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Drumming, Dancing, and Drinking *Makkölli*: Liminal Time Travel through Intensive Camps Teaching Traditional Performing Arts

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The Republic of Korea has been protecting the ephemeral performative artistic and cultural phenomena collectively labeled intangible cultural heritage since passing the Cultural Property Protection Law in 1962. This long history of performance protection has positioned the Republic of Korea as an example for efforts around the world to protect intangible cultural heritage. The focus of South Korean protection efforts is performance and transmission; this article addresses the transmission occurring through intensive camps. Participant observation-based ethnographic research was conducted at two sites, the training camps for the mask dance drama Kosong Ogwangdae and for the farmer's drumming and dancing group Imsil P'ilbong Nongak, to determine the effectiveness of the camps in transmitting performing arts knowledge. The young people who enroll in these camps represent the future of the South Korean traditional performing arts; some students are bound for professional performance, while others are active members of their respective preservation associations. The camps employ full-time, professional performers and create a pool of audience members and arts advocates. The students of the camps build community while they time travel to a liminal space where every day is the day before or the day of the big festival; their positive experience of Korean tradition leaves them connected to and supportive of the traditional arts.

The transmission of traditional performing arts in the Republic of Korea, my research topic since 2004, has far-reaching implications. The Republic of Korea is not the only country currently struggling with the issue of protecting tradi-

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tional art forms in a rapidly changing society. The policy structure established to protect the arts has been widely cited and even imitated by other nations that have developed or are developing arts protection measures of their own. In the Republic of Korea and around the world there is a strong awareness that in order to protect the arts, the arts must be taught. Yet often teaching the arts proves difficult when classes are located far from a major population center. The intensive camp format discussed in this article is a solution utilized by some South Korean rural arts preservation associations.

The fieldwork on which this article is based was conducted by interviewing participants and observing and participating in two registered cultural properties: Kosŏng Ogwangdae, a five-act mask dance drama, and Imsil P'ilbong Nongak, a type of *p'ungmul*—drumming and dancing historically performed by a group at regional festivals. In the modern era, mask dance dramas and *p'ungmul* have become nationally valorized performing arts protected under the Cultural Property Protection Law (CPPL) and are often performed in locations removed from the traditional context. As with other art performances, these two art forms are managed by preservation associations (*pojonhoe*) whose members comprise a pool of performers for the art. As performances and camps alone are financially insufficient to support most participants, maintaining a group of well-trained active performers is a constant concern. In less popular or geographically remote arts, the preservation association may be barely larger than the number of performers needed for a single performance. For example, the Kosŏng Ogwangdae Preservation Association has twenty-nine members; more than twenty-five performers are required for a full-length performance. In sum, this research project grew out of a desire to see how the camps fit into the ever-present need for each preservation association to foster a pool of available performers committed to preserving the art form.

I expected to encounter students at these camps who were interested in becoming part of the Kosŏng Ogwangdae and Imsil P'ilbong Nongak preservation associations.¹ Additionally, I assumed the preservation association leaders must have some sort of plan to recruit the most promising dancers or drummers and invite them to continue practice after the intensive camp ended. To my surprise, this was only true at Imsil P'ilbong Nongak, and it was not these leaders' first concern. Reframing my research, I sought to answer two primary questions: (1) if the camps are not held to find new performers, why would preservation associations hold these intensive courses? and (2) if students do not intend to become members of these groups, why would they participate? In this article I will begin with background information on intangible cultural heritage preservation in the Republic of Korea, I will then sketch the daily operations of these intensive camps, and finally through interviews and observations with teachers and students I will answer the two questions above.

HISTORY OF INTANGIBLE CULTURAL HERITAGE PRESERVATION IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA

In 1962 the Republic of Korea enacted a legal framework, the Cultural Property Protection Law (CPPL, *Munhwajae Pohobŏp*), to protect the intangible cultural heritage of the peninsular nation.² The law sought to counteract the loss of important cultural knowledge during the thirty-five-year Japanese Colonial Period, subsequent division of the peninsula, and devastating Korean War. The legislation requires professional performers to transmit their art forms to the next generation and provides government funds to build transmission centers.³ The CPPL has effectively established a living archive by anointing the most knowledgeable performers with a government-certified badge of “authenticity.”⁴ These performers, in cooperation with the other members of the preservation associations⁵ act under two main directives: to transmit their art and to perform it.

Through a series of interrelated research projects on Korean traditional performing arts begun in 2004, I have worked to understand the factors related to transmission of traditional performing art skills, particularly in the context of the Korean art forms performed by groups.⁶ There are three major methods of transmission for group art forms: (1) direct rehearsals with preservation associations; (2) regular classes (commonly two hours a class, once or twice a week) run by representatives of the preservation association; and (3) intensive live-in courses offered by a few of the preservation associations during summer and winter vacations. I gained an understanding through participation in these three transmission methods beginning in 1998. Other scholars have recorded their own experiences practicing with mask dance drama preservation associations and drumming preservation associations.⁷

In Chosŏn Dynasty society there were no schools offering Pongsan T'alch'um classes, not even in the town of Pongsan. Classroom-style learning of traditional arts was restricted to the education of court performers or the *kwŏnbeom* schools that trained *kisaeng*.⁸ As Imsil P'ilbong Nongak National Human Treasure⁹ Yang Chinsŏng explained, traditionally he would have learned from his father and his son from him. “In the past we learned naturally in an environment of watching and following along but now the circumstances have changed and I think it [aesthetic knowledge] has to be handed down through [formal] education.”¹⁰ Today, arts' transmission cannot be picked up incidentally as part of life in Kosŏng or P'ilbong. Unlike Pongsan T'alch'um, a comparatively popular mask dance drama that is now based in Seoul, the art forms focused on in this article are taught in the rural areas of the South Kyŏngsang and North Chŏlla provinces. Although groups located far from major population centers can and sometimes do teach a small number of locally based people, these two art forms and their respective associations invite participation in intensive classes.

LEARNING KOSŎNG OGWANGDAE AND IMSIL P'ILBONG NONGAK

In this section I describe the training environments of the Kosŏng Ogwangdae and Imsil P'ilbong Nongak transmission centers based on fieldwork conducted in summer of 2009. Additional understanding reflects three weeks of intensive classes at each location in summer 2010, winter 2011, and summer 2011.

Kosŏng Ogwangdae

In 1964 the government listed Kosŏng Ogwangdae as Intangible Cultural Property number seven.¹¹ Kosŏng Ogwangdae is a lively and fast-paced mask dance



Figure 1. Map of South Korea detailing locations of the Kosŏng Ogwangdae and Imsil P'ilbong Nongak transmission centers.

drama with five acts, where movement takes precedent over verbal text.¹² The small town of Kosöng shows pride in their mask dance drama and utilizes it as an emblem of regional branding; a mask dance museum is located just 500 meters from the Kosöng Ogwangdae Transmission Center.¹³ The transmission center itself is relatively simple; it consists of an office, dormitory rooms, a practice room, a large hall for group practice or performance, and a large kitchen without running water. The students enrolled in the intensive class spend the first two days learning and reviewing the basic motions and then are divided into the five major roles. After learning the solo dances of key characters such as Won Yangban, a performance group is chosen and students learn the minor parts and stage blocking on the fifth day of the class. On the final (sixth) day the students perform for the teachers and local townspeople.

Kosöng Ogwangdae ran five sessions in summer 2009; some sessions were projected to have fifty to sixty participants. I signed up for the first week of the 2009 summer session, during which there were only two schools with a total of seventeen participants enrolled. On Sunday June 28, I met eleven of them—students from the Ch'unch'ön University of Education—at a bus station in Seoul.¹⁴ The other students, from Silla University, we met after we arrived at the transmission center. The office of Kosöng Ogwangdae had facilitated my temporary membership in the Ch'unch'ön University student club for the weeklong intensive.¹⁵ The students were mostly women in their first two years of college. Like other Korean college students they loved popular culture and in summer 2009 delighted in singing the new group SHINee's hit "Juliet." The education university trained its students to be elementary teachers, whereas the students from Silla University, majoring in Food and Nutrition Science, wanted to become nutritionists, hotel chefs, or restaurant owners. In 2010 and 2011, I met groups of nursing majors, business and accounting majors, and a performance troupe gaining traditional theatrical skills through learning the mask dance drama.

The first night, all seventeen of us settled in and got to know each other by sharing a quick meal and then snacks and *makkölli*, a fermented, milky, traditional drink made from rice. On Monday June 29, 2009, my journal entry reads:

Introductions, speeches, and songs were followed by a long talk about mask dance by the National Human Treasure of the group, Yi Yunsök. All the other participants have at least a fair knowledge of the basic movements of the dance, an approximately eight-minute-long routine. Having never seen the routine, a series of key motions from the different characters in the drama, I positioned myself in the circle of dancers behind a woman from the local Kosöng community who was taking advantage of the classes to get extra study in. We danced under *isuja* Ha Manho. After class ended the rest of the group continued to practice.

It had not occurred to me that the participants were already learning Kosöng Ogwangdae and, in fact, many had already performed the drama at or near their university. At the intensive, the students aimed to improve the skills they had

learned through upperclassmen or by practicing what they remembered from previous courses.¹⁶

Later in the week I sat and talked with Yi Chaehun, a *chōnsu kyoyuk chogyo*¹⁷ for the group, about his motivation to teach students in these intensive classes. He told me he participated solely for his own personal enjoyment and wished for more opportunities to teach the art. Yi, like many other senior performers, wanted to teach on a deeper level and was frustrated with the attitude toward learning that prioritized the physical mechanics of embodiment at the expense of learning the intentionality that underpinned the movements. It was clear that he felt that teaching the school club students was a step in the right direction, however: “The *tongari* [school club] students can never really learn all the acts, they try year after year, but if the university had classes with texts that taught the deep meaning . . . !”¹⁸ Yi told me, his voice trailing off.¹⁹

In class, we began by repeating basic motions, a standard teaching methodology utilized by many Korean folk arts. As we internalized movement habits through repetition the instructor would stop and focus our attention on a specific sequence or movement he felt needed more work. We would rehearse the tricky section by mimicking the instructors several times then return to practicing the motions sequentially. National Human Treasure Yi Yunsök explained key motions in great detail, but there was no discussion of the overall meaning of the basic motion set. Thankfully, there was never any singling out of specific students to point out errors (or praise correctness). Each dancer/musician strived to be better and approached instructors (particularly junior instructors) and their more advanced club classmates for extra tips during breaks. This enthusiastic participation, without instructor pressure, was a key facet of the learning environment at both camps; students learned for themselves (and their club’s future performance). Compared with the high-stress educational environment in South Korean academic classes, no matter how much sweat rolled down our bodies, the camps were fun.

Starting on Wednesday, July 1, we were divided into the five main roles, each to be taught by a single instructor. *Isuja* Ha Hyōn-kap, an editor and writer for the local newspaper, taught my group the Sūngmu Kwajang (dance of the old monk). He proceeded through the solo, often teaching us the dance four rhythmic cycles at a time. As soon as we could remember the new sequence we would practice the entire solo from the beginning. Throughout our three days of lessons with him he was precise and self-assured and answered my many questions. I appreciated that he tried to give mini-lectures on the scene and its deeper meanings. Yet, the three college students also learning the role only asked questions related to body mechanics, proving the point Yi Chaehun had made about the lack of deeper understanding of the art form. I imagine Ha was disappointed that we danced somewhat mechanically, proceeding from one movement to the next without the fluidity that is one of the characteristics of Kosōng Ogwangdae. Ha also may have been frustrated that the best dancer would not perform on the last day, but club leaders, not instructors, made the decision about who would

perform. The clubs were most concerned with the continuation of the club, and teaching first-year students to perform the roles would, according to Haerim, leader of the Ch'unch'ön University club, make first-year students feel that they were an essential part of the group and provided within-the-club mentors for the following year's new recruits. Frankly speaking, the clubs were more concerned with the democratic opportunity for students to learn and perform the dance than the quality of the final performance. This emphasis preserves the original community-building function of such dances rather than a modern insistence on technical excellence.²⁰ It is also interesting to note that the clubs had no concern for male or female roles. Most participants were women, but that did not mean that the few male students were assigned the key male speaking roles.

Imsil P'ilbong Nongak

At the Imsil P'ilbong Nongak Transmission Center there was a similar attitude toward both teaching and learning. The students willingly dove into the difficult and fast-paced classes. Their attitudes are reflected well by the following interview excerpts:

We get up early, and dance with the *sogo* [small hand-drum manipulated while dancing], eat, clean, then go directly to class. The schedule is so crowded and we have to be diligent, but despite the constant activities, it feels relaxing [describing learning



Figure 2. Camp participants practice the fifth scene in *Kosöng Ogwangdae*.

söljanggu, the solo dance with the hourglass drum]. It was so hard I was crying, but after I learned it I realized it would be a treasured memory for the rest of my life.²¹

When I come here, I don't worry about anything else. This is my comfortable retreat.²²

Of course it's difficult for my body. But I really want to do it well, and that's why I've come here. If I'm tired, or even nodding off, I still practice. Right now there isn't any part of my body that doesn't hurt.²³

I can't explain it in words. When I get here at the start of a camp, I'm very happy. During the semester, I continue to anticipate going to the camp, and when that time finally arrives I almost can't believe it has come at last. My feeling about coming here is that strong. I could easily say that learning *uri* [our, Korean] culture is fascinating, but that's not exactly what I am feeling. That would just be a pretext. I'm not learning this just because it's our ancient culture but because of the human relations, these most-interesting other students and instructors that I can spend time with.²⁴

My friend Wolduk dropped me off at the Imsil P'ilbong Nongak Transmission Center on a humid July afternoon (in 2009) noisy with the humming of cicadas. Ten years earlier I had first met Wolduk while dancing on a cold mountainside in a small village in the midst of this same group's annual celebration of Taeborüm, the first full moon of the lunar new year. The facilities and training environment at Imsil P'ilbong Nongak (Intangible Cultural Property number eleven)²⁵ were much more developed than those of Kosŏng Ogwangdae. Usually a large, long dorm houses the majority of the student participants.²⁶ Multiple buildings spotted the transmission center campus; we spent our time in the dorm, cafeteria, and two out of three training buildings, with indoor assemblies taking place in a stage-equipped hall and outdoor practice conducted in several *madang* performance spaces. The atmosphere at the Imsil P'ilbong Nongak intensive was different from that in Kosŏng, partly because of the greater number of participants and partly because students can choose to be members of beginning or advanced groups.²⁷ This facilitated interaction with members of other clubs, and friendships grew during the course. Those who attended without a club have historically drifted at the margins, but a group of previous individual attendees had made a club for those drifters, and I was fortunate enough to be pulled in.²⁸ This new group was called Kaejönyön, short for Kaein Chönsu Yönhap (Individual Training Alliance).

Daily practice was intense, with a one-hour 7:00 a.m. *sogo* rehearsal followed by breakfast and then drumming practice until after noon. Of the forty or so beginners, nine played *kkwaenggwari*, the small metal gong, while the rest played the *changgu* hourglass drum.²⁹ The beginners' room was a noisy place; the *kkwaenggwari* was loud, high, and clamoring—even when played with the resonance dampened by touches to the backside of the gong. The wood and hide *changgu*, an hourglass drum played on both heads with different sticks, had a softer sound. Every hour or two our instructor, Kim Tongmin, a newly minted *isuja* in his late twenties, would teach a rhythmic pattern. He would model it cor-

rectly and work with us to perfect it, first slowly and then at an increasing tempo. The room became at times cacophonous, particularly right before the speed of play became too fast for some players. After Kim Tongmin thought he had fixed many of our errors he would lead us in a long period of continuous drumming practice, before going on to the next rhythmic pattern. The advanced group often studied under Choi Ho-in, one of the most senior *isuja*, or National Human Treasure Yang Chinsöng, leader of Imsil P'ilbong Nongak. After lunch we continued practice, and after dinner Kim Tongmin (but not Yang and Choi) continued to work with students who came to ask for special help, particularly those learning the *söljanggu* dance. Students not training with Kim Tongmin practiced with their club members until close to 10 p.m. when the nightly drinking of *makköllli* commenced.³⁰

Although each day unfolded much like the day before, there were high points to the week, special events such as a game afternoon where we split up the clubs and made four new teams that competed in a variety of silly, but community building, games.³¹ For me, the highlight was Friday when the entire group of participants performed together.³² Many students told me that they preferred Saturday when representatives from each club played while the remainder of the students danced, sans-instruments, in a pulsing, high-energy mass.



Figure 3. The beginning drummers at the Imsil P'ilbong Nongak camp playing the *changgu* (hourglass drum) and the *kkwaenggari* (small gong).



Figure 4. Repeat participant Ŭnjōng, sporting loose *hanbok*-style pants and a straw farmer's hat.

Benefit to the Preservation Association: Audience and Advocates

At Kosōng Ogwangdae, Yi Yunsōk, National Human Treasure and leader of the group, assured me that classes had nothing to do with eventual recruitment.³³ Hwang Chong-uk,³⁴ a Kosōng Ogwangdae *isuja* and the director of the office explained that Kosōng Ogwangdae has been holding these camps for forty years, starting only shortly after the art was certified as part of the CPPL in 1964. However, Hwang acknowledged that they needed to find a new method to attract and teach students. He explained that in the past there had been many more students, some involved with the prodemocracy demonstrations; they were interested in learning particularly the scene that satirized the *yangban*, the upper class of premodern Korean society. Imsil P'ilbong Nongak has also seen fluctuations in the number of students. Yang Chinsōng's PhD dissertation (2008) explains in some detail how the number of participating clubs has increased and decreased. Although in a downturn now, as of 2012, Yang's data indicates that participation continued to stay strong through the 1990s and into the early 2000s.³⁵

National Human Treasure Yang Chinsōng told me that only a few preservation association members had at one time been attendees of the intensive camps,

yet faced with a list from the Cultural Heritage Administration of all current *isuja* Yang identified twenty-one of fifty-three as people who had, at one time, been paying camp attendees.³⁶ Seventeen weeks of classes occupy the transmission center each year, with some weeks reaching 300 attendees. The students self-select whether or not to continue training and improve their skills over the course of many weeks and several years. As the preservation association becomes familiar with these repeat attendees, an informal recruiting process is initiated predicated on student desire and the preservation association's need for additional members. Yang told me confidently that the "greatest function of a preservation association was to teach the art," and that the future of the art was assured just through *sincere* teaching, whether or not students became members of the group.

In contrast, according to the high-level performers at Kosöng Ogwangdae such as Yi Yunsök, it is impossible for someone who is not from or settled in Kosöng or the immediate area to become a member of the preservation association. The mask dance drama group has held to the principle that Kosöng locality is one of the most important characteristics of preservation association membership, even though the group has few members and no regular performer under the age of thirty. One of the *isuja*, Ahn Daech'ön, sums up the situation:

When Kosöng Ogwangdae originated, it was here, and many of the teachers still think of it as tied to Kosöng, so right now only Kosöng people can join. But I think I can feel that this barrier is starting to move. There are already so many people from other areas that come here to learn . . . the teachers are starting to change their thinking about who can be a member. I think that of course people from other regions can be members [in the future].³⁷

For the Kosöng Ogwangdae Preservation Association the mask dance drama is rooted in concepts of shared enjoyment and embodiment of the mask dance drama as a marker of community membership in Kosöng. Despite difficulty recruiting enough new participants from the town, the historic connection of the community and the mask dance drama remains strong. At Imsil P'ilbong Nongak, on the other hand, if a student is recruited he or she understands that relocating, at least part-time, is necessary in order to deepen their involvement with the drumming and dancing art and become formal students and later *isuja*. The connection of the arts to place is understood differently by these two groups. Imsil P'ilbong Nongak is located on the outskirts of a nearly extinct agricultural village where only a few households continue to grow rice and chili peppers. The population is too small to hope to preserve the art only with locals. However, the Imsil P'ilbong Nongak Preservation Association provides some economic support for the area by hiring regional employees while simultaneously symbolically preserving the independent identity of the village—not allowing P'ilbong to be subsumed within the small crossroads town of Kangjin, a few kilometers away.

The camps are run on a noncapitalist model; the first priority is to transmit the art form and the groups do not necessarily make a profit.³⁸ Asking Yi Yunsök if running the camps was difficult he answered: “Operating the camps is hard because we cannot meet the costs of operation from the [student] fees.”³⁹ However, he softened this statement by expressing his appreciation to the many people interested in the art and his happiness to teach them. Beyond personal satisfaction of involvement with the arts and the long-term possibility of recruiting new performers (for Imsil P’ilbong Nongak), what benefit do the two groups gain from these classes?

I argue that the two groups benefit in three distinct ways. The first immediate benefit from holding the camps is that the camps provide several weeks for professional performers to have the opportunity to improve and refine their own performance and understanding of the art through teaching. Teaching dance or music helps performers to improve their own skills, and the camps compensate the instructors, allowing them a temporary boost in their annual income. Based on years of experience holding the camps, the groups have established an effective and satisfying course with only small variations (due to available instructors) between weeks. Consequently both Kosöng Ogwangdae and Imsil P’ilbong Nongak offer well-planned courses without the rough edges that can be experienced in newly established training programs.

Second, the courses develop a highly educated audience. Yi Yunsök described the participants as the *shikgu* or family of the mask dance group; certainly bonds are created between the participants and the preservation associations. Repeat students of both arts revealed to me that when the preservation association performed near their university the members of their club would go to the show. Second-time participant Kümhong explained: “It’s really exciting to be in the audience after you’ve learned the mask dance, especially watching parts and scenes you’ve rehearsed. Every time I see the teachers perform I can better capture the *mat*, the flavor, of Kosöng Ogwangdae.”⁴⁰

I have witnessed this student turnout for performances many times. For example, in April 2011 when Yi Yunsök performed solo at KOUS Hall ten out of my sixteen roommates at winter camp attended. This corresponds well with what ethnomusicologist Paek Inok observed in a *minyö* (folk song) class. Paek explained that the classes result in “performer-enthusiastic fans or audiences, who tend to follow their teacher’s public appearances.”⁴¹ Many of the repeat participants with Imsil P’ilbong Nongak explained that they also came to festivals and ceremonies organized by the group and sometimes helped out as volunteers. The festival, held each year in late summer, and the ceremony held at Taeborüm fifteen days after the lunar new year, were able to produce an even more spectacular show and enormous release of audience and performer energy through the attendance of these closely involved amateur performers/former students. I recognized large portions of the audience at the 2009 Hüng Sori Festival, the last weekend in August, as well as the 2011 Tano celebration held in lieu of the

cancelled 2011 Taeborüm. Public appearances of the group in Seoul in 2010 and 2011 were similar to a giant reunion, with the most advanced repeat students (such as the core members of Kaejõnyõn) participating in the performance.

Third, the camps create advocates: a population that cares about the arts more generally. In the future, as these participants spread out in society they will interact with others whom they can draw into the traditional arts. They will be the far-flung mouthpieces of Korean performance, particularly the ones they know best through enjoyable intensive experiences like these camps. By providing young Koreans with basic training in these traditional art forms, preservation associations contribute to the future protection of intangible cultural heritage. They do this through teaching a large number of students, and robust enrollment is facilitated by pricing of the courses below market value.⁴² Some students even learn for free. T'aegang, a fellow Kaejõnyõn member, came to the camp and then did not want to leave. He participated in four sessions in a row; never expecting to stay at the transmission center for so long, he ran out of money. Instead of sending T'aegang packing, they gave him extra chores and duties and stopped charging him even the paltry 50,000 *wõn* (\$47) fee per seven-day session.⁴³

For the students, the connection between cultural identity and their participation in camps was clear. Ethnomusicologist Park Shingil stated that “asserting Korean-ness” is the “core” dictating the construction and activities of *p'ungmul* groups.⁴⁴ Through hosting these camps, Kosõng Ogwangdae and Imsil P'ilbong Nongak positioned their groups to occupy a central guiding and teaching function. They teach not just how to perform the art but how to be a modern Korean who is *in touch* with tradition. At the camps students expressed their concern about the future of Korean arts and often explained that they had become involved in their club out of a desire to get closer to, or learn about Korean tradition. According to Haeji: “If it wasn't for things like this—even though I'm Korean—I wouldn't know about Korean traditions. There just aren't many opportunities to learn. [Here] I can even put on a mask and dance.”⁴⁵ Sõngmin, a participant in Imsil P'ilbong Nongak's camp told me that “if no one learns [traditional arts] our important culture will go away.”⁴⁶ This same student, studying to become a physical education teacher, also hoped to build and live in a traditional style *hanok* house, and he enjoyed making traditional items, including the sticks he drummed with. He planned to help bring his future students closer to traditional culture, as did the Ch'unch'õn University of Education students at Kosõng Ogwangdae's camp.

Heritage Tourism

The camps can be understood to be not just a site of the transmission of *p'ungmul* drumming or mask dance drama skills, but a representation to remind the participants of the significance of these types of arts in the Korean past. Anthropologist Marilyn Ivy has discussed how in Japan participation in traditional arts, even attending a festival, can be a way to reconnect with a lost past.⁴⁷ The students

at these camps are bringing Korean tradition back into their own lives—learning dance steps and drum rhythms becomes “rememoration” and “memorialization.”⁴⁸ Such activities are then another type of participatory heritage tourism, motivated by much of the same impulse that leads people to participate in cultural lecture tours or hands-on Confucian heritage reenactment experiences.⁴⁹ Tourism scholar Hyung Yu Park theorizes the sociocultural and psychological significance of something as simple as a stroll through Ch’angdök Palace in Seoul, in which she sees ethnic and national identity reconstruction and reconceptualization.⁵⁰ Park asserts that heritage tourism can reassure individuals of their attachment to their nation in a subtle way.⁵¹ The students at both camps often articulated their interest in learning the arts due to a desire to know more about “our” culture.

Building Communitas and Experiencing Liminality

Above, I have explained why the groups would want to hold these training sessions, especially when they are located in remote areas that do not normally get walk-in students the way arts based in large cities can. In this section, I elaborate on the reasons why modern Korean students seek to participate in the camps. For most students, before joining their club, they do not have much interest in or knowledge about traditional performing arts; they are consciously aware of the arts as tied to Korean identity but do not internalize this until after commencing club activities. I asked students why they had chosen to participate; Haeji answered: “Our club is about learning our traditions . . . to really know it you have to try, so I came here to try.”⁵² During the period of participation something changes that brings the students a new perspective on the traditional arts. Ch’oe Kilsöng, in an analysis of shamanic ceremonies, determined that it took audiences a period of exposure to be able to both understand and assimilate a shamanic ceremony.⁵³ The camps speed up and compress the time of exposure and the result is an understanding of the practice of traditional arts that becomes inscribed within the bodies of the participants in a short period of time.⁵⁴ In Donna Kwon’s PhD dissertation, she described “the high degree of embodied participation and cultural familiarity” created through the learning environment of the intensive programs.⁵⁵ As students gain the vocabulary related to their class, they gain membership in the subsection of South Koreans capable of participating in traditional arts. Such participation is not only as performers, it is also the ability to insert the *ch’uimsae* (cries of encouragement) at the rhythmically appropriate place in many folk arts,⁵⁶ or the confidence to enter the performance space and dance during the *p’ungmul* performance or at the conclusion of mask dance dramas, group games, and rites.

The camps are a strong community building experience. Club membership is cemented through participation in the camps; as the individual members breathe in unity as they move/drum, the limitations of individuality are overcome.

Uncomfortable facilities and physical exhaustion create further opportunities to bond. In this way the camps strongly resemble the training for new Japanese bank employees described by Thomas Rohlen or the ethics training experienced by Dorinne Kondo.⁵⁷ In fact, it has been theorized that *p'ungmul* is a “cultural and social behavior” more than it is a type of music.⁵⁸ Kwon explains that the intense and isolated environment of the camps is “especially conducive to the cultivation and embodiment of certain alternative Korean subjectivities.”⁵⁹ The transmission centers in both cases work to break down the barriers between the different clubs. Groups for impromptu tests and performances at Kosöng Ogwangdae are formed by counting off, or dividing the front of the room from the back, since students from different clubs will end up on both sides of the cut. National Human Treasure Yi Yunsök emphasized breathing as one, and he taught us that the performance would only work if we were operating as a single unit. While teaching the basic motions he emphasized that we were a single organism. He taught this by doing things to the closest student that we all had to react to—if he hit that student we all had to respond with “Ow!”; if he pushed the student we all had to move backwards. At Imsil P'ilbong Nongak the idea of synchronizing the breathing of the group was mentioned repeatedly. As Kim Tongmin taught he emphasized exactly where to inhale during a rhythmic cycle.

Koreans, both performers and audience members, often search the performance environment for a state of communal heightened consciousness called



Figure 5. Participants drumming on their way to the small river where we splashed for a carefree hour.

shinmyōng. *Shinmyōng*, defined in the works of Kim Yōlgyu as an “explosion of delightful emotion,” combined with the verb “release,” *shinmyōngp’uli*, has been compared in the works of performance scholar Cho Tong-il to catharsis.⁶⁰ It is a state of ecstatic near-abandon that is arrived at in a group, but provides emotional release for each individual who attains the *shinmyōng* state. Expressing *shinmyōng*, letting loose with abandon, characterizes much of Korean folk cultural participative performance, including mask dance dramas such as Kosōng Ogwangdae and the drumming and dancing music in Imsil P’ilbong Nongak. A Korean traditional performance in many folk genres can be considered unsuccessful if the performers have not generated *shinmyōng*, therefore it was little surprise that Choi Ho-in at Imsil P’ilbong Nongak Transmission Center encouraged us to release *shinmyōng* in his short pre-performance pep talk and that after the Kosōng Ogwangdae performance National Human Treasure Yi Yunsōk congratulated us on our display of *shinmyōng*.

Shinmyōng, brought to life through audience/performer interaction, is part of what noted anthropologist Victor Turner called *spontaneous communitas*. Turner’s *communitas* is “a mode of relationship between individuals” who confront each other in “norm-governed relationships.”⁶¹ Spontaneous *communitas*, unlike normative *communitas*, arises between people within a social grouping, often in liminal seclusion—such as the seclusion of an intensive camp.⁶² *Communitas* “create[s] the conditions within which new social relationships can be created,”⁶³ or as Park Shingil explains the “standard for judging the quality of a *p’ungmul* performance is whether or not the performance has successfully enhanced the group spirit, encouraged active participation and has strengthened the feeling of solidarity for the [group of players].”⁶⁴ At the camps I observed a generation of *communitas* over the course of several days of focused activity. Ch’oe Kil-sōng concludes that “ritual processes which lead to episodes of ecstatic disorder are widely used in social relations in Korea.”⁶⁵ While this may be an overstatement when applied to Korean society at large, the ecstatic disorder of the games and performances during the camps contains elements of ritual, and the ecstatic release of energy was mentioned repeatedly by students as a high point of their experience.

Communitas can grow and strengthen in the liminal space created by the removal from everyday life. Liminality, a transitional period of being neither one nor another (described by Arnold van Gennep in his seminal text *The Rites of Passage*), occurs for participants as they move from one category to another (child to adult, single to married). In tourism literature these experiences that are removed from everyday life have been described as a sacred journey.⁶⁶ It is in the manner of a journey, more than a life passage, that these Korean students experience liminality. This is because the intensive courses correspond to a movement from everyday reality to a liminal period and then back to reality again when the course is over, without a societal or personal milestone. If the camp successfully produces *communitas* in the liminal camp environment and maintains it well for

the course of the week, the students will go home feeling completely satisfied and want to return or replicate the experience through more interaction with the traditional performing arts.

The complicity of nearly every member is required to catalyze the group and create *communitas*. This effort manifests as the participants cooperate for group enjoyment, and experience communal life. The camps offer a rare opportunity for participants to remove themselves from modern Korean society. In Kelly Foreman's 2008 book *The Gei of Geisha*, she describes the relationship between the geisha and patron who play music together as an experience of time travel. The two recreate an instance that could be of the past. Edward Bruner, while discussing Lincoln's New Salem State Historic Site in Petersburg, Illinois, calls certain visitors "time tourists to the past" because they are not interested in New Salem for its connection to Abraham Lincoln, but for the understanding of a premodern way of life.⁶⁷ The students can feel it, too, one stated: "I always feel that here—this—is really a different world. Whenever I have to go back to Seoul I feel despondent, but also as though I am going back to the real world."⁶⁸ In an interview with Nathan Hesselink, former National Human Treasure of Imsil P'ilbong Nongak Pak Hyöngnae explained,

I've been teaching students for nearly twenty-five years now. During this time, students from famous universities such as Seoul National, Korea, Yonsei, and Sungkyunkwan have come here to study. They weren't drawn here because of our technical ability, but rather because of our connection to the old style village *p'ungmul*.⁶⁹

The search for an imagined past, a time when things are perceived to be, in some way, preferable to today or as a break from everyday reality, is a recreational alternative preferred by many. In America this is represented by Civil War reenactors and renaissance fair participants. In the Republic of Korea the participation by young (usually college-aged) Koreans in intensive camps that train them in a single traditional performance genre perform the same function. The two preservation associations provide the environment for this liminal time travel to occur, but the students must be invested in making the camp experience into something beyond everyday life.

The participants, through the camps, were able to bond with each other in multiple ways. At both training camps, some of the things that I thought the students would find the most troublesome and frustrating were brought up in my interviews as positive aspects of their experience. The students in Kosöng emphasized how much fun it was to go through the hardships such as freezing cold showers, our sometimes incompetent cooking, nightly mosquito attacks, and the exhausting cycle of rising at 6:30 a.m. to exercise before an entire day of sweat-inducing classes with practice extending until 10:00 p.m. or after. For them it was an adventure, a chance to go somewhere with only their peers (and me), to make their own mistakes, and to endure their own hardships. Mujin likened it to

what her grandparents must have experienced. Other students offered enlightening comments:

Learning mask dance is really a unique experience, it was hard, but it was fun, too. It was uncomfortable, the bathroom, the cold showers, but . . . after I leave what will be left in my mind is just how much fun I had.⁷⁰

Even if I have to follow traditional rules of etiquette, compared to my fast-paced life in crowded Seoul, here I feel light-hearted.⁷¹

During the course of the long days there was no opportunity to access the Internet.⁷² No one could leave the transmission center, and cell phones were only allowed during snatched private moments, usually around evening mealtime or after practice had ended for the day. Although students had cell phones, few used them even during these time periods. The signal was weak but most of all we had left ordinary reality and wanted to preserve the feeling that nothing important was happening outside the transmission center. All that mattered was that our individual bodies were parts of a larger dancing/drumming organism.

Twip'uri

To facilitate this separation from regular life at the end of the evening (every evening), there was an after-hours social event, or *twip'uri*. The tone set by Haerim's leadership of the Ch'unch'ŏn University club did not facilitate nightly drinking to a point of drunken behavioral change. There was, however, extensive and in some cases all-night drinking of *makkŏlli* at the Imsil P'ilbong Nongak drumming camp. Frequently I would regroup with friends during the 7 a.m. *sogo* class and obtain reports of drinking parties extending until three or five in the morning. The last night more than a third of the participants stayed up the entire night, high on the energy created by the final performance.

Makkŏlli, favored by the rural working poor, was one more indication of the students' removal from their regular college-student lives where the ever-present and cheap *soju* or hipper but more expensive beer was preferred. Students grew closer to each other as they passed around cups of the milky liquid and moved from group to group, offering to pour drinks for new friends. As Ch'oe Kilsŏng explains, in the West drinking facilitates socializing, but in Korea other people are needed to facilitate drinking.⁷³ Drinking was a part of the process of creating our new community. According to Ch'oe the excessive drinking style is due to the emphasis on a "sacred state outside one's own consciousness."⁷⁴ Therefore drinking is a "cultural act."⁷⁵ Not only was *makkŏlli* the drink of the nightly parties, it was also ritually offered during the *kosa* or opening ceremony ritually blessing the masks and participants before the performance at Kosŏng Ogwangdae and given as a mid-performance tonic to drummers at the final Imsil P'ilbong Nongak performance.

“Way-of-Being in the Madang”

The two courses were an unforgettable experience, as they quickly and transformatively “encouraged the internalization of a communal way-of-being in the *madang*” as Donna Kwon explains in her dissertation.⁷⁶ From my own experience, I enjoy mask dance and by the end of the Kosöng Ogwangdae camp my mask dance moves were as smooth and fluent as those of the other students. However, due to the success of the group construction of *communitas* at Imsil P’ilbong Nongak’s training camp, despite my lack of even moderate success on the *changgu* drum, the drumming camp was surprisingly more enjoyable. At the Imsil P’ilbong Nongak Transmission Center we forged stronger bonds due to the attitudes of club leaders and the environment fostered by the preservation association. Donna Kwon also found that Imsil P’ilbong Nongak’s training was the most successful of those she observed due to development of a close, enjoyable community environment.⁷⁷

The *shinmyöng* peaks in the liminal period of the Kosöng Ogwangdae training camp were not as pronounced nor as frequent as the peaks in the Imsil P’ilbong Nongak course. For Kosöng Ogwangdae the stand out moments were the test on Tuesday to see if everyone had memorized the basic motions; a barbeque and group meal on Friday with meat, watermelon, and side dishes provided by the preservation association; and the Saturday performance which all our teachers and a group of locals attended. The emotional high produced by the Tuesday test could not compare with Imsil P’ilbong Nongak’s nightly parties complete with drunken singing of folksongs, the afternoon all 100 participants played games, our trip to splash in the river, the Friday performance where every participant played a part, or the Saturday performance of our representative members⁷⁸ and large group party into the night.

CONCLUSION

To the participants, normally caught in the fast-paced, modern Republic of Korea, these immersive training camps function as a crucial way to learn how to create and foster an experience of traditional performance. Anthropologist Michelle Bigenho theorizes four different types of authenticity. Among them is “experiential authenticity,” the certainty that something is authentic because it feels that way. This type of authenticity encompasses the “entire sensory experience of music performances [and] establishes relations between people and physical places.”⁷⁹ The camp participants expressed their encounter with experiential authenticity, telling me they were left with a deeper understanding of what it meant to be Korean, that they felt a connection to their roots.

The Korean students joyfully released the collected stresses of their lives through the dynamic of group rehearsal and performance. Unplugging from the Internet and setting down their cell phones in exchange for drums and masks

is almost a radical act in the Republic of Korea, one of the world's most web-connected nations. As the week wore on, the students learned to cooperate for group enjoyment,⁸⁰ just as scholars of mask dance dramas described players getting together to prepare for a seasonal celebration during the Chosŏn Dynasty.⁸¹ The camp environment created spontaneous *communitas* and the opportunity to time travel with the other participants to an imagined and enjoyable past where every day was either the day before the festival, or the festival itself. The camp experience allowed me to inhabit the same liminal space as the students, a space marked by peaks of *shinmyŏng* excitement, through which everyone created intense memories and forged a strong connection to the performing arts.

This connection will provide a payoff for the preservation associations that have invested in holding training camps. Imsil P'ilbong Nongak will easily recruit highly motivated new performers from the ranks of the camp participants. Both of the preservation associations fulfill their duty to transmit the traditional knowledge that they are protecting. The instructors will see a temporary cash infusion from the classes while also having an opportunity to deepen their own understanding through teaching the art. When both groups travel around the Republic of Korea for performances there will be people who are familiar with and supportive of the arts ready to attend the show, due to their happy memories of past participation in camps. Finally, the South Korean youngsters participating in these camps may become advocates for the arts in whichever sector of society they eventually find themselves.

In the Republic of Korea, performatively (and *makkŏlli*) fueled *communitas* have created a core group supportive of the traditional arts in society, a seed that may bear marvelous fruit in years to come. Are such courses, which require a large infrastructure investment in training facilities, a model that should be followed in order to preserve traditional performing arts in other regions of the world? Would the South Korean training camp model be successful in other cultures? I believe that although the presence of the energetic and charismatic instructors at these two locations is surely a factor in the success of these preservation associations, there is no reason why this model of arts learning could not successfully translate to other countries. Yet, as my research shows, these courses are successful for reasons beyond the pure recruitment of performers; just because some students have an enjoyable time learning an art form does not mean they will abandon a more conventional path through society and become full-time performing artists.

NOTES

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1. *Kosöng Ogwangdae* is the seventh Intangible Cultural Property of the Republic of Korea. *Imsil P'ilbong Nongak* is registered for protection as the eleventh Intangible Cultural Property of the Republic of Korea.

2. The CPPL policy system is not without flaws but to keep this article focused I will not be addressing them here, instead I recommend Keith Howard, *Perspectives on Korean Music*; Jöng Sujin, *Muhyöng munhwajae üi t'ansaeng*; and Jongsung Yang, *Cultural Property Protection Policy in Korea*.

3. Donna L. Kwon, "Music, Movement and Space"; Jongsung Yang, *Cultural Property Protection Policy in Korea*; and Keith Howard, *Perspectives on Korean Music*.

4. To maintain focus in this article I am not addressing the complicated issues surrounding the subjective nature of authenticity and the various reasons why governments may not be the best parties to be involved in decisions related to authenticity. For a discussion of such issues I suggest Laurajane Smith's *Uses of Heritage*. Keith Howard, *Perspectives on Korean Music*, and Jongsung Yang, *Cultural Property Protection Policy in Korea*, among others, address this issue in the Korean context, as does my own doctoral dissertation, CedarBough Saeji, "Transmission and Performance: Memory, Heritage, and Authenticity in Korean Mask Dance Dramas."

5. Preservation associations exist for most government-certified traditional arts. The members of the associations are the senior practitioners and their students (and in some cases, their students' students). There are, however, highly competent performers who are not part of preservation associations.

6. The Republic of Korea protects both group and individual arts. The group arts, such as drumming, face different issues and problems than those faced by arts that can be performed solo or with a single accompanist.

7. Han Myöngok, "Yangju pyölsandae nori ch'umsa üi yön'gu," 44–83; Jongsung Yang, *Cultural Property Protection Policy in Korea*; Yi Hunsang, "T'alküntaegi muhyöngmunhwajae chöngch'æk kwa minsok munhwa üi chöngch'ihak," 31–69; Nathan Hesselink, *P'ungmul: South Korean Drumming and Dance*, 121–51; and Donna L. Kwon, "Music, Movement and Space," 204–79.

8. The *kisaeng* are roughly equivalent to the Japanese *geisha*.

9. The Cultural Property Protection Law utilizes a ranking system for the artists who preserve each listed art; the highest level are National Human Treasures, below are *chönsu kyoyuk chogyo* and below that, *isuja*. The lowest level consist of registered students called *chönsuja*. *Chönsuja* are not the same as those receiving *chönsu*, or transmission, at the camps.

10. National Human Treasure and Director of Imsil P'ilbong Nongak Yang Chinsöng, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, July 19, 2008. Seoul Noli Madang, Seoul, Republic of Korea.

11. The numbers assigned to each Intangible Cultural Asset are assigned in order of certification within the system.

12. The five acts in *Kosŏng Ogwangdae* are (1) Mundung puk ch'um (drum dance of *Mundung* the leper), (2) Ogwangdae noli (drama of the clever servant *Malttugi* and five upper-class gentlemen), (3) Pibi yangban kwajang (drama of mystical creature *Pibi* who bedevils an upper-class gentleman), (4) Sŭngmu kwajang (drama of a monk and two young ladies), and (5) Chemilju kwajang (drama of a grandmother, her husband, and his young concubine). Although the dialogue in act 2 (and to some extent act 3) can be used for analysis of traditional attitudes toward the upper class yangban (as well as the liberating effect of the carnival environment in the manner explained by Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*), and act 5 demonstrates the traditional tension between wife and concubine, the two remaining acts are entirely nonverbal. Also, due to periods of inactivity and the ever-changing nature of orally transmitted narratives, placing too much emphasis on *specific* wording in Korean mask dance drama dialogues is of limited benefit. The dialogues in acts 2 and 3 are quite short compared to the dialogue in most other mask dance dramas. *Kosŏng Ogwangdae* is not “less” for the shorter dialogue and nonverbal scenes, there is no guarantee of the historical accuracy of dialogue in the mask dance dramas. They were all oral narratives that were generally first written down decades after regular performances ended.

13. A new and improved complex with training halls, offices, a dormitory floor, a kitchen with running water, and bathrooms with hot showers was under construction in 2011 and was completed in early 2012.

14. In this article I have used full names of registered members of preservation associations, who are public figures, and only the given names without surname for the students I interviewed.

15. If I attended on my own I would have had to bring pots, pans, and food and cook three meals a day on my own, and I still would have slept and shared the group shower with the women from the two universities. Temporary membership made participation much easier and I remain grateful to the students who graciously took me in.

16. To learn more about the club environment for learning performing arts I recommend Shin-gil Park, “Negotiating Identities in a Performance Genre.”

17. Roughly speaking, groups have one or two National Human Treasures. Below them are *chŏnsu kyoyuk chogyo* a rank usually held by about five senior teaching members in a group—in mid-2011 the mask dance group had five and the drumming group had three *chŏnsu kyoyuk chogyo*. Below *chŏnsu kyoyuk chogyo* is the highly populous rank *isuja*—individuals who have studied long enough to take on major performing roles. In most cases it takes around ten years to attain the *isuja* status, advancement past *isuja* depends in large part on seniority and continued service to the art. The Korean term 전수교 육조교 could be literally translated as training + education + assistant, implying that a 전수교 육조교 is only an assistant teacher. In reality, individuals with *chongyo* status have been learning for thirty years or more and are considered extremely proficient. Master teacher might be a more accurate English term.

18. One university offers the type of courses Yi Chaehun approves of: Korean National University of the Arts (K–Arts). I roomed and trained with the students from the university as they spent two consecutive weeks in Kosŏng in winter 2011 in preparation for a presentation of the mask dance drama at their university in May 2011. At K–Arts, *Kosŏng Ogwangdae* is a required class for sophomores in the Traditional Folk Theater department. As professional performers-in-training their attitude

toward learning and performing the mask dance drama was quite different from the other camp participants, a subject I address in my dissertation. CedarBough Saeji, “Transmission and Performance: Memory, Heritage, and Authenticity in Korean Mask Dance Dramas.”

19. Yi Chaehun, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, July, 2, 2009, *Kosöng Ogwangdae* Transmission Center, Kosöng, Republic of Korea.

20. It also flies in the face of more formalized instruction for professionals, such as the teaching practices for *Chindo Ssikkim’gut* described by Mikyung Park in “Korean Shaman Rituals Revisited: The Case of Chindo Ssikkim-Kut,” 362–64.

21. Yumi, a five-time participant, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, July 2009, Imsil P’ilbong Nongak Transmission Center, Republic of Korea.

22. Söngmin, an eight-time participant, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, July 2009, Imsil P’ilbong Nongak Transmission Center, Republic of Korea.

23. Önjöng, a ten-time participant, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, January 13, 2011, Imsil P’ilbong Nongak Transmission Center, Republic of Korea.

24. Jongmin, a nine-time participant, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, August 20, 2010, Imsil P’ilbong Nongak Transmission Center, Republic of Korea.

25. The category of *nongak*, or farmers drumming and dancing music, is subdivided into six types of *nongak* from various regions of Korea. All six types are number 11. Imsil P’ilbong Nongak is 11-ma, “ma,” is the fifth sound in the Korean alphabet.

26. In the four week-long camps I attended at the transmission center there were 100, 80, 23, and 90 other participants respectively. The time that only 23 students participated, we slept in a different building one floor above where we all drummed together. This conserved energy in the piercingly cold winter.

27. Sometimes an intermediate option is available and in weeks with very small numbers everyone is together. There are also classes in *sangmo* available for about four weeks per vacation.

28. I continued to time my attendance at training camps in 2010 and 2011 around their schedules and in 2011 I performed with *Kaejönyön* in Seoul.

29. A true beginner on the *changgu* (I had played the barrel drum or *puk* and danced with the *sogo* with a group from 1999 to 2002, but had never learned the hourglass drum), I was placed with the beginners group. My further experiences at the transmission center focused on *sangmo*. I only spent one other week playing *changgu*; that week all the students practiced together because there were only twenty-three of us. My observations here are based primarily on the beginner experience I had in 2009.

30. For a more detailed ethnomusicological explanation of the teaching and learning process for *pungmul*, I recommend reading Nathan Hesselink’s *P’ungmul: South Korean Drumming and Dance*, particularly pages 121–51.

31. “Silly” is the only possible adjective. For example, one game involved a team turning mats to X side up, while the other team turned the mats to O side up as quickly as possible in a writhing mass of grasping bodies on the floor until the whistle blew and the total mats for X/O were counted. In another game a “queen” was protected by a team sitting with their arms wrapped around their knees. Scooting on our bums we tried to knock over the members of the other team and get to their queen. If arms unwrapped or a player was knocked off their bum, they were “out.”

32. In winter sessions Friday does not include a whole-group performance.

33. Human Treasure Yi Yunsök, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, July 2, 2009, *Kosöng Ogwangdae* Transmission Center, Kosöng, Republic of Korea.

34. Hwang Chong-uk interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, July 3, 2009, *Kosöng Ogwangdae* Transmission Center, Kosöng, Republic of Korea.

35. Yang Jinseong, "Pilbong Nongakui gongyeonhakjeok yeongu."

36. Yang Chinsöng interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, August 8, 2011, Imsil P'ilbong Nongak Transmission Center, Republic of Korea.

37. *Isuja* Ahn Daech'ön interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, January 28, 2011, *Kosöng Ogwangdae* Transmission Center, Kosöng, Republic of Korea.

38. In weeks with higher enrollment at Imsil P'ilbong Nongak Transmission Center the center is making money for the week, but the center maintains fourteen full-time, year-round staff members and over a dozen buildings. It is even more difficult for the *Kosöng Ogwangdae* Transmission Center to profit from the classes due to the need for approximately seven instructors (one for each of the five key roles, and two to teach the basic motions) no matter how few people attend the camp.

39. Yi Yunsök, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, January 28, 2011, *Kosöng Ogwangdae* Transmission Center, Kosöng, Republic of Korea.

40. Kümhong, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, June 2009, *Kosöng Ogwangdae* Transmission Center, Kosöng, Republic of Korea.

41. Inok Paek, "Folk Music: Vocal," 86. Keith Howard also discusses the background of audience members in "Kugak Fusion and the Politics of Korean Musical Consumption."

42. In order to improve the teaching environment and potentially teach larger groups per session *Kosöng Ogwangdae* constructed a new transmission center with support from the town of Kosöng, that will house the first series of intensive classes in summer 2012.

43. The cost for a student to attend is approximately 50,000 *wön* (including lessons and dormitory), the cost for a regular member of society is 70,000 *wön*. There is also a fee of 3,500 *wön* for each meal.

44. Shingil Park, "Negotiating Identities in a Performance Genre," 7.

45. Haeji, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, June 2009, *Kosöng Ogwangdae* Transmission Center, Kosöng, Republic of Korea.

46. Söngmin, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, July 2009, Imsil P'ilbong Nongak Transmission Center, Republic of Korea.

47. Marilyn Ivy, *Discourses of the Vanishing: Modernity, Phantasm, Japan*.

48. *Ibid.*, 13.

49. Okpyo Moon, "Guests of Lineage Houses: Tourist Commoditization of Confucian Cultural Heritage in Korea," 88–104; Robert Oppenheim, "The Consumability of Place: Tapsa and Paenang Yeohaeng as Travel Goods," 105–26.

50. Hyung Yu Park, "Heritage, Tourism, and National Identity," 164.

51. *Ibid.*, 181.

52. Haeji, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, June 2009, *Kosöng Ogwangdae* Transmission Center, Kosöng, Republic of Korea.

53. Kilsong Ch'oe, "The Symbolic Meaning of Shamanic Ritual in Korean Folk Life," 220–21, 223.

54. Tomie Hahn, *Sensational Knowledge: Embodying Culture through Japanese Dance*.

55. Donna L. Kwon, "Music, Movement, and Space," 204.
56. See for example Chan E. Park, *Voices from the Straw Mat: Toward an Ethnography of Korean Story Singing*; Chan E. Park, "'Authentic Audience' in Pansori, A Korean Storytelling Tradition."
57. Dorinne Kondo, *Crafting Selves: Power, Gender and Discourses of Identity in a Japanese Workplace*; Thomas Rohlen, "Building Character," 50–74.
58. Shingil Park, "Negotiating Identities in a Performance Genre," 8.
59. Donna L. Kwon, "Music, Movement, and Space," 207.
60. See Dong-il Cho, *Korean Mask Dance: The Spirit of Korean Cultural Roots*; Cho Tongil, *Talch'um ui wölli Shimyöng p'uri*; Dong-il Cho, "A Comparative Analysis of Katharsis, Rasa, and Shinmyong P'uri Theatres."
61. Victor Turner, *The Ritual Process*, 131–32.
62. *Ibid.*, 137–38.
63. Clark W. Sorensen, "Folk Religion and Political Commitment in South Korea in the 1980s," 347.
64. Shingil Park, "Negotiating Identities in a Performance Genre," 12.
65. Kilsong Ch'oe, "The Symbolic Meaning of Shamanic Ritual in Korean Folk Life," 230.
66. Nelson Graburn, *The Anthropology of Tourism*, 1–11.
67. Edward M. Bruner, *Culture on Tour: Ethnographies of Travel*, 11.
68. Ŭnjöng, a ten-time participant, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, January 13, 2011, Imsil P'ilbong Nongak Transmission Center, Republic of Korea.
69. Nathan Hesselink, "Of Drums and Men: Glimpses into the Making of a Human Cultural Asset," 312–13.
70. First-time participant Min-kyöng, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, July 2009, *Kosöng Ogwangdae* Transmission Center, Kosöng, Republic of Korea.
71. Five-time participant Yumi, interview by CedarBough T. Saeji, July 2009, Imsil P'ilbong Nongak Transmission Center.
72. This has become less true as smartphones grow more popular in the Republic of Korea, but students used the Internet capability of the phones most often to watch online videos of previous performances with a group of others gathered around the tiny screen discussing what they were seeing.
73. Kilsong Ch'oe, "The Symbolic Meaning of Shamanic Ritual in Korean Folk Life," 229.
74. *Ibid.*
75. *Ibid.*
76. Donna L. Kwon, "Music, Movement, and Space," 205.
77. *Ibid.*, 215.
78. There was a competition to choose the *상쇠* (leader). Each club sent approximately two representatives to perform so the Saturday troupe had approximately thirty people and represented all the clubs.
79. Michelle Bigenho, *Sounding Indigenous: Authenticity in Bolivian Music Performance*, 17.
80. Donna L. Kwon, "Music, Movement, and Space."
81. See, for example, Yi Tuhyön, *Han'gukui Talchum*; Meewon Lee, "Kamyonguk: The Mask-Dance Theatre of Korea"; Kyungwook Jeon, *Korean Mask Dance Dramas: Their History and Structural Principles*; Kyungwook Jeon, *Traditional Performing Arts of Korea*.

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