9pm-Social <i>twip'uri</i> *	7–9 pm group or individual practice 9pm-Social <i>twip'uri</i> *	7–9 pm group or individual practice 9pm-Social <i>twip'uri</i> *	7–9 pm group or individual practice 9pm-Social <i>twip'uri</i> *	7–9 pm group or individual practice 9pm-Social <i>twip'uri</i> *	6pm Final Performance 9pm-Social <i>twip'uri</i> *

**twip'uri* literally means “after-party” and refers to informal gatherings that follow a significant event, but in this case, they occur almost every night of *chönsu*

programs that are designed to impart an embodied awareness of the “actual location or moment” or *hyönjang* in madang-related discourse. These programs have included a P'ilbong *tapsa* or fieldtrip as well as an environmental demonstration on the surrounding geographical environment.²¹

In the P'ilbong fieldtrip, students not only develop an embodied understanding of the sights and sounds of P'ilbong village, but they also have the opportunity to walk through the madangs that are associated with the various p'ungmul-related rituals that are performed throughout the village. In addition to targeting the body by taking the students on a journey through the village, the *hyönjang* concept also contributes to an effective pedagogy of on-site learning. This technique is particularly effective in cultivating cultural memory by bringing past people and events into clearer focus. For example, on one of these fieldtrips our guide walked with us up the road towards the village, stopping at a grassy mound up on the hill where the previous *sangsoe* leader was buried. This served as a departure point for our guide to introduce us to Yang Sun-yong (the previous leader or *sangsoe*). Here, Han Jae-hun was able to effectively segue into describing the life of this particular *sangsoe* in this location-specific story:

After a *kut* [ritual] is finished, there is this thing called the *sangsoe taejöp* [*sangsoe* reception].²² First they prepare a table of food and call for the *sangsoe* to come. On this really big table, they put meat, soup, fish, side dishes . . . and then all the village elders come and talk [give their evaluation]. First they say thanks and then . . . they

might say ‘when you played *morigut*²³ the *toen samchae*²⁴ was too slow,’ and so they pick up one of the side dishes and take it off the table. ‘When you did the *panguljin*²⁵ you spiraled in the wrong direction,’ and so they take off the meat. ‘During the *p’ungryu-gut*²⁶, it was too . . . brazen, bold’ and so they take something away. If it’s decided that the sangsoe really didn’t play well that day, they take everything away, and so the sangsoe has no choice but to eat his rice with some water and soy sauce. If he plays well, then they let him eat and tell him what parts he played well. And in the event that the sangsoe really didn’t play well, then the next day they tie him to a tree . . . When the kut doesn’t go well, then the one who receives all the anger and punishment is the sangsoe (video fieldrecording, Han Jae-hun, 17 January 2002, P’ilbong, South Korea).

In this way, Han was able to convey both the essence of a community aesthetic critique as well as the weight and gravity of being a sangsoe as some of us, no doubt, contemplated the possibility of being tied to a tree all day.

As we made our way towards Yang’s residence, Han Jae-hun spoke movingly about how Yang’s life as a sangsoe also affected his family life.

The teacher’s house is right here. His wife lives there now. If you look at it in one way, his wife also had her share of hardships. Of course the teacher did too . . . The sangsoe needs to be taken care of. Though he lived here originally, when the sangsoe was invited to Namwŏn, they had to take care of the sangsoe. They had to decide how much money to give, how much land, and how much rice. This is called the sangsoe *moshigi* . . . In this way, even if he was working, he would drop everything at the sound of a kut; he would just go. His wife had to worry about eating and surviving. But [Yang Sun-yong] would work, then play kut, work and then play, which had the potential to cause a lot of problems. But, even so, it’s largely due to the teacher that P’ilbong has come so far. And as much as P’ilbong has grown, his wife always has worked just as hard. Whenever, there is a large kut, she always takes care of all the food on her own . . . This is the way she has spent her whole life (video fieldrecording, Han Jae-hun, 17 January 2002, P’ilbong, South Korea).

Although the contributions of women are often left out of p’ungmul narratives, being in the hyŏnjang of the village seemed to help trigger the filling of these gaps, thus providing a fuller picture of p’ungmul practices. From one perspective, this story could serve to perpetuate the idea that a women’s place in p’ungmul is to serve and not play. At the same time, however, Han conveys his deep respect for his wife’s contribution by putting it on equal footing with that of Yang Sun-yong’s. In sum, the various locations of the village provided an anchor for the students to get a more tangible sense of the people, sounds, and stories of P’ilbong.

Sangsoe Ppopki (Picking a Sangsoe) and the Final Performance

A longstanding tradition of the P’ilbong chŏnsu has been to hold a contest to pick a sangsoe or lead small gong player who will then be in charge of the final performance. Held on the morning of the last day of programming, the contest takes place in the main madang. Cut into a hill, one side of the madang

is graduated into steps that serve as seats for viewing. Normally, about eight to fifteen people participate (see Figure 4). Whether these young men and women win or not, the contest gives them an opportunity to prove their ability to embody the sangsoe role with all of the attendees and teachers as witnesses (see Figure 5). Practically speaking, the person who is chosen is the one who can best negotiate the various elements of a p'ungmul madang. According to the current sangsoe, Yang Chin-sŏng, these three main elements include the people, the artistic features (music and dance), and the space of the madang itself (2000:39).

In order to evaluate mastery of these three elements, the contestants proceed through several rounds of competition that are judged by representative participants of a given training session. In the first round, each contestant plays a passage of his or her choosing. From here, the judges select the three most promising contestants to compete in three more stages in which they demonstrate their skills by: 1) playing the challenging *kaenjigaeng* rhythm; 2) dancing with a sogo drum and; 3) displaying their knowledge of P'ilbong p'ungmul by answering a set of questions that often explore how one might handle a given spatial, temporal, or social situation in the madang. The diversity of these stages ensures that artistic proficiency is not enough to become the sangsoe. For example, a contestant with strong musical skills may be perceived as being too absorbed in his or her own playing and would therefore elicit much discussion about whether he/she possessed enough maturity to truly be attuned to everyone else in the madang (Kwon 2005:251, Jin 2010:77–90).



Figure 4. *Sangsoe Bbopki* Contestants (Photo by author)



Figure 5. Female Sangsoe Bbopki Contestant (Photo by author)

For the winner, the chance to embody the sangsoe and lead people from a multitude of teams can be regarded as a kind of ultimate experience for an aspiring p'ungmul player. The final performance that results from the sangsoe competition serves as the culminating, and often, most cathartic event of chönsu. From start to finish, the final performance is completely run by the students, largely through the leadership of the student governing body and the newly-chosen sangsoe. Though the format is somewhat open depending on the chönsu, this event is modeled upon a village ritual kut, much like the one P'ilbong organizes for Lunar New Year, but on a smaller scale. Depending on the season and the participants, the format can take either a ritual or more entertainment-oriented direction. In addition to practicing for the performance, important tasks include preparing a bonfire (necessary to provide warmth and light in the evening), buying and cooking the food, and cleaning-up afterwards. Although everyone cannot play an instrument or character role (*chapsaek*) in the final performance, the idea is that everyone should contribute in some way.

Since this event takes place within the concentrated context of transmission, it is a unique opportunity for students. Although not exactly spontaneous, the event challenges the students to embrace being in the moment or *hyönjang*, an important aspect of madang discourse; for example, they must make the most of what resources and circumstances are present in the space, time and social milieu of a given chönsu session. These include the people, the chosen

sangsoe, the weather, the friendships that were forged, the songs or stories that were shared, any unfolding drama among the participants, and the food that was available at market that day. In addition to the *hyŏnjang*, the participants have the potential to embody several other *madang*-related concepts such as *kut* (ritual), *kongdongchŏ* (community), *shinmyŏng* (spiritual catharsis), *nori* (play) and even *nanjang* (chaos). When I asked Yang Chin-sŏng why he thought it was important for people to come directly to P'ilbong to play, he replied,

Even though people come to P'ilbong, playing the P'ilbong way is still hard. The easiest thing to do is teach P'ilbong as a composed set of rhythms . . . But we are not here to teach a composition, we're here to teach P'ilbong as a ritual or *kut*. Well, What is *kut*? . . . *Kut* is not a problem of instruments, it is a problem of people . . . It also has to do with the social environment that people live in. This is something we have to create continuously together. So, to do P'ilbong *kut* the right way, you have to meet each other and think about it, and as then that feeling comes, right? . . . [S]tudents come knowing this, they come because they want to learn about *kut* (interview, Yang Chin-sŏng, 10 August, 2002, P'ilbong, South Korea).

Transmitting the Groove: A Microanalysis of Music, Movement, and the Body

Though Yang Chin-sŏng asserts that mastering *kut* is more a problem of people than a problem of instruments, one look at the schedule suggests that this comment is meant to be more rhetorical than literal. In fact, day in and day out, students may spend from four to eight hours per day learning, playing, and rehearsing P'ilbong rhythms and movements on the *changgo* or *soe* (small gong). While the culminating final performance serves as an important macro-level structuring device that defines one's experience at *chŏnsu*, the micro-practices of class instruction are just as significant and deserve further attention here. Specifically, I analyze the pedagogical techniques that highlight an awareness of movement and the body in the transmission of a distinctive P'ilbong style or microrhythmic groove. Many of these techniques are intermodal in nature and effectively call attention to the body, working to draw its participants into a social and musical groove that has been defined by Charles Keil as a "participatory discrepancy" (1994a:96) or in the somewhat less loaded phrasing of Steven Feld as a state of being "in synchrony, while out-of-phase" (1994:119).

My ultimate goal here is to better understand the relationship between the processes of embodiment, mastering the P'ilbong groove, and the internalization of a communal way-of-being in both place and space. This goal is premised on a belief that these elements are critical to the development of transformative feelings of group cohesion (becoming one), so highly valued in P'ilbong *p'ungmul*. Nathan Hesselink explores similar concerns in a recent article that analyzes

P'ilbong's rhythmic "structure and organization at the micro and macro levels" (2011:265). While Hesselink's concerns do not delve deeply into P'ilbong's distinctive microrhythmic tendencies, his demonstration of how P'ilbong's rhythms are structured and performed in order to embody communal awareness is highly resonant here. I further this mode of inquiry by honing in on the actual experience of learning these techniques, to give a sense of their phenomenological texture and significance. In doing so, I highlight some of the intermodal pedagogical techniques of two teachers: Yi Chông-u and Ch'oe Ho-in.

Yi Chông-u: Multiple Approaches to Embodying the Rhythm

One of the common methods of engaging the body in reproducing a particular sound, employed by both Yi Chông-u and Ch'oe Ho-in, is by vocalizing the rhythms through *ipchangdan* (lit., "mouth rhythms").²⁷ *Ipchangdan* are vocables (vocalized syllables) that correspond, in this case, to various drum strokes. This common intermodal technique—spanning the vocal, auditory and rhythmic motor domains—serves several purposes. One is that this technique encourages the player to connect or translate the expressive potential of the embodied voice to an instrument that is technically "disconnected" from the body of the player, not to mention limited in some ways that the voice is not. This technique extends the expressivity of a student's playing, thereby enabling the student to better capture the feel of a rhythm. How does this work exactly? I used to think that performing *ipchangdan* served first as a mnemonic learning device and second as a guide to where to place the accents in a rhythm. Later, I realized that the prominent use of *ipchangdan* indicates that the teachers think of the rhythms with a centrality usually afforded to melodies.

Ipchangdan is also employed in a technique that Yi Chông-u uses to get students to soften their playing. In one particular class, we were in the midst of learning the *pan-p'ungnyu* rhythm. Getting the moderate-tempo feel of *pan-p'ungnyu* is especially crucial because it is one of a handful of rhythms that facilitate maximum openness and audience participation in the P'ilbong *p'ungmul madang* (see Table 3). In helping us to capture the relaxed feeling of this rhythm, the first thing he turned to was the *ipchangdan*. Gesturing to me first, I was called on to repeat back the first four vocables, "*Tõ Tõ—ng, Tõ Tõ—ng*," a couple of times. With some nervousness I repeated the *ipchangdan* like this with bouncy, clipped tones "*Tõ Tõng Tõ Tõng*." After a split-second of reflection, his response was that the way I intoned the "*Tõ—ng*" was not long enough to account for the empty space of the third beat. On an even more micro-level, the sinking and rising intonation that I was trying to imitate with each syllable was executed too quickly, prompting him to make fun of the bouncy singsong quality of my *ipchangdan*.

While I still assert that teachers such as Yi Chŏng-u conceived of these rhythms melodically, a less obvious purpose of singing the rhythms is to give more weight and articulation to the empty space between the drum strokes. By extension, the practice of ipchangdan may also reference an underlying dynamic tonal quality that is associated with the different drum strokes. In this case, intonational patterns not only indicate the presence of tones such as the sinking and rising lilt that he gave to the longer “Tŏ—ng” vocable, they also signal durational length, which may help students better articulate emptiness. According to Yi Chŏng-u, playing p’ungmul with *mat*, or taste, is all about how one articulates through this emptiness (video fieldrecording, 9 May 2002, Seoul, South Korea). In this way, the practice of ipchangdan facilitates the embodiment of a rhythm, and in the process, helps a student develop a better expressive command of both the full and empty spaces of a rhythm so that he or she may negotiate or play with the groove with more ease and finesse.

Another favorite intermodal technique that Yi Chŏng-u employed to build bodily awareness across the auditory, visual, and motor domains was to instruct half of the class to play while the other half danced along and vice versa. Known as a particularly animated and distinctive dancer, most students enjoyed watching Yi Chŏng-u demonstrate how to dance what is called the *ökkaech’um* or “shoulder dance” (pictured in Figure 2, above). A relatively simple movement, *ökkaech’um* involves articulating the shoulders slightly while dropping or swaying one’s forearms to the left and then right with the elbows extended in a more or less stationary position. One can do this while standing or bobbing in place or by coordinating this motion with one’s steps. In Yi Chŏng-u words, “since stepping in the P’ilbong style of p’ungmul always begins with the left foot, it follows that you also sway your arms to the left first, otherwise it looks funny” (video field recording, 9 May 2002, Seoul, South Korea). The main point of this exercise is to bring movement and the body into the forefront of one’s awareness while playing. Another is simply to teach students how to properly synchronize their movements to the music.

These exercises can also be seen as facilitating entrainment, which Clayton, Sager, and Will define as “a process whereby two rhythmic processes interact with each other in such a way that they adjust towards and eventually ‘lock in’ to a common phase and/or periodicity” (Clayton, Sager and Will 2004:2). In this way, this simple *ökkaech’um* exercise points to the occurrence of mutual entrainment between the dancers and players. It is also important to note that the concept of entrainment—whether social or self-oriented—is by its nature an intermodal process because one is entraining one process to another and vice versa.

This process carries with it implications that are practical, musical, aesthetic, and social, and as such, contributes greatly to the success of a large madang event.

For example, when a large madang performance opens up to the audience members and becomes filled with people, the musicians sometimes have to rely on entraining to the movements of arms swaying back and forth in a synchronized manner, especially when the sonic atmosphere becomes dispersed and chaotic. This process can only work if the majority of participants know how to perform *ökkaech'um* correctly and in a uniform manner. As Yi Chöng-u warned in class, “the most annoying thing in the madang is when the rhythm is played well but the dancers are not matching the rhythm or each other” (video fieldrecording, 9 May 2002, Seoul, South Korea). In this way, processes of entrainment have a direct bearing on the aesthetics of the madang. These processes are further connected to aesthetics in the way that students are encouraged to play, not just in sync with the dancers, but also with the correct dynamic expressivity to make people want to dance in the madang. In turn, Yi Chöng-u tells his students that one should dance in a way to inspire and give energy to the musicians playing.²⁸

While the *ökkaech'um* exercise is an example of *social entrainment* (defined as occurring interactively between at least two individuals), Yi Chöng-u’s emphasis on coordinating one’s playing to one’s own breathing or *hohüp* is more indicative of what Clayton, Sager, and Will call *self-entrainment* (2004:7). More broadly, *hohüp* refers to the regular process of breathing and respiration. Practitioners also use the term to refer to one’s inner pulse. In this way, the emphasis on *hohüp* in Korean drumming hints at the importance of self-entraining to one’s inner bodily rhythms. Yi Chöng-u further embodies this process by linking *hohüp* to a bodily movement called *ogüm*: a sinking and rising motion performed by bending the knees. Even when not performed by bending the knees (sitting down, for example), the sinking and rising motion of *ogüm* is often translated to other parts of the body (head, shoulders, upper torso).

Going back to the concept of breath for a moment, Clayton, Sager, and Will categorize respiration as an example of an *endogenous* rhythm, meaning that it occurs naturally within the living body (2004:3). Kim Sam-tae (2001) argues that endogenous rhythms, like breathing and the heartbeat, are fundamental to *p’ungmul* and proposes that this theory helps explain the derivation and prevalence of triple subdivisions in Korean music. In practice, I do not think that *p’ungmul* players entrain their playing to these endogenous rhythms all the time. However, coordinated breathing certainly comes into play at certain points—for example, during the first articulation of a new rhythm. In my view, these endogenous rhythms serve effectively as rhythmic templates that help a player tap into a more embodied feeling of a rhythm.

Given that Yi Chöng-u often stressed that mastering the feeling of *hohüp/ogüm* is more important than knowing the actual rhythms, it is worth taking a closer look at the motion of *ogüm* itself. In his view, it is not enough to bend one’s knees down and up. One must also replicate the speed and the quality of

the motion so that it seems natural and perpetual. This means that the movement has to be continuous, flowing, and most of all, not too jerky. At the same time, I have observed that this movement is not perfectly continuous and even. Rather, the sensation of *ogŭm* has to do with sinking with the force of gravity and then rebounding or rising back up from this force. In addition, one cycle of this motion is imagined as being subdivided into three beats, with the first beat coinciding with the downward sinking motion and the rise peaking on the third beat. Practically speaking, working with the force of gravity produces a motion that is less constant in speed but more efficient.

Many *p'ungmul* practitioners claim that when a player plays *p'ungmul* in good coordination with *ogŭm*, the movement is so efficient that they never get tired, even after playing all day long. Some even speculate that the roots of this type of efficient motion may lie in *p'ungmul*'s role in coordinating the movements of farming labor (Kim Inu 1993; Yang Chin-sŏng 2000; Kim Sam-tae 2001). Whatever the reasons or roots, there is no question that this motion is somehow embedded within the aesthetic feel of the rhythms. For Yi Chŏng-u, mastering *hohŭp* and *ogŭm* is not just a matter of movement style, it is a kinesthetic sense that must be internalized in one's playing so that it can be imagined and reproduced even in situations of limited movement, for instance while sitting down. The implication here is that the particular groove or feel of *hohŭp* and *ogŭm* should translate sonically and visually.

Playing that is deeply entrained to *hohŭp* and *ogŭm* (whether externally or internally) is characterized by patterns of accent and intensity that correlate with *ogŭm*'s distinctive sinking and rising motion. Sometimes these patterns of accents are articulated in the yin/yang-influenced aesthetic of "strong/weak" or *kangyak*, where the stronger accents tend to coincide with the downward sinking motion. Another effect of this is that drum strokes are placed less metronomically and more with a swinging or lilting feel. This feeling is accentuated by the dominance of triple subdivisions found in a majority of Korean *p'ungmul* rhythms (Komodo and Nogawa 2002:571–573; Hesselink 2011:264). Even in extremely fast rhythms, such as *ich'ae*, the pulse is still subdivided into three in the P'ilbong style of *p'ungmul*. In slow to medium tempo 12/8 rhythms such as *pan-p'ungnyu* in Table 3, below, the swing translates in the discrepant timing of the third beat of a larger three beat pulse that coincides with the correlating upward motion of *ogŭm*. Based on a spectrogram analysis (see Figure 6) of Yi Chŏng-u playing *pan-p'ungnyu* on the *changgo*, it is clearly evident that the third beat of a larger three beat unit is often delayed. For example, the third beats articulated by the *changgo* on beats 9, 15, 18, and 21, are delayed by more than the average margin of discrepancy (see Table 3).²⁹ This phenomenon is somewhat analogous to the delayed timings of swing in jazz where straight eighths may be played with more of a triplet feel depending on the player (Keil 1994b:61; Prögler 1995:26).

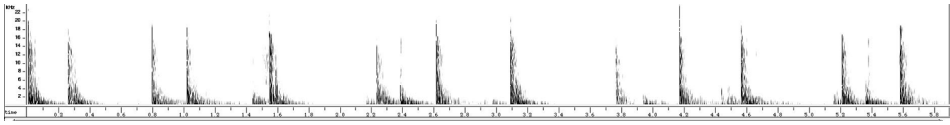


Figure 6: Pan-P'ungnyu Spectrogram Analysis

I also discovered from the spectrogram analysis that the larger pulses of three-beats demonstrated a pattern of expansion and contraction where the first, third, fifth, and seventh of the larger pulses are significantly longer than the others (they are bolded in the last two rows of Table 3). This was especially evident in the longer suspension of the accented beats of 7, 13, and 19. It follows that this pattern of expansion and contraction would also be reflected in the ogüm movements with an alternation of longer/deeper knee bends with shorter/shallower ones. While it is difficult to determine whether this tendency first arose in the music or the body, I can speculate that this alternation of effort produces an easier and more efficient bodily motion. This pattern of expansion and contraction can also be seen as reinforcing the aesthetic of alternating strong and weak accents (*kangyak*). Christiane Gerischer has also found patterns of expansion and contraction across several styles of samba (2006:106–110). De-

Table 3. Pan-P'ungnyu rhythm on the Changgo

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Tö	Tö-----ng	Tö	Tö-----ng	Tö-----ng	Tö-----ng	Tö-----ng	Tö	Kung	Tak		
13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24
Tö-----ng	Tak	Kung	Tak	Kung	Tö-----ng	Tö	Kung	Tak			
Detailed Timings of Individual Drumstrokes as Played											
0.0	0.255		0.792	1.103		1.544		2.228	2.379	2.61	
3.082		3.758	3.933	4.164	4.433	4.558		5.201	5.354	5.573	
Regular (Metronomic) Timings of the Beat for Reference											
0	0.252	0.505	0.757	1.009	1.262	1.514	1.766	2.019	2.271	2.523	2.775
3.027	3.280	3.532	3.784	4.037	4.289	4.540	4.794	5.045	5.297	5.549	5.801
Timings of Each Three beat Pulse											
.792			.752			.835			.703		
.851			.625			.796			.700		

Key: The numbers represent the beats of the cycle, while the vocables represent different onomatopoeic strokes on the *changgo* instrument. The *changgo* is a two-headed hourglass drum that is struck with a mallet-like stick with the left hand and a thin bamboo stick with the right hand.

Töng: A sound of long durations made with both heads of the drum being struck at the same time.

Tö: A short sound of specific duration with both heads of the drum being struck at the same time.

Tak: A sharp, slapping sound made with the thin bamboo stick striking the rim of the right drumhead.

Kung: A sound of medium duration made with the mallet striking the middle of the left drumhead.

Note: Timings are noted in second round to the third decimal point. Due to the brevity of this sample, I elected not to employ other systems of microrhythmic analysis such as Jairazbhoy's system of NUTs or "nominal Units of Time."

spite similarities with genres such as samba and jazz, however, I posit that this particular combination of embodied sonic elements contribute to P'ilbong's characteristic heavy groove or, in Yi Chŏng-u's words, "*tto-bak tto-bak*" quality of rustic simplicity and chunky regularity.³⁰ This contrasts with other p'ungmul styles whose sounds are more polished and elegantly ornamented. While it is possible to learn this groove without stepping foot in the village of P'ilbong, the site-specific chŏnsu experience goes a long way in helping students embody this regional *tto-bak tto-bak* quality.

All of the intermodal pedagogical techniques I have described in this section—*ipchangdan*, *ŏkkaech'um*, and *hohŭp/ogŭm*—can be seen as inter-related in the way that they seek to help students embody and reproduce an aesthetic groove central to the P'ilbong style of p'ungmul. Judging from witnessing the awkwardness and discomfort with which many Koreans first approach something as simple as *ŏkkaech'um*, I posit that this groove does not always come naturally and must be learned deliberately.

Chŏe Ho-in: Drawing out "Somatic Modes of Attention"

Of the younger generation of teachers, Chŏe Ho-in taught at the P'ilbong p'ungmul transmission center with a remarkable steadiness and resolve, despite the challenging context. Like Yi Chŏng-u and many other teachers, Chŏe Ho-in also emphasizes *ipchangdan* (vocables), *hohŭp* (breathing), and *ogŭm* (bending). In one memorable class, Chŏe Ho-in made use of all three of the above techniques, while also drawing out in students what Thomas Csordas calls "somatic modes of attention." According to Csordas, somatic modes of attention involve a "culturally elaborated attention to and with the body in the immediacy of an intersubjective milieu" (Csordas 1993:139). In one particular class, Chŏe Ho-in used techniques that were particularly effective in drawing out a culturally elaborated form of somatic attention. I quote here from my fieldnotes:

Today Ho-in [teacher] took us out to the main madang to practice outside. Spreading out, we were instructed to stand at random and not in a line. First he broke down the motion of bending the knees or *ogum* by telling us to incorporate *hohŭp* or breathing. We did this for a long time, in what seemed to be an excruciatingly slow pace. It wasn't long before I started to get really tired. Then he told us to say the *ipchangdan* or drum vocables. After repeating the vocables a few times, I remember him expressing his dissatisfaction by asking, 'Why is it that everyone can sing a folksong but no one can say the *ipchangdan*?' Later, he explained that a rhythm is like a song that no one can really sing. After fine-tuning the inflections of our vocables, we continued to practice while doing *ogŭ* knee bends—for what seemed like forever! Finally, he let us get our instruments and actually play while bending our knees at a faster pace. After spending most of the class time performing *ogŭm* so slowly, playing with our instruments at the normal tempo suddenly made it seem so easy and natural (9 August 2002).

Even though the delayed-gratification of the class was frustrating, in retrospect it was extremely effective in enabling students to experience that magic, intense moment when the music locks in perfectly to make a previously labored movement suddenly seem easy. Though I had experienced this kind of coordinated ease before, I never had my attention drawn to it in that kind of methodical manner. In citing Marcel Mauss, Thomas Csordas explains that a somatic mode of attention “associated with the acquisition of any technique of the body” often “recedes into the horizon once the technique is mastered” (1993:139). Given that we were in an advanced class and most of us were already accustomed to performing *ogüm*, the discomfort of slowing and breaking down the process made us re-focus our attention to the body in a way we would not have had it been more automatic.

From another perspective, Ch'oe Ho-in was, in effect, having us re-enact a classic scene in the stories people tell about *ture* or the cooperative farming style of *p'ungmul*: that is, the discovery that it is easier and more effective to work in the fields in conjunction with the rhythms of a *p'ungmul* band. When I related my thoughts about how the class conjured for me what it might have felt like to perform *ture p'ungmul* in the fields, he smiled knowingly and said that this was indeed his intention in pacing the class so slowly. With muscles still sore from that afternoon, I think this was his way of keeping *p'ungmul*'s connection to labor close at hand.

Concluding Remarks

By looking at the programming and embodied pedagogical techniques of transmission center culture, I have investigated how P'ilbong *p'ungmul* teachers work to transmit more than just musical or stylistic content. In this vein, I have argued that by shaping the social structuring, programming, and pedagogical methods of *chönsu*, the teachers and participants have created a site-specific intentional community of cultural transmission. As part of this process, I have also focused on *chönsu* as a place where students develop a communal way-of-being in the *madang*. This includes participating in various discursive practices of the *madang*. In addition, I have argued that *chönsu* serves as an experimental environment where participants can practice and push the boundaries of various roles and subjectivities (such as the influential *sangsoe*) with a flexibility that does not exist in the realm of sanctioned P'ilbong *p'ungmul* performance.

In summarizing my thoughts on transmitting a sense of groove in *p'ungmul*, I would like to echo that the value of groove extends beyond the sonic realm. For example, groove in *p'ungmul* helps us to connect space with time by encouraging us to more fully embody space temporally. In addition, grooving together musically can enhance feelings of *community* togetherness. More specifically, a

good groove in p'ungmul theoretically should elicit increased embodied participation from audience members, thereby cultivating an inclusive atmosphere. The embodied qualities of grooving as exemplified in hohŭp or ogŭm also link with p'ungmul's history as part of ture, a pre-industrial system of cooperative agricultural labor. Lastly, groove can also be seen as guiding the transformative, ritual, or dynamic phases of the madang and is absolutely essential to cultivating the experiential qualities of spontaneous engagement and play in the madang.

Ultimately, these site-specific techniques do much more than transmit the musical content; in fact, most of the students come to chŏnsu having already learned the rhythms that comprise the "original form" or *wŏnhyŏng*. I have found that P'ilbong teachers have mostly sidestepped the pitfalls of focusing only on the artistic mastery of a fixed form and have instead kept the tradition alive by placing more focus on conveying a regionally-based sensibility, sound, and philosophy of making expressive folk culture relevant in everyday life. To continue, I posit that the P'ilbong teachers are involved in a particular brand of post-colonial cultural politics. Since the late 1990s, Korean culture has been increasingly hybridized, marketed, and experienced via global digital media. In this context, madang-related practices help to articulate culturally-specific ways-of-being and socializing in Korea; these then contribute to the bodily inscription of indigenous cultural spaces and encourage the development of cultural memories associated with certain geographic places or locales. With this said, it is important to point out that engagements with the madang can also be linked to personal and group agendas of economic livelihood, cultural tourism, and even the pure and simple desire to play and have fun.

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Notes

1. P'ungmul or nongak (lit., "farmer's music") (Important Intangible Cultural Property No. 11) is a widespread percussion band genre in rural Korea. The main percussion instruments are the soe (lead gong), changgo (hourglass drum), puk (barrel drum) and ching (large gong), all of which

are either held or strapped around the body to enable playing while moving in space. In 1985, four regional groups were approved for designation: Chinju nongak No. 11-1 (Kyongsang province), P'yŏngtaek nongak No. 11-2 (Kyŏnggi province), Iri nongak No. 11-3 (Western Chŏlla Province) and Kangnŭng nongak No. 11-4 (Kangwon province). In 1988, Imshil P'ilbong nongak No. 11-5 was added to represent Eastern Chŏlla province and is known for preserving a village-based style of p'ungmul with connections to the rhythms of agricultural labor. Their complete regional designation is Honam Jwado Imshil P'ilbong where Honam Jwado refers to Eastern Chŏlla province, Imshil refers to the county and P'ilbong refers to the village. This article is based on the Honam Jwado Imshil P'ilbong style but I refer to it as P'ilbong p'ungmul throughout. The official name of their organization is the *Imshil P'ilbong Nongak Pojonhoe* or the "Imshil P'ilbong Nongak Preservation Society." While practitioners often use the term p'ungmul, nongak is the more state-sanctioned term (lit., "farmer's music). I prefer to use the term p'ungmul out of respect for practitioners but more importantly because it allows for a more holistic understanding of p'ungmul beyond its musical elements.

2. My phrasing of "way-of-being" draws loosely from Raymond Williams's concept of "structures of feeling" (1973:297, 1977:128-135). On the one hand, the madang can be associated with structured experiences of class (in this case, the "farmer" or "commoner" class) within a given historical moment, as suggested in the "structures of feeling" concept. However, I have chosen to rephrase in order to foreground the processes of embodiment that are distinctive to "being" in the madang. In addition, I follow in Williams's emphasis on the present by choosing the word "being" in place of "feeling."

3. I first heard about the intense nature of Korean transmission centers from my fellow members at the Korean Youth Cultural Center, based in Oakland, California. I went for the first time in the summer of 2000 and spent a week at the P'ilbong p'ungmul camp in Namwŏn, a week at the Kosŏng *Ogwangdae* mask dance camp, several days on Jindo Island learning *kanggangsullae* women's dance and singing and several more days learning buk drumming and dance at the Miryang *Baekjungnori* facility. During my dissertation fieldwork year, I made repeated visits to the P'ilbong and Kosŏng *Ogwangdae* centers in 2001-2002 and visited several other smaller transmission centers of mask dance, shaman ritual and p'ungmul drumming. I have made subsequent follow-up visits in 2007, 2009 and 2012.

4. I use the term "expressive folk culture" to refer to those genres of music or dance widely recognized under the Korean categories *minsok-ak* (folk music) or *minsokch'um* (folk dance). I choose the term "expressive folk culture" as opposed to "folk music" as a more inclusive category that acknowledges for example the highly integrated nature of Korean music and dance. I am also aware of the negative connotations of this term but I have chosen to continue its usage with the awareness that what is considered "folk" is a fluid discursive process, subject to the forces of the present as much as the past. In addition, this choice is practical, because the genres that constitute *minsokak* in Korea are well-defined and understood as distinct from court (*aak*) and chamber (*chŏngak*) forms.

5. I am inspired here by Tomie Hahn's assertion that systems of transmission convey a "Japanese sensibility" (2007: 5). Given Hahn's focus on the senses, her word choice of "sensibility" is well warranted. In my case, I decided to play with this idea in two ways. First, I use the word "subjectivity" instead of "sensibility" in order to highlight the possession of experiences, perspectives and the potential for agency. In addition, this better links to a later discussion of Thomas Csordas's ideas on the body and intersubjective experience (1999). Secondly, in acknowledging that there is no singular Korean subjectivity, I deal with this by describing it as an alternative Korean subjectivity.

6. This article will be limited to the study of South Korea. When the word "Korea" or "Korean" stands alone, it is safe to assume that I mean "South Korea."

7. The democratization movement of the 1970s and 80s is referred to as the *minjung* or "people's" movement in modern South Korean history. It also included a cultural branch that was referred to as the *minjung munhwa undong* ("people's cultural movement") of which p'ungmul played a significant role.

8. My use of the word "groove" will be discussed in further depth later, but it draws from Charles Keil and Steve Feld's definitions of the term in their 1994 book *Music Grooves*.

9. Unless geo-political circumstances prevent practitioners from doing so (as is the case for regional practices believed to have originated in present-day North Korea), these centers are usually built in or near the locale where a given genre is believed to have developed. Gugak literally means “national music” and refers to Korean forms of vocal and instrumental music that demonstrate continuity with Korea’s pre-colonial past.

10. For more information on how discourses of the cultural arm of the democratization movement (minjung munhwa undong) impacted expressive folk culture practice, see Hesselink (1999:1–5, 2006:91–92), Howard (2006:135–158), and Lee (2012:179–205).

11. While most of the individuals who visit the P’ilbong transmission center are South Korean citizens, small numbers of foreign students have visited and developed relationships with the teachers. In addition, there are groups of diasporic Koreans who have attended, mostly from Japan and the United States.

12. For example, while the brick-and-mortar location of the P’ilbong transmission center has been constant since it was built in 1989, the main locus of transmission activity shifted with the movements of the previous sangsoe or leader, Yang Sun-yong. Initially Yang taught informally in the village of P’ilbong from 1970 to 1983. In 1984, he moved to Hobokdong village in Namwŏn county stayed there until 1994, when he re-located to a nearby rural school in Namwŏn county. Unfortunately, Yang Sun-yong passed away unexpectedly in 1995. His sons continued teaching at the Namwŏn school until 2000 when they decided to consolidate operations back at the P’ilbong transmission center that was built in 1989. For more detail see Kwon (2005:216–240).

13. Institutions that rely heavily on oral transmission include national Korean music institutions such as the National Gugak Center or the National Gugak Highschool as well as more informal artist studios and regional musical academies. Interestingly, the National Gugak Center claims continuity with the royal music institutes of the Chosŏn (1392–1910), Koryŏ (918–1392) and Silla (668–935) dynasties.

14. For more information on state cultural policy and the Intangible Cultural Asset system see Yang (1994), Howard (2006) and Saeji (2012).

15. A few exceptions to this in the English literature include the work of Nathan Hesselink (2006) and CedarBough Saeji (2012, 2013). In *P’ungmul: South Korean Drumming and Dance*, Hesselink devotes a chapter to comparing the transmission experiences of representative teachers from the “left-side” (*hwado*) and “right-side” (*udo*) styles of p’ungmul. While Hesselink discusses transmission centers in some detail in pages 143–147, it is not the major focal point of his chapter. In addition, Hesselink’s research on P’ilbong’s transmission center differs from mine primarily because it was conducted earlier during very different circumstances (see footnote 11). Saeji’s 2013 article most directly examines and elucidates the culture nurtured at these centers but does not spend as much time analyzing specific transmission techniques. For those interested in the fuller picture of South Korean Cultural Property Preservation Law and its impact on folk culture transmission, Saeji’s 2012 dissertation is essential reading. Despite the diversity of disciplinary approaches to the study of p’ungmul in the Korean literature, there is still not that much research on transmission centers. One notable exception is Jaehong Jin’s 2010 thesis on the P’ilbong transmission center in which he focuses on the sangsoe leader selection process.

16. Here, I refer to the fuller spectrum of multidimensional meanings of the madang as illustrated in Table 1. For the sake of simplicity, I give preference to the word madang. The related term, p’an, is also used somewhat interchangeably with the madang, although p’an usually indicates a larger space with public and entertainment-oriented connotations.

17. According to Gade, most “approaches in the history of religions are grounded in the conviction that religion is a site for the transformation of self and social order.” Gade also acknowledges that “ethnomusicologists make similar claims for musical systems” (2002:330).

18. Csordas believes that studies of embodiment should involve a mode of inquiry he has termed “cultural phenomenology,” which involves “synthesizing the immediacy of embodied experience with the multiplicity of cultural meaning” (1999:143).

19. The philosophy of kongdongchê or community participation in Korean discourse does not necessarily translate as equal participation and governance. Within p'ungmul, kongdongchê does promote increased communal awareness and blurs the boundaries between performers and audience members but it does not necessarily do away with leadership structures that may already exist within the group. For example, p'ungmul ensembles always have a leader (the lead small gong player) who wields a great deal of power and responsibility across multiple realms (artistic, social, organizational). In addition, these leaders tend to be men, except when the group is either very progressive in terms of gender politics or an all-female ensemble.

20. For more information on activities that emphasize liminality and play at *chönsu*, see Saeji (2013).

21. These two programs were not a regular fixture of *chönsu*. In the summer season they did not have the environmental program. Also, when I talked to people who had attended as recently as January of 2005, the fieldtrip or *tapsa* was not part of the program. When comparing 2002 and 2005 programs with more recent program schedules, the most consistently scheduled activities seem to be the p'ungmul classes, the p'ungmul lecture or "iyagi p'an-kut" (re-formatted as a performance), the evening practices and *twip'uri* gatherings, and the culminating *sangsoe* contest and performance. Other consistently included classes are *sogo* dance and other collective expressive folk culture forms.

22. *Kut* is usually defined as a shamanist ceremony or ritual. In p'ungmul, however, referring to a p'ungmul event as a *kut* acknowledges its shamanist roots but can also be used more generally to refer to a festive p'ungmul performance.

23. A rhythmic series within the P'ilbong p'ungmul style.

24. A rhythmic pattern within the P'ilbong p'ungmul style.

25. A rhythmic series during which the players spiral in the cardinal directions.

26. A characteristic rhythmic series within the P'ilbong p'ungmul style.

27. The use of *ipchangdan* in the transmission of both p'ungmul and other Korean expressive traditions is extremely common. In the context of p'ungmul, Hesselink devotes some time to discussing the use of *ipchangdan* in his book (2006:100–110), and highlights the related importance of oral verse in his discussion of Kim Inu's seminal text "P'ungmulgut and Communal Spirit" (1993). However, neither Hesselink nor Inu highlight their intermodal qualities.

28. It is outside the scope of this paper to discuss the more multidimensional dancer/musician interactions in P'ilbong p'ungmul but for other examples of research in this area see Chernoff (1979), Gerstin (1998), and Gerischer (2006:115–116).

29. For example, anything approximating a delay of approximately .2 constituted a higher margin of discrepancy while .1 or lower was considered less significant.

30. Yang Chinhwan, Yang Chin-söng's brother and lead *chango* player, explained that their rustic "tto-bak tto-bak" style has something to do with the rough and jagged geography of the P'ilbong region (interview, Yang Jinhwan, 8 October 2002, P'ilbong, South Korea).

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