Bands, Songs, and Shamanistic Rituals:

Folk Music in Korean Society

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CHAPTER ONE

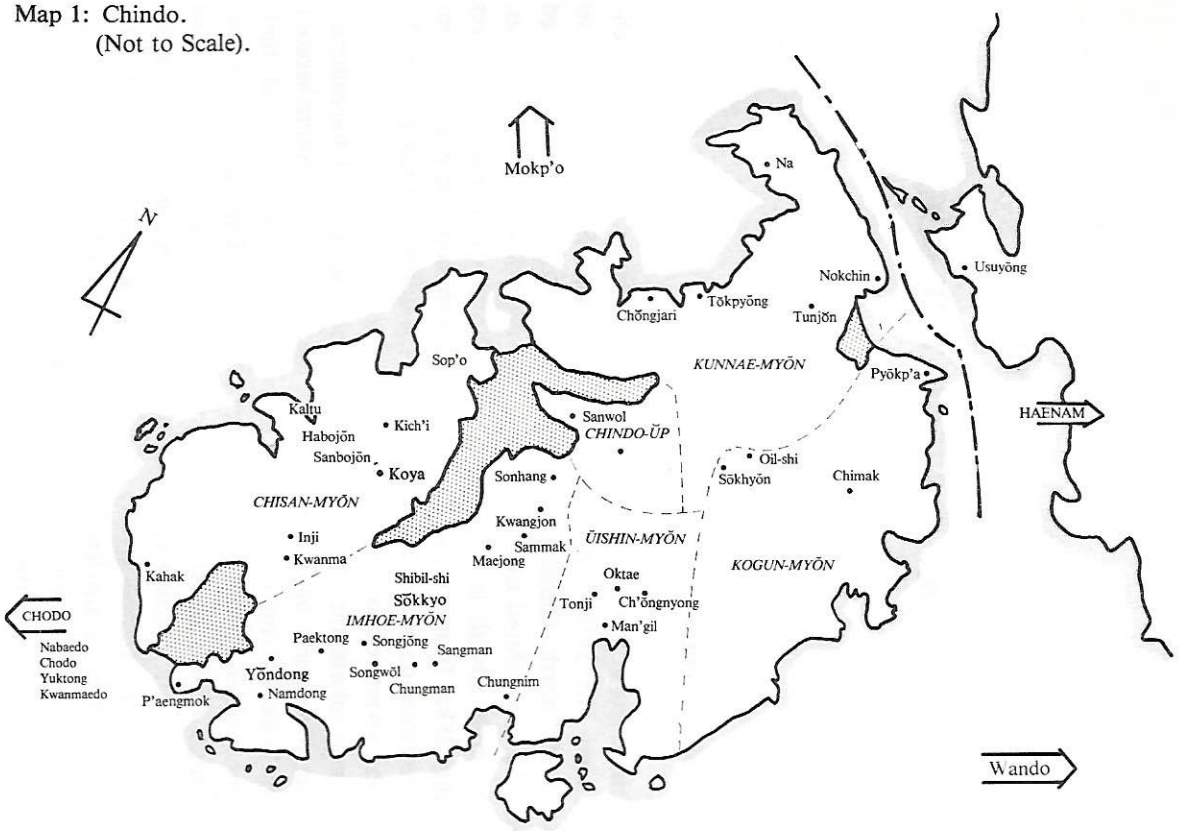
CHINDO: SETTING THE SCENE

Physical Structure

Chindo sits at the south-western tip of the Korean peninsula, stretching from 125°37′34″ to 125°23′30″ east and from 34°08′30″ to 34°34′35″ north. Chindo, as a county (*kun*), consists of 49 inhabited and 212 uninhabited islands,[1] with a total area of 404.15km². Chindo, as the main island, is the fourth largest Korean island and measures roughly 28km from west to east and 22km from south to north. Recent land reclamation has successfully swelled the number of rice paddies by severing several estuaries and creeks from the sea.

Chindo inhabitants have lived under a centralized and bureaucratic Korean government based in Seoul since the 14th century. Administration currently works from the president downwards through provincial chiefs to county chiefs, then through district offices to village leaders. Chindo is a single county (*kun*) divided into one township (*ŭp*: Chindo-ŭp) of several precincts (*tong/ri*), and six districts (*myŏn*: Chisan-myŏn, Ŭishin-myŏn, Imhoe-myŏn, Chodo-myŏn, Kunnae-myŏn, Kogun-myŏn). Within the districts there are a total of 99 administrative villages (*ri*), 231 smaller, locally determined villages (*tong/ri*: units or hamlets, but qualifications follow in chapter 3), and 770 areas (*pan*). The definitions and organizations proposed by Wright apply (Wright 1975: 63-64). The administrative structure of a single district, Imhoe-myŏn, can be seen in Map 2 and Table I. Fieldwork was conducted in 35 villages throughout the county and in Chindo-ŭp.

Map 1: Chindo.
(Not to Scale).



Map 2: Imhoe District

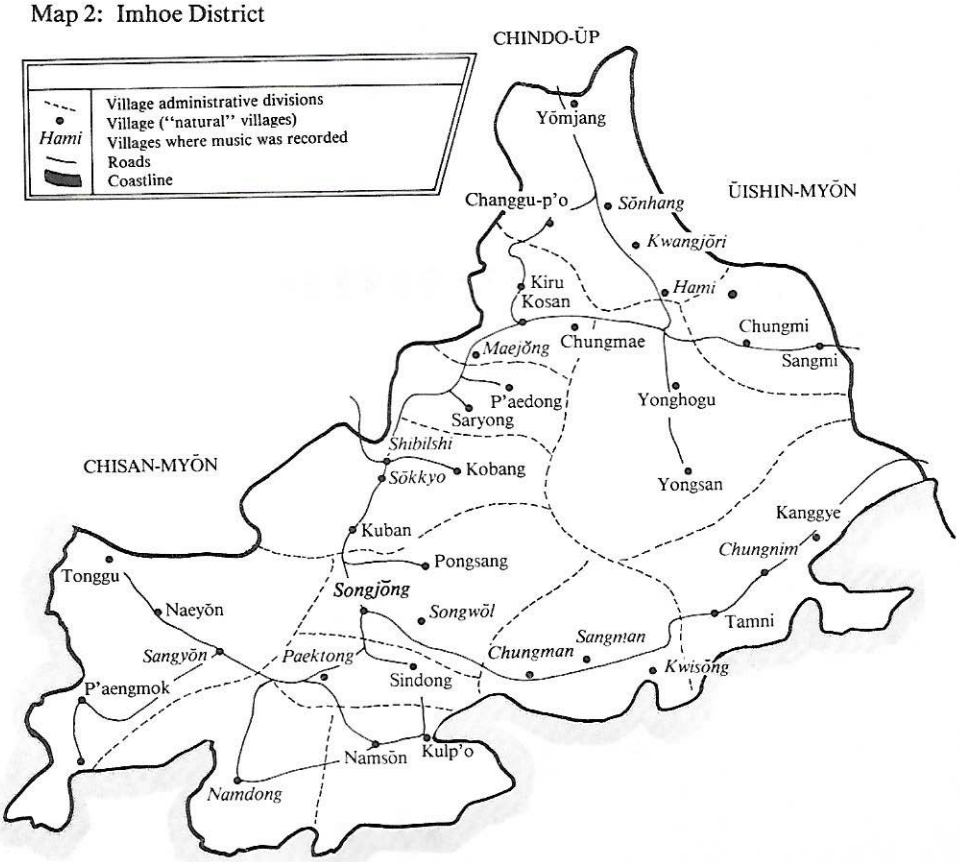
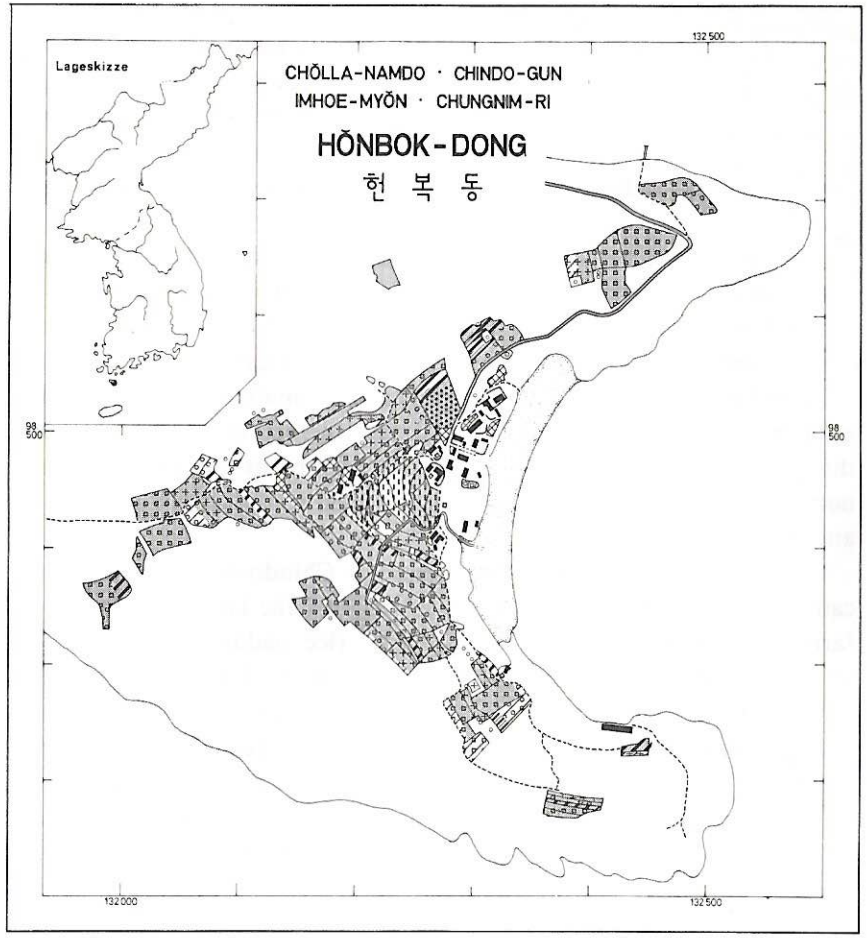


Table 1. Village Structure in Imhoe District

Administrative Village	Village Units	House-holds	Men	Women	Total
			(1982 figures)		
Myŏngsŭl-li	Sangmi	54	114	127	241
	Chungmi	29	79	84	167
Sammang-ni	Hami	96	207	216	423
	Kwangjŏn	54	113	113	226
	Sŏnhang	75	167	180	347
	Changgu-p'o	57	132	115	247
Yŏmjang-ni	Yŏmjang	53	133	118	251
Yongho-ri	Yongsan	41	94	107	201
	Yonghogu	146	350	334	684
Kojŏng-ni	Chungmae	46	103	105	208
	Kiru	34	74	77	151
	Kosan	45	93	94	187
	Maejŏng	51	107	128	235
Saryŏng-ri	Saryŏng	44	103	86	189
Sŏkkyo-ri	**Shibil-Shi**	189	461	389	850
	Sŏkkyo	187	385	418	803
Pongsang-ni	Pongsang	65	148	157	305
	Songwŏl	39	111	104	215
	Songjŏng	59	116	144	260
Sangman-ni	Sangman	90	177	204	381
	Chungman	78	216	230	446
	Kwisŏng	54	143	133	276
Chungnim-ni	Tamni	37	107	79	186
	Chungnim	135	331	316	647
	Kanggye	73	186	189	375
Paektong-ni	Paektong	106	257	244	501
	Shindong	38	75	86	161
Kulp'o-ri	Kulp'o	70	196	190	386
	Namsŏn	90	329	354	462
Namdong-ni	Namdong	71	139	159	298
	Sŏmang	37	99	120	219
Yŏndong-ni	P'aengmok	65	139	146	285
	Sangyŏn	77	172	179	351
	Naeyŏn	48	108	103	211
	Tonggu	55	115	116	231
Totals:	35	2,488	5,769	5,833	11,602

Source: Imhoe district office.

Map 3. Agriculture in Hŏnbok-tong, Imhoe District



Source: Eckart Dege, 1981: Map 1-8; based on data collected in 1975.

Village units provide the basis for band groups, communal work teams, and local rituals. In this volume I have sought to reflect local perceptions of "village" rather than the externally-imposed administrative "village" division. Any inconsistency in my analysis results from the actual contemporary variety. Chindo villages were generally structured in a tightly-knit, nuclear fashion, although houses were spread out where agriculture demanded and, where commerce dictated, linear development along roads to accommodate shops and restaurants had occurred. Inji village, Chisan-myŏn, demonstrated how a combination of factors led to several co-existent settlement patterns. Schools had been built to the east, offices in the centre, and a market place to the north. A central nuclear settlement housed tenant farmers and remnants of the gentry, bordered on the west and east by rice paddies. Small landholders and the poor lived scattered around the periphery. In Inch'ŏn to the west lived the wealthy owners of rice paddies, and merchants congregated in the north near the market place or along the road running between Inch'ŏn and the central area.

Over 70% of Korea is mountainous; in Chindo 64.8% of the land cannot support agriculture. In 1981, 26.8% of the land was devoted to farming, with 46.5% of this laid out as rice paddies (*non*), suitably terraced on gentle slopes to conserve water or sited on reclaimed land. Other farming land consisted of dry fields (*pat*)[2]. The remaining land was forested, still under reclamation, or used as salt beds. Two mountains featured in local mythology. To the north, Ch'ŏmch'alsan (473 meters) was considered male and, in shape, faced south; to the south, Yŏguisan (457 meters) was considered female. The southern mountain was an important water source and several topographical features were locally named after female genitalia. Geomancy had it, largely correctly, that villages to the north of Yŏguisan would be prosperous while those to the south would be poor; the central plain between the two mountains did indeed provide much land for rice cultivation, and wealth was still usually measured in terms of the amount of rice paddies owned.

Rice was the staple food, but Chindo has only recently produced enough for its own population. New varieties of rice such as the "unification species" promoted by central government and its New Village (Saemaŭl Undong) movement were initially sown with some reluctance by local farmers who considered their own strains excellent and

well-tested (Chun [Chŏn] 1984: 72 gives brief local information; Dege 1982: 127-138 contains a detailed national account). The local diet consisted of three meals, taken in decreasing quantities as the day progressed (*ach'im, chŏmshim, chŏnyŏk*; these terms also indicated times of day) that typically combined rice with soup and various vegetable side dishes. The latter offered some nutritional balance (Chun 1984: 66-71 describes the diet). At the height of the farming season, workers might take more meals. Rituals tended to involve the preparation of rich altar tables comprising an abundance of fish, meat, and fruit and, since this food was later consumed by the community or family involved, provided a substantial but temporary increase in mineral, vitamin, and protein intake. Fish was generally more common at meals than meat, although by 1982 central government had had some success in promoting pork.

In dry fields, cereals such as corn, barley, and sesame, a variety of fruits, tobacco, beans, and vegetables ranging from leeks and spinach to potatoes and radish, competed for space (Dege 1982: 62-67 gives Korean and botanical names, national production levels, and 1975 market prices). Fruit was grown mostly to the east; some mandarin orange trees existed although many oranges were imported from Cheju (rice has recently been exported from Chindo to Cheju). Tobacco was a common cash crop to the centre and west of the main island and agriculture became more marginal in outlying islands. Pigs were still kept by many families, fed on human excrement and food scraps, and these were slaughtered prior to rites and festivals. Map 3 shows the agriculture pursued in Hŏnbok-tong to the south of the main island as it was in 1975[3]; Chun's anthropological analysis of the same community usefully divides it into four hamlets, each distinguished by status and occupation much as I have suggested for Inji (Chun 1984: 22 onwards). Korean annual farm incomes in 1975 averaged 873,000 *wŏn* of which 715,000 *wŏn* was direct agricultural income, 44% of receipts in the form of cash and 56% in crops (Dege 1982: 269-270). In 1981 the local population was divided between farmers and other occupations (traders, fishermen, and so on) at an approximate ratio of 7:1. But occupations, income levels, and amounts of land allocated to particular crops are rapidly changing as Korea moves inexorably away from a labour intensive agricultural economy.

Fishing was carried out from coastal villages and outlying islands by those regarded as socially inferior to farmers. This is not surprising since fishermen owned little or no land. Fishing was talked about in terms of gambling; unlike rice farming, it was regarded as a speculative operation (see also Brandt 1971: 62). During the Japanese occupation, the number of boats in Korea increased five-fold, from 13,024 in 1911 to 65,156 in 1942, and the fishing population doubled to 319,628 (*The Statistical Report of the Governor General to Korea* 1942, cited in Han 1972). Under the *kaekchu* system, fishermen were exploited by middle men and suffered from high taxes (Pak Ku-byŏng 1966: 70-73 and 81-92). Fishing had become more difficult as large shoals of fish vanished and by the 1980s inshore operations were preferred, typically netting small anchovies. Incomes for fishermen remained low: in 1966 Korean fishing families earned 23.5% of the national average compared with 34.4% in farm households (Kim In-tae 1966: 438).[4] It was of note, however, that fishermen who owned boats were often more wealthy than their social status suggested. Also, since fishing could only be practiced outside the winter months, several fishing informants commented they valued their free time when they could enjoy watching neighbours at work in the fields.

In Chindo, two types of fishing were still practiced. One, now officially illegal since it traps small fish yet still common, used a "triple net" (*sammai*) named after a Japanese term. This could be floated (*ttŭn kimul*), sunk (*ttang kimul*), dragged at high tide (*hŭllim kimul*), or placed over rocks near the shore (*kkŏlch'igi*). The second type employed a set of hooks on a single nylon line (*chunat*) and was typically used on short boat trips.

Marine ecology involved the collection of shellfish by poor landless families and the cultivation of seaweed. Two types of the latter were grown as cash crops, laver (*kim*: *porphyra sp.*) and kelp (*miyŏk*: *undaria pinnatifida*), the former throughout the lean winter months. Laver had appararently been introduced by the Japanese; Chindo laver is still exported to Japan and remains prized throughout the Korean peninsula. Chun reports that in "Hasami" during the 1970s most families were involved in its cultivation, each of whom payed tax to the government for the amount of bamboo screen placed in the sea on which to grow it. Chun 1984: 77-80 describes the construction and cost of screens and discusses the drying process. In the 1980s, to the northwest in Sop'o, laver production was controlled by just a few people. They rented out screens and acted as middle men to companies who packaged and marketed the laver. In winter, frames on which to dry sheets of laver were built throughout the village, using up most remaining rice-straw from the previous harvest and providing welcome and abundant employment.

Until the present century, Chisan district in the west was the site of five government horse ranches. Horses were shipped from Sop'o to Mokp'o. Provisions were also brought in at Sop'o which, coupled to seasonal salt and laver production, gave the village a significant migrant community. Chisan people were despised for raising horses and, long after the ranches had vanished, identification with such an occupation was still used as an insult. A barrier had in the past separated Chisan district from the rest of the island across a short stretch of flat ground near Sŏkkyo village in Imhoe district; mountainous land to the south and an estuary to the north elsewhere formed a natural barrier.

The climate of Chindo is mild, lacking both extremes suffered further north in Korea. The mean average temperature is 14.2°. In 1981, the high was 34.3° and the low -8.5°. Rainfall is at its greatest in July when temperate showers batter the countryside and in 1981 sunshine favoured the crops on 107 days (*Okchu-ŭi ŏl* 1982: 248). Chindo is said by many Chŏlla inhabitants to be a place of natural beauty. Particular flowers, coastal features, and plants are protected, as is the native Chindo dog (*kae*) and two ancient trees, by being designated as National Natural Assets (*Kukka chijŏng munhwajae*: see chapter 9).

The main island is separated from the mainland by a narrow strait, since 1984 made more accessible by a single cantilever bridge at the narrowest point. Chindo inhabitants to the centre and west have relied on Mokp'o for their mainland port and market (Park[Pak] 1985: 55 talks about contemporary sea links), as have outlying islands. But to the east, relations have been built with the mainland Muan district to the west of Haenam via the small harbours of Nokchin and Pyŏkp'a. There has been considerable migration across the strait between island and mainland, which today is best reflected by the *Kanggangsullae* Asset team divided between the two. As Chun points out, until the improvement of roads and the introduction of buses, Mokp'o was, however, more readily accessible from the east by ship than was Haenam (Chun 1984: 15). The

main shipping route between Mokp'o and Cheju still passes through the narrow strait. Historical ties with Cheju have therefore also been strong and migration in both directions has been common.

Under the Japanese colonial administration at the beginning of the 20th century, mud and stone roads were built. Only in the early 1970s did taxis first appear, followed by buses in 1976. A tarmac road was completed from the eastern coast to Chindo-ŭp in 1984. This century has also seen many incomers settling in Chindo. By 1925 there were 170 Japanese and 11 Chinese residents (*Chindo kunji* 1976: 357). After the 1945 liberation the island received Korean immigrants returning from Japanese territories overseas; then, following the Korean war (1950-1953), central government set up whole areas for north Korean refugees (Chun 1984: 14). The population reached a peak in 1969.[5] Since then rural to urban migration has led to a decrease as girls move to factories and men transfer to professional or business occupations.[6] The 1980 census showed 83,033 inhabitants living in 17,559 households. This yields a population density of 205.5 per square kilometer (*Okchu-ŭi ŏl* 1982: 249).

The Chindo soundscape follows from its geography, characterized by the sound of wind rustling through trees, the silence of mountains, and the roaring sea.

Recent changes in agriculture have effectively undermined what was left of local autonomy, although they have often been ostensibly fostered by central organizations to improve rural lifestyles. After liberation from the Japanese, the Americans introduced 4-H clubs to Korean villages.[7] 4-H stones still stood at village entrances throughout Chindo, but they had been redesigned by the Park regime to show membership of Saemaŭl Undong. Saemaŭl was initiated in 1971 to redress the imbalance between rural and urban economies around an ideological framework that encouraged farmers to help themselves.[8] Rural development was steered along particular roads: at one point tin roofs were subsidized in an attempt to abolish thatch in the countryside—thatched cottages still existed in Chindo. Farmers steadily built up debts for tractors, fertilizers, and tools. These were designed for the more productive and successful crop cultivation required of farmers if they were to meet government directives. For staple crops such as rice the government paid fixed prices for their compulsory purchase. The basically positive assessment of Saemaŭl in a volume such as that by Whang (Whang [Hwang] 1981: 210-222) may correctly indicate upturns in real income (from 1976 to 1978 agricultural incomes increased by around 60%), but does not consider negative impacts in terms of community and local identity. Saemaŭl has encouraged villages to become part of the larger whole, in a unified country. Consequently, although much local music was once based on communal activities at the village level and was geared to local work and leisure patterns, its use has rapidly declined.

It therefore needs to be asked whether recent development has justifiably destroyed a local, rural culture. Scholars today address the problem, often without concern for the people directly involved in the changes. Traditional music and other performing arts have suffered, but material wealth, health, and living conditions have improved. Is the quality of rural life better now than in our often idealistic view of a utopian and egalitarian past? And to what extent does preservation of the old require the holding back of rural development?

History

Neolithic remains found on Chindo include 168 dolmens and some menhirs (Kim and Im 1968: 73-116). Pottery artefacts also suggest early settlement, and a book recently authorized by the island administration optimistically states that aboriginal groups inhabited the area 100,000 years ago (*Okchu-ŭi ŏl* 1982: 81). The first written reference to the island that I know of comes from AD757, the 16th year of Kyŏngdŏk's reign, where it is described as Okchu, Jewel Island. The name perhaps reflected, as Park suggests, the high quality of its agricultural land (Park 1985: 55). *Okchu-ŭi ŏl* delves further back, and claims 537 as the year when Chindo was founded as a county (*Okchu-ŭi ŏl* 1982: 19; other important dates follow in the text). A Buddhist temple, Ssangye-sa, was founded in 808 and still survives, though much rebuilding has taken place; part of a wall to the west of Chindo-ŭp has been dated to the 11th century.

Chindo became strategically important because it provided an access route, and a regular place of refuge, between the south coast and the Yellow Sea. Trading links between Paeche (18BC – AD663; a kingdom in the southwest of Korea) and Japan, and between Chinese ports,

Japan, and Shilla (57BC – AD935; the kingdom initially in the southeast that unified the Korean peninsula in 668) have benefited from its position. The area's importance was recognized in 828 or 829 when the adventurer and trader Chang Pogo (died 841?) was appointed *Taesa* (Grand Envoy) by the Shilla king to protect the coastline from marauding Chinese slave traders. He set up a garrison in the neighbouring county of Wando (Eikemeier 1980: 16-17).

During the Koryŏ dynasty (936-1391), Chindo gained national prominence with the 1270 Sambyŏlch'o rebellion. Twelve years previously, the return to power of King Kojong had marked an ignominious peace settlement with the Mongols. In 1259, as the crown prince, he travelled to China to meet the Mongol Khubilai and sued for peace; after ascending the Korean throne he met Khubilai, by then Khubilai Khan, once more in Beijing. Prior to this, in 1232 the Korean court was transferred to Kanghwa, an island to the west of Seoul, since a Mongol invasion threatened. There, contemporary accounts record it numbered 500,000 people. The Sambyŏlch'o ("Three special units") were formed to police and protect the court. Their third unit comprised men who had escaped Mongol captivity, who were now organized to mount guerilla attacks on Korea's predators. Although initially loyal to the king, the Sambyŏlch'o were angry at his humiliating peace treaty and fiercely opposed Mongol supremacy. When they were informed of their forced dissolution, effectively reducing Korea to a mere vassal state, they revolted.

The Sambyŏlch'o mobilized under General Pae Chung-sŏn. They forced Kanghwa inhabitants into "1,000" boats and sailed south. Landing on Chindo, they set up a government-in-exile and hastily imposed control on 30 islands and considerable areas of the adjacent mainland. They built and strengthened two fortresses which remain partly visible today at Namdong and Yongjang to the southwest and northeast of the main island. A combined Koryŏ and Mongol force held Chindo siege for two years from 1271 and many rebels were killed or captured in battles waged on the eastern coast. Some escaped from Namdong and settled briefly in Cheju before committing mass suicide in 1273 when defeat was imminent (Joe [Cho] 1972: 231-236; Han 1970: 168-170; *Okchu-ŭi ŏl* 1982: 59-71). Today's Tonji village, the market centre for Ŭishin district, was previously called Hyanggyo, a name which suggests it was the base of a military administration. The adjacent settlement, Oktae, was remembered by local inhabitants as "a place of prisoners" where many rebels had been interned.

From this time forwards, Chindo became a place of banishment for those who had fallen into official disfavour. Islanders used this historical fact to underline their own aristocratic past and explain the local proclivity to artistic excellence. There were indeed many artists and fine musicians in Chindo who, in themselves, made the island a wonderfully productive place for study (see Park 1985: 54-55). The slightly anti-government stance mentioned by several authors (for example Chun 1984: 13) fits the contemporary, but perhaps incorrect, perception of the southwestern Chŏlla Namdo province which resurfaced in the 1980 Kwangju uprising and to a lesser extent in the 1987 national elections. Not surprisingly, a large security presence was evident on the island that ostensibly protected inhabitants from north Korean infiltration. Plain-clothes police and army draftees kept a high profile and collected information on any visitor.

In the 16th century, the Hideyoshi invasion was repelled partly in the strait separating Chindo from the mainland (Han 1971: 271-273; Chun 1984: 15; Park 1985: 54). A tablet astride a turtle sits proudly near the harbour of Pyŏkp'a, erected in 1956 to commemorate the battle (for photographs see *Chindo kunji* 1976: 19). Due to the connection posited by islanders between this event and the development of *Kanggangsullae,* I will return to it in chapter 9. Recent history was difficult to ascertain. Individuals who had achieved notoreity were well remembered[9] both as island figures and as important members of family lineages. Official district records appeared scant, those at Chodo-myŏn's office for example recording only the district's founding in 1889, consolidation in 1914, and the opening of branch offices during the 1960s. Islanders recalled social and economic life in the past, and willingly told of codes relating to social behaviour, the separation of boys from girls at 7 years, marriage customs, and Japanese oppression. These were common elements in folksongs and folk stories (730 pages of which are collected in Chi 1980). But the oral tradition enshrined in stories and songs was rarely concerned with dates. Hence, "300 years" was inevitably intimated for all matters of historical imprecision. And this oral history was, like folksongs and folk stories, almost unknown to young people. In part, this may be due to the rapid rise in modern education since 1960 (in 1980, 27,720 children

were taught at island schools, including 2,257 in four high schools; *Okchu-ŭi ŏl* 1982: 250) and the breakdown of the isolated worlds encapsulated by individual villages.

Social stratification and kinship

During the Chosŏn dynasty (1392-1910) the inherited hierarchical structure of society intensified until seven status groups could be identified. These comprised the royal family, gentry (*yangban*), gentry who had moved to the countryside (*hyangban*) and those who had lived there for many generations (*t'oban*), the "middle people" (*chungin*), sons of concubines and their descendents (*sŏ-ŏl*), commoners (*sangmin*) and slaves and artisans (*ch'ŏnmin*).[10] The boundaries between groups were often blurred. While islanders claimed no class system existed any longer,[11] this hid a reality in which gentry, commoner, and artisan groups still functioned. In land reform during the 1950s, gentry had been entitled to purchase more land than commoners (according to Cho 1979: 6-13). This, coupled to the employment of various types of subterfuge, ensured that the descendants of gentry were still wealthy. They held positions of power and tended to own large houses with tiled (rather than tin) roofs. They relied heavily on kin and were less involved than commoners in co-operative labour groups (*ture*) and savings clubs (*kye*). They were highly conscious of their ancestry, often retaining detailed genealogical records, and remembered their predecessors who had won government positions or become known for scholarly work:

> In Korean local society the competition [for social prestige] has been conducted in terms of ancestral achievements in scholarly and political spheres, and [this has] set conditions for social differentiation (Sunhee Song 1982: 489-490).

Cho 1979: 23-34 and Janelli 1978: 272-289 include similar remarks to Song.

Many gentry ideals have long since filtered down to lower social groups. That this is so has been recently apparent in the marked increase in the numbers of published genealogical records (*chokpo*).[12] Throughout the Chosŏn period gentry developed personal skills in the

arts. They monopolized educational opportunities and increased their share of local power as their wealth increased through the milking of tenants. Thus, to many early travellers they appeared lazy and generally deplorable (see, for instance Bishop 1898 (1970 reprint): 78ff). They had been concerned with education; now education is a goal for all status groups. Scholars command considerable respect. Girls are more and more encouraged to attain a high level of schooling since this increases their chances of marrying into a respectable family. A son at university remains a source of family pride even though the cost of his education can be crippling.

Wealth has joined education as a high-status attribute. Those who showed evidence of wealth enjoyed a position in Chindo village communities equal to gentry. In Sop'o, the owner of many profitable salt beds was representative of this new wealthy group. He was frequently drunk yet his behaviour was always tolerated; he mixed with villagers from lower status groups and graced the streets with his shabby, unkempt appearance. Yet people remained polite whenever they addressed him. In Chungman, one gentry descendent was well known for his musical skill; he too freely associated with commoners without endangering his high status.

Amongst commoners (*sangmin*), Chindo farmers were at the top of a social tree and fishermen at the bottom. Between them, an assortment of merchants were expanding their influence as the farming population declined. "Businessmen" (*sangŏp*) was a common term used to encompass a multitude of occupations, but also to imply education; "businessmen" were no longer part of the lowest (*ch'ŏnmin*) group in which they had traditionally belonged. The *ch'ŏnmin* strata of traders (particularly butchers) and entertainers (including shamans and musicians) still existed, as was witnessed by informants' behaviour towards people who followed such professions. There were several cases where musicians had left Chindo to work at the National Classical Music Institute and elsewhere in Seoul in an attempt to escape social ostracism. Shamans, too, frequently complained how difficult it was for their children to move up the social ladder since they were unable to find "suitable" marriage partners. Nevertheless, ways had been found to escape the *ch'ŏnmin* stigma, as Man-Gap Lee has pointed out:

> Persons of *ch'ŏnmin* origin are now few in rural society because most of this class have migrated to the cities. There are many villages which do not have even one *ch'ŏnmin* family (Lee [Yi] 1982: 142).

The normative situation of musicians—low status coupled to high importance—had been partially modified. By the 1980s, performers appointed as Human Cultural Assets by the government were talked about by informants with some pride. At the same time, the attempt by musicians to escape from social ostracism has meant that, if they continue to perform, they have sought to improve the image of their music. Four local folk music genres have been appointed as Intangible Cultural Assets; it was hardly possible in the face of government promotion to consider their musicians outcasts. On the negative side, musicians have sometimes modified music genres to dispose of much local content.

As music has become a more desirable pastime free of social labelling, so the distinction between songs for commoners and songs for gentry has broken down. *Namdo tŭllorae,* the set of Chindo rice cultivation songs appointed Intangible Cultural Asset number 51,had two Human Cultural Assets who exhibited this well. Both lived in Inji village but, while one owned rice paddies and lived in an expensive house in Inch'on, the other owned or was tenant of five dry fields a mile from her house, the house itself being situated in a poor area of the village.

Korean families remain strongly patriarchal. Maintenance of the system is ensured through the continuance of ancestral observances and the importance placed on the production of heirs. In Chindo, Confucian-inspired thought still called for filial piety, and attitudes to women remained largely traditional.[13] At marriage a woman was expected to respect her in-laws and quickly bear sons. Notionally, she ought not to keep close ties with her family though, in reality, matrilineal and affinal relationships remained important, albeit in a non-institutionalized way that contrasted patriarchal genealogy.

Chindo family systems were much as elsewhere on the peninsula where they have been adequately studied (Brandt 1971: 108-143; Pak and Gamble 1975: 60-62, 80, 120-121, 146-148; Han Sang-bok 1977: 53-62; Lee Man-Gap 1982: 73-77; Crane 1967/1978: 29-50). Some local traditions were slightly at variance to the standard norms. Gentry were said to have married earlier than commoners, and until recently boys at 13 or 14 were considered marriageable. They preferred larger families

that would ensure the continuance of their lineage. Commoners wanted children who would look after parents as the latter grew old. Generally, extended families were preferred, but the poverty of commoners had for many years encouraged nuclear family groups. Clan exogamy was practiced at marriage. Brides tended to be brought from different villages, partly because of the dominance of one family in each social strata of a given village. Several cases were discovered, however, where both bride and groom came from the same area.[14] Marriage fixers (*chungmaeja*) were still common, but many love matches were now tolerated.

Although inheritance favoured primogeniture (whose faults are epitomized by the *p'ansori* story *Hŭngbo-ga*), some elder sons set up their own separate households outside the *k'ŭn chip* (main house) and it was common for all sons to share their father's wealth. Some parents continued to control family wealth in old age, but generally, a son took control when his father reached 60 (see below). Old age was often viewed as a return to uselessness,[15] yet elders always commanded respect. This was apparent through behavior: a young man was expected never to smoke or drink before an old man and sitting in a relaxed posture remained impolite. And to be called a "grandfather" (*harabŏji*) was in itself a sign of respect. Nevertheless, the gerontocratic bias of Confucian ideology hid in Chindo a system of weak elders (see Chun 1984: 43) who often wished to be strong. Hence a bridge built in Spring 1983 to link Inji with an area of gravestones bore a plaque that proudly announced: "Built by four old men. . . ."

The life cycle involved a sequence of rites of passage. The first occurred when a baby reached 100 days old. It announced his membership of a family. Grandparents gave gifts to acknowledge continuance of the family line. On the first birthday, a larger celebration was held where the child sat on a special table (*tolsaeng*) festooned with symbolic gifts.[16] This announced membership of the community. Marriage symbolized the arrival of adulthood. Nowadays, women typically married when between 23 and 26 and men between 25 and 28. Marriage ceremonies involved considerable expense which needed to be cushioned by *kye* savings clubs[17] and by the compulsory contribution of a fixed sum of money (in 1983 around 3,500 *wŏn*) from everyone who attended. Once married, people gradually assumed responsibilities, taking on positions of authority once they reached 40, and gradually withdrawing from the

forefront of hard labour activities and active decision making after 55. At age 60 a person reached his *hwan'gap*, a return to the first character of their life cycle.[18] This was celebrated with a magnificent feast attended by relatives, friends, and villagers. *Hwan'gap* celebrations had provided a lucrative source of income for professional entertainers.[19]

Age groups tended to be confined to men and lasted throughout life. In age group meetings people could relax, calling each other "*tongsaeng*' (younger brother) or "*hyŏngnim*" (older brother). Among such groups the formation of fictive kinship ties that contrasted the formality and restraint of a strict familial hierarchy was strong. Such fictive kinship was rarely precise or specific in terms of relations and, since it did not cross generations well, contrasts Blacking's consideration of "mother" and "child" assignations amongst the Venda in Africa (Blacking 1959).

Before death preparations were usually made. Wood to lay over the body was cut and a suitable grave site chosen. Then, at death, a small altar was erected in the courtyard of the deceased's household to the messenger spirit who had called them to the other world. A geomancer was consulted to determine where and when the funeral should take place (Janelli and Janelli 1982: 71-79 give details). A shaman was hired to perform a ceremony on the night before the funeral, a bier was ordered, and hemp clothes were made for mourners. Food was provided for those who came to pay respects to the deceased, for the shamanistic ritual, and for a feast to follow the funeral. Adults required a grave marked by an earthen mound placed in an auspicious place; children could be buried in an unmarked site in a jar. Death, like marriage, was an expensive business, and costs were again spread through *kye* club membership and compulsory contributions from those who came.

Several *ch'obun* (straw graves) remained in Chindo. These comprised a table of stones on which a body had once been placed under a frame of sticks covered with straw. The reasons given for constructing *ch'obun* were two-fold: stories were recalled where people apparently dead had revived, hence it was desirable to allow the deceased a chance to escape; rain and worms tormented a deceased's spirit as they ate away his physical remains, hence a straw structure where the body was raised above the ground allowed the spirit to rest in peace. The deceased's remains were left in the straw house for three years. Although common in the past, the practice of building *ch'obun* had virtually ceased. In the

case of one example studied there were family problems that meant no suitable grave site could be bought for the deceased. In the case of a second, the deceased's head had vanished, effectively preventing the spirit travelling to the other world. Both *ch'obun* were almost ten years old. In this account, the significance of *ch'obun* lies basically with *Tashiraegi,* the fourth Chindo Intangible Cultural Asset.

Descriptions of ancestral rites (*chesa*) are given elsewhere (Janelli and Janelli 1982: 58-147;[20] Kendall 1985: 144-163; Chun 1984: 98-104) and, since Confucianism was imposed from above, few regional differences appear important. Ancestral observances were the responsibility of the eldest living son and lasted for four generations. The three-year initial mourning period could be marked by annual shaman rituals (*kut*) and an altar would remain in the household. Stories were told of filial sons who continuously observed the mourning period. Confucianism has left its mark with an ethical system of three bonds and five moral codes, each of which could be quoted by islanders on request.[21] At major festivals and on their birthday, offerings and prayers were made at first light on an altar in front of an ancestor's grave.

Annual festivals corresponded mainly to the lunar cycle, with harvest full moon (*Ch'usŏk*) and lunar new year (*Sŏllal*) as the most important. *Ch'usŏk* normally fell before the harvest had been fully gathered in and was a time when whole families gathered. Bus and railway stations were annually a mass of scurrying people trying to reach home at this time of year; pictures were carried regularly by the national media. *Ch'usŏk* was a time to express gratitude to both ancestors and earthly spirits for the harvest. It was a time of play and as such was a primary occasion remembered for traditional local performances of *Kanggangsullae.* It was also a time for dressing up, although very few traditional costumes (*hanbok*) were still worn.[22] *Ch'usŏk* fell on the 15th day of the 8th lunar month, preceded one month earlier by *Paekchung nori,* when the final weeding of rice paddies was finished. Lunar new year fell in late January or early February and began with young people scurrying between houses, bowing reverently to elders and receiving gifts of money. House spirits, as well as ancestors, everywhere received supplication since the festival asked for blessings during the coming year. The relation between new year and folk bands was consequently close and a central use of bands had been the ritual to cleanse households and village

property of malevolent spirits given at this time. The festive atmosphere continued until the full moon (Taeborŭm). Other festivals were observed as national holidays but meant little to a predominantly agricultural community (Choi Gil-sung [Ch'oe] 1982: 33-43 discusses the latter).

Social change and music

Any consideration of social change in rural Korea is likely to delineate aspects essential to our understanding of contemporary music praxis. Since the founding of the Korean republic, education has mushroomed. Within the state-imposed syllabus, 33% of a school's music training is now meant to be reserved for Korean traditional music, the value of which has been explained and defended by music scholars (Rockwell 1974: 15-20 and Chang 1980: 39-45). Teachers active on Chindo were trained at colleges that concentrated on Western music. They used texts geared to a non-indigenous repertoire (for example, in 1984 Sŏkkyo High School used Ch'oe and Yi 1982 and Sŏkkyo Middle School Chong 1981). Teachers explained that children in Chindo lived in a rural district and therefore rarely had "musical experience" or could learn "instruments." One teacher observed employed vocal exercises designed to warm up the voice which presented students with the Italian vocables "bella, bella" and taught both Western and Korean music through Western staff notation. Teachers were consequently geared to teach only Western art music, and local folk music was presented in a manner that compared it unfavourably to Western music. Education, with its call to Westernization and modernization, encouraged children to look to the world beyond Chindo. Traditional values were broken down and, with this, much of the old was abandoned. I remember well a 16-year-old who brought his guitar to show me. I was sitting with a 70-year-old man, the best folk band drum player in the village. Neither knew anything of the other's music, yet socially they had known each other since the youth's birth. They exchanged instruments and for two hours explored the "new" music as they taught each other.

Western music has also infiltrated rural Korea through Christian missionaries. In Chindo the Seventh Day Adventist movement has been particularly strong, actively proselytizing through night schools for

children and adults. Presbyterian churches were dotted around the island and a Catholic church flourished in Chindo-ŭp. Informants were often not concerned with Christianity and questioned the need for an additional religion. Christianity, coupled to an image of modernization, had tried to push out traditional shamanistic and animistic practices, they said. Since local music genres were considered old-fashioned, inadequate and outmoded in such an atmosphere, they too were threatened. Each Christian church used only Western hymns. The hymns were accompanied by a harmonium. Thick base parts were preferred over a 4-part 19th century hymn book texture. But some indigenous elements were incorporated unconsciously, so that the preferred monody was liable to deceleration and revisions of line to fit Korean speech and song inflexions.[23] Awkward intervals were ironed out. Long sustained tones were given dynamic envelopes that matched the more emotional local songs such as *Yukchabaegi.*

Inroads made by the mass-media had greatly affected Chindo music performance and ideas about music. The media had brought pop music and a throw-away culture in which particular songs had a life of only a few months. Light music genres, *kyŏng ŭmak* and *yuhaeng-ga,* had developed earlier in the century as an amalgam of Western and Eastern music styles and remained a feature of coffee bars and restaurants. People sang them and shopkeepers played them. They were not considered a threat to local songs, and the role of the Japanese in their initial promotion had long since been forgotten. Islanders were, however, critical of the media's contribution to contemporary musical life. New styles of songs were considered simpler than, and partly responsible for accelerating the decline of, local songs. The media was criticized for preferring professional singers who could only imitate local singing styles. Television presentations of "traditional music" were said to be worthless because all "deep meaning" was taken out and replaced by a gloss. The same criticism was levelled at certain local musicians who had "popularized" traditional folk music. Nonetheless, established local singers were happy to perform on national television. The same singers would then remark that traditional music was rarely allowed on television since popularity was considered more important than "proper" content. What was offered as "traditional" was said to make local people laugh; television shows left people feeling "let down" (*maŭmi anjohasŏ,* lit., "spirit

not feeling good''). One show at Ch'usok in 1983 concluded with twenty performers dancing a version of Chindo *Ssikkim kut*: this raised Chindo eyebrows more familiar with the indigenous shaman rite (see Chapter 6). Disappointment with the media turned to annoyance when islanders were told Seoul producers included such ''traditional'' elements for the benefit of rural audiences. Islanders professed they had a better conception of their culture and felt insulted that city programme planners treated them as ignorant.

Reactions to media presentations suggest that islanders will fight for the preservation of local traditions. But I am not convinced of this, partly because of education systems and the inroads of Westernization, and partly since I am aware that the musicians with whom this volume is concerned comprise only a small minority of Chindo's population. Traditional music is still threatened, and if its future lies in preservation under the Intangible Cultural Asset system, then during the next few years it will move away from the local level—where everybody can sing[24]—to a semi-specialized world where it is performed on stage by a chosen few. My concern here, then, is to explore the world of traditional music in Chindo and elsewhere, to explore how changes already taking place will mould the future, and to argue for an understanding of traditional music in its social context.

Notes:

[1] *Okchu-ŭi ŏl* 1982: 248. Chun states there are 53 inhabited and 206 uninhabited islands (Chun [Chŏn] 1984: 14).

[2] *Okchu-ŭi ŏl* 1982: 248. This equals 115.58 km^2 for agriculture, of which 61.80 km^2 comprises dry fields and 53.78 km^2 rice paddies. 261.90 km^2 is unuseable for agriculture. Chun 1984: 14 states the total landmass is 108.3^2 square kilometres.

[3] Eckart Dege's 1982 *Entwicklungsdisparitäten der Agrarregionen Südkoreas* compares the agricultural and economic structure of eight Korean villages, one of which is Hŏnbok-tong in Chindo.

[4] Particularly until 1970, rapid industrialization in urban centres left the rural economy lagging far behind. It was partly due to this that Saemaŭl undong, the ''New Village Movement,'' was promulgated. During the 2nd five-year development plan (1967-1971), the agricultural growth rate was only 2.5% compared to an overall national growth rate of 10.5% (*Korea Annual* 1984: 177-178).

[5] According to a table in *Chindo kunji* (*Chindo kunji* 1976: 359), but government population figures for 1966, at 107,705, are substantially higher than those for 1970 (103,348).

[6] Refer to John Sloboda 1974a: 27-36 and 1974b: 33-39, Ch'oe Hong-gi 1972: 4-13, and Lee On-jook [Yi] 1980: 15-19 and 48-56.

[7] According to Pak and Gamble, the America-Korean Foundation attempted to establish the 4-H movement after an initiative of Col. A. A. Anderson, the military governor of Kyŏnggi province, in 1946 (Pak and Gamble 1975: 204 (note 3)).

[8] Titles of speeches by Park Chung Hee reflect this. For example, see ''The difference between a diligent and an idle village'' and, ''God helps those who help themselves'' (Park [Pak] 1979: 115 and 42).

[9] For example, Pak Tae-dong in the 16th century, whose memorial house still stands in Chisan district, the artists Sŏ Ch'i (1809-1893) and Hŏ Paeng-nyŏn (born 1891), the poet Sŏ Chŏn born in 1903, and the musician Pak Chong-gi (1879-1939).

[10] Divisions here are made after Lee Man-Gap [Yi] 1982: 5-8, 34-35, 143, and explanations follow from Han Kap-su 1981: 1938, 1791, 846. For further information on the *yangban,* see Yi Sŏng-mu 1985. This account begins with the Koryŏ period and progresses to analyse the group's role in Choson society. It includes information on secondary sons. For details on the so-called ''middle people'' (*chungin*) see Wagner, n.d. and, for a definition of them as ''petty officials,'' Han Woo-keun 1970: 248-249. Fujiya Kawashima has published two useful articles on local gentry, the *hyangan* (Fujiya Kwashima 1980: 113-137 and 1984: 3-38), which in many ways reflect the historical situation so far as it is known in the south of the peninsula.

[11] The reason for this type of comment may be because Korean social stratification is rather different from ''class.'' Cho considers ''class'' cannot describe Korea because, following Leach 1968: 9, individual families compete on the basis of personal qualities and inheritance; neither should it be called ''caste'' since, following Meyer 1955: 8, no family has a distinctive functional role in community economics and religion (Cho 1979: 23-34).

[12] The process of ''filtering down'' was the subject of a paper presented by Cho Haejoang to the 1988 London conference of the British Association for Korean Studies. I have adopted her term.

[13] Deuchler's account of women in the Chosŏn period gives clues to traditional roles, while Lee and Kim's consideration of contemporary women (published in the same volume) suggests a largely urban scenario that is only now becoming the norm in rural communities (Deuchler 1977: 1-47; Lee [Yi] and Kim 1977: 147-156).

[14] Not surprisingly, the latter often married after the discovery of an unexpected pregnancy.

[15] Perhaps this attitude is no different to Shakespeare's ''seven ages of man'' in *As You Like It.* Howard 1983d: 4 considers the local perceptions of age in more

detail.

[16] Money was offered to represent wealth, thread for long life, and paper and pencils for scholastic and artistic endeavours.

[17] A *kye* was a type of savings club that had been common in Korea for many centuries. It enabled large expenses to be met by an individual or group through regular contributions over a period of time into a central, often rotating, fund. As such, *kye* were common in Chindo men's and women's groups. One women's group in Chisan district that I studied used the accumulated fund which remained after paying out for trips beyond the island. Some *kye* used the collected fund for investment, for lending at a reasonable interest rate, or were designed to meet specific expenses such as marriage and death that occasionally faced everybody. A *kye* need not be concerned solely with finance: *kye* meetings were social events and some took place as village or area (*pan*) meetings. The variety means that there is no one simple definition. Pak and Gamble describe *kye* involved with the maintenance of clan property, *kye* designed to create income through investment and loan, *kye* for village projects, *kye* to prepare for funeral, wedding, and *hwan'gap* (60th birthday) costs, *kye* for the preservation of forestry, *kye* for the purchase of equipment such as oxen, and *kye* in which people composed poetry (Pak and Gamble 1975: 46-50, 173-177). The recent account given by Eikemeier (Eikemeier 1986: 260-287) discusses a single *kye*. It contrasts, say, the Sop'o folkband *kye* because the latter is hardly a mutual insurance venture against extraordinary happenings (cf. 262, 270-271) and the Inji woman's group where rules were not laid down (cf. 269-270). Further, Eikemeier's concept of "law" (271-2) emphasizes daily speech use of the term but does not give the institutional aspect perceived by Hobbes in *Leviathan* and by British anthropologists after him (for example, Roberts 1979: 23-29). The two Chindo *kye* I have mentioned were not considered by their members to have any judicial status.

[18] Cycles of years are divided into ten heavenly characters and twelve earthly, zodiacal animals. A person is born in a year represented by one heavenly and one earthly character that is repeated after 60 years. The characters are:

Heavenly:	*Earthly*:
kap	rat (*cha*)
ŭl	cow (*ch'uk*)
pyŏng	tiger (*in*)
chŏng	rabbit (*myo*)
mu	dragon (*chin*)
ki	snake (*sa*)
kyŏng	horse (*o*)
shin	sheep (*mi*)
im	monkey (*shin*)
kye	chicken (*yu*)
	dog (*sul*)
	pig (*hae*)

[19] The age-grading practiced is extremely flexible but remains akin to that noted by Brandt in respect to a community further north (Brandt 1971: 88-98).

[20] This volume has useful cross-references to Tambiah (1970) for Thailand, Spiro (1967) for Burma, Wolf (1974) for China, Smith (1974) and Hori Ichiro (1968) for Japan, and Hicks (1976) for Indonesia. A short introduction to the subject is offered by Janelli 1975: 34-43.

[21] The three bonds are:

The king is the mainstay of the state (*kunwi shin'gang*);
The father is the mainstay of the son (*puwi chagang*);
The husband is the mainstay of the wife (*puwi pugang*)

The five codes are:

Between friends, trust (*pungu yushin*);
Between elder and younger, respect (*changyu yuso*);
Between husband and wife, distinction in position (*pubu yubyŏl*);
Between father and son, intimacy (*puja yuch'in*);
Between king and ministers, loyalty (*kunshin yu-ŭi*).

After Crane 1978: 21.

[22] The current increase in national consciousness is reported annually by the press to be encouraging more and more people to wear *hanbok* for the harvest full moon festival. This was not apparent on Chindo.

[23] A doctoral candidate from the University of California at Berkeley, Marnie Dilling, has recently visited Korea to explore the use of music in Korean Christian churches.

[24] Readers who have spent time with Koreans will know a familiar party problem: a microphone is passed around those present and *everybody* has to sing a song. There is no question of whether people can sing or not; *everybody* sings.